

The Clintons Meet Freud:

A Psychohistory of Bill, Hillary
and Chelsea

By Paul Lowinger, M. D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	xi
What Is Psychohistory?	xi
PART ONE	1
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON	1
Hillary's Oedipus	2
Hillary's Oedipus Meets Feminist Theory	6
Hillary's Sadism and Masochism	12
Hillary's Moral Masochism and the Monica Lewinsky Porno Flick	15
Hillary's Oral and Anal Development	17
Hillary's Ego Defenses	18
Frigid Hillary / Sexual Hillary / Bisexual Hillary / Lesbian Hillary	22
Hillary and Money	26
Dirty Hillary and Clean Hillary	28
Jewish Hillary / Anti-Semitic Hillary	32
Hillary's Superego	33
Hillary and Narcissism	35
Hillary's Escape From Chicagoland	36
Hillary's Psychopolitical Choices	37
Hillary as Cinderella	40
Hillary's Dream	43
Hillary's Burden	44
PART TWO	49
CHELSEA VICTORIA CLINTON	49
Chelsea as Orphan and Hillary as Mother	49
Chelsea As Adult	55

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART THREE.	63
WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON.	63
Bill's Psychohistory	64
Bill as Oedipus	64
Bill's Primal Scene	69
Bill as a Bisexual in Love With His Stepfather.	70
Bill's Good and Bad Women	71
Bill's Castration Anxiety and Masturbation Guilt.	72
Bill's Separation Anxiety	73
Slick Willie and the Genes	77
Bill's Oral and Anal Development	81
Bill's Ego Defenses	82
Bill as Coward	86
Bill As Narcissus.	87
Bill's Conscience and Bill's Guilt.	89
Bill's Southern Mind	92
Bill's Death Instinct	94
Bill's Sadism and Masochism	97
Mother's Day for Bill	101
Monica Talks About Bill	101
Bill as Impotent.	105
Bill as Pervert	107
Bill's Impeachment as Psychology	111
PART FOUR.	115
HILLARY AND BILL IN LEGEND AND STORY	115
Bill and Hillary in Group Process With Dick, Dolly, Gennifer and Robert.	116
Hillary and Bill in the Sadomasochistic Marriage.	119
Bill and Hillary's Change of Life.	123
Hillary and Bill's Psychotherapy	125
Is Psychohistory Really History?	127
Bill as Scapegoat in Perpetuity	129
Bill and Hillary Face the Future	132

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART FIVE	135
WHAT ABOUT THE REST OF US IN CLINTONIA? ...	135
Afterword	145
Bibliography	147
Endnotes	157
Index	167

PREFACE

Many people played a role in the development of this book. Special thanks are due to my friend, Webmaster Richard Petersen who suggested this psychohistory after I declined doing psychohistories of the Pope and Bill Gates. Richard posted it on www.zpub.com as it was written. Later, as the president of Z Publishing, he directed its publication with good will and editorial wisdom.

Other hands helped with this book including those who offered email suggestions in response to the preliminary versions which appeared on the web. My peer writers' group read and commented on the manuscript.

Librarian Susanna Bonetti of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute provided ready access to psychoanalytic materials. I depended on the University of San Francisco Gleeson Library for books, journals and documents so I thank its head, Dean Tyrone Cannon and the staff. I also used the San Francisco Public Library and the University of California at San Francisco Library.

The sources I consulted and quoted are nearly all in the public domain and appear in the footnotes and references. Some sources consulted directly are noted in the text including two who preferred to remain anonymous.

The production of the book was possible because of because of the copy editing by Jane Hermanau. Peggy Cartwright contributed vital computer support. Randy Harrison consulted on the project.

I was a student at the University of San Francisco's Fromm Institute of Life Long Learning headed by Robert Fordham while this book was written. The courses for senior citizens which were taught by retired faculty offered a unique catalyst. There was feedback from the Fromm community to my lecture about Hillary's psychohistory. A University of San Francisco undergraduate course in the Department of Politics by Professor Ange-Marie Hancock was based on this psychohistory of Bill Clinton.

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INTRODUCTION

I retired in 1992 and so I had time to write. I did short stories, travel vignettes, book reviews and essays¹ but I needed a larger canvas and a longer range.

My affinities led me to choose Hillary and Bill. They are part of a pastiche that evokes my own identity, real and fantasized. I am engaged by their Sixties' passion for social justice, their quest for power, their political and sexual theater, their intellectuality, their martyrdom and their religious and charismatic intensity. The dialectic includes Hillary and Bill's opportunism, frenzy, cruelty, character defects, failures of nerve and their faithlessness. These paradoxes are epitomized by Walt Whitman in *Leaves of Grass*.

Do I contradict myself?

Very well then I contradict myself,

(I am large, I contain multitudes.)

I write a Freudian story although I'm not a psychoanalyst. I like the elegance of Freudian theory which offers a richness, intellectual, literary and emotional that invited my psychohistorical effort.

Skepticism is the best way to look for terra firma in the wetlands of psychohistory and psychoanalysis, so you're in the hands of a restless guide, not a true believer. Still my friends say that they didn't know I was so Freudian. Well, I'm not really and certainly I wasn't when I practiced psychiatry and psychotherapy, and taught and did research for forty years. My own analysis was Freudian, but later I had humanistic therapy based on Maslow, Gestalt and Wilhelm Reich. I went to Esalen and I was in a therapeutic group. All were useful.

I did not visit the Clinton White House nor did I interview Bill or Hillary but I'll emerge from the closet of impartiality and list my biases. Although I admire both Hillary and Bill, I feel they both are ill equipped to cope with our mean spirited nation in the late 20th century. They share this limitation with other recent American presidents and leaders.

Many people have contributed to this effort. Emails about early versions of the manuscript posted on the web were often helpful. A peer-writing group read the text and commented.

WHAT IS PSYCHOHISTORY?

Psychohistory begins with Freud's studies of Leonardo da Vinci and Moses and includes a book on Woodrow Wilson he coauthored with American diplomat William Bullitt. Many followed including Erik Erickson who wrote on Gandhi

INTRODUCTION

and Luther. They write about the minds of Alexander the Great, Queen Victoria, Lawrence of Arabia, Lincoln, Hitler, Van Gogh, Loyola and Glenn Gould.

The study of an individual mind is the choice of a psychological viewpoint over a social perspective and it is a challenge to the usual way of looking at reality. The method is to produce a personal psychological script and to correlate this tale with life events and developments in the nation or the world. A biological dimension of psychohistory described by Abram is the influence of George Bush I's sudden thyroid illness (a "thyroid storm" in medical nomenclature) on the causes of the Gulf War.² Lowinger tells us that President Bush's desultory election campaign in 1992 might be the result of a lethargic depression caused by his poorly controlled hypothyroidism³.

Psychohistory is a variant of Thomas Carlyle's Great Man theory of history, "Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the Great Men who have worked here."⁴ An opposite view was that of Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian politician who said, "A statesman...must wait until he hears the steps of God, sounding through events; then leap up and grasp the hem of his garment."⁵

In psychohistory, the explanation of the leader's behavior and national events depends on unconscious and conscious factors in the mind of the leader. The emotional meaning of experience is translated here primarily according to the psychology of Sigmund Freud with help from Carl Jung. The additional Freudian psychoanalysts, feminist psychologists, Jungians, social psychologists and the others whose ideas are useful are mentioned in the bibliography. Psychohistory uses individual mental development to explain both personal behavior and social events. Meanwhile critics like Susan Faludi reject the psychoworld where the "...search for 'character' is a lazy man's guide to quickie diagnosis of politicians based on third-hand potty-training reports..."⁶

The unconscious is the part of the mind, which is hidden from awareness and is not accessible even to the imagination. Between the unconscious and the conscious lies a preconscious or subconscious, which can be reached by introspection. The unconscious is impervious to reality and morality and it is timeless as it mingles the emotions and ideas of a person's mind at different ages. We can glimpse the unconscious during dreams, sleep deprivation, psychosis, psychoanalysis, the use of psychedelic substances and in the creation of art. Repression, the force that separates the conscious from the unconscious mind will be described under Hillary's Ego Defenses.

Psychobabble is an unavoidable hazard in writing psychohistory but here it will be translated. Much psychological analysis of the heroes and villains of history leads to the mind of the writer. This is an effort to avoid such a pitfall and a warning to the reader. Another caution is to understand that biography is in the

INTRODUCTION

words of John Leonard "...a cannibal feast of family dysfunction, vile apprenticeship, open wounds, big scores, closet secrets, love gone wrong, grief and grudge."⁷

The portraits offered by psychohistory lack the authority of the therapist who deals with live patients as well as the precision of historians like Thucydides, Gibbon or Tuchman who record events and trends. Still the canons of history and psychology are used insofar as they further the task and otherwise they are set aside. The interchange of terms like psychohistory, psychobiography, psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis is not accidental since these overlapping disciplines all contribute to my study and are complementary here, even though elsewhere they may engage in turf wars.

What do these terms mean? Psyche was a nymph in Greek mythology who personifies the human soul or mind. Psychology is the study of the mind and behavior. Psychohistory is the use of psychology in the interpretation of history. Psychobiography is the study of a person's life using psychological methods. Psychiatry is a medical specialty dealing with the diagnosis and treatment of mental and emotional illness. Psychoanalysis refers to the theories of Freud about the unconscious, psychosexual development, free association and transference.

PART ONE

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

“Like most mothers, I am the designated worrier in our family.” *It Takes A Village* by Hillary Clinton, Simon & Schuster, 1996. p. 10

“I’m proud of my marriage. I have women friends who choose not to marry, or who married and choose not to have children, or who married and then divorced, or who had children on their own. That’s okay, that’s their choice. This is my choice. This is how I define my personhood - it’s Bill and Chelsea.” Hillary Clinton in *The Unique Voice of Hillary Rodham Clinton*, editor Claire Osborne, Avon Books, 1997, p. 48

“It took Hillary to raise a president.” by Gail Sheehy in *Hillary’s Choice*, Random House, 1999. p. 302

“I looked at some of the Icelandic Saga manuscripts...I even found a new heroine, Gudridur, who grew up in Iceland at the dawn of the last millennium, and who as a young woman sailed off in one of those open Viking ships to North America on one of the first expeditions ... She gave birth to the first known European child in North America...returned to Iceland and then decided to take a journey to see the Pope in Rome which she did. She returned to Iceland where she

The Clintons Meet Freud

lived to a wise old age and she became a very important personage...” Hillary Clinton, Vital Voices Conference on Women and Democracy, Reykjavik, Iceland, October 10, 1999 in *Vital Voices 1997-1999*, Washington D.C., PREX 1.2 v 66

The psychohistory of Hillary Rodham Clinton is a challenge. The biographies of Hillary lack information about her early development although they offer some particulars. On the other hand, Hillary has written two books. *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* in 1996 is about Hillary’s beliefs and experiences so it qualifies as a psychological script to be deciphered as it offers a potpourri of child rearing, child psychology and public policy about children. A brief public controversy about this book revealed that Hillary herself was the primary author. *Living History* in 2003 is a sequential autobiography explaining her life and politics as it targets her marital turmoil in the White House.

The free form *Village* book allows us to perform a kind of Rorschach on Hillary’s unconscious mind while *Living History* floats on the surface of her narrative. Hillary’s public appearances, remarks, publications and speeches are useful. The books and articles about both of the Clintons contribute to my study.

Understanding Hillary Rodham Clinton demands close attention so that her life won’t be obscured behind a puffy Bill Clinton like the sun on an overcast day. There is also a tendency for the flesh and blonde Hillary to be hidden by icons: woman, wife, mother, daughter, attorney, politician, First Lady and Senator. Another hazard is the Hillary’s biographers who demonize or glorify her so she appears one-dimensional as good or evil. My tool of understanding is psychohistory and particularly psychobiography.

The primary goal is to understand Hillary herself. However, the influence of Hillary on the culture and politics of the Nineties and onward is so significant that as her psychological story is told, we will illuminate ourselves and our times.

HILLARY’S OEDIPUS

Hillary was Daddy Hugh’s girl but what does that mean? She was Curmudgeon Hugh Rodham’s victim who wanted his love and approval even as she tried to escape his stinginess, irascibility and perfectionism. The victim survived and was marked by an identification with the aggressor. But Hillary also was “...always Daddy’s Princess” according to Tony, her youngest brother who was interviewed for Jerry Oppenheimer’s book, *State of a Union* about the Clintons. In this book, Hillary’s cousin, Oscar Dowdy explains, “Hillary got the love and Hughie (the other brother) got booted...Tony got his share too...both of them (were) pretty envious of the attention she got. Hillary was just very smart and earned her father’s respect...On Dorothy’s (Hillary’s mother) part there was a

bit of jealousy of Hillary...Aunt Dorothy was always very, very defensive of Hughie because Hughie used to get the shaft from the old man... it was a protective mother thing.”⁸ Cousin Oscar Dowdy who is three years older than Hillary is the son of Hillary’s aunt Isabelle, Mother Dorothy’s younger sister so these families were often together on holidays and birthdays.

Hillary’s Oedipus complex involved her attraction to and struggle with Gruff Daddy Hugh and her frustration and rivalry with Passive Mother Dorothy. This is the view of the 1993 Hillary biography by Norman King, which was elaborated on in the books by David Brock and Roger Morris. That Hillary was also Daddy Hugh’s Princess is based on interviews with Hillary’s brother Tony and her cousin Oscar in the Oppenheimer book. Like an ongoing psychoanalysis, these later revelations led to new insights.

Like Daddy Hugh, the adult Hillary became irritable, demanding and the family breadwinner. Hillary says in her Village book that when she brought home a report card with all A’s from junior high school, Daddy replied that it must be an awfully easy school. We’re not told what Dorothy Rodham said when she saw the grades maybe because her mother’s approval wasn’t important to Hillary or perhaps Mother Dorothy was also hard to please.

Mother Dorothy is described by Joyce Milton as “...stern and even slightly bitter” in her biography of Hillary.⁹ In Jerry Oppenheimer’s book, Oscar Dowd describes his aunt as “kind of cold, kind of standoffish...she had a difficult time being warm and truly affectionate...Dorothy’s always mad at somebody. And it tends to last forever.”¹⁰ Oscar recalls the Rodham family Christmas as “plastic” and his wife Helen remembers that Mother Dorothy hated cooking and housework. Hillary celebrates a different family icon, mother-daughter cookie-baking in her book, *It Takes a Village*.

Everyone has a biased view of this family and his own life so everything said by the principals should be received with benign skepticism including the words of Dorothy, Hugh, Hughie, Tony, Oscar and Hillary herself. Psychoanalysis is about uncovering hidden and unconscious emotions, and also about changing behavior, but it is not a method for uncovering the truth although this may happen. Despite the similarity of psychoanalysis to psychobiography, it is the later that tells the story of the subject’s behavior as well as its meaning. Beyond “just the facts, ma’am,” this psychobiography takes us to the motivations of Hillary’s mind, conscious and unconscious.

Dorothy has a fear of her own feelings and keeps an emotional distance from Hillary, so much so that in 1998, she tells biographer Gail Sheehy, “I don’t talk to Hillary about anything deeply personal...her husband...her daughter...”¹¹ Dorothy’s explanation about this is circular but informative when she says that although Hillary is sensitive, she doesn’t over emotionalize, so “she (Hillary)

The Clintons Meet Freud

doesn't go into one of these horribly overwrought kinds of tizzies. That's one thing I never did either."¹² "In a tizzy" is a phrase from the early 1900's defined as being upset, in a state. Avoiding a tizzy means using isolation as a defense so feelings are repressed (see Hillary's Ego Defenses). This process is quite different from the Dionysian emotionalism of Bill's family including Mother Virginia and Grandmother Edith who will be discussed later.

Daddy Hugh was from Scranton, Pennsylvania where he grew up and where he took each of his children for their Methodist baptism.¹³ Family vacations were at a Rodham lakeside cottage in Pennsylvania. Emigrants from England, the Rodhams worked mostly as laborers in the coal mines and the lace factory, but also included civil servants, the owner of a hotel in the red light district, a respected doctor, and a Scranton political boss who served as a city councilman.

The solid, blue collar Rodhams stood in contrast to Dorothy's family, who were "marginal people" according to a researcher.¹⁴ Dorothy was born to a fifteen-year old mother and a seventeen-year old father. Later they divorced and then Dorothy and her sister were sent from Chicago to California to live with paternal grandparents who were abusive and were on welfare during the depression years. Dorothy's father who got custody after the divorce largely disappeared from her life. Later her mother remarried but she wasn't given custody then because at the time of the divorce she had been considered to be abusive to her husband and was called violent by her own sister. Dorothy's mother was described in census records as illiterate at seventeen. Dorothy's father was described as a fireman or a chauffeur. Dorothy's parents were the children of immigrants from Canada and England.

Dorothy had survived childhood abuse with teenage parents who couldn't manage a family with two children, divorcing and sending eight-year old Dorothy by train alone with her three-year old sister from Chicago to Los Angeles to live with grandparents losing contact with her parents. The grandparents were verbally and physically abusive and she left their home at fourteen so she could finish high school. Dorothy learned to live passively with hidden and muted feelings. Her use of repression, denial and isolation were transferred to Hillary who suffered a kind of verbal childhood abuse from Daddy Hugh.

But it was an active Dorothy who said there was no room in the house for cowards when four-year-old Hillary ran home after a neighborhood attack by an "obnoxious girl." We learn from Hillary's youngest brother Tony that "our mother was pretty tough..."¹⁵ so Hillary was forced to confront her attacker and hit back. She won the battle, and now had the respect of the children, according to biographers David Brock and Gail Sheehy and Hillary herself.¹⁶ Sometimes Dorothy's memory of Hillary's plight is more vivid with her routs leading to successive tearful flights home from an older adversary, Suzie who was defending

her turf as the only girl who played with the boys. The story of the counterattack is even more dramatic when the larger girl is knocked down or hit in the nose before an audience of neighborhood boys who now all wanted to play with Hillary.¹⁷

A curmudgeon was the way Hillary biographer, Norman King described Hugh¹⁸ while another biographer, Roger Morris finds him guilty of the “psychological abuse”¹⁹ of his children including Daddy’s Princess, Hillary. Chief Petty Officer Hugh Rodham was a drill instructor who spent World War II training recruits at the Great Lakes Naval Station near Chicago while Dorothy was a secretary. Hillary’s parents married in 1942 and she was born five years later. Afterward he became a successful businessman in Chicago who moved his family to Park Ridge, an upper middle class suburb from a city apartment three years after Hillary was born October 26, 1947. Tobacco chewing and fly-fishing Hugh, who had attended college on a football scholarship, was a regal presence in this family; Hillary says it was like the television sitcom, *Father Knows Best*. But the humor was lacking according to Dorothy, who said of Hillary, “She had to put up with him.”²⁰ Of course, Dorothy did too. The Rodham marriage was described as “icy” and in “constant tension” by Helen Dowdy, the wife of Hillary’s cousin Oscar.²¹

The current picture of Hugh as a genial taskmaster is a sanitized version of his behavior thirty years earlier. After his death, he was characterized as “confrontational, completely and utterly so” by Tony, Hillary’s brother. Hillary recalls him as a “tough taskmaster”²² who was empowering but then she was favored over her two younger brothers, Hugh Jr. born in 1950 and Tony in 1954. Cousin Oscar Dowdy explains, “Hillary was born with uncanny, extreme intelligence. Her dad recognized it...Tony and Hughie were regular kids, but Hillary was not a regular kid...He (Hugh) was proud as a peacock of her. Hillary knew how to get what she wanted out of him. She knew the right buttons to push.”

Family symbols were Hugh’s new Cadillac every year and the elegant Georgian suburban home on the corner, which was ice cold each winter morning because Hugh turned off the heat at night. Was this family purification or an atonement ritual led by Hugh, the high priest who wanted to turn off the libidinal night dreams?

The struggle between Daughter Hillary and Daddy Hugh, like most family feuds, went through several acts and intermissions, but was often one in which Hillary was in control. It reached the endgame with Daddy Hugh, then post-stroke and retired, moving to Little Rock with Dorothy and the sons, Hugh Jr., and Tony. Now Hillary was a corporate attorney and married to Governor Bill Clinton but the focus was on seven-year old Granddaughter Chelsea. She needed Hillary’s family nearby when it seemed that Bill and Hillary would be in the 1988 presi-

The Clintons Meet Freud

dential race. Although Bill didn't run then, Hillary had taken over the Rodhams and installed them in her city far from Park Ridge or from Daddy Hugh's roots in Pennsylvania. Still, Arkansas was retirement country from the northern winters of Illinois for many who didn't make it to Florida. Passive Dorothy and powerful Daughter Hillary agreed, and so now the brothers, Hugh Jr. known as Hughie, and Tony went to college in Arkansas.

HILLARY'S OEDIPUS MEETS FEMINIST THEORY

It is convenient to begin the description of Hillary's development with the Oedipus complex because this is a crucial aspect. An examination of the Oedipus complex is often the most direct route to hidden conflicts and the sources of anxiety. The fateful and incestuous union between the son Oedipus and the mother Jocasta and was also a symbol of the desire of the daughter for the father. The selection of a male centered myth for understanding women's development emphasizes the sexist bias of Freudian psychology. Sometimes the Oedipal phase of female psychosexual development is labeled the Electra Complex, named after the daughter of Agamemnon, who was responsible for the murder of her mother, Clytemnestra.

Freud and his followers debated for decades about how Oedipal events form the female personality, her sexuality and femininity itself. In contrast, the early explanation of the male Oedipus complex achieved a prompt consensus among these same Freudians. More recently women analysts and feminist psychologists have amended Freudian theory removing penis envy, vaginal orgasm, girl's castration fears, feminine passivity and the weakness of the female superego from the Freudian panoply. The gender-free constructs of id, ego, superego, the unconscious, ego defenses, bisexuality, the psychosexual developmental stages and transference remain.

A new Freudian psychology with the centrality of the mother in human development which blends with the older gender-biased Freudian ideas is the result. The preoedipal mother before the child is three has a greater influence on both sexes but the effect on girls is more important and more prolonged than on boys.

Freud's theory of personality was based on biologically determined instincts which were shaped during infantile development. This idea was revised in favor of a new object relations theory, derived from the recognition of narcissism, borderline personality (to be explained later in Slick Willie and the Genes) and a new psychology of women. Object relations theory means that the mother and other significant people enter the infant's mind and remain as objects. These objects influence the fundamental options about the gender behavior, sexual preference

and the aggressive or life forces. In this land between biology and social influence, object relationship theory extends the role of culture.

Another important discovery was of a core gender identity for female and male infants so that both psychological femininity (and masculinity) have a biological origin. Psychological femininity was now removed from its earlier dependency on its being just a reversal of the male Oedipus complex by the new objects-relations theory and the recognition of core biological female identity.

Feminist psychologist Nancy Chodorow explains, "... psychoanalytic feminism makes important demands upon psychoanalysis and points to areas of potential expansion and revision."²³ She concludes that both the traditional ideas and the new theories can be used to understand the female (and male) Oedipus complex.

This feminist psychoanalytic theory is combined with some asides to older concepts such as penis envy, now cast in a secondary role in female development. An example of secondary penis envy is the announcement during a holiday gathering by Claire, my granddaughter who was then four and a half, "Penis, penis, penis, Julian, penis," as she looked in the direction of her two year old brother.

The investigation of Hillary begins with the questions about her image, character and behavior. "Very sharp, very Chicago," is the view of Ann Douglas' photojournalistic essay in *Vogue*. We immediately recognize Hillary's energy, intelligence, organizational and leadership abilities, political and professional ambition, charisma, social and religious motivations, and family commitment. The puzzle is reconciling these characteristics with her chronic anger and impatience, temper outbursts, anxiety as "the worrier," the victim of a philandering husband, the family breadwinner who cut some ethical corners, and the icy "Sister Frigidaire," a label from her high school newspaper. These are the complexities and polarities that we explore with Hillary's psychohistory.

How do the explanations of Hillary's problems fit in with the older Freudian and the new feminist Oedipal models? First, the Freudian Hillary. She was fixated in her love for her father according to the Freudian explanation of this universal and fateful event after her Oedipal disappointment when she discovers at three or four years of age that she doesn't have a penis. So penis envy moves the Freudian Hillary from the mother-love of the preoedipal years to a father-love which is never resolved.

Penis envy, a Freudian universal, means that Hillary holds her mother responsible for the loss or absence of the treasured organ which she will replace with the father's penis and by having his baby. (The word "treasured" is used with irony but in order to prevent misunderstanding, I also regard the female organs as treasures.) This wish for a penis is repressed and held in the unconscious where it mobilizes jealousy and death wishes for the mother. It is this fear of the loss the

The Clintons Meet Freud

mother and the mother's love that leads to the development of the conscience or superego. Freud said that the superego was weaker in girls because their fears did not cause a resolution of the Oedipus complex as effectively as did the boy's castration fears.²⁴ Not so, says feminist psychoanalyst Shahala Chehrazi who points out that the structure of the girl's superego is similar to the boy's superego although the content is different.²⁵ But Hillary's connection to Dorothy remained intact and Hillary's teenage social conscience and interest in community service and religion were manifestations of a strong superego.

The tie to Hugh continued, and then Elisabeth King and Don Jones appeared. Hillary remained uninterested in teen clothes, hairstyles and dating and her mother expressed some annoyance at sixteen-year-old Hillary's disdain for makeup. Hillary didn't shop, gossip or talk about sex like the other teens, observes Helen Dowdy, cousin Oscar's wife who was only a year and a half older than Hillary. Meanwhile, Hillary who calls herself "a tomboy"²⁶ was a good athlete, playing soccer, tennis, field hockey, volley ball and softball, which recalled her meticulous training by Hugh for hitting a curve ball. She was a good hitter and a shortstop who knew all about the Chicago Cubs.

At eleven, a view of Hillary as "teacher's pet" emerges from Donnie Radcliffe's biography. This was the time that her sixth grade teacher, Elisabeth King, transferred to a new school so that she could continue to teach Hillary for two more years at the intermediate level. Rick Ricketts, her sixth grade boyfriend later recalled for a reporter, "Hillary was Mrs. King's favorite human being on earth."²⁷ A class picture in the Radcliffe biography shows Elisabeth with her hand on Hillary's shoulder. Such a school girl "crush" on a teacher and vice versa points to homoerotic feelings which may become conscious and sometimes overt at puberty.

This picture is given another dimension in the homoerotic painting, by Balthus. It shows a prepubescent girl lying across the knees of her music teacher whose hand is on her inner thigh just below her vulva while the eleven or twelve year old student reaches for the aroused breast of the teacher. The abandoned guitar, the clothes in disarray and the facial expression of the student "between misery and ecstasy - alarmed but also transfixed" informs us that "sex is naughty, pleasure and pain were coexistent...the state of arousal was close to the demonic." The words are those of critic Nicholas Fox Webber who writes in the *New Yorker* about this Modernist work, which is often considered pornographic.²⁸

All the early phases of development, oral, anal and Oedipal, involve bisexual feelings, and these remain mostly unconscious. This is a look at Hillary's childhood and adolescent feelings, not an attempt to uncover a historical infatuation. Maybe these emotions were repressed and forgotten, or perhaps her unconscious presented them in disguised dreams or even in daytime questions like, "Do

I love Elisabeth? Does Elisabeth love me? What if Elisabeth was my mother?" The homosexual impulse often reflects the negative Oedipus complex beginning about age five when a rejection by the girl's father is accompanied by death wishes against him and a revival of the earlier love for the mother. Again this is an explanation of maturation, not a theory about female homosexuality. Here it seems to be a vehicle for Hillary's escape from her frustration in the unresolved Oedipal link to Hugh and Dorothy before her next important pubescent event, the appearance of Don Jones.

Don Jones was the new thirty year-old youth minister of Hillary's Methodist Church who arrived when she was thirteen. Don drove a fire-engine-red Impala convertible and played Dylan on the guitar. His views were those of Reinhold Niebuhr, the Protestant theologian who rejected religious fundamentalism, favored humility and placed the church in a struggle for social justice. But most important, Don Jones was a different kind of father because he was not a father-aggressor.

Don's emotional impact on Hillary's libido was to sublimate her teenage eroticism into art, theology and social concerns. Maybe she told her diary that she was in love with Don or pondered the question. Compliant Hillary, the teacher's pet, was to give way to the new argumentative Hillary. Today she has "...a temper you would not believe"²⁹ and that Hillary's staff is "terrified of her. Roger Morris says Hillary "...ate him (Bill) for breakfast" using the words of Bill's friend in Hot Springs.³⁰ She was elected to high school and college class offices, and by the late Eighties, she was mentioned as a candidate for governor of Arkansas to succeed Bill. But it was the thirteen-year-old Hillary who completed the transition from conformity to a controversial leader.

How does the feminist Oedipal Hillary differ from the Freudian Hillary? Hillary's basic gender identity is a response to her preoedipal mother and the security of this relationship was fertile for a transition to the Oedipal attachment to Hugh. Again Chodorow clarifies, "...women situate themselves psychologically as part of a relationship triangle in which their father and men are emotionally secondary, or at most, equal to their mother and women."³¹ The relationship to father Hugh was not a threat to the relationship to mother Dorothy since Hillary was not a murderous rival; rather it was a part of family development.

The homosexual attraction to the teacher Elisabeth gives the preoedipal mother a new identity without Dorothy's defects such as her passivity in the face of Hugh's sadism and her aggression when she sent Hillary back to the Park Ridge streets to face the belligerent playmate.

Don Jones' arrival added to Hillary's experience of love for men, and so he amplified the Oedipal-Hugh attachment. Don showed Hillary and the other suburban teens the hidden and emotional world of art, politics and religion. They read

The Clintons Meet Freud

e.e. Cummings, T. S. Eliot, and Stephen Crane and saw Picasso's *Guernica*, a mural about the Spanish Civil War. They met black and Hispanic youth including gang members from the inner city. Their projects included Bible study and baby-sitting for the Mexican migrant farm workers who lived west of Park Ridge. They went to hear Martin Luther King Jr. speak at Orchestra Hall in 1962 and afterward Hillary met him personally and shook his hand just as teenage Bill did with JFK in the Rose Garden. These are experiences of good and evil, the words, images and the passion of hell and heaven which revive the repressed, primal and unconscious forces of the Oedipal conflict.

Hillary's intellectual and religious stimulation in the long private sessions in Jones' office were a metaphor for and a reactivation of the sexuality of the Oedipal relationship. Were these new erotic feelings unconscious, conscious or even overt? Maybe all three. Thirty-five years later biographer Joyce Milton says that Don Jones's trips with Hillary and the other teens in his Impala made some parents "nervous" and then quotes Jones, now sixty-five who recalls that there was no "flirting" as though he knew the role of Eros in the minds of teen age girls.³²

The Oedipal era with expressions like "I want to marry daddy," is typically resolved at six and is followed by a latency period which lasts until puberty. Don Jones was the marker for earlier sexual events during the Oedipal period that Hillary may not recall or understand. Such events can be as ordinary as mutual genital manipulation while playing doctor with a younger brother or a sexual overture by an uncle or a cousin or even just hearing a story about this happening to a girlfriend.

The relationship with Jones was a visible token of her earlier Oedipal love for Hugh, which was not extinguished. The feminist psychoanalytic theory of Chodorow explains the female drama: the quality of a girl's sexuality is determined by her relationship with her mother.³³

The mother's unconscious as well as her behavior are major factors in the psychological development of sexuality in girls. This cultural feminist explanation which begins with object relations theory contrasts to Freud's instinct-determined and biologically controlled Oedipus complex.

In addition to the psychocultural factors, women and men have different core biological identities from birth and earlier based on hormones, anatomy and the new findings about female-male brain differences. Freud's dismissive remark about women, "Anatomy is destiny,"³⁴ has come full circle with the discovery by psychoanalyst Robert Stoller that girls born without vaginas are fully female and feminine if their parents believe this.³⁵

In the feminist psychoanalytic story, the resolution of the female Oedipus complex leads to a superego or conscience that is just as strong as that of the male

in contradiction to Freud's view that it wasn't. But the content of the women's superego is different. It is more concerned with affectional and personal relationships and less with male abstracts and absolutes.

A feminist psychoanalyst Shahala Cherhrazi summarizes recent views about penis envy and women in 1986 so she is quoted directly.³⁶

Over the past twenty years, research studies and substantial clinical material have provided new information regarding female psychology and development... The sociocultural attitudes and the phallogocentric orientation that prevailed during Freud's time contributed to his theory of female psychology. The issue, however strong the possibilities for politicizing it are, is essentially a clinical one... The oversimplified and reductionistic interpretation of penis envy in the analysis of women often leads to a lowering of their self-esteem and an intensification of the neurotic image of themselves as deficient and damaged...

The girl's mental representation of her genitals at an early age (2-3) is less well established than a boy's at the same age, whose visible and protuberant genitals lead to a clearer mental representation. However, no matter how vague and incompletely defined the little girl's representation might be, it seems to reflect her awareness that she has "something there." That "something" is pleasurable and will later, under optimal conditions, become... highly valued... Furthermore, recent work suggests that early genital awareness is accompanied by an early or primary sense of femaleness. Core gender identity, an early (preoedipal) sense of femaleness or maleness is established by age two or three.

...the early theory emphasized what the little girl does not have rather than what she indeed has. If we reverse our focus, then it becomes evident that penis envy may be a phase-specific reaction since the little girl will soon come to value what she herself has, and relinquish the envy of what she does not have... Current views do not underestimate the trauma of observation of anatomical differences and penis envy, but they do suggest that at the time of its occurrence, the little girl already sees herself as a girl and has some awareness of her femaleness and her genitals. Her wish to have a penis, therefore, does not necessarily imply that she wants to be a boy, but that she wants a penis in addition to the vagina and clitoris she already has.

The Clintons Meet Freud

The factors that assist the reworking or attempted resolution of penis envy are: good enough relationship with the mother; awareness and appreciation of one's genitals; further cognitive development, which aids comprehension of the complex inner and outer genital; and most important, the resolution of the Oedipal conflicts, and identification with the mother...Current views reject a reductionistic equation of the wish for a baby with the wish for the penis. The wish for the baby can be seen prior to the penis envy reaction and is often an expression of identification with the mother, as well as inborn gender characteristics.

HILLARY'S SADISM AND MASOCHISM

Sadism received its modern expression in the books by the Marquis Donation de Sade in the eighteenth-century while masochism appears in the nineteenth-century in the work of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch. Their names are used for sadism, pleasure derived from causing pain and for masochism, pleasure from suffering. Such behavior is ordinary and widespread and quite different from the exotic S and M of whips and chains.

Like a finch which has two songs, one for mating and another for territorial protection, traditional Freudian theory tells us that humans have two kinds of instincts or drives which originate in the unconscious: sexual instincts in the id and the survival or life instincts in the ego. An aspect of the life or survival instincts is aggression. These survival instincts are directed toward satisfying the need for food and shelter and are expressed by work. So in human behavior, work and love are everyone's conscious concerns which mirror the unconscious drives.

During childhood, the life instincts including aggression become sexualized while the sexual instincts are tinged with aggression. Freud says "...the two classes of instincts are fused, blended and mingled with each other..." so we enjoy the spectacle of love joined with death in *Romeo and Juliet* and in Verdi's *Aida*. However, these instincts don't have free play because their expression is controlled by that part of the ego that represents both reality and parental rules, the conscience or superego where guilt is generated. I've returned to using instincts in describing the new feminist-Freudian theory of development because it's easier than its translation into the complexities of object relation's theory.

Sadism and masochism in which originate during the oral and anal phases of infantile development are altered by later experience. While the cruelty of sadism and the suffering of masochism appear to be separate in the person affected, they actually coexist, one overt and the other covert in a combination called sadomasochism.

Does Hillary's identification with Hugh's aggression lead to sadism?

Hillary's brother Tony says, "...my sister is tough as nails." But aggression is not sadistic which is cruelty or destructiveness experienced as sexually pleasurable. Hugh's aggressiveness toward Hillary can be called sadism, pleasure produced by causing pain, a mixture of Hugh's sexual and aggressive instincts. Hillary learned to play the victim role in Hugh's punishments followed by her rescue and solace. He taught her about life in visits to Chicago's skid row and the dark and dangerous Pennsylvania coal mines where he had worked. It was Hugh's implicit or explicit threat to leave her there that predetermined that he would rescue her, a frightening moral lesson from Mr. Reality Check. Hillary's identification with Hugh made this behavior her own so she became a sadist.

It is interesting to look at the Rodham family through the eyes of Helen Dowdy who married Hillary's cousin Oscar when she was sixteen and Hillary was fourteen. Helen, who was a frequent visitor in the Rodham home, says in Oppenheimer's book, "I wouldn't put anything past Hugh in terms of put-downs to anybody but Hillary...But the boys! Oh boy! That was a different story. I mean it was like night and day." A Park Ridge neighbor heard Hugh's booming voice, "yelling at the boys...Hughie and Tony" through the summers' open windows.³⁸ Grumpy Hugh's aggression was sadism on display and Hillary had learned to escape it and identify with it too. Sadism was learned by Hillary in a family process. Hugh didn't yell at Dorothy but there was an observable mutual antagonism between them. Subservient Dorothy called Hugh "an old fart" in one room while he watched television in the next room ignoring her complaints for years about fixing up their home.

Bill's names for Hillary include the dragon lady, Lady Macbeth³⁹, The Warden⁴⁰, Sarge and Hilla the Hun.⁴¹ Her wrath is feared by her staff who are, "...intimidated she will fire them if they tell her the truth," according to interviewer Connie Bruck.⁴²

In Arkansas, pitched battles raged at the Governor's mansion as Hillary screamed, "That sorry son of a bitch," when she woke to discover Bill was out "for a drive" at one a. m. according to the state troopers. As he arrived home, she shouted, "Where the fuck have you been?" Driving in a State limo with the First Couple was to see "...screaming quarrels and styrofoam cups, books, papers and keys thrown by Hillary."⁴³

In the White House family quarters, Hillary continued to scream in her husband's beet-red face as a Secret Service agent saw her pick up a lamp and throw it at the President. These are reports from domestics, the Secret Service, Arkansas State troopers and other deep throats known to biographer Chris Andersen. Echoes of these events also appear in Milton's biography of Hillary and in Woodward's *Shadow*.

An objective observation about Hillary's sadism was made in April 1993

when Andersen tells us that the President appeared at a White House news conference with “a lurid two inch gash running from his right earlobe down his jaw line and a smaller cut on his neck...Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers ...reported that the President had cut himself shaving...later, the President offered a different explanation, ‘I got hurt playing with my daughter, I’m ashamed to say...Rolling around acting like a child. I reaffirm I’m not a kid anymore.’”⁴⁴ Chelsea was thirteen and it seemed unlikely that she would be ‘rolling around’ with her father and that she could inadvertently inflict such a deep cut. Word had filtered down that the President and First Lady had another of their window rattling rows.” Bill’s masochism which complements Hillary’s sadism is discussed later in Bill’s Sadism and Masochism.

Hillary’s sadistic impulses produce both pleasure and guilt. Her masochism is also experienced as painful and pleasurable. The two are part of the same emotion, sadomasochism. Her sadomasochism, like Hugh’s is derived from aggression tinged with sexuality. Although Hugh’s sadism is a family legend, his masochism is only briefly visible in Hillary’s account of his youthful prank when he broke his legs falling from a truck on which he was stealing a ride.⁴⁵

Hillary defends herself and responds while she suffers as a victim of wom-
anizing Bill, the sniping media and a hostile Congress. “Tough” Hillary retained the capacity to be hurt as explained by Robert Reich who saw her as a frightened rabbit when she came under attack during Bill’s first term. (See Bill and Hillary in Group Process With Dick, Dolly, Jennifer and Robert)

The emotional energy for Hillary’s aggression and sadism comes from the identification with Hugh as aggressor and sadist, but not entirely because we’ve heard about how Passive Mother Dorothy was “tough” too. Are Hillary’s frustrations with Bill, the media, the Congress and her critics justified? Of course, but the psychological question is really how and why do aggression and sado-
masochism play such a prominent role in her responses?

The Rodham marriage was a straightforward model of the fifties: a dominant husband and a stay at home, repressed wife. Passive Mother Dorothy says in Judith Warner’s book that this was her “...accepted role...being afraid to say what was on her mind.”⁴⁶ Hugh was called Mr. Difficult by Dorothy, and biographer Morris describes Hillary’s home as one of “quiet cruelty and pain...warmth and vitriol...compassion and sarcasm...”⁴⁷ All this qualifies Hugh as a sadist and Dorothy as a masochist as their behavior is used to indicate the state of their unconscious minds.

Dorothy herself was a childhood victim of abuse by her own teenage parents. When they separated, she was sent alone by train at eight from Chicago to Los Angeles with her three year old sister to live with her paternal grandparents. Her grandparents were themselves so rejecting that she left at fourteen to work as

a babysitter with another family in order to finish high school.

Dorothy's sending Hillary back to the street in Park Ridge after she was attacked by another toddler is a variant of normal parental behavior, but perhaps it is also an indication of normal unconscious sadism. Daddy Hugh reassured little Hillary that although she might murder someone, he would still love her though he would disapprove of her act. The unconscious mind which is revealed in play and games here speaks of Hillary as the sadist and Hugh as the masochist.

Is masochism characteristic of women as Freud and his followers tell us or is there another view?

Masochism as characteristic of women is an argument between the Freudians and the feminists. Freud and his followers explained masochism and passivity in women as biologically determined with their origins in childbirth and motherhood. Today, feminist analyst Schad-Somers, who rejects the instinct theory of masochism, still finds that masochism is intrinsically female because of our culture, which depreciates women, while sadism is the male expression of a ubiquitous sadomasochism.⁴⁸ But the debate goes on and feminist psychotherapist Charlotte Prozan argues against the universality of women's masochism.⁴⁹

HILLARY'S MORAL MASOCHISM AND THE MONICA LEWINSKY PORNO FLICK

The issue of Hillary's masochism is reopened by James Bennet of the *New York Times* in "First lady backs up her man, once again"⁵⁰ as he reports her response to the Monica Lewinsky eruption (perhaps it should be called the Bubba emission). He says that "Hillary's just fine." We are told that Hillary "clearly had no illusions about Mr. Clinton's faithfulness" and now she is "in battle mode" as she was during the Gennifer Flowers expose. The "poor Hillary" mantra resumes later as Chris Andersen reports⁵¹ her eyes as red and swollen from crying after Bill's grand jury testimony about Monica.

Arianna Huffington labels Hillary "enabler-in-chief" holding her responsible for Bill's eruption with Monica. It is worth clarifying that "enabler" is from the nomenclature of a Twelve Step program because columnist Arianna judges Bill to need membership in Sex Addicts Anonymous. Biographer Sheehy also calls Hillary is an enabler.

The prototype of masochism is the need to be beaten to achieve a sexual climax with the connection between the pain and the pleasure hidden in the unconscious. Another frequent kind of masochism is moral masochism where it is humiliation and failure in life that produces both the suffering and the unconscious pleasure. These are victims who bemoan their fate as martyrs: she says she is doing it for her marriage, the family and the children, and he says he can't let

The Clintons Meet Freud

down his buddies, the company or the cause. The ego is besieged with guilt from a punishing superego or conscience and the solution to this dilemma is to be punished by life.

Nowadays, like Arianna, we are familiar with the enabler or co-dependent as a moral masochist who despairs but also facilitates the addiction of a spouse to violence, alcohol, drugs, gambling or casual sex. Like the chords in the blues, family themes are repetitive, so we recall that Bill's mother Virginia was an enabler for her husband Roger's alcoholism as Bill was growing up. So too, Mother Dorothy was an enabler for Daddy Hugh's cruelty. Masochism, including moral masochism, begins during personality formation in infancy and childhood when sexuality becomes linked with pain and suffering.

The question of Hillary's moral masochism goes beyond just her defense of an erring husband by a loyal wife. This kind of masochism involves Hillary's unconscious enjoyment of Bill's misbehavior.

The counterpoint of Hillary's suffering is in the innuendoes. She complains to Bill, "Look...I need to be fucked more than twice a year."⁵² "Gennifer Flowers says Bill told her during their relationship that Hillary didn't enjoy sex and anyway Hillary was a lesbian, so Bill was frustrated."⁵³ Journalists report the gossip and some details about Hillary's ill-fated affair with her Little Rock law partner Vincent Foster, who committed suicide while he was a White House counsel. These emotions and events don't cause a masochism that began in infancy and childhood but they may channel its expression.

Beneath the level of reality in the secret recess of Hillary's mind, is her unconscious, where bittersweet dreams and fantasies are the response to Bill's affairs with Monica and the others. Hillary first denies the events, and then she sees them and next there is a kind of mental participation in them before she flashes back to real life and begins the battle to survive. This is a hypothesis but it is as plausible as a wife with an alcoholic husband who first looks the other way, then excuses him perhaps with compassion and finally picks up the pieces when he boozes again. You decide. The moral masochism is there.

The question is how much pleasure can there be for a serious, rational, religious woman in her husband's love affairs, some lurid and public but most only known by gossip. Her masochistic gratification is more complicated than the simple portraits in the media. Horror, anger, anxiety, dismay and fascination follow the infidelities during the Monica affair. The outward Hillary was observed by the New Yorker's Joe Klein as radiant with a roseate glow in a canary-yellow suit in the midst of the Monica affair while during the 1992 Flowers scandal she was "dressed to the nines."⁵⁴

Does Hillary's mind create a threesome, a porno flick with her, Monica and Bill? That idea is not necessary to this argument about her moral masochism but it

is illuminating. Masochism is a “radical aesthetic practice,” according to postmodern critic Mansfield⁵⁵ while psychoanalyst Ross writing about *The Sadomasochism of Everyday Life* points out our fascination with the Bobbits, the Menendez Brothers, Tonya Harding and O. J. Simpson. I’d add JonBenet Ramsey and the Clintons.

What happened to Hillary to cause the moral masochism? The answer to this complex question goes back to the Oedipal guilt she feels about her desire for Daddy Hugh and her hatred for her rival, Dorothy. This traditional Freudian view is complementary to the newer feminist explanation of development where the attachment of a girl for her mother is primary and is the vehicle for her love for the father and other men. A feminist view postulates guilt both about Hillary’s hate for Hugh, who has rejected the demands of her childish sexual love and her hate for Dorothy’s excessive demands for control. This alternative hypothesis doesn’t see Dorothy and Hillary as rivals for Hugh, but the causes of moral masochism are still there.

These explanations are about Hillary’s emotional development going awry and laying the groundwork for moral masochism. Onto this fertile soil falls guilt about the homosexual feelings for the teacher and also the sexual response to Don Jones, the youth minister. Despite her powerful sublimations and active conscious outlets, her nihilistic feelings are masochistic, and so are her reactions of guilt and shame. The most direct evidence about her nihilism is her predominately negative feeling about herself and the world in her own words as explained in the next section of this essay.

HILLARY’S ORAL AND ANAL DEVELOPMENT

The formation of character begins during the first year of life with the oral stage when milk from the breast or bottle and a mother’s love are required for physical survival and growth. The explanations of disturbances in the oral stage involve overindulgence or deprivation.

Food is the first symbol of trust, so orality, the first of the Freudian stages of development, is described by Erik Erickson as producing a person’s Basic Trust while an impairment during this phase leads to Basic Mistrust. These are the responses during the infant’s first six months of passive incorporation or sucking followed by the second half of the first year with its more active incorporation process of biting. The predominance of Basic Trust leads to a character with oral optimism while Basic Mistrust results in oral pessimism. Erickson explains, “Whenever oral pessimism becomes dominant and exclusive, infantile fears...can be discerned in the depressive forms of ‘being empty’ and ‘being no good’...which in psychoanalysis is called ‘oral sadism,’ a cruel need to take and get in ways harmful to others.”⁵⁶

The Clintons Meet Freud

Hillary's mind still exemplifies this lack of trust. There is a catalog of oral pessimism in the words of her *Village* book: bone disease, bombing, sexism, misogyny, suicide, a distraught baby, powerlessness, skid row, death, math anxiety, hurry, a frightened grandmother, delinquency, accidents, desperation, difficult children, suffering, divorce, shortcomings, sexual abuse, a sharp tongue, parental indifference, a cold house, cowardice, teen drinking and smoking and drug abuse, teen pregnancy, murder, violence, fainting and the list goes on. The list of positives is much shorter and less graphic: sports, work, opportunities, support, discipline, guidance, love, prayer, parenthood and village. The question isn't what Hillary thinks or says about children, but how she says it. Yes, this is an invasive and involuntary method, but it was Hillary who said, "I'm a Rorschach test." ⁵⁷

The anal stage is described by Erickson as Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt when he discusses the consequences of bowel and bladder training and the increased muscular coordination and activity.⁵⁸ Conflicts about elimination and self-control in two and three year-olds may lead to anal fixation resulting in a person who is stingy, stubborn, compulsive, acquisitive and controlling. Control and perfection are the keys to Hillary's character like that of her parents, who are also controlling and perfectionistic. The list of words from Hillary's book illustrates the conflicts about this phase as well. Most of the words are in the category of Shame and Doubt while only a few reflect Autonomy. There is more information on Hillary's anal stage later in *Hillary and Money*.

The first stage of the anal phase begins with "the half liquid evacuations of the infant (causing) the first intense excitations of the anal zone.... The bowel movements and constipation, flatulence, diarrhea ...create ... a pleasurable desire at the anal zone," according to Richard Sterba who was one of Freud's original circle. He continues, "Grown-up people, if they are honest enough to admit it, know and enjoy the sensual pleasure brought about by the passage of a large stool of a stick-like form...In the second phase of the anal period ...the chief pleasure is no longer experienced at the passage of the stool but in holding it back.... the stool even when evacuated, is regarded as an enormously important and valuable object.... extended to all the child's possessions..."⁵⁹

A less ebullient phantasy of the anal stage appears in Kiki Smith's piece, *Tale* seen recently in an art show at the Whitney reviewing the twentieth century. This is a construction in which a naked woman who is crawling away from the viewer on all fours is trailed by a very long turd emerging from her anus. This picture is a contrast to the ultra clean and orderly Martha Stewart image as a cultural reaction-formation to the soiling of the anal stage. (Reaction-formation which involves turning an emotion into its opposite is discussed in the next section.)

HILLARY'S EGO DEFENSES

An understanding of Hillary's behavior calls for an exploration of her ego defenses which are the way of regulating the three realms of the developing personality. First, there is the id or the primitive force of the aggressive and lustful unconscious instincts where Freud's Pleasure Principle prevails. Here the attempt is to maximize pleasure and decrease pain. This realm is the libido or the sexual energy. Second, a partly conscious ego uses the Reality Principle to balance the conflicting demands of external reality such as parents and society with the pleasure seeking id and a censorious superego. This is the province of reason. Third, the conscience or superego is often in conflict with id impulses and also with the demands of reality. More about the superego later but it is here that the sense of right and wrong uses guilt to control behavior.

The similarity to Plato's portrait of a tripartite mind is striking, "...her form is like a pair of winged steeds with their charioteer. In divine souls both steeds are good but in human souls one of them is bad..."⁶⁰ So the Athens of the Fourth Century B.C. anticipates the ego, super ego and the id.

The clash between the forces of the id, superego and reality produces anxiety and depression. The ego makes compromises using behavior called ego defenses often abbreviated to defenses to deal with the anxiety and depression from the conflict between id, the superego and reality. These defenses determine the strength of character. If they are solid, adaptable and work well, the personality is strong and healthy. If they are leaky and fragile, the person is anxious, fearful and depressed and maybe neurotic.

It is when a defense fails as a result of stress that depression and fear invade consciousness as in a neurosis. When repression is unable to control disturbing memories and impulses by keeping them in the unconscious, the result is that a person's emotions spin out of control. The defenses themselves can become a problem if they are in excess like denial which can produce a blind spot about danger in the environment.

Understanding Hillary's behavior leads to a study of her ego mechanisms of defense, which determine her actions, style, habits and her foibles. Her physical and emotional development, intelligence, traumas, parental and adult influences, social milieu and genetics all converge in the formation of these defenses.

Some of Hillary's defenses are best described in her own words from her books, speeches and interviews. Of course, her defenses don't explain all of Hillary's behavior.

Repression, the fundamental defense of the ego is the banishing of memories, feelings and ideas from the conscious into the unconscious where they remain excluded from awareness. This is a prominent mechanism for Hillary where it is based on the exclusion from her consciousness of her feelings of

The Clintons Meet Freud

Oedipal love toward Daddy Hugh as a sadistic lover and also the emotions about Mother Dorothy's inability to offer protection from him. This is a message from her *Village* book, "My strong feelings about divorce and its effects on children have caused me to bite my tongue more than a few times during my own marriage and to think about what I could do to be a better wife and partner."⁶¹ This is a metaphor from her adult awareness about the process of repression.

Denial is a frequent defense which affects the perception of reality so that what is happening is not seen, heard or acknowledged. Anxiety is the trigger for denial and also for the other defenses.

"She had to know," is an observation by a Little Rock local about Bill's long and unconcealed affair with Gennifer Flowers while he was Governor.⁶² Another example of denial is seen when Hillary stopped reading the newspapers in 1994 during the Whitewater accusations, according to Bob Woodward. Hillary spoke of denial metaphorically when she said to a television interviewer that what she and Bill did first in the morning when they awoke in the White House was, "Pull the covers over our head."⁶³ Other words of denial were, "I don't read what people mostly say about me."⁶⁴ Hillary's White House staff was under strict orders to sanitize their daily news digests, that is no sex, tabloid gossip and nothing about the Lewinsky scandal according to Anderson.⁶⁵ Denial grew in Hillary as a child who used it to avoid recognition of the events of her family's sadomasochism and its Oedipal drama. Clinton biographer David Maraniss says, "When it comes to Clinton and sex, she knew but she didn't want to know."⁶⁶ It was Hillary's denial that lead eventually led to Bill's impeachment when his attorneys "... favored settling with Paula Jones, but the First Lady wouldn't have it," according to Gail Sheehy.⁶⁷ (See *Hillary's Burden* for more details about this matter.)

Projection is an unconscious mechanism in which a person attributes to another person the ideas or feelings that are unacceptable to her. Frequent and intense projection is called paranoid and the ideas and emotions are closely guarded secrets. Hillary says, "If someone has a female boss for the first time, maybe they can't take out their hostility on her, so they take it out on me."⁶⁸

Hillary is said by biographer Joyce Milton to have fired Barbara Feinman who worked on her *Village* book because she thought this writer had violated the secrecy about her séances with Eleanor Roosevelt and leaked the story to journalist Bob Woodward who then wrote about them.⁶⁹

Hillary was the one who described Starr's investigation of the Lewinsky affair as part of a vast right-wing conspiracy. Latter it was David Brock, who exposed this conspiracy by multimillionaire Richard Mellon Scaife in a 1997 article in *Esquire*⁷⁰ and then in a book, *Blinded By The Right*. Paranoids have real enemies too.

Hillary often warned Bill against trusting people, saying, "Bill, don't be

such a fucking Pollyanna. Some of these people you think are your friends aren't," are the words quoted by Chris Andersen from Bill's 1980 Arkansas gubernatorial campaign.⁷¹

It was Hillary's projection and her paranoid secrecy that led White House attorney Lanny Davis to speculate, "... that the whole chain of events that led to the Whitewater investigations, then led to Ken Starr, which led to the investigation of Monica and finally to the impeachment can be traced back to the Jeff Gerth, *New York Times* Whitewater story and Hillary's)... first instinct - to lock down." Later Jane Sherburne, Hillary's attorney, explained these events saying, "A lot of Hillary's reaction originated with that very private nature..."⁷² The tortuous path of these events allows a glimpse into Hillary's unconscious.

Hillary's love affair with secrecy affected the planning phase of her health care proposal leading to its poor reception by Congress and the media, and so was a factor in its rejection. Hillary's approach to the obstacles of selling her health legislation was paranoid in its intensity. There is more about Hillary's failed health plan in *Hillary's Burden*.

As I read Hillary's *Living History*, it is the loss of her privacy that is the worst consequence of Bill's adultery with Monica.⁷³ Her preoccupation with secrecy/privacy is described in the section on Chelsea as Orphan and Hillary as Mother where it is called scotoptophilia.

Isolation is the splitting or the separation of emotion from an idea causing either the emotion or the idea to be repressed into the unconscious. "Hillary can separate personal emotions from the goal and task ahead in a way few women can,"⁷⁴ her friend Betsey Wright says to author Connie Bruck. Another example of isolation is when little Hillary asked Daddy Hugh, "Do you mean if I murdered somebody, you'd still love me? And he'd say, 'Yes, I would not approve of what you did...but I will always love you,' " according to biographer Radcliffe.⁷⁵

Intellectualization is a mechanism of defense which substitutes words and ideas for feelings as a way of controlling unacceptable impulses. Hillary explains, "The idea that I would check my brain at the White House door just doesn't make sense to me."⁷⁶

Sublimation is a defense in which socially unacceptable impulses from the unconscious are replaced by desirable goals. Serving the need of others and religious beliefs are solutions of the id-ego-superego conflicts. Destructive unconscious impulses are replaced by acceptable goals, compassion, religion and serving others. "I have a burning desire to do what I can, a desire to make the world around me...better for everybody," are Hillary's words.⁷⁷

Reaction Formation, defined as turning an unacceptable impulse into its opposite, is one of Hillary's psychological defenses. Hillary's anger became manipulativeness and charm as she lunched and courted the editor of the Arkansas

The Clintons Meet Freud

Democrat in Little Rock in order to deflect his “nasty” criticisms of Governor Clinton. It worked according to Connie Bruck.⁷⁸

Identification With the Aggressor is an ego defense involving Hillary’s identification with gruff Daddy Hugh’s psychological abusiveness so that she became “tough as nails” according to her brother.⁷⁹ Hillary says, “The harder they hit, the more encouraged I get.”⁸⁰ Hillary’s own staff are “...scared to death...” of her according to Connie Bruck.⁸¹

“She (Hillary) was a thrower - big time,” of staplers, files and pens directed at Bill in the state limo during their quarrels about Bill’s affairs, says a Arkansas state trooper who drove them. These attacks which were “...always initiated...” by Hillary, continued in the White House, according to Secret Service sources used by biographer Christopher Andersen.⁸²

The aggressive Hillary appears during Travelgate according to White House aide David Watkins, who said, “...There would be hell to pay if we failed to take swift and decisive action in conformity with the first lady’s wishes.” Hillary is recalled as saying, “We need those people out. `We need to get our people in,” speaking about the White House travel staff.⁸³

FRIGID HILLARY / SEXUAL HILLARY / BISEXUAL HILLARY / LESBIAN HILLARY

The Sister Frigidaire image from the high school newspaper opens a door on Hillary’s frigid character. The formation of character is specially influenced by the forces of the sexual and aggressive unconscious instincts, which press the ego for gratification. Hillary’s aggressive and sexual drives were unacceptable to her external reality and her conscience. The reaction is frigidity but this is more than just a defense because the character itself is altered in the interest of harmony within the ego. Hillary’s mother, who didn’t have “tizzies” also repressed her emotions. Hillary’s solution was the development of the type of frigidity of character described in Otto Fenichel’s *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*.⁸⁴ Hillary alternates between her charisma and the icy nun image.

I watched Hillary’s television biography and the 1992 Inauguration video that show her smiles alternating with visible coldness when her affect is contrasted to the emotions of Tipper Gore or Barbara Bush. It’s like contrasting the affect or emotional tone of Al Gore, usually rigid and distant compared to that of Bill Clinton, predominately cuddly and warm. Novelist Erica Jong, a Hillary admirer and feminist writing in the *Nation* says Hillary is “...cold and too controlled...she gives off an aura of discipline and ferocious tenacity...”⁸⁵ Another feminist, Robin Lakoff, who studies language, finds Hillary’s image in the mysterious, predatory and enigmatic Sphinx, a she-monster with the head of a woman and the body of

a lion who silences and then consumes the men who confront her.⁸⁶

Hillary, who dated in high school and college, had her first serious romance that lasted from her junior year at Wellesley to her sophomore year at Yale Law School with a student who appears as a “handsome black Irishman” in the Sheehy book.⁸⁷ Like her, he was an upper middle class WASP, a northerner with Christian values, whom she met because they were both active in Republican student politics. They broke up after an intense relationship because he sought his future in the grass roots nonprofit world rejecting Hillary’s sphere of power and politics. Hillary was already a star as a class president, pictured in *Life*⁸⁸ magazine after her Wellesley commencement speech and then an activist at the Yale Law School. Rupert is quoted on his physical attraction to Hillary and their satisfying sex life. This was during the era when she went from a Young Republican attending the convention that nominated Richard Nixon (she favored Nelson Rockefeller) in 1968 to an interest in Chicago radical Saul Alinsky’s community organizing and the Black Panther Party. Her style had gone from pleated skirts and blouses to the bell-bottoms of the counterculture, and Rupert says they inhaled. Other college boyfriends are mentioned in passing but the Rupert melodrama is his kiss and tell entry into the Hillary story. If one were to ask Hillary now, she may smile as she recalls a hunk who lacked Bill’s ambition to be President.

Hillary’s love life with Bill does not fulfill the intimacy of the sexy photos of their beach revel as they danced cheek to cheek in swim suits on a vacation during the Lewinsky crisis in 1998 or by their periodic hand holding. Less rather than more is Chris Andersen’s view of their sex life when he says, “...the Clintons had not shared the same bedroom - much less the same bed - for at least seven years.”⁸⁹

Maybe Hillary loves Bill and Bill loves Hillary (see the Sadomasochistic Marriage for details) but Hillary is heard to complain that she “gets laid only twice a year.” Bill’s Good and Bad Women explains how Hillary went from the exciting Whore to the forbidding Madonna. Bill’s failing erections are an issue too as explained later on in Bill as Impotent.

The question of Hillary’s love interest in women has a psychohistorical importance whether it is true or not. Her image and behavior, her persona and the stereotypes about strong women call forth this issue, often as an accusation. There is a parallel to a rumor of Bill’s homosexuality at twenty-eight when he ran unsuccessfully for Congress in Arkansas. Hillary campaigned with him during this hard fought race, and a rumor about her homosexuality also circulated during this election. In 1978 after Bill was elected Governor, there was talk that Nancy “Peach” Pietrafesa was Hillary’s lover. This was a friend from her twenties in New England who went to Arkansas with her husband to work in the new Clinton

administration.

Gennifer Flowers says Hillary is a lesbian in her book quoting Bill during their affair that ended in 1992. In 1996 Dick Morris, a friend of both the Clintons mentions Hillary as lesbian in a radio interview after he left the White House disgraced by his own sex scandal. During Hillary's Senate campaign, the tabloid *Globe* found a 1987 unauthenticated "kinky 3-way sex video" showing Hillary, Vince Foster and another woman.⁹⁰

Hillary's longstanding lover is a woman who is a dean at an eastern university, I hear from the lesbian network who say this with gay pride.⁹¹ A similar rumor in Jerry Oppenheimer's book is attributed to Mandy Merck, a lesbian and radical feminist and Bill's friend from his Oxford days, when she visited the United States in 1999.⁹² As with Eleanor Roosevelt, the persistence and multiple sources of the lesbian issue make it a part of the psychohistorical equation.

Hillary watchers at the millennium continue the public speculation about her sexuality. Tom Junod says in *Esquire* that she has a "lewd laugh...a sexy mouth," and he asks if the men on the Senate campaign trail want to "do her."⁹³ He answers "yes" for himself, the mayor of Albany and the retiring New York Senator Daniel Moynihan. When Hollywood's superstar Julia Roberts was asked by *Us Weekly*, "If you had to have sex with one girl, whom would it be with? The reply was, "Hillary Clinton 'cause I don't think she's getting her fair share."⁹⁴

What can the known science about bisexuality tell us about a sexually ambiguous Hillary? Bisexuality as a potential in normal development was an early Freudian dictum that is widely accepted. Like a number of Freud's discoveries, it was foreshadowed by other students of human sexuality including Kraft-Ebing and Haverlock Ellis, but it remained a static idea until Freud explained the plasticity of infantile psychosexual development. It was Freud's discovery of infantile sexuality during the study of the unconscious, which explained how the different sexual identities come about.

Gender bending images appear in the Hillary jokes.

Why won't Hillary wear miniskirts?
She doesn't want us to see her balls.

What does Hillary do after she shaves her pussy?
Sends him to work in the Oval Office to work.

Gender words about Hillary call her "...harddirect ...precise ...controlled ...nonspontaneous ...cold ...impersonal ..." Her hair is "...helmet-like... clothes define her boundaries..." Those comments stand in contrast to Bill, who is

described as “...softintuitive... warm... caring... worries about his weight...he has fuzzy outlines...frizzy hair...” according to the linguistic analysis of Lakoff. The gender identity words used about Hillary are stereotypically masculine while the language about Bill uses female images.

There are few tools to measure gender identity like a verifiable scale of femininity and masculinity, so a linguistic commentary is helpful. There is little correlation between biological sexuality and gender identity: there are femme lesbians and femme straights and butch lesbians and butch straights, and their combinations and permutations are endless.

There are many unanswered questions in the study of sexual behavior, sexual preference and sexual identity, so we all wait impatiently for answers. But these sexual puzzles are also about nature-nurture and mind-body, so the explanations require research in genetics, biology, medicine and the social sciences as well as psychology.

Bisexual behavior is common so that 28% of women (50% for men) have homosexual responses, while 13% of women (37% for men) have homosexual orgasms at some time during their life according to Kinsey’s work, which began in the Forties.⁹⁵ These studies of bisexuality have not been repeated although it is likely that these numbers would be larger today. In the Nineties, an encyclopedia of sexuality edited by Francoer summarizes several studies to conclude that 9% of women (10% for men) are entirely or mainly homosexual although half of the homosexual women have some heterosexual activity.⁹⁶

The mainstream view is that a person’s sexual orientation is either homosexual or heterosexual as the result of genes. This explanation is frequently amended by noting the influence of psychosexual development, the family and the environment. This common description is often correct, but it may be incomplete. Dividing people into gay or straight is confusing because some people change their overall orientation in the short term or the long term, or they do not limit themselves to partners of one sex. In fact recent biographies say that heterosexual Kinsey himself also had homosexual experiences.⁹⁷ Bisexuality is absent from the mainstream Western religions of the Jews, Christians and Muslims, but it survives in their folk and esoteric roots. In the Pantheon Zeus and Hera were sometimes bisexual; Dionysus celebrated androgyny, and the divine-seer Tiresias lived as both a woman and a man. In Hindu cosmology, Nirrti is both male and female.

The milestones of a women’s sexuality are menarche, her erotic life, pregnancy, mothering and menopause, although for some Jungians defloration is among the markers. Motherhood is a major marker of sexuality for the Freudians, who see a baby as fulfilling the woman’s Oedipal need for the penis. As noted earlier in *Hillary’s Oedipus Meets Feminist Theory*, the Freudian analyst Shahala

The Clintons Meet Freud

Chehrazi reports that the girl's wish for a baby represents her identification with her mother based on psychoanalytic observations of adults and children as well as recent studies of child development. Female identity is established in infants between two and three years and their occasional penis envy is a secondary reaction.

Marriage, pregnancy and motherhood are the traditional Freudian norms but feminist Hillary speaks for the sisterhood when she elaborates the today's wider options, "...women...who choose not to marry, or who married and choose not to have children, or who married and then divorced, or who had children on their own." Thirty years after the graduation of Hillary's Wellesley class of '69, journalist Miriam Horn found that 5% were traditional homemakers, 88% had married, one in three who married had divorced, one in three of the married women had been unfaithful, 23% were childless and one out of three had inactive or disappointing sex lives.⁹⁸

HILLARY AND MONEY

Hillary's Adult Oedipal theater performance in Little Rock was fourteen years as the new Queen, the law partner and First Lady of Arkansas, earning the family income while King Bill governed and philandered. Bill was able to run for Attorney General in 1976 because they had Hillary's \$18,000 law school salary to support them. They moved to Little Rock in 1977 from Fayetteville, where they were law professors after Bill was elected Attorney General, a post that only paid \$6000 a year. Later the state salaries were raised and the Attorney General's salary was \$22,500. In Little Rock Hillary chose the Rose Law Firm, a conservative partnership serving primarily corporate clients. The less lucrative socially activist options of family law, consumer representation and criminal defense were rejected.

Governor Bill's salary remained \$35,000 while Hillary's income from law rose from \$46,000 to \$98,000 during the 1980's while their additional income was over \$100,000 a year according to Roger Morris. This was primarily from Hillary's investments including commodity trading, and her annual compensation for serving on corporate boards ranging from \$15,000 for Wal-mart to the Lafarge Corporation at \$31,000.

Hillary's investment profits began in 1978 with \$98,540 from trading cattle futures, a 10,000 per cent profit in nine months on her original investment of one thousand dollars. Such a profit from this complicated series of trades without insider assistance is a one in two hundred and fifty million probability according to the economists who analyzed her account. She closed this account when she was pregnant with Chelsea, but a year later in a new commodity account Hillary

made \$6500 on a \$5,000 investment. A \$2014 investment in a cell-phone franchise in 1983 paid Hillary \$45,998 when it was sold in 1988 according to Roger Morris.⁹⁹ By 1992 the Clinton's net worth was \$931,000 in cash and bonds according to Chris Andersen.¹⁰⁰

She was motivated to make investments, as a child by Daddy Hugh with whom she played investment games after he taught her to read the stock market tables in the newspaper. Hillary's investments and her commodity trades were her own initiative although her contacts with brokers and land developers were through Governor Bill.

The broker who handled Hillary's commodity account was a former Tyson executive whom she met through a Tyson attorney. Tyson Foods, an Arkansas institution and major polluter has been described as the largest family owned chicken farm in the world.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile Hillary railed against "the unacceptable acquiescence in greed that occurred during the 1980's," according to Bob Woodward in *The Agenda*.¹⁰² To dismiss her comment as insincere or contradictory is to ignore the anal compulsive Hillary who uses the defenses of isolation and intellectualization.

Bill showed less interest in investing leaving this activity to Hillary. He accepted her decisions about real estate developments like Whitewater, which lost money and by 1994 was the subject of an ongoing investigation by the Special Counsel. The contrast was between an organized Hillary and Bill who "...couldn't keep a checkbook...never paid his ...electric bill or his phone bill," according to Mary Fray, a manager during his 1974 congressional race.¹⁰³

Day to day, Bill was so generally indifferent to money that often he didn't carry any, and an aide or a state trooper paid for soft drinks and incidentals as he traveled about the state. His friends say that Bill's style rarely included picking up a check in a restaurant or bar. An exception to Bill's disinterest in money was a profitable investment Bill made in 1977 when he was Attorney General with real estate developer Jim McDougal according to Brock who calls it a preview to Whitewater. After his presidency Bill earned millions of dollars for a book advance and speeches. (See Bill as Scapegoat in Perpetuity)

Bill and Hillary were both power and policy people, but Bill wanted to be liked, so he charmed and governed while Hillary practiced law and served on non-profit and corporate committees and boards. Hillary was like Daddy Hugh, who managed the family's financial affairs while Bill looked to Hillary to arrange money matters as his mother Virginia had done. Virginia had taken this job over as soon as she had discovered that husband Roger was unreliable as a drinker and gambler. Virginia, the nurse-anesthetist and Hillary, the attorney and were the strong earners and money managers while stepfather Roger who worked at his brother's Buick dealership, and Bill, the governor were weaker.

The Clintons Meet Freud

Hillary's creation of most of the family's income and savings is an aspect of the anal compulsive Hillary, a trait which results in her obsessive compulsive personality. She doesn't have an obsessive hand washing compulsion but she pursues her goals in a repetitive and tenacious way. This kind of compulsion is true of most parents about their children, most attorneys about their cases and all candidates about elections. But Hillary's style is a contrast to Bill's more relaxed way about Chelsea, his legal cases as Attorney General and even his elections. Hillary is a bulldog while Bill is an actor. Diversity encourages both life styles but these are observations not a beauty contest. Freud offers an explanation in Dirty Hillary and Clean Hillary.

Just as sex is Bill's Achilles' heel, so money is Hillary's. The legend is that Achilles' nurse dipped him in the water of the river Styx making him invulnerable everywhere except in the part of the heel by which she held him.

DIRTY HILLARY AND CLEAN HILLARY

Freud's 1908 essay, "Character and Anal Eroticism" talks about orderly, obstinate and parsimonious traits which define the anal or compulsive character.¹⁰⁴ Obstinance and parsimony are the most important in this definition but Hillary shares all three.

Orderliness and its cognates, cleanliness, reliability, conscientiousness, perfectionism and caution develop in the child as a response to the soiling experience during toilet training. Cleanliness can be understood as sublimation, an acceptable expression of "forgotten" or repressed infantile behavior. Hillary "...was an extremely - at times maddeningly - cautious candidate..."¹⁰⁵ as described by journalist Michael Tomsky. Her orderliness, reliability, perfectionism and conscientiousness are Hillary legends.

Her cleanliness expresses itself in the makeovers, makeup and hair styling as First lady in Arkansas after Bill's first term then later in Washington. This was a reaction formation to the many years that her hair was greasy, stringy and lacked any style according to observers like Bill's mother Virginia, Bill's lover Dolly Browning and Arkansas political campaigner Mary Fray.

Hillary's aversion to makeup during her teens, twenties and thirties also was a reaction formation noticed by both Hillary's mother and later Bill's mother. At the Rose Law Firm, Hillary's reaction formation was observed by the secretaries who noticed that she didn't pluck her eyebrows and sometimes she wore jeans or orange slacks in the office.

Hillary as Furry Freak vanished with the Makeover after Bill's loss of the governorship in 1980 so with the next gubernatorial campaign which began almost immediately, Hillary became a butterfly instead of caterpillar. The

Makeover included becoming Mrs. Clinton instead of Hillary Rodham and the '82 election campaign included baby Chelsea, who was born February 27, 1980. Hillary used makeup and lost weight "... wore her hair straight, lightened it, held it in place with a headband and began wearing contact lenses and knit power-suits...(and) adopted a phony southern accent..." according to Brock.¹⁰⁶ After Bill was reelected Governor in 1982, it wasn't long before she began campaigning in her new persona for Arkansas education reform by conducting hearings in every county.

While Bill was out of office, he was depressed; they lived in a modest house; Bill had a law firm sinecure and Maraniss says he talked of divorce. Hillary was able to organize his return to the governorship and so save the family. She was at the crossroads and had returned to active church going. Betsey Wright and Dick Morris were brought to Little Rock by Hillary to prepare for the next election. And she consulted a private detective about Bill's extramarital affairs that included a secretary at the Rose Law Firm where she had just been made a partner in 1979.

These are the conscious events and the motives for the Makeover. What were the unconscious consequences of the Makeover? Chelsea came to embody Hillary as the slob who affronted both Daddy Hugh's establishment and Mother Dorothy's passive resistance. It's a frequent psychological observation that behavior from a parent's childhood like bedwetting reemerges in a child. To Freudians this is the return of the repressed because behavior committed to the adult's unconscious reemerges in the child, while Nonfreudian psychologists see this as a kind of social heredity. Chelsea as the ugly duckling was Hillary redux.

Does anyone doubt that the choices and reactions about style, hair, persona and makeovers are both communal and personal as well as conscious and unconscious?

Reaction formation is one of Hillary's defense mechanisms mentioned earlier, which involves the turning of an unacceptable infantile impulse into an acceptable substitute. This reduces anxiety and keeps ego, id, superego and reality in balance. The infantile anal erotic wish, "I want to be dirty" becomes, "I want to be super clean." But Hillary's orderliness was balanced by the opposite impulses, toward the counterculture with its utopian political goals and its unkempt hair and torn jeans. The cultural and the individual are woof and warp.

When the Clintons left the White House, it was trashed by lewd graffiti, the W's removed from computer keyboards, phone lines slashed and desks overturned according to some newspapers. Soon afterward, the General Services Administration said that there was no more damage than after the departure of any long-term tenant. But six months later, the Bush administration admitted there had been "vandalism" and historically minded writers recalled that in 1992 when

The Clintons Meet Freud

George Bush I left the White House, telephones were glued to the desks.

What does this have to do with Hillary's anal complexes, perfectionism and messiness? (See Bill's Oral and Anal Development about his anality.) White House staff behavior reflects the impulses, conscious and unconscious of the President and First Lady, preppy for Barbara and George I and hippy with Hillary and Bill. Both these administrations had issues about anality, and so do all the other Americans who are both tangled and tidy. Housekeeping at the Clintons' White House at the end of their administration is not a measure of their nature or their politics, but it has a kind of Freudian accountability - a glimpse into their unconscious.

Obstinacy and parsimony like cleanliness are also linked with the sublimation of the infant's interest in her feces. Obstinacy is often visible as irascibility, rigidity, vindictiveness or even defiance. Parsimony covers behavior, which ranges from avarice and acquisitiveness to frugality and stinginess. Daddy Hugh is described as irascible and stingy. The connection between parsimony and excrement led Freud to the link in the popular culture between money and feces. The folkloric example offered by Freud is a Viennese Christmas tree ornament of a man excreting a gold coin from his anus, the *Dukatenschiesser*. In America, pay-day in the Army is "the day the eagle shits."

Hillary's obstinacy showed in her management of Bill's campaign for Congress. Maraniss mentions a worker who says Hillary's influence on the campaign staff was negative, "Our organization went to shit. We lost the spirit over her."¹⁰⁷ Hillary told campaign manager Paul Fray not to give \$15,000 in cash to poll workers at the last minute in the marginal districts as was planned. This was "dirty money" from the dairy industry to buy absentee ballots and conscientious Hillary was speaking from the moral high ground. Bill's loss in this normally Republican district was by a narrow margin.

Hillary's frequent use of profanity, that is, dirty language, as a medium of expression is consistent with the counterculture and feminism. A feminist who is a generation older than Hillary remembers that she felt "cleansed and healed" when she began to use the common profanities of everyday speech. Hillary's proximity to dirty Arkansas politics is her choice of an environment that led to the Clintons' political power. Although her rejection of vote buying is clean and not dirty, it's in the same sandbox. Clean and dirty words about Husband Bill, politics and money for campaigns are all energized from the psychology of anal development. Freud explains, "... cleanliness...gives exactly the impression of a reaction-formation against an interest in things which are unclean...and ought not be on the body."¹⁰⁸

The obstinate Hillary in 1993 is described by Bruck, who quotes a health industry executive as saying, "She was so thin-skinned...that if you criticize one