

Style

5

Style Plus: Forgotten assets and how to claim them

7

New on Video: 'Death Becomes Her,' plus 'A Woman's Tale'

TOM SHALES

1/11/1993

It in Neverland With the President and the King of Pop

the back yard, which Michael said he sits often.

Hey, Bill and Mike—just a couple of guys living out their fantasies. What a pretty, nutty night of television.

Clinton doesn't quite believe he's president yet. Scheduling an electronic yoww so early in his administration seems premature, but then, Clinton acted as if he was still on the campaign trail anyway. Asked a question about health care for a troubled couple from Seattle, Clinton edged that "within a hundred days of my becoming president, we're going to have a

bill to the Congress to do just what you said."

"Becoming president"? Doesn't he know that he's become president already? Yep—had us a big election back in November.

Clinton's town meeting, which CNN interrupted several times for commercials (C-SPAN aired it straight through, bless their hearts), was mostly a big bust. What Clinton did on that stage was not presidential; it was Donahue. The show began with the camera zooming wildly in and out. Throughout the hour, a tone of

tackiness prevailed. This looked like bad cable-access programming, only the president of the United States was there.

Or was it, the President of the United States, Sort Of?

Some people thought Ronald Reagan had a loose grip on reality. Maybe they should take a closer look at Clinton, who is still asking people if they have any ideas about how to deal with problems he was elected to solve. He promised us a television presidency, but we didn't know it was going to be interactive television, and that

we were going to be asked to do a lot of the work.

Of course, when it comes to loose grips on reality, Michael Jackson has a special place in America's heart. Indeed, Michael's grip was a topic of discussion as he and Oprah sat in the living room and chatted away on ABC.

"Why do you always grab your crotch?" Oprah asked. Michael giggled a girlish tee-hee. "I think it happens subliminally," he explained. "It's the music that compels me to do it. . . . I'm slave to the rhythm."

See SHALES, D6, Col. 1



With White House press deputies Karen Finney and Neel Lattimore. Says Williams: "I'm a simple person. I'm not power hungry."

Clinton's Stealth Communicator

3, Navigating the Corridors of Power

— CNN anytime soon, debating Pat Buchanan or Sally Quinn.

"I was really reluctant to do this interview," she says, over and over, "because I just didn't see that it was important to do, and because, also, everything here is such a team effort."

Nothing a reporter hates to hear more than those two words together: *team effort*. It means you're interviewing a guarded megalomaniac or a truly modest person or somebody who might be using the word "inclusive" sometime soon. Williams clearly fits into the second and third categories. She is Hillary Rodham Clinton's chief of staff, and her high power/low profile is matched in the White House only by Thomas "Mack" McLarty, the president's childhood friend and now chief of staff.

Williams has a real gift for being impossible to trans-

late into cute, punchy lines. Several campaign strategists claim that, even at age 38, she's the most astute media adviser around. "She has a real sense of the media, how to do it, how it's done," says Bob Neuman, who was her communications boss at the Democratic National Committee. Rep. Bob Torricelli (D-N.J.) describes her "magnetic personality." The dean of the Annenberg School of Communications gushes when describing her teaching talents. Friends speak of Williams's common sense and articulate conversation. She's an expert at *communicating*—the former communications director at the Children's Defense Fund and press deputy at the DNC—and yet . . . it's almost a gift, being so media-savvy that you can be willfully dull, confidently understated: She wants nothing larger than a "40-inch" profile

See WILLIAMS, D2, Col. 1

And Justice for All: A Brief History of The Next 4 Years

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

FEB. 12, 1993—President Clinton names Florida prosecutor Janet Reno as his nominee for attorney general, saying he picked Reno "because she's smart, talented, and, thank the Lord, has no kids." "The nightmare is over," Clinton said triumphantly. "We've got a Cabinet."

FEB. 13, 1993—Janet Reno withdraws her name from consideration after transition officials discover that Reno is an illegal alien from El Salvador and has been moonlighting as a nanny.

FEB. 14, 1993—White House communications director George Stephanopoulos hints that the next nominee for attorney general may be a man—or, as he puts it, "alternatively gendered." The National Organization for Women holds its breath until it turns blue. The White House backs down.

FEB. 15, 1993—Hillary Rodham Clinton
See VISION, D11, Col. 3



BY RICH LIPSKI—THE WASHINGTON POST

TV Preview: On 'Mystery!,'
Inspector Tennison returns

2

Theater: Toe-tapping
'42nd Street,' at the Warner

4

Style

5

7

TOM SHALES

A Night in Neverland With the President and the King

Bill Clinton was the warm-up act for Michael Jackson last night, in a manner of speaking. Clinton began an evening of live prime-time TV with a "town meeting," the first of his presidency, from Detroit. It aired on C-SPAN and CNN. Clinton stood on the stage alone like Elvis at one of his farewell concerts.

Then it was off to Santa Ynez, Calif., for "Michael Jackson Talks to Oprah," a live, 90-minute special on ABC with Superstar Oprah Winfrey interviewing Superstar Michael and touring the vast Jackson spread-known as "Neverland Ranch." There's a fully equipped amusement park

in the back yard, which Michael said he visits often.

Hey, Bill and Mike—just a couple of guys living out their fantasies. What a nutty, nutty night of television.

Clinton doesn't quite believe he's president yet. Scheduling an electronic powwow so early in his administration seems premature, but then, Clinton acted like he was still on the campaign trail anyway. Asked a question about health care by a troubled couple from Seattle, Clinton pledged that "within a hundred days of my becoming president, we're going to have a

bill to the Congress to do just what you said."

"Becoming president"? Doesn't he know that he's become president already? Yep—had us a big election back in November.

Clinton's town meeting, which CNN interrupted several times for commercials (C-SPAN aired it straight through, bless their hearts), was mostly a big bust. What Clinton did on that stage was not presidential; it was Donahue. The show began with the camera zooming wildly in and out. Throughout the hour, a tone of

tackiness prevailed. This looked like bad cable-access programming, only the president of the United States was there.

Or was it, the President of the United States, Sort Of?

Some people thought Ronald Reagan had a loose grip on reality. Maybe they should take a closer look at Clinton, who is still asking people if they have any ideas about how to deal with problems he was elected to solve. He promised us a television presidency, but we didn't know it was going to be interactive television, and that



The First Lady's chief of staff, Maggie Williams, right, with White House press deputies Karen Finney and Neel Lattimore. Says Williams: "I'm a simple person. I'm not power hungry."

Hillary Clinton's Stealth Communicator

Chief of Staff Maggie Williams, Navigating the Corridors of Power

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

Some people don't speak in sound bites that look profound between quotation marks, or pose under the right lights so the camera lens opens up wide, soaks up their face, loves them. But there are many ways to play the game, and all that media stuff, well, it's just a game anyway, isn't it? Smoke and mirrors, ropes and tape recorders, public image, and public smiling, repeatable snippets, TV cameras whirring.

Maggie Williams sees the game, knows the game, has a master's degree in the game, and is intent on helping her boss—Hillary Rodham Clinton—play the game, but that doesn't mean Williams is going to be turning up on

CNN anytime soon, debating Pat Buchanan or Sally Quinn.

"I was really reluctant to do this interview," she says, over and over, "because I just didn't see that it was important to do, and because, also, everything here is such a team effort."

Nothing a reporter hates to hear more than those two words together: *team effort*. It means you're interviewing a guarded megalomaniac or a truly modest person or somebody who might be using the word "inclusive" sometime soon. Williams clearly fits into the second and third categories. She is Hillary Rodham Clinton's chief of staff, and her high power/low profile is matched in the White House only by Thomas "Mack" McLarty, the president's childhood friend and now chief of staff.

Williams has a real gift for being impossible to trans-

late into cute, punchy lines. Several campaign strategists claim that, even at age 38, she's the most astute media adviser around. "She has a real sense of the media, how to do it, how it's done," says Bob Neuman, who was her communications boss at the Democratic National Committee. Rep. Bob Torricelli (D-N.J.) describes her "magnetic personality." The dean of the Annenberg School of Communications gushes when describing her teaching talents. Friends speak of Williams's common sense and articulate conversation. She's an expert at *communicating*—the former communications director at the Children's Defense Fund and press deputy at the DNC—and yet... it's almost a gift, being so media-savvy that you can be willfully dull, confidently understated. She wants nothing larger than a "40-inch" profile

See WILLIAMS, D2 Col. 1

Once and Future President

VISION, From D1

announces a plan that will provide universal health care at low cost. Her approval ratings soar.

FEB. 17, 1993—In his State of the Union Address, President Clinton formally pardons Kimba Wood for "whatever it is that we thought she did wrong." The president also announces that he is imposing an across-the-board income tax increase, saying the sacrifice is needed to create funds for the new Department of Searching for an Attorney General.

MARCH 1, 1993—The Associated Press distributes a photograph, taken by a freelancer with a telescopic lens, showing Hillary Rodham Clinton on the White House grounds putting a splint on the leg of a squirrel. She is universally hailed.

MARCH 5, 1993—President Clinton quietly places a Help Wanted ad in major metropolitan newspapers for a "decent, honest, infertile lawyer" who is interested in a "high-profile government position" and is "preferably a non-smoker."

MARCH 21, 1993—The White House announces that it has received 2.1 million applications for attorney general. Stephanopoulos says that preliminary interviews show that 37 of the applicants have never violated immigration or tax laws or attended a Playboy bunny tryout.

JUNE 7, 1993—While touring the National Institutes of Health, Hillary Rodham Clinton asks AIDS researchers if they have considered using electromagnetism to "reverse the polarity on T-cell receptors." The researchers say they haven't thought of that but it very well might work.

AUG. 12, 1993—President Clinton introduces his new nominee for attorney general, a high-powered New York City lawyer named Zelda Rowhouse. "She checks out," Clinton says. "Everything's straight with her. No nanny business. No tax problems. She'll make a great attorney general." The announcement is marred when, during hostile questioning by the White House press corps, Rowhouse's head spins 360 degrees on its axis and she begins speaking in an unintelligible tongue that sounds suspiciously like reversed English.

AUG. 13, 1993—The White House says that after further check-



Hillary Rodham, Nov. 5, 1996: Just call her Ms. President.

consideration because she is not "fully human."

DEC. 23, 1993—In Jerusalem, Hillary Rodham Clinton persuades Arabs and Israelis to sign a historic agreement ending all hostilities in the Middle East. Polls show that most Americans think she should drop the name "Clinton."

JAN. 1, 1994—Stephanopoulos tells reporters that the next attorney general might not necessarily be a Democrat.

JAN. 8, 1994—Ed Meese turns down an offer to be attorney general.

JUNE 30, 1994—Stephanopoulos tells reporters that the next attorney general might not necessarily be a lawyer.

JULY 21, 1994—At the baseball All-Star Game, Hillary Rodham Clinton throws out the first pitch, and later homers into the third deck off Roger Clemens.

OCT. 15, 1994—With a sigh of relief, President Clinton introduces his attorney general nominee, a Salt Lake City woman named Nancy Smith. "She's never done anything wrong in her entire life," Clinton says. "She's never used an illegal babysitter, never gotten a traffic ticket, never said anything controversial. We even checked her car—the taillights work, the brakes are fine, there's plenty of tread on the tires." Smith takes the podium and says her goal as attorney general will be "to put bad people in jail."

OCT. 16, 1994—The White House announces that Smith has been dropped from consideration because X-rays show she does not have a cerebrum.

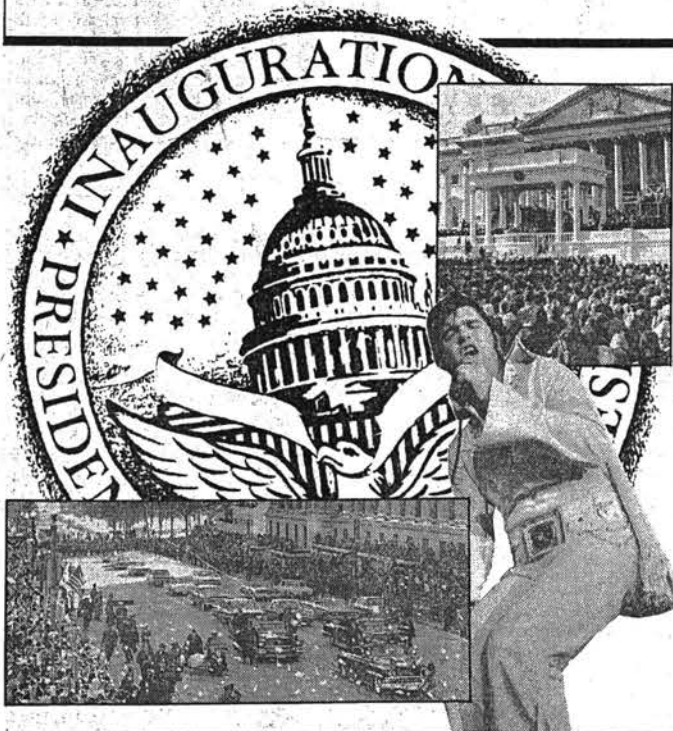
NOV. 5, 1996—Hillary Rodham defeats Jack Kemp in a landslide to become the 43rd president of the United States. Bill Clinton announces that as First Husband his major priority will be to redecorate the

11/5/1996

The Washington Post

Book World: Jonathan Yardley on
John Mortimer's latest, 'Dunster' 2Reliable Source: Bush and
friends, in a sentimental mood 3

Style

3 Doors, Van Morrison among
rock's new Hall of Famers7 Recordings: Seeing little
in Leonard Cohen's 'Future'

E Pluribus Inauguration: A Great Crash of Symbols

By Henry Allen
Washington Post Staff Writer

The God of Ramshacklery must be honored.

Honored by the new president, the old president, the wives, the chief justice and so on, filing into place for the swearing-in at the West Front of the Capitol, all of them looking bundled up and a little windblown even when they aren't.

Honored by a swearing-in that has the barely restrained delight of a private but kindly joke, a scene that provokes the same half-smiles you see at weddings and graduations.

Honored by the crowd rambling down Capitol Hill with a school's-out anarchy—it lines Pennsylvania Avenue to watch a halting procession of twirlers, the Budweiser Clydes-

dales, Nez Perce Indians, along with all the high school marching bands whose hats look too big, and whose clarinet players look as if they're trying to memorize something underwater.

It all has a benevolently ungoverned feeling, that accidental feeling that radiates from American ceremony and makes everybody a little tense about whether it's going to be done right. This feeling is a symbol of democracy in itself, maybe the most important symbol at an inauguration. It tells you nobody is any better than anybody else, and don't worry, folks, our government is too haphazard to become a tyranny.

On Inauguration Day everything is symbolic, even the ramshackle.

Everything is symbolic because there is

Pure Power radiating through the Temple Precinct of Democracy, and everyone and everything here acquires it, like static electricity from a cat.

Once everything gets charged with power, it all has meaning, rather like the frown on your father's forehead when you were little. It has mana, which is a Polynesian term meaning the glow, the vibe, the charisma, the luck, the charm, the mojo or the juju of something. In more primitive societies, the mana of a ruler is dangerous. Merely looking on the king can be fatal.

But in more egalitarian societies, mana is beneficial, life-giving, job-getting, prestige-having. Looking on the president gives you

See SYMBOLS, D6, Col. 1

The Retooling Of the Political Wife

Her Final Test:





The God of Ramshackley must be honored. Honored by the new president, the old president, the wives, the chief justice and so on, filling into place for the swearing-in at the West Front of the Capitol, all of them looking bundled up and a little windblown even when they aren't.

Honored by a swearing-in that has the barely restrained delight of a private but kindly joke, a scene that provokes the same half-smiles you see at weddings and graduations.

Honored by the crowd rambling down Capitol Hill with a school's-out anarchy—it lines Pennsylvania Avenue to watch a halting procession of twirlers, the Budweiser Clydes-

too big, and whose clarinet players look as if they're trying to memorize something underwater.

It all has a benevolently ungoverned feeling, that accidental feeling that radiates from American ceremony and makes everybody a little tense about whether it's going to be done right. This feeling is a symbol of democracy in itself, maybe the most important symbol at an inauguration. It tells you nobody is any better than anybody else, and don't worry, folks, our government is too haphazard to become a tyranny.

On Inauguration Day everything is symbolic, even the ramshackle.

Everything is symbolic because there is

everything here acquires it, from a cat.

Once everything gets it all has meaning, rather your father's forehead which has mana, which is Poly the glow, the vibing charm, the mojos of the more primitive societies, dangerous. Merely looking fatal.

But in more egalitarian beneficial, life-giving, joy having. Looking at the See SYMBOLS,

The Retooling Of the Political Wife

Her Final Test: How to Handle Scandal

Last of three parts

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

And so . . . after all her public do-gooding, all the Girl Scout badges and DAR awards, all her years of serious study and perfect grades, all her poise and wisdom, all her work at Rose Law Firm, all the thousands of miles, thousands of smiles, campaign appearance after campaign appearance . . . Hillary's future came down to this: sitting in a hotel room in front of a couple TV cameras, talking about things she'd never told her best friends, ever mentioned to her family. It came down to Gennifer Flowers and going on "60 Minutes," Super Bowl Sunday night, 1st Jan. 26.

Hillary was in the loop—not way out of town like Lee Hart,

THE EDUCATION OF HILLARY CLINTON

HER JOURNEY FROM GOLDWATER GIRL TO FIRST LADY

kept in darkness and from decisions. What happened to Gary Hart wouldn't happen again. And whatever happened in the Rodham-Clinton marriage—whatever pain, infidelity—they'd talked about it, worked it out, stayed together, and now it was their business. Bill Clinton's character had never been an issue for her. Why should the American people worry?

While reporters were digging around Little Rock, the Clintons had worked on strategies for keeping newstrash from blowing up in their faces. They had called several women named in various rumors. When James Carville, the campaign strategist, told Hillary in early January that a scandal was about to break in a tabloid, her first question to him was calmly delivered: "Is the mainstream press asking about it?"

She thought they should fight back, publicly, as soon as possible. And so, Gennifer Flowers and "60 Minutes."

Hillary was worried she would cry on TV. Carville had cried



just thinking about them on "60 Minutes," and then cried again while he watched it being taped, question after question. Hillary sat there in a turquoise knit suit and matching turtleneck that appeared almost bulletproof. Her blond hair fell below her shoulders, pulled back by a black velvet headband. She stared at Bill intently, her left arm around him for a while, and nodded as he spoke. Reporter Steve Kroft asked Bill whether he was denying having an affair, and Bill said he did "acknowledge causing pain," and that "anybody who's listening will get the drift of" what he was saying.

No details—that would open up another whole can of worms. It was what they'd both decided. It was the strategy. When Bill would go on too long, start veering into specifics, Hillary would cut him off.

"When this woman first got caught up in these charges," she said, "I felt—as I felt about all of these women—that, you know, See CLINTON, D2, Col. 1



Into the Company of Giants

Jay Gillespie's Last Jam: All-Star Farewell

By Paula Span
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Jan. 12—With a joyful noise, or so of his close friends, grateful disciples and ecstatic fans bade Godspeed to Dizzy Gillespie today.

As "a celebration," the jazz master's medley began with Wynton Marsalis leading a procession beneath the Gothic arches of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, playing a New Orleans-style funeral march that swung mournfully. And a half hour later, when the service posed to be winding down, the music was surging forth, with trumpeter Jon Faddis leading Gillespie's "Swing Low, Sweet Cadillac," which an El Dorado is "comin' for to carry me

Between, a parade of jazz all-stars took the time to remember the be-bop pioneer, innovator and composer, international jazz



Jazz musician Wynton Marsalis plays a tribute to

Rudolf Nureyev's Choreographed, Poetic Exit

By Sharon Waxman
Special to The Washington Post

PARIS, Jan. 12—As electric candelabra sent shadows flickering through the hushed rococo entrance to the Paris Opera, and the strains of a Bach fugue echoed up past four balconies of admirers, it seemed certain that Rudolf Nureyev was about to appear on the landing, sculpted legs taut, chin thrust arrogantly—familiarily—upward. It seemed impossible that he would miss this opportunity to greet a sea of adoring faces.

But his funeral, an event the dancer choreographed to the last detail, still captured the drama and intensity, the presence and emotion that were his in life. It was his final performance.

In the 35-minute ceremony today, friends read excerpts in five languages from Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin," Goethe's "Faust," Michelangelo's "Rime," Rimbaud's "Genie" and Byron's "Manfred," in which the poet proclaims: "There is a power upon me which withholds/ and makes

Charles and Diana: Full-Press Court

Media Watchdog Says Royals Le

By Eugene Robinson
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, Jan. 12—A government attempt to clamp down on the rambunctious British press has turned into a new royal scandal with allegations that Princess Diana and Prince Charles orchestrated media campaigns to tell differing versions of their marital troubles.

What began as a move to shield the private lives of public figures, including the royals, has become yet another embarrassment. Combative newspaper editors are crowing, and Prime Minister John Major, never fully committed to new press curbs, seemed today to be on the retreat.

when the Guardian published a tabloid Britain's press saying a tabloid in 1991 that the excess of Wales national newspaper accounts of the royal marriage. "It is very hard to get complaints from the public has been they were released themselves. Oliver McGreivis complaints Commission radio interview. McGregor government a the surfacing

Washington Post 1/13/1993

had just been minding their own business. And they got hit by a meteor. We hed out to them; I met with two of us to reassure them. They were ds of ours. I felt terrible about t was happening to them."

er voice was folksy and Southern she was dropping her g's. She'd i living in Arkansas for 14 years, has always been "very sensitive to surroundings," as one friend put it. "I'm not sittin' here, some little an, standin' by my man like Tam-Nynette," she said. "I'm sittin' here use I love him, and I honor what been through and what we've through together, and, you know, at's not enough for people, then, don't vote for him."

fterward, friends started calling, ly too, just to say, *Doing okay?* lity was her most obvious characrait: She had friends dating back to ene Field grammar school, had in touch with older mentors for des, had even taken her parents two younger brothers on her honoon. During the campaign, she was afloat—surrounded and supportn probably nearly smothered—by es of close friends. "She doesn't shadow people," says Dorothy ham, her mother. "She isn't the us type. She and Bill should be in Guinness Book of World Records mount of friends."

san Thomases—one of Hillary's s—became Bill Clinton's schedulBrooke Shearer, a friend of Hillafor 20 years, spent nine months of 2. on the road, traveling with her. e of Park Ridge, Ill., working on campaign, friends from Wellesley, ds from Yale; friends from a lifein politics had moved to Little k, sharing little efficiency apartss, bunking with college students, g at Doe's, shopping at Connie's boutique and wondering how ry was doing.

was like a war was going on—and ybody who'd known the Clintons enlisting. "Oh, we're bunker peo—that's all," says TV producer Linda dworth-Thomason, who, with husHarry, made the Clinton documenary "The Man From Hope," and sed the couple on their "60 Min" appearance. "The four of us are l in a foxhole together—we know dy's going to wave the white flag at the food while everybody else is n."

ut intimacy was another story. Hilis not one for gabbing about perl problems. It's easier for her to about children's issues, politics, s. "Fine, I'm fine. I'm okay" is t all her close friends would get on emotional health. She has a ree... a wall.

he keeps her own counsel," says ge roommate Jan Piercy. "It's al as though she knew this day l come. For the last decade, I t think she's said anything to any r friends that they couldn't have a reporter."

eleven years before, it was Hillary am, not Bill Clinton, who bounced after his big defeat—when he d get reelected as governor of ns after one term. At a backbarbecue to say goodbye to staff thank supporters, both of them ed around teary, but only Hillary able to pull herself out of it. She e: The Thank-You Speech.

people had known she was smart all that—organized, great in a ting. But it wasn't until 1980 that saw what she was like in the ch: didn't take things personally, nilated criticism, moved on slightly ged. It was obvious that her image strident Yankee liberal had hurt husband's campaign. And she was y to compromise something she care much about—like the way looked, her last name, an issue and there—to get herself closer he Goal, whatever it was.

ight after the election, she teleed a local columnist who'd been cularly negative about the Clin—and opened up a dialogue. She ed attending Bill's Southern Baptchurch, Immanuel. She began usClinton's last name. And in 1981, couple began traveling around the s, supermarket to supermarket, bly admitting mistakes—the mes-

modern marriage of their young goveror and his wife: the separate IRS returns, the separate churches, sometimes separate vacations. When Hillary got pregnant with Chelsea in 1979, they made fun of Bill for going to Lamaze classes. Why, the two didn't even agree entirely on politics!

There was another weird thing—another issue. *Hillary didn't look the way people wanted her to look.* She still didn't wear makeup. Still had the long hair and glasses and somewhat unstylish clothes that she'd worn as a lawyer in Washington working on the Watergate impeachment inquiry, and that she'd had as a professor in Fayetteville. Aside from getting a perm—not a particularly successful one—she hadn't noticed much about her appearance. Her looks came and went, like long seasons. It had been that way since high school. She didn't judge anybody by their clothes, why should anybody judge her that way?

"People thought she was a hippie," says Bloodworth-Thomason. "I remember lots of brown cords and brown shirts and long hair," says old friend Sara Ehrman. Webb Hubbell, a colleague at her law firm, once joked in a roast of Hillary that she had shown up the first day of work in "sweat shirt, jeans and hair."

Unable to get hard contact lenses to stay in her eyes—"I had been trying to wear contact lenses since I was 16," she has said—Hillary's glasses were still as thick as magnifying lenses.

So... sensible change, compromise, doing what it takes, being sensitive to her surroundings, not taking it personally: Hillary Diane Rodham became Hillary Rodham Clinton and got soft contact lenses. She got her hair cut, had it styled for special occasions. A few years later, after winning back the governor's mansion and getting seats on some heavy-hitting corporate boards—La Farge, a French chemical company; Wal-Mart, Sam Walton's huge chain; and TCBY, the yogurt chain that is based in Little Rock—Hillary gave it more thought: She lost 15 pounds, got some blond, got some '80s corporate woman lawyer garb, and got a little of that Erno Laszlo makeup they sell out at Barbara Jean's boutique too.

Jeannie Snodgrass Almo, Hillary's old high school classmate, remembers running into her in Washington about this time, 1985 or 1986. "I'll never forget how she emerged from this Washington hotel, the Mayflower I think, in a very Talbots-looking outfit—plaid skirt and pearls. Her hair had been lightened. And there were all these people around her now, waiting to talk to her, waiting to meet her. A limousine came to pick her up..."

After these tiny adjustments, one by one, at least the criticism of Hillary Clinton in Little Rock—whatever criticism there was—became more substantive, on battlegrounds she was more comfortable with. The worst times were in 1983, when she was chairing the state Education Standards Committee.

Her appointment made sense to everybody at first. Hillary had focused her energies on children and education issues since 1970, had been obsessed with public school systems since growing up in Park Ridge. In Arkansas she held hearings in all 75 counties, traveled constantly, spoke everywhere. She impressed people wherever she went... until decisions had to be made. When she called for dramatic education reforms, including teacher testing, the schoolmarm of Arkansas prepared for battle—organizing, demonstrating, and, on several occasions, hissing at Hillary during her personal appearances. Her strongest allies since kindergarten—and now this. What does a former teacher's pet do when the teachers don't like her anymore?

"I get this all over the state," Hillary told her friend Diane Blair when the hissing started at one visit. "It's heart-breaking, but someday they'll understand. I don't know if we'll be around for that day."

Friends and colleagues say she might have stayed at Rose Law Firm for the money. There's a feeling that while she might enjoy litigating, her heart was in policy, children's rights, education reform—ever since working for Marian Wright Edelman as a summer intern in 1970. She loved advocacy, fixing things, politicking. *She loved meetings.*

Friends and colleagues say she might have stayed at Rose Law Firm for the money. There's a feeling that while she might enjoy litigating, her heart was in policy, children's rights, education reform—ever since working for Marian Wright Edelman as a summer intern in 1970. She loved advocacy, fixing things, politicking. *She loved meetings.*



Hillary Clinton in 1980, before the subtle changes in her image that seemed to matter so much—to others.

But somebody had to pay the bills. Her husband's salary in 1978, as governor, was \$23,000. Later it climbed to the astronomical \$35,000. At the law firm, Hillary would eventually make an estimated \$160,000 annually, with another \$60,000 from corporate boards.

By all accounts she has taken her work at Rose very seriously—developing the firm's intellectual property and patent infringement practices, both dry, commercial subjects. But her caseload has always been light: Though the National Law Journal named her one of the country's "100 Most Influential Lawyers," American Lawyer noted that she has tried only five cases in her career at the firm, and only one case in the last decade.

She took a brief leave from the firm when she had her baby. They had been trying to have a child for a while. "I recall how very much Hillary wanted to have children," says Blair. And in the summer of 1979, after a trip to London—yes, they had some nice memories of a street in Chelsea—Hillary became pregnant.

Chelsea was born on Feb. 27, 1980, by C-section, and afterward the Arkansas Gazette reported that the governor had "walked all over... holding the baby in his arms." Blair flew down from Fayetteville that night, and confirms: "I've never seen such enthralled parents."

The Clintons, over the years, became famous for their devotion to their daughter, and wild enthusiasm for her many, many activities—shouting at the softball games, attending every ballet recital, school play, soccer match. In 1986 Hillary told the Arkansas Gazette that her "social life is almost nonexistent."

Hugh and Tony Rodham, her brothers, remember nights when Bill would fall asleep in Chelsea's room while reading to her. "Great sight," says Hugh, "this big guy in this little bed, his feet stretched way over the end. Hillary wouldn't have the heart to wake him up and sometimes he'd stay there all night."

Friends recount stories of great warmth and closeness, not just between parents and their only child—Hillary had wished for more—but great affection between Bill and Hillary. In countless interviews, close friends describe the couple as being "still incredibly in love," "partners in everything" and each other's biggest supporter. A friend recounts playing Trivial Pursuit with Bill and Hillary on opposing sides—and watching Bill stand up and cheer, "Yes! Yes! Yes!" when Hillary answered a hard question, not realizing his own team had just lost.

"I never thought they were the perfect couple," says Sara Ehrman, "but it was obvious they were inextricably linked."

"We were never going to go apart," Hillary told Time magazine last February. "We just had to deal with issues in our marriage and work them out.... You've got to be willing to stay committed to someone over the long run,

stand yourself and your spouse—it can be the most wonderful experience you'll ever have."

It shouldn't have mattered—it was silly for it to matter—but it did.

The Headbands—velvets, tortoiseshells and red ones—why did the world come to focus so intensely on the tiptop of Hillary Clinton's head? True, they were disconcerting. It was as though she had stolen the Talbots tiara from Barbara Bush, Queen of the Preppies. *She almost looked like a Republican for godakes.* The headbands—why?—came to mean so much, to voters, to the media. Just another reminder that, no matter what feminists say, the way you look—if you're a woman—is still an overriding factor?

But it was even more. Some people didn't know what to make of Hillary Clinton. She confused them. She wasn't just a mother or a wife or a lawyer. She made people uneasy, nervous. Her hair was sending some message, but the message was unclear. People had feelings about strong women and wronged wives. And the headbands, well, suddenly they became a cathexis, imbued with powerful, deep, troublesome meaning. Her hair! Her hair was all wrong!

"And to tell you the truth," says one of her closest advisers, "Hillary is kind of incompetent in that department."

By late spring, Clinton strategists Stan Greenberg, James Carville and Frank Greer determined that both Clintons' high negatives in polls were caused by the emotional times earlier in the campaign. Hillary was called "The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock" and "Yuppie Wife From Hell." She'd survived mean comments from Richard Nixon ("If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp") and Roger Ailes ("Hillary Clinton in an apron is like Michael Dukakis in a tank"). She'd survived the tabloid headlines ("The Bill Clinton Love Tapes" and "Jennifer & Bill Romped in Our Apartment").

Then there was the cookie baking sound bite... *I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas...* She became a nightmare, a soulless Valkyrie, probably had a few male scalps in a drawer somewhere at home. She couldn't even cook!

"Hillary maxed out on the campaign," says sister-in-law Maria Victoria Arias. "She used all her God-given talents and she was slammed for them."

Suggestions were made... more appearances with Chelsea—polls showed people didn't even know the Clintons had a child—more campaign events where Hillary's great sense of humor could come into play, where she could do her mimicry and maybe the belly laugh. This was a woman with a thousand friends! This is a woman who said she wasn't standing by her man—but of course she was!

She stopped saying "two-fer-one" and "vote for him, you get me"—but

who had—only in L.A.—become a hairdresser. "Believe me," says Bloodworth-Thomason, "Hillary and I have never once discussed hair. I am not the Minister of Hair or anything. I just called up Cristophe and Cliff Chally—who does the clothes on my show—and said, 'Go help Hillary.'"

The pit crew was born. Nothing big. Nothing radical. But small changes seemed to make all the difference. Just the kind of changes Hillary's happy to make—what it takes, make it work. The idea was to be neat and tidy and appropriate—and have her looks stop being an issue in the campaign. Have her image stop being an issue.

She wanted people to listen to her, listen to her husband, and quit thinking they knew who she was. Her hair was cut shorter and bangs were cut, to avoid having to use the dreaded headband. Later, she and Shearer picked out some toned-down clothes on a trip to New Jersey—more subdued colors, smaller earrings. Hillary has strong features, a strong personality—friends nodded to each other. She needed less going on.

"I want people to know me and all the dimensions of my life," she told Judy Woodruff on "MacNeil/Lehrer" during the Democratic convention. Coming from a small state, where she and Bill were treated like beloved public property, "I probably made too many assumptions about what people would know," she said.

In the end, "they may still decide that, you know, they don't like me because I wear headbands on occasion, or whatever the reason might be," she said, "but at least I want them to know that I think my experience as a woman growing to age in the last two decades is very much like the experience of most of the women I know... I hope that will come across."

And wow, how weird... it worked! By July, when she got to the Democratic convention, and passed out all those cookies, saying she'd baked them herself—laughing, laughing, laughing at herself—and met with all those publishers and editors and reporters at off-the-record lunches and teas, *they listened to her.* And wasn't she smart! Wasn't she funny! Wasn't she nice!

And in the end, she won. In late October, with her husband sitting on a lead and her own role submerged from public view, she allowed herself a moment of great confidence... a playful aggressive gesture. She went on "Regis & Kathie Lee" and brought along one of her dead hairbands. "I don't need this anymore," she told them, "and thought you might want it for Halloween."

A big group from Maine South High

WASHINGTON CAPITAL

RV EX



First Time Buyers Seminars

Join RV Times Magazine Editor Alice Supple for a seminar on the ins and outs of buying, owning and using your first RV. Everyone attending will receive a free RV Times Magazine and a Camping-Vacation Planner.

Friday: 4 pm, 6 pm
Saturday: noon, 2 pm, 4 pm, 6 pm
Sunday: Noon, 2 pm, 4 pm

FREE WHEELERS CAMPING GUIDE TO THE 25 PEOPLE WHO ENTER THE SHOW EACH

• 21
• 200
• Par
• Acc
• Car
• Plu

DC A
(Be
Janu

Fri.
Sat.
Sun.

Adults: \$
5 &
Cele
Family
Kids
All Day

\$1 OF

Washington Post
1/13/99

y had just been minding their own business. And they got hit by a meteor. It was no fault of their own. We checked out to them; I met with two of them to reassure them. They were nervous of ours. I felt terrible about it was happening to them."

Her voice was folksy and Southern. She was dropping her g's. She'd been living in Arkansas for 14 years, has always been "very sensitive to surroundings," as one friend put it. "I'm not sittin' here, some little nan, standin' by my man like Tammy Wynette," she said. "I'm sittin' here 'cause I love him, and I honor what he's been through and what we've been through together, and, you know, that's not enough for people, then, I don't vote for him."

Afterward, friends started calling, "I'm too, just to say, *Doing okay?*" Alty was her most obvious characteristic: She had friends dating back to elementary school, had been in touch with older mentors for decades, had even taken her parents to two younger brothers on her honeymoon. During the campaign, she was "afloat—surrounded and supported—probably nearly smothered—by a lot of close friends." "She doesn't 'shadow people,'" says Dorothy Ham, her mother. "She isn't the us type. She and Bill should be in Guinness Book of World Records for amount of friends."

Bill Clinton's one of Hillary's best—became Bill Clinton's scheduler—brooke Shearer, a friend of Hillary for 20 years, spent nine months of the campaign, traveling with her. "I was friends from her home in Park Ridge, Ill., working on the campaign, friends from Wellesley, Mass., from Yale; friends from a life in politics had moved to Little Rock, sharing little efficiency apartments, bunking with college students, going at Doe's, shopping at Connie's boutique and wondering how it was doing."

It was like a war was going on—and everybody who'd known the Clintons was enlisting. "Oh, we're bunker buddies," says TV producer Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, who, with husband Harry, made the Clinton documentary "The Man From Hope," and led the couple on their "60 Minutes" appearance. "The four of us are in a foxhole together—we know they're going to wave the white flag; the food while everybody else is starving."

Intimacy was another story. Hillary was not one for gabbing about her problems. It's easier for her to talk about children's issues, politics. "Fine, I'm fine. I'm okay" is all her close friends would get on emotional health. She has a reputation for a wall.

She keeps her own counsel," says her roommate Jan Piercy. "It's always as though she knew this day was coming. For the last decade, I think she's said anything to any friends that they couldn't have reported."

Eleven years before, it was Hillary, not Bill Clinton, who bounced after his big defeat—when he got reelected as governor of Arkansas after one term. At a back-alley barbecue to say goodbye to staff and supporters, both of them were around teary, but only Hillary was able to pull herself out of it. She said, "Thank-You Speech."

She had known she was smart—that—organized, great in a g. But it wasn't until 1980 that she saw what she was like in the public: didn't take things personally, hated criticism, moved on slightly. It was obvious that her image as a confident Yankee liberal had hurt her husband's campaign. And she was to compromise something she was sure about—like the way she'd, her last name, an issue she'd there—to get herself closer to the goal, whatever it was.

After the election, she telephoned a local columnist who'd been fairly negative about the Clintons and opened up a dialogue. She attended Bill's Southern Baptist church, Immanuel. She began using her last name. And in 1981, she began traveling around the supermarket to supermarket, admitting mistakes—the mess that came from the business was that

modern marriage of their young governor and his wife: the separate IRS returns, the separate churches, sometimes separate vacations. When Hillary got pregnant with Chelsea in 1979, they made fun of Bill for going to Lamaze classes. Why, the two didn't even agree entirely on politics!

There was another weird thing—another issue. *Hillary didn't look the way people wanted her to look.* She still didn't wear makeup. Still had the long hair and glasses and somewhat unstylish clothes that she'd worn as a lawyer in Washington working on the Watergate impeachment inquiry, and that she'd had as a professor in Fayetteville. Aside from getting a perm—not a particularly successful one—she hadn't noticed much about her appearance. Her looks came and went, like long seasons. It had been that way since high school. She didn't judge anybody by their clothes, why should anybody judge her that way?

"People thought she was a hippie," says Bloodworth-Thomason. "I remember lots of brown cords and brown shirts and long hair," says old friend Sara Ehrman. Webb Hubbell, a colleague at her law firm, once joked in a roast of Hillary that she had shown up the first day of work in "sweat shirt, jeans and hair."

Unable to get hard contact lenses to stay in her eyes—"I had been trying to wear contact lenses since I was 16," she has said—Hillary's glasses were still as thick as magnifying lenses.

So . . . sensible change, compromise, doing what it takes, being sensitive to her surroundings, not taking it personally: Hillary Diane Rodham became Hillary Rodham Clinton and got soft contact lenses. She got her hair cut, had it styled for special occasions. A few years later, after winning back the governor's mansion and getting seats on some heavy-hitting corporate boards—La Farge, a French chemical company; Wal-Mart, Sam Walton's huge chain; and TCBY, the yogurt chain that is based in Little Rock—Hillary gave it more thought: She lost 15 pounds, got some blond, got some '80s corporate woman lawyer garb, and got a little of that Erno Laszlo makeup they sell out at Barbara Jean's boutique too.

Jeannie Snodgrass Almo, Hillary's old high school classmate, remembers running into her in Washington about this time, 1985 or 1986. "I'll never forget how she emerged from this Washington hotel, the Mayflower I think, in a very Talbots-looking outfit—plaid skirt and pearls. Her hair had been lightened. And there were all these people around her now, waiting to talk to her, waiting to meet her. A limousine came to pick her up. . . ."

After these tiny adjustments, one by one, at least the criticism of Hillary Clinton in Little Rock—whatever criticism there was—became more substantive, on battlegrounds she was more comfortable with. The worst times were in 1983, when she was chairing the state Education Standards Committee.

Her appointment made sense to everybody at first. Hillary had focused her energies on children and education issues since 1970, had been obsessed with public school systems since growing up in Park Ridge. In Arkansas she held hearings in all 75 counties, traveled constantly, spoke everywhere. She impressed people wherever she went . . . until decisions had to be made. When she called for dramatic education reforms, including teacher testing, the schoolmarm of Arkansas prepared for battle—organizing, demonstrating, and, on several occasions, hissing at Hillary during her personal appearances. Her strongest allies since kindergarten—and now this. What does a former teacher's pet do when the teachers don't like her anymore?

"I get this all over the state," Hillary told her friend Diane Blair when the hissing started at one visit. "It's heart-breaking, but someday they'll understand. I don't know if we'll be around for that day."

Friends and colleagues say she might have stayed at Rose Law Firm for the money. There's a feeling that while she might enjoy litigating, her heart was in policy, children's rights, education reform—ever since working for Marian Wright Edelman as a summer intern in 1970. She loved advocacy, fixing things, politicking. *She loved meetings.*



Hillary Clinton in 1980, before the subtle changes in her image that seemed to matter so much—to others.

But somebody had to pay the bills. Her husband's salary in 1978, as governor, was \$23,000. Later it climbed to the astronomical \$35,000. At the law firm, Hillary would eventually make an estimated \$160,000 annually, with another \$60,000 from corporate boards.

By all accounts she has taken her work at Rose very seriously—developing the firm's intellectual property and patent infringement practices, both dry, commercial subjects. But her caseload has always been light: Though the National Law Journal named her one of the country's "100 Most Influential Lawyers," American Lawyer noted that she has tried only five cases in her career at the firm, and only one case in the last decade.

She took a brief leave from the firm when she had her baby. They had been trying to have a child for a while. "I recall how very much Hillary wanted to have children," says Blair. And in the summer of 1979, after a trip to London—yes, they had some nice memories of a street in Chelsea—Hillary became pregnant.

Chelsea was born on Feb. 27, 1980, by C-section, and afterward the Arkansas Gazette reported that the governor had "walked all over . . . holding the baby in his arms." Blair flew down from Fayetteville that night, and confirms: "I've never seen such enthralled parents."

The Clintons, over the years, became famous for their devotion to their daughter, and wild enthusiasm for her many, many activities—shouting at the softball games, attending every ballet recital, school play, soccer match. In 1986 Hillary told the Arkansas Gazette that her "social life is almost nonexistent."

Hugh and Tony Rodham, her brothers, remember nights when Bill would fall asleep in Chelsea's room while reading to her. "Great sight," says Hugh, "this big guy in this little bed, his feet stretched way over the end. Hillary wouldn't have the heart to wake him up and sometimes he'd stay there all night."

Friends recount stories of great warmth and closeness, not just between parents and their only child—Hillary had wished for more—but great affection between Bill and Hillary. In countless interviews, close friends describe the couple as being "still incredibly in love," "partners in everything" and each other's biggest supporter. A friend recounts playing Trivial Pursuit with Bill and Hillary on opposing sides—and watching Bill stand up and cheer, "Yes! Yes! Yes!" when Hillary answered a hard question, not realizing his own team had just lost.

"I never thought they were the perfect couple," says Sara Ehrman, "but it was obvious they were inextricably linked."

"We were never going to go apart," Hillary told Time magazine last February. "We just had to deal with issues in our marriage and work them out. . . . You've got to be willing to stay committed to someone over the long run,

stand yourself and your spouse—it can be the most wonderful experience you'll ever have."

It shouldn't have mattered—it was silly for it to matter—but it did.

The Headbands—velvets, tortoiseshells and red ones—why did the world come to focus so intensely on the tiptop of Hillary Clinton's head? True, they were disconcerting. It was as though she had stolen the Talbots tiara from Barbara Bush, Queen of the Preppies. *She almost looked like a Republican for godsakes.* The headbands—why?—came to mean so much, to voters, to the media. Just another reminder that, no matter what feminists say, the way you look—if you're a woman—is still an overriding factor?

But it was even more. Some people didn't know what to make of Hillary Clinton. She confused them. She wasn't just a mother or a wife or a lawyer. She made people uneasy, nervous. Her hair was sending some message, but the message was unclear. People had feelings about strong women and wronged wives. And the headbands, well, suddenly they became a cathexis, imbued with powerful, deep, troublesome meaning. Her hair! Her hair was all wrong!

"And to tell you the truth," says one of her closest advisers, "Hillary is kind of incompetent in that department."

By late spring, Clinton strategists Stan Greenberg, James Carville and Frank Greer determined that both Clintons' high negatives in polls were caused by the emotional times earlier in the campaign. Hillary was called "The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock" and "Yuppie Wife From Hell." She'd survived mean comments from Richard Nixon ("If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp") and Roger Ailes ("Hillary Clinton in an apron is like Michael Dukakis in a tank"). She'd survived the tabloid headlines ("The Bill Clinton Love Tapes" and "Gennifer & Bill Romped in Our Apartment").

Then there was the cookie baking sound bite . . . *I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas . . .* She became a nightmare, a soulless Valkyrie, probably had a few male scalps in a drawer somewhere at home. She couldn't even cook!

"Hillary maxed out on the campaign," says sister-in-law Maria Victoria Arias. "She used all her God-given talents and she was slammed for them."

Suggestions were made . . . more appearances with Chelsea—polls showed people didn't even know the Clintons had a child—more campaign events where Hillary's great sense of humor could come into play, where she could do her mimicry and maybe the belly laugh. This was a woman with a thousand friends! This is a woman who said she wasn't standing by her man—but of course she was!

She stopped saying "two-fer-one" and "vote for him, you get me"—but

Cristophe, a Belgian hockey player who had—only in L.A.—become a hairdresser. "Believe me," says Bloodworth-Thomason, "Hillary and I have never once discussed hair. I am not the Minister of Hair or anything. I just called up Cristophe and Cliff Chally—who does the clothes on my show—and said, 'Go help Hillary.'"

The pit crew was born. Nothing big. Nothing radical. But small changes seemed to make all the difference. Just the kind of changes Hillary's happy to make—what it takes, make it work. The idea was to be neat and tidy and appropriate—and have her looks stop being an issue in the campaign. Have her image stop being an issue.

She wanted people to listen to her, listen to her husband, and quit thinking they knew who she was. Her hair was cut shorter and bangs were cut, to avoid having to use the dreaded headband. Later, she and Shearer picked out some toned-down clothes on a trip to New Jersey—more subdued colors, smaller earrings. Hillary has strong features, a strong personality—friends nodded to each other. She needed less going on.

"I want people to know me and all the dimensions of my life," she told Judy Woodruff on "MacNeil/Lehrer" during the Democratic convention. Coming from a small state, where she and Bill were treated like beloved public property, "I probably made too many assumptions about what people would know," she said.

In the end, "they may still decide that, you know, they don't like me because I wear headbands on occasion, or whatever the reason might be," she said, "but at least I want them to know that I think my experience as a woman growing to age in the last two decades is very much like the experience of most of the women I know . . . I hope that will come across."

And wow, how weird . . . it worked! By July, when she got to the Democratic convention, and passed out all those cookies, saying she'd baked them herself—laughing, laughing, laughing at herself—and met with all those publishers and editors and reporters at off-the-record lunches and teas, *they listened to her.* And wasn't she smart! Wasn't she funny! Wasn't she nice!

And in the end, she won. In late October, with her husband sitting on a lead and her own role submerged from public view, she allowed herself a moment of great confidence . . . a playfully aggressive gesture. She went on "Regis & Kathie Lee" and brought along one of her dead hairbands. "I don't need this anymore," she told them, "and thought you might want it for Halloween."

A big group from Maine South High

WASHINGTON CAMPING RV EXHIBIT



First Time Buyers Seminars

Join RV Times Magazine Editor Alice Supple for a seminar on the ins and outs of buying, owning and using your first RV. Everyone attending will receive a free RV Times Magazine and a Camping-Vacation Planner.

Friday: 4 pm, 6 pm
Saturday: noon, 2 pm, 4 pm, 6 pm
Sunday: Noon, 2 pm, 4 pm

FREE WHEELERS CAMPING GUIDE TO THE F

25 PEOPLE WHO ENTER THE SHOW EACH H

\$1 OFF

Clinton-Gore, a Belgian hockey player who had—only in L.A.—become a hairdresser. "Believe me," says Bloodworth-Thomason, "Hillary and I have never once discussed hair. I am not the Minister of Hair or anything. I just called up Cristophe and Cliff Chally—who does the clothes on my show—and said, 'Go help Hillary.'"

the Camelot I ebrated. A few were there—wise and no ham and Hu who told his she came he that her scho ry's younger ie came—she Hug played bookends. T the campaign was Maria V wife—smart ban on one Bill a from Cole, ca Maine South him on hon high school. mass euphoric

Skip Ruther Hillary for y Children's Ho incredible exp edicted presi about preside these people on Halloween

And there fruit of hundr enlightenmen she was a kid, ballet lessons lessons. In col At Yale, her sea lessons, hair lessons, lessons.

In the last bite lessons a vacy lessons. due to all the told Judy Woo am. I like the am very gra breaks I've ha I've had, beca life's about."

And there's Old Thoro dark electric b like scarf aron black stockin been both u groundbreaki Park Ridge, Washington, F On to Washin perfect yet wh new job—first appendege, F loaded with sy ing she could s

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

But she was

1/13/1993

agree entirely on politics!

There was another weird thing—another issue. *Hillary didn't look the way people wanted her to look.* She still didn't wear makeup. Still had the long hair and glasses and somewhat unstylish clothes that she'd worn as a lawyer in Washington working on the Watergate impeachment inquiry, and that she'd had as a professor in Fayetteville. Aside from getting a perm—not a particularly successful one—she hadn't noticed much about her appearance. Her looks came and went, like long seasons. It had been that way since high school. She didn't judge anybody by their clothes, why should anybody judge her that way?

"People thought she was a hippie," says Bloodworth-Thomason. "I remember lots of brown cords and brown shirts and long hair," says old friend Sara Ehrman. Webb Hubbell, a colleague at her law firm, once joked in a roast of Hillary that she had shown up the first day of work in "sweat shirt, jeans and hair."

Unable to get hard contact lenses to stay in her eyes—"I had been trying to wear contact lenses since I was 16," she has said—Hillary's glasses were still as thick as magnifying lenses.

So . . . sensible change, compromise, doing what it takes, being sensitive to her surroundings, not taking it personally: Hillary Diane Rodham became Hillary Rodham Clinton and got soft contact lenses. She got her hair cut, had it styled for special occasions. A few years later, after winning back the governor's mansion and getting seats on some heavy-hitting corporate boards—La Farge, a French chemical company; Wal-Mart, Sam Walton's huge chain; and TCBY, the yogurt chain that is based in Little Rock—Hillary gave it more thought: She lost 15 pounds, got some blond, got some '80s corporate woman lawyer garb, and got a little of that Erno Laszlo makeup they sell out at Barbara Jean's boutique too.

Jeannie Snodgrass Almo, Hillary's old high school classmate, remembers running into her in Washington about this time, 1985 or 1986. "I'll never forget how she emerged from this Washington hotel, the Mayflower I think, in a very Talbots-looking outfit—plaid skirt and pearls. Her hair had been lightened. And there were all these people around her now, waiting to talk to her, waiting to meet her. A limousine came to pick her up. . . ."

After these tiny adjustments, one by one, at least the criticism of Hillary Clinton in Little Rock—whatever criticism there was—became more substantive, on battlegrounds she was more comfortable with. The worst times were in 1983, when she was chairing the state Education Standards Committee.

Her appointment made sense to everybody at first. Hillary had focused her energies on children and education issues since 1970, had been obsessed with public school systems since growing up in Park Ridge. In Arkansas she held hearings in all 75 counties, traveled constantly, spoke everywhere. She impressed people wherever she went . . . until decisions had to be made. When she called for dramatic education reforms, including teacher testing, the schoolmarm of Arkansas prepared for battle—organizing, demonstrating, and on several occasions, hissing at Hillary during her personal appearances. Her strongest allies since kindergarten—and now this. What does a former teacher's pet do when the teachers don't like her anymore?

Get this all over the state," Hillary told her friend Diane Blair when the hearing started at one visit. "It's heart-breaking, but someday they'll understand. I don't know if we'll be around for that day."

Friends and colleagues say she might have stayed at Rose Law Firm for the money. There's a feeling that she might enjoy litigating, her heart was in policy, children's rights, education reform—ever since working for Marian Wright Edelman as a summer intern in 1970. She loved advocating things, politicking. *She loved meetings.*

She's made a lot of sacrifices for to be in public life," Bill Clinton told Arkansas Gazette in 1990, "but neither one of us has ever cared about getting rich."



Hillary Clinton in 1980, before the subtle changes in her image that seemed to matter so much—to others.

But somebody had to pay the bills. Her husband's salary in 1978, as governor, was \$23,000. Later it climbed to the astronomical \$35,000. At the law firm, Hillary would eventually make an estimated \$160,000 annually, with another \$60,000 from corporate boards.

By all accounts she has taken her work at Rose very seriously—developing the firm's intellectual property and patent infringement practices, both dry, commercial subjects. But her caseload has always been light: Though the National Law Journal named her one of the country's "100 Most Influential Lawyers," American Lawyer noted that she has tried only five cases in her career at the firm, and only one case in the last decade.

She took a brief leave from the firm when she had her baby. They had been trying to have a child for a while. "I recall how very much Hillary wanted to have children," says Blair. And in the summer of 1979, after a trip to London—yes, they had some nice memories of a street in Chelsea—Hillary became pregnant.

Chelsea was born on Feb. 27, 1980, by C-section, and afterward the Arkansas Gazette reported that the governor had "walked all over . . . holding the baby in his arms." Blair flew down from Fayetteville that night, and confirms: "I've never seen such enthralled parents."

The Clintons, over the years, became famous for their devotion to their daughter, and wild enthusiasm for her many, many activities—shouting at the softball games, attending every ballet recital, school play, soccer match. In 1986 Hillary told the Arkansas Gazette that her "social life is almost nonexistent."

Hugh and Tony Rodham, her brothers, remember nights when Bill would fall asleep in Chelsea's room while reading to her. "Great sight," says Hugh, "this big guy in this little bed, his feet stretched way over the end. Hillary wouldn't have the heart to wake him up and sometimes he'd stay there all night."

Friends recount stories of great warmth and closeness, not just between parents and their only child—Hillary had wished for more—but great affection between Bill and Hillary. In countless interviews, close friends describe the couple as being "still incredibly in love," "partners in everything" and each other's biggest supporter. A friend recounts playing Trivial Pursuit with Bill and Hillary on opposing sides—and watching Bill stand up and cheer, "Yes! Yes! Yes!" when Hillary answered a hard question, not realizing his own team had just lost.

"I never thought they were the perfect couple," says Sara Ehrman, "but it was obvious they were inextricably linked."

"We were never going to go apart," Hillary told Time magazine last February. "We just had to deal with issues in our marriage and work them out. . . . You've got to be willing to stay committed to someone over the long run, and sometimes it doesn't work out. But often, if you become real honest with yourself and honest with each other, and put aside all the personal hurt and disappointment—you have to under-

stand yourself and your spouse—it can be the most wonderful experience you'll ever have."

It shouldn't have mattered—it was silly for it to matter—but it did.

The Headbands—velvets, tortoiseshells and red ones—why did the world come to focus so intensely on the tiptop of Hillary Clinton's head? True, they were disconcerting. It was as though she had stolen the Talbots tiara from Barbara Bush, Queen of the Preppies. *She almost looked like a Republican for godsakes.* The headbands—why?—came to mean so much, to voters, to the media. Just another reminder that, no matter what feminists say, the way you look—if you're a woman—is still an overriding factor?

But it was even more. Some people didn't know what to make of Hillary Clinton. She confused them. She wasn't just a mother or a wife or a lawyer. She made people uneasy, nervous. Her hair was sending some message, but the message was unclear. People had feelings about strong women and wronged wives. And the headbands, well, suddenly they became a cathexis, imbued with powerful, deep, troublesome meaning. Her hair! Her hair was all wrong!

"And to tell you the truth," says one of her closest advisers, "Hillary is kind of incompetent in that department."

By late spring, Clinton strategists Stan Greenberg, James Carville and Frank Greer determined that both Clintons' high negatives in polls were caused by the emotional times earlier in the campaign. Hillary was called "The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock" and "Yuppie Wife From Hell." She'd survived mean comments from Richard Nixon ("If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp") and Roger Ailes ("Hillary Clinton in an apron is like Michael Dukakis in a tank"). She'd survived the tabloid headlines ("The Bill Clinton Love Tapes" and "Gennifer & Bill Romped in Our Apartment").

Then there was the cookie baking sound bite. . . . *I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas. . . .* She became a nightmare, a soulless Valkyrie, probably had a few male scalps in a drawer somewhere at home. She couldn't even cook!

"Hillary maxed out on the campaign," says sister-in-law Maria Victoria Arias. "She used all her God-given talents and she was slammed for them."

Suggestions were made . . . more appearances with Chelsea—polls showed people didn't even know the Clintons had a child—more campaign events where Hillary's great sense of humor could come into play, where she could do her mimicry and maybe the belly laugh. This was a woman with a thousand friends! This is a woman who said she wasn't standing by her man—but of course she was!

She stopped saying "two-fer-one" and "vote for him, you get me"—but still, one bad hair day was following the next. Soon she started making jokes about it with her campaign staff. "How 'bout it?" she'd say getting on the bus. "Another bad hair day?"

Nothing radical. But small changes seemed to make all the difference. Just the kind of changes Hillary's happy to make—what it takes, make it work. The idea was to be neat and tidy and appropriate—and have her looks stop being an issue in the campaign. Have her image stop being an issue.

She wanted people to listen to her, listen to her husband, and quit thinking they knew who she was. Her hair was cut shorter and bangs were cut, to avoid having to use the dreaded headband. Later, she and Shearer picked out some toned-down clothes on a trip to New Jersey—more subdued colors, smaller earrings. Hillary has strong features, a strong personality—friends nodded to each other. She needed less going on.

"I want people to know me and all the dimensions of my life," she told Judy Woodruff on "MacNeil/Lehrer" during the Democratic convention. Coming from a small state, where she and Bill were treated like beloved public property, "I probably made too many assumptions about what people would know," she said.

In the end, "they may still decide that, you know, they don't like me because I wear headbands on occasion, or whatever the reason might be," she said, "but at least I want them to know that I think my experience as a woman growing to age in the last two decades is very much like the experience of most of the women I know. . . . I hope that will come across."

And wow, how weird. . . it worked! By July, when she got to the Democratic convention, and passed out all those cookies, saying she'd baked them herself—laughing, laughing, laughing at herself—and met with all those publishers and editors and reporters at off-the-record lunches and teas, *they listened to her.* And wasn't she smart! Wasn't she funny! Wasn't she nice!

And in the end, she won. In late October, with her husband sitting on a lead and her own role submerged from public view, she allowed herself a moment of great confidence . . . a playfully aggressive gesture. She went on "Regis & Kathie Lee" and brought along one of her dead hairbands. "I don't need this anymore," she told them, "and thought you might want it for Halloween."

A big group from Maine South High

who told his only daughter every time she came home with perfect grades that her school must be too easy. Hillary's younger brothers Tony and Hughie came—short and tall, thin and, well, Hugh played semi-pro football. The bookends. *The Brothers Karamazov*, the campaign staff called them. There was Maria Victoria Arias, Hughie's wife—a smart, tough attorney, a Cuban version of Hillary. Mike Conway, one of Bill and Hillary's classmates from Yale, came, bumped into the old Maine South crowd, and they declared him "an honorary graduate of their high school." Says Conway: "It was mass euphoria."

Skip Rutherford, who'd served with Hillary for years on the Little Rock Children's Hospital board, says, "It's an incredible experience to see a friend elected president. I mean, you read about presidents in history books, but these people have come to my house on Halloween, in costume."

And there was Hillary Clinton—the fruit of hundreds of tiny adjustments, enlightenments, progression. When she was a kid, she'd had drama lessons, ballet lessons, debating lessons, piano lessons. In college, she got her politics. At Yale, her passion. She'd had Chelsea lessons, board meeting lessons, hair lessons, makeup lessons, clothes lessons.

In the last year, there were sound bite lessons and image lessons and privacy lessons. "The person I am today is due to all the influences in my life," she told Judy Woodruff. "And I like where I am. I like the kind of life I have, and I am very grateful for all the lucky breaks I've had and for the challenges I've had, because I think that's what life's about."

And there she was—in front of the Old State House, dancing a bit in a dark electric blue suit, the stewardess-like scarf around her neck, the thick black stockings—a woman who has been both utterly conventional and groundbreaking wherever she went. Park Ridge, Wellesley, New Haven, Washington, Fayetteville, Little Rock. On to Washington again. She seemed perfect yet wholly overqualified for her new job—first wife, first mother, first appendage, *First Lady*. . . positions so loaded with symbolic cargo it's amazing she could still be smiling.

But she was.

WASHINGTON CAMPING RV EXPO



- 21 RV Dealers
- 200 RVs
- Parts
- Accessories
- Campgrounds
- Plus Much More

DC ARMORY

(Beside RFK Stadium)

January 15-17

First Time

Buyers Seminars

Join RV Times Magazine Editor Alice Supple for a seminar on the ins and outs of buying, owning and using your first RV. Everyone attending will receive a free RV Times Magazine and a Camping-Vacation Planner.

Friday: 4 pm, 6 pm

Saturday: noon, 2 pm, 4 pm, 6 pm

Sunday: Noon, 2 pm, 4 pm

Fri. 2 pm - 9 pm
Sat. 10 am - 9 am
Sun. 11 am - 6 pm

Adults: \$5 • Kids 6-16: \$1
5 & under: FREE

Celebrate
Family Night!
Kids FREE
All Day Friday

Courtesy Of:
20
WDCA-TV

FREE WHEELERS CAMPING GUIDE TO THE FIRST
25 PEOPLE WHO ENTER THE SHOW EACH HOUR

\$12.⁹⁵
Value

\$1 OFF

Adult Admission With This Coupon

One Coupon Per Person. Not Good With Any Other Offer. Restrictions Not Announced.

WP 113

TV: Clinton, CBS president confident he'll get Letterman

4

Style Plus: Is pessimism bringing adolescents down?

5

Style

7

On the Dial: Howard Stern rules the waves in D.C.

7

Theater: Source's 'La Bete,' a nutty, touching treat

THE RISING LAWYER'S DETOUR TO ARKANSAS

At Wellesley, She Found Her Calling. At Yale, She Met Her Future.

Second of three parts

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

Park Ridge had been so isolated. It was white people and more white people—a big Frank Capra set, wide lawns, narrow minds, fading "Au-H₂O '64" bumper stickers on the Oldsmobiles and Cadillacs. Hillary Rodham would go home to Illinois to visit every summer after she left for college. She caught up with family, sat around with Betsy Johnson Ebeling, cooled off in the public pool—but she was starting to change so much at Wellesley. . . .

She didn't agree with her father's politics anymore, not about LBJ or Nixon, not about Vietnam. Every year she grew firmer, rethought something, became more resolved. And these were amazing years to be at college—Time magazine's "Man of the Year" in 1966 turned out to be an entire generation:

THE EDUCATION OF HILLARY CLINTON

HER JOURNEY FROM GOLDWATER GIRL TO FIRST LADY

"Twenty-five and Under." Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in April 1968, and Hillary marched with a black armband in Boston. That summer she took the train with Ebeling into Chicago, almost innocently, to see the demonstrations—that turned out to be riots—outside the Democratic National Convention. "We saw kids our age getting their heads beaten in. And the police were doing the beating," Ebeling says now. "Hillary and I just looked at each other. We had had a wonderful childhood in Park Ridge, but we obviously hadn't gotten the whole story."

Things started coming together, shifting into place. All those Girl Scout badges. All those DAR community service awards she'd won back in Park Ridge. All those things her youth minister, Don Jones, had been saying all along. In two years' time she would meet her next mentor, Marian Wright Edelman, the children's rights activist—the very same year she'd meet Bill Clinton—and the pieces would begin to fit. She wanted to serve, oddly enough. She had a calling. It was obvious to her, as it was

obvious to everyone who knew her at Wellesley and then Yale. *There's no way she was ever going to be, say, a corporate lawyer.*

What, as a teenager, appeared to be Hillary Rodham's compulsive do-gooding became something more powerful. And the farther away she got from Park Ridge, every year, every new experience, every new bit of information, the picture inside her head became sharper—about what piece of the world she'd help fix.

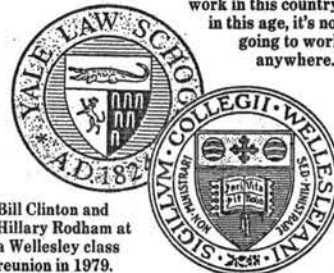
"Hillary was smart enough to realize that, eventually, she had to make a choice," says Jan Piercy, a roommate at college. "Lots of people became paralyzed trying to decide where to focus their

See CLINTON, B2, Col. 1



PHOTOS COURTESY WELLESLEY COLLEGE NEWS OFFICE

Commencement speaker Hillary Rodham at Wellesley in 1969: "If the experiment in human living doesn't work in this country, in this age, it's not going to work anywhere."



Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham at a Wellesley class reunion in 1979.

Washington Post
11/13/1993

The Ritz Crackerjack Inaugural Team

Hotel's Employees Prepare
For the Democrats' Big Week

By Roxanne Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

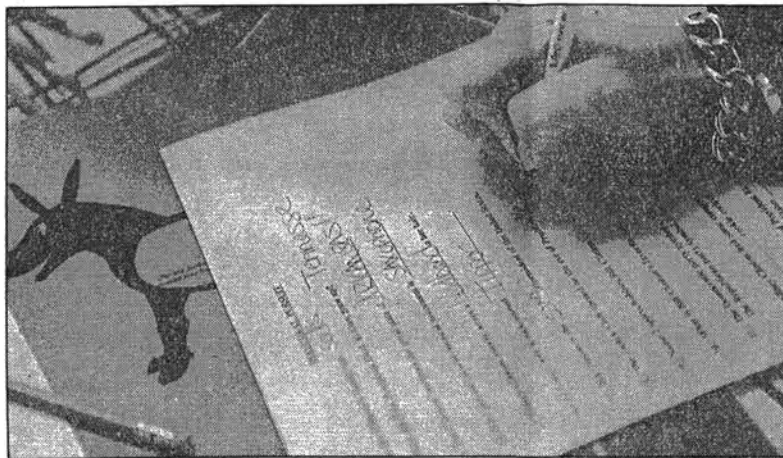
Another test—and America flunked. To wit: Yesterday the Ritz-Carlton on Massachusetts Avenue kicked off its "Inauguration Education," a week-long pep rally for the hotel's 200 employees. The initial idea was to coach the foreign-born staff, most from Central America and Southeast Asia, who are unschooled in the finer points of Washington's quadrennial homecoming celebration. Fact is, it was the natives who missed the boat.

Consider the "Inaugural Pursuit" quiz, popped outside the employees cafeteria (a.k.a. the Hard Work Cafe). The first question: "Name the Clintons' family cat." Easy, huh? The employees from other countries aced it. The rest?

"Isn't it, like . . . Footsie or something?" offered catering manager Kimberly Richter.

"It's Spot, right?" said renovation manager Dave Polonsky, who also thought the Clintons hailed from the great state of Alabama.

Or this, from Jeff Guillory in sales: "I didn't know until this morning he had a cat."



A Ritz-Carlton employee fills out an "Inaugural Pursuit" quiz on the Clintons and Gores.

Didn't know about Socks, the First Cat-elect? "A quite big sin," said Fird Kadir, assistant comptroller, from Indonesia. Only in Washington, perhaps, but the theory

behind all this is that an involved employee is an enthusiastic employee, and enthusiastic employees make rich Democrats happy. Inaugurations See RITZ, B3, Col. 4

Budding Statesmen And a Stupid Question

Spy Hoax Snookers Congressional Newcomers

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

You're a freshman congressman. You're doing a live radio interview by phone. A New York talk-show host tosses you a curve ball:

What should we be doing to stop the ethnic cleansing in Freedonia?

Normal person's response: *Freedonia?? Isn't that the fictional country in the Marx Brothers film "Duck Soup"? Who the heck is this, anyway? (It was, in fact, a hoax perpetrated by Spy magazine.)*

Congressional person's response: *Sound sage and measured at all times.*

Rep. Nick Smith (R-Mich.) stepped right up to the plate: "My impression, Henry, is that we've got to be very careful, that moving

through the United Nations effort has a great deal of merit right now."

Rep. James Talent (R-Mo.): "I think anything we can do to use the good offices of the U.S. government to assist stopping the killing over there, we should do."

Rep. Corrine Brown (D-Fla.): "I think all of those situations are very, very sad, and I just think we need to take action to assist the people."

"Yeah," said Rep. Steve Buyer (R-Ind.). "It's a different situation than the Middle East."

One new lawmaker, Rep. Jay Inslee (D-Wash.), offered a state-of-the-art, all-purpose response. "I have to be honest with you," he said. "I'm not familiar with that proposal, um, but it's coming to the point now that a blind eye to it for the next 10 years is not the answer."

See FRESHMEN, B6, Col. 1



PEROT WATCH

Since Citizen Perot suffered his inspiring defeat at the hands of all those wonderful American voters, the deficit has soared 233 percent, Congress has raised its salary and perks 415.3 percent, and, here's the part I just love, Japanese lobbyists have bought the Statue of Liberty and melted it down for scrap metal. All you have to do is read the newspapers. Now, Citizen Perot knows somebody out there is saying: He's no Will Rogers. Citizen Perot doesn't claim to be, but he does read the newspapers. And, until yesterday, he hasn't been in them.

Yesterday's findings:

The Citizen went on CNN to announce his new 800 number, ask for money (for United We Stand, which he's turning into some sort of government watchdog group), talk on and on like Fidel Castro addressing a May Day rally, and play a tape of his theme song: Patsy Cline's "Crazy."

Conclusion:

It's just that simple.

—Lloyd Grove

ART BUCHWALD

Bill Clinton's Squeeze Play

I am finding out things about President-elect Clinton very slowly. I attended the Renaissance Weekend gathering at Hilton Head, S.C., over the holidays. Once a year some of the finest minds in America gather on this East Coast island to solve the problems of the world, and define the future for all mankind.

Which brings me to President-elect Clinton. I had a chance to study him at close hand. I was as near to him on one occasion as you are to the newspaper you are now reading. Here's what I found out:

Our future president is a hugger. He hugs everybody—men, women, children, waiters, busboys, and even the golden arches at McDonald's.

Most people sidle up to him nervously, hoping to get nothing more than a handshake. Instead, Mr. Clinton sweeps the well-wisher up into his arms and squeezes the breath out of him until the other person cries "Uncle."

Anyone is entitled to a hug from Mr. Clinton, even if the person voted for Ross Perot.

One evening I was heading for the bar with Doug Marlette, the incorruptible cartoonist for Newsday,

when he disappeared. I turned to his wife and said, "Where's Doug?"

She replied, "He's being hugged by the president."

The worst thing in the world for a political cartoonist is to be co-opted by a president. Once he is engulfed in the president's arms, he is compromised for life. When Doug came back his face had turned white. I tried to get by him but he just grabbed me.

"I'm so ashamed," he said.

"You're full of it, Doug," I told him. "You liked it. Why don't you admit that you would rather be hugged by Clinton than win a Pulitzer Prize?"

"How come he didn't hug you?" Doug asked.

"Because I climbed out a back window and he didn't see me."

Jim Freedman, the president of Dartmouth College and a serious historian of note, said, "We're going to have a lot of hugging in this administration—even more than under Lyndon Johnson. Bill Clinton is the first president we've had since Andrew Jackson who could hug and jog at the same time."

I asked Mr. Freedman if he thought that hugging would be part of Clinton's foreign policy.

"There is no doubt that it will be one of his key foreign strategies. Once Mr. Clinton puts his arms around the Japanese prime minister and holds him tight, the prime minister will say, 'Well, it's better than what Bush did to me.'"

"Do you envision a hugging match between Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton?"

"Very easily. Historically, the Russians have been the greatest huggers in the world, but when Clinton and Yeltsin hug each other, put your money on the American."

Freedman felt that if there is any trouble over diplomatic hugging, it will be with France. Francois Mitterrand has said on many occasions, "France may hug others, but reserves the right to be hugged in return."

Finally I posed the question that everyone was dying to ask.

"Should Bill Clinton hug George Bush on Inauguration Day immediately after he is sworn in?"

Freedman replied, "Only if Bush laughs."

© 1993, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

Washington Post
1/13/1993

Read the Good Time

Beyond Park Ridge

CLINTON, From B1

energy. At Wellesley, certainly, she hadn't found that focus yet—she was involved in everything."

Growing up, she'd been a chronic teacher's pet, had run for class offices and had even organized her own neighborhood "Olympics" on her family's front lawn. Now she found herself at Wellesley—a political science major with her mind set on law school—and as a member of the student senate, with all the organizational skills required for a '60s college activist lifestyle: Rodham protested curfews, fought to lift the ban on men in the dormitories. She campaigned for greater minority student admission and for the extinction of mandatory classes.

A few years later at Yale Law School, she would find herself involved in more campaigns, more battles, protesting everything from the war to the lack of Tampax machines in the women's rooms. She had become a fighter. Scrappy—like all the Rodhams—but it was a Hillary-style rebellion: methodical, rational, fair. "I wouldn't say she was angry," says Piercy. "Intense anger is sometimes the result of frustration—from not being effective. And Hillary has always been effective."

You know how people talk about Army brats? Hillary Rodham was a government brat. She was at home wherever there were rules, a system she could figure out. "I was worried about her," says Dorothy Rodham, her mother, "but Hillary adjusted to Wellesley without a problem. She joined clubs and was active immediately." She dated—guys at Harvard and MIT mostly—but nobody serious enough to mention. She studied a great deal, and as remembered by Patsy Sampson, her child psychology professor who is now the president of Stephens College, as intense and very serious... the lowest grade I gave her was an A, the rest were A-pluses—but she wasn't to become a valedictorian.

But Hillary couldn't say no to a meeting: Get out the Robert's Rules of Order and she would come flying through the door. "She has a vitality that arises from her convictions," says Piercy. "She loves talking about ideas. She loves asking questions. Ask her about herself, and I think you'll find she shuts down. Oh, she may answer your question, but I don't think you'll see much energy behind it."

Years later, it became a joke between Hugh Rodham and his only daughter that sending her to Wellesley had been a "great miscalculation." She had left a Republican, a Goldwater Girl—even wore a sash!—but there she was, just four years later, standing on the podium in her somber cap and gown and glasses, the first student at Wellesley ever asked to give a commencement address. Dorothy stayed home with the boys, but Hugh Rodham, after driving up to Massachusetts alone in the Cadillac, sat and watched while Hillary began her speech by delicately chewing out the previous commencement speaker—Republican Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts—for being out of touch.

In keeping with the times, she was outspoken. In keeping with her personality, she was balanced, mature—rather thoughtful. Without notes, Hillary addressed her class of graduating seniors. The speech, on paper, nearly 24 years later, is still passionate and eloquent and wise and "full of uncompromising language," as she would say later. In places, it reads as though she'd been taking too many philosophy classes—there's something about an "authentic reality" and an "inauthentic reality"—but slipped in too, here and there, you can see how she had begun to integrate, to tie her Park Ridge upbringing and family values to her new ideology.

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

Sometime later, Life magazine came out with a story about her commence-

ment. It was 1969 after all, and women were either thick with makeup, or earthy and natural. A great deal of effort was made, or none.

Last year, she confessed at another Wellesley commencement how she came to celebrate her adulthood: After speaking and graduating, she went swimming in Lake Waban—in the middle of campus, at a place where swimming is forbidden. Stripping down to her bathing suit, she carefully left her clothes and "Coke-bottle glasses" on the shore, where, unfortunately, they were confiscated by a patrolling guard. "Blind as a bat," she said, "I had to feel my way back to my room at Davis."

That summer she explored further, taking off for Alaska, where she traveled around doing odd jobs. At one, a fish cannery, she told the owner that his fish looked a little black and weird and maybe not fit for consumption. He fired her.

Marian Wright Edelman was discouraging at first, when Hillary Rodham approached her after a lecture at Yale in the spring of 1970 saying she wanted to spend the summer working for the Children's Defense Fund. There wasn't any money to support a summer intern, even of Rodham's caliber.

A few weeks earlier, Rodham had read about Edelman in Time magazine—and then, "in one of those strange twists of fate that enters all our lives if we're open to hear and to see them," as Rodham would say later, she saw Edelman's name again, stuck on a bulletin board: She was coming to speak at Yale. Sitting in the audience listening, Rodham had a revelation. "I knew right away," she told a group at Spelman College last year, "that I had to go to work for her."

So, Rodham—the government brat, worker within the system—found herself a grant to work for Edelman in Washington, the summer of 1970, and began pursuing her great new love: the law and children.

Bill Clinton wouldn't turn up at Yale Law School until the fall after that internship. He was straight from Oxford, but all he talked about was Arkansas. Watermelons and lookout points and fried everything. She was seeing other people—but a close friend of Rodham's remembers her being interested in him right off.

The way the story goes—and it starts to sound like the Legend of Paul Bunyan after you hear it a few times—Rodham and Clinton were eyeballing each other for months, noticing and noticing, catching glimpses, overhearing each other's conversations. Yale Law School is a small aquarium full of big fish—only 500 to a class, compared with Harvard's 1,500, all eating and sleeping and thinking deep thoughts within 100 yards of one another.

Finally, Rodham just got up from her chair in the library, walked right for him and uttered a line worthy of Lauren Bacall:

"If you're going to keep looking at me and I'm going to keep looking back, we at least ought to know each other. I'm Hillary Rodham."

The next year they moved out of the dorm and began sharing a little rented house in New Haven. During the summer of 1972 or so—it might have been that Christmas, the Rodham family is at odds on the date—she took him home to Park Ridge, to meet everybody.

"I thought he was interesting," says Dorothy. "He was sincere and had traveled a lot. I remember asking him what he was going to do after Yale, and without blinking, he said: *I'm going back to Arkansas—to help the state.* I thought, gee, that's great for him. Least he knew what he wanted."

"I was cutting the grass," says Tony Rodham—18 years old when he first met Hillary's new boyfriend. "He climbed out of the car, came right over and started helping me cut the grass. We had a nice little chat, and, of course, I had something else I wanted to do—so Bill immediately volunteered to help finish the job with the grass. I think Dad came out of the house and put a stop to it."

She was scheduled to graduate a year before him, but Rodham chose to stay around New Haven instead, while Clinton finished law school. She took a fourth year to study child development



Graduation Day, 1969: John Quarles, chairman of Wellesley's board of trustees; Hillary Rodham; Wellesley President Ruth Adams; and Sen. Edward Brooke.

can, in some instances, demonstrate an ability to make more responsible decisions about their lives and future than the adults raising them.

It's always tricky—having the state mess around with the sanctity of the family unit—and usually controversial. While Rodham's piece is not about teenagers suing their parents for making them take out the trash, as some critics have characterized it, the article does say that children should have the same procedural rights in court—meaning the competence of the child to decide his own fate should be decided, case by case, by the courts. It also suggests reversing the presumption of the "identity of interests between parents and their children."

This was her baby—her field, the calling she had chosen. She wasn't thinking about being married to a man running for president, or what the National Review would write many, many years later. Rodham was 26, beginning to fashion for herself a career as a children's rights advocate, a legal pioneer.

In 1979, she wrote again—now the wife of the governor of Arkansas, now a partner in a Little Rock law firm with a corporate practice—and provided further explanation: "Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents. Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent."

Her bills for phone calls to Clinton were pretty huge that next winter and spring and summer. It was 1974. Rodham was living in Washington, D.C., and her life consisted of eating yogurt while standing up in the kitchen, working 18 hours a day for the House Judiciary Committee impeachment inquiry, and making late-night phone calls to Clinton, who was teaching at the University of Arkansas Law School in Fayetteville.

"I barely ever saw her," says Sara Ehrman, a Washingtonian who gave Rodham a bedroom and bathroom in her town house in Southwest—they had met a couple of years earlier, working on the McGovern campaign in Texas. "I just remember driving her at 7 a.m. to the Watergate committee offices in an old converted hotel. We used to laugh and laugh about the absurdity of the life she was leading."

Rodham had first come to Washington, after Yale, to work as a staff attorney at the Children's Defense Fund. But in January 1974 she got a call from John Doar, who was running the Democratic side of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment commission. It was an opportunity she couldn't pass up. So, from January until after Richard Nixon resigned in August, Rodham and more than 40 other lawyers worked together—Republicans and Democrats alike (William Weld, the current governor of Massachusetts included)—slaved in tiny offices, doing whatever high-stakes grunt work was necessary, researching things like the

his own tapes, and offering his own defenses to the things said by him, Halde-man, Ehrlichman. "It was surreal," she told the Arkansas Gazette in 1990. "You'd hear him say, *What I meant when I said that was...* Unbelievable, but it was a real positive experience because the system worked. Everything was done in a very professional, careful way."

As she rose in the legal ranks, Hillary Rodham found herself surrounded by more and more men. At Yale, at least 15 percent of her law school class had been women; at the impeachment inquiry, Rodham was one of just two.

"It's funny, but I don't think Hillary ever saw herself as some kind of trail-blazer," says Mike Conway, a Chicago lawyer who was with her in law school and then on the impeachment inquiry. "She never seemed to wear that on her sleeve. She clearly belonged at Yale—and belonged on the Watergate committee. She's never had a confrontational attitude about it. She led more by example."

At the summer's end she visited Clinton. He was teaching in Fayetteville, at the University of Arkansas Law School, and running for Congress against John Paul Hammerschmidt. Hillary's brothers, Hughie and Tony Rodham, even came to hang signs—"Clinton for Congress"—on trees and lampposts. Clinton was doing what he always said he'd do, wanted to do. But what was Rodham going to do? Get on the fast track, join a top-rank law firm such as Williams & Connolly? The D.C. firm had been talking to her, had wanted her.

Hillary also was offered a job teaching criminal law and trial advocacy at the University of Arkansas—not in the top rank. But there was a chance to start a legal aid program there. Why not? Why not see how it is down there? Clinton was crazy for her. She was crazy back. "I loved him," she has said many times, and: "I had to."

What kind of sacrifices are you supposed to make for love? "I wondered if Arkansas would be so great for Hillary," says Dorothy Rodham, "but you know? I've never told my children what to do. I had to rely on Hillary's judgment—there'd never been any reason not to."

What kind of sacrifices are you supposed to make for your career? "People heard that Hillary was moving to Arkansas," says Jan Piercy, "and couldn't believe it."

She took the long, long drive to Arkansas with Sara Ehrman, away from Washington, away from Wellesley and Yale and Park Ridge, with her 10-speed and book boxes packed in the back of Ehrman's Buick. "I told her every 20 minutes that she was crazy to bury herself in Fayetteville," says Ehrman. "You are crazy. You are out of your mind. You're going to this rural, remote place—and wind up married to some country lawyer."

She'd been in the middle of everything, on the edge of everything, Ehrman says. "She was on the fast track to becoming a great legal star."

Sensitively carefully Hillary Rodham

had grown up in D.C. and moved to Arkansas 12 years before. "There were simple small town/big town differences that she was getting used to. Everybody knew her, knew who she was. There weren't many professional women here then, and she was *The Lady Lawyer*."

"We knew that Hillary was coming down to sort of check things out," says business professor Ann Henry, whose husband, Morris Henry, was the state chairman of the Democratic Party at the time. "Since she was so special to Bill—and he wanted her to love it here—we did everything we could to make sure she realized she could have a wonderful, full life in Arkansas."

Integration: Your life is one solid whole. This is what Hillary Rodham was starting to figure out, what she believes still. You don't just work like a slave. You don't spend your life eating dinner in front of the refrigerator. You have friends, you have a family, you have work, and you have public service. It's something like a system. And when it breaks down, you fix it.

Betsy Ebeling came down from Chicago and was the maid of honor. Hughie Rodham turned up a little late—after taking his LSATs. Hillary wore a Jessica McClintock Victorian lace sort of dress that she'd gotten at the last minute, with Dorothy, over at Dillard's department store. There was a small ceremony in Clinton and Rodham's little house near campus, then a bigger reception at the Henrys'. The three-

GUIDE TO THE
TUESDAY, JANUARY 12
★ Accessible To Disabled Patrons
★ Sign Interpreted Performance

THEATRE
Werner Theatre
13th & E Sts. NW
Ain't Got Long To Stay Here
A Musical Dramatic Celebration Honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
*Passionate & Inspirational Barry Scott is Phenomenal as Dr. King!
—NBC
Opens Tonight 8pm - Sun.
ALL SEATS FOR TONIGHT & WED. MATINEE - \$10!
Charge By Phone 202-432-SEAT
Info: 202-659-1600
*Tickets for the ARENA STAGE

BLOOD KNOT
In the Kreger
"BRISTLING WITH URGENCY."
—Hep Gratin, Washington Times
Tonight at 7:30
Directed by Tazewell Thompson
In rotating repertory with Tomorrow at 7:30
THE AFRICAN COMPANY
Directed by Tazewell Thompson
HOTLINE: A limited number of 5 price tickets available 90 minutes before performance.
SCHEDULE: Sun, Tues, Wed 7:30; Thurs, Fri, Sat 8; Sat Mat 2:30; Selected Sun Mat 2.
TRUCKS: \$21 - \$37
TICKETS/INFO: 202-488-3300
GROUP SALES: 202-488-4350
TTY: 202-484-0247
6th St. & Maine Ave., SW

THE AFRICAN COMPANY
Beginning this Friday!
In the Fichandler
IT'S THE TRUTH (IF YOU THINK IT IS)
by Luigi Prandelli
Directed by Luigi Prandelli
Washington Shakespeare Co.
A Tragedy of Forbidden Love
EDWARD II
by Christopher Marlowe
At Church Street Theatre
Tues-Sat at 8; Sun at 7 - \$10-\$15
1742 Church St. N.W. • (703) 739-9886
FREE WILL & WANTON LUST
written & directed by Nicky Silver, author of FAT MEN IN SKIRTS
Pay-What-You-Can Previews
Tonight & Tomorrow at 8
Tickets go on sale 1 hr. prior to perf. at whatever price you choose!
1401 Church St. N.W.
Free guarded parking
Info: 202-393-3939
The Kennedy Center
Theater Lab Cabaret
Tonight at 8
A "WACKY AND FUN-FILLED FARCE."
—Washingtonian

THE AFRICAN COMPANY
Beginning this Friday!
In the Fichandler
IT'S THE TRUTH (IF YOU THINK IT IS)
by Luigi Prandelli
Directed by Luigi Prandelli
Washington Shakespeare Co.
A Tragedy of Forbidden Love
EDWARD II
by Christopher Marlowe
At Church Street Theatre
Tues-Sat at 8; Sun at 7 - \$10-\$15
1742 Church St. N.W. • (703) 739-9886
FREE WILL & WANTON LUST
written & directed by Nicky Silver, author of FAT MEN IN SKIRTS
Pay-What-You-Can Previews
Tonight & Tomorrow at 8
Tickets go on sale 1 hr. prior to perf. at whatever price you choose!
1401 Church St. N.W.
Free guarded parking
Info: 202-393-3939
The Kennedy Center
Theater Lab Cabaret
Tonight at 8
A "WACKY AND FUN-FILLED FARCE."
—Washingtonian

THE AFRICAN COMPANY
Beginning this Friday!
In the Fichandler
IT'S THE TRUTH (IF YOU THINK IT IS)
by Luigi Prandelli
Directed by Luigi Prandelli
Washington Shakespeare Co.
A Tragedy of Forbidden Love
EDWARD II
by Christopher Marlowe
At Church Street Theatre
Tues-Sat at 8; Sun at 7 - \$10-\$15
1742 Church St. N.W. • (703) 739-9886
FREE WILL & WANTON LUST
written & directed by Nicky Silver, author of FAT MEN IN SKIRTS
Pay-What-You-Can Previews
Tonight & Tomorrow at 8
Tickets go on sale 1 hr. prior to perf. at whatever price you choose!
1401 Church St. N.W.
Free guarded parking
Info: 202-393-3939
The Kennedy Center
Theater Lab Cabaret
Tonight at 8
A "WACKY AND FUN-FILLED FARCE."
—Washingtonian

THE AFRICAN COMPANY
Beginning this Friday!
In the Fichandler
IT'S THE TRUTH (IF YOU THINK IT IS)
by Luigi Prandelli
Directed by Luigi Prandelli
Washington Shakespeare Co.
A Tragedy of Forbidden Love
EDWARD II
by Christopher Marlowe
At Church Street Theatre
Tues-Sat at 8; Sun at 7 - \$10-\$15
1742 Church St. N.W. • (703) 739-9886
FREE WILL & WANTON LUST
written & directed by Nicky Silver, author of FAT MEN IN SKIRTS
Pay-What-You-Can Previews
Tonight & Tomorrow at 8
Tickets go on sale 1 hr. prior to perf. at whatever price you choose!
1401 Church St. N.W.
Free guarded parking
Info: 202-393-3939
The Kennedy Center
Theater Lab Cabaret
Tonight at 8
A "WACKY AND FUN-FILLED FARCE."
—Washingtonian

Washington Post
1/13/1993

Washington Post
1/13/1993

Last year, she confessed at another Wellesley commencement how she celebrated her adulthood. After taking and graduating, she went fishing in Lake Waban—in the middle of campus, at a place where swimming is forbidden. Stripping down to a bathing suit, she carefully left her shoes and "Coke-bottle glasses" on shore, where, unfortunately, they were confiscated by a patrolling guard. And as a bat," she said, "I had to feel my way back to my room at Davis." That summer she explored further, going off for Alaska, where she traveled around doing odd jobs. At one, a cannery, she told the owner that a fish looked a little black and weird and maybe not fit for consumption. He ed her.

Marian Wright Edelman was dismaying at first, when Hillary Rodham approached her after a lecture at Yale in the spring of 1970 saying she wanted to spend the summer working for the Children's Defense Fund. There wasn't any money to support a summer intern, even of Rodham's caliber.

A few weeks earlier, Rodham had read about Edelman in Time magazine—and then, "in one of those strange twists of fate that enters all our lives if we're open to hear and to see them," as Rodham would say later, she saw Edelman's name again, stuck in a bulletin board. She was coming to speak at Yale. Sitting in the audience listening, Rodham had a revelation. "I knew right away," she told a group at Edelman College last year, "that I had to go to work for her."

So, Rodham—the government brat, worker within the system—found herself a grant to work for Edelman in Washington, the summer of 1970, and began pursuing her great new love: the law and children.

Bill Clinton wouldn't turn up at Yale Law School until the fall after that internship. He was straight from Oxford, but all he talked about was Arkansas. Watermelons and lookout points and fried everything. She was seeing other people—but a close friend of Rodham's remembers her being interested in him right off.

The way the story goes—and it starts to sound like the Legend of Paul Bunyan after you hear it a few times—Rodham and Clinton were eyeballing each other for months, noticing and noticing, catching glimpses, overhearing each other's conversations. Yale Law School is a small aquarium full of big fish—only 500 to a class, compared with Harvard's 1,500, all eating and sleeping and thinking deep thoughts within 100 yards of one another.

Finally, Rodham just got up from her chair in the library, walked right for him and uttered a line worthy of Lauren Bacall:

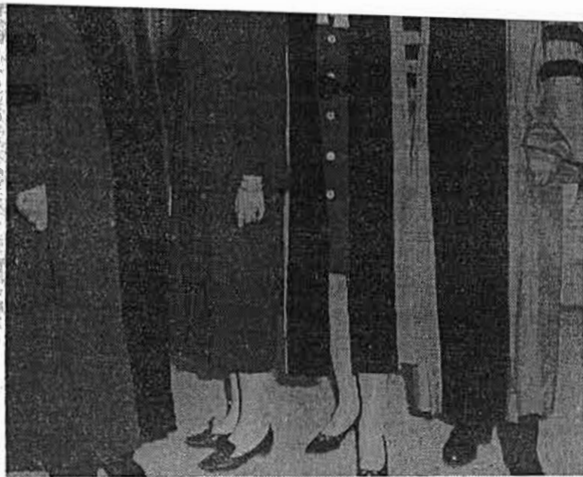
"If you're going to keep looking at me and I'm going to keep looking back, we at least ought to know each other. I'm Hillary Rodham."

The next year they moved out of the dorm and began sharing a little rented house in New Haven. During the summer of 1972 or so—it might have been that Christmas, the Rodham family is at odds on the date—she took him home to Park Ridge, to meet everybody.

"I thought he was interesting," says Dorothy. "He was sincere and had traveled a lot. I remember asking him what he was going to do after Yale, and without blinking, he said: *I'm going back to Arkansas—to help the state.* I thought, gee, that's great for him. Least he knew what he wanted."

She was cutting the grass," says Tony Rodham—18 years old when he first met Hillary's new boyfriend. "He climbed out of the car, came right over and started helping me cut the grass. We had a nice little chat, and, of course, I had something else I wanted to do—so Bill immediately volunteered to help finish the job with the grass. I told Dad came out of the house and please stop to it."

She was scheduled to graduate a year before him, but Rodham chose to stay around New Haven instead, while Clinton finished law school. She took a fourth year to study child development at the Yale Child Study Center and researched her now well-known legal writing on the rights of children for the Harvard Educational Review. In the article, she argued that all minors should not be considered legally incompetent—that children over 12 years old



Graduation Day, 1969: John Quarles, chairman of Wellesley's board of trustees; Hillary Rodham; Wellesley President Ruth Adams; and Sen. Edward Brooke.

can, in some instances, demonstrate an ability to make more responsible decisions about their lives and future than the adults raising them.

It's always tricky—having the state mess around with the sanctity of the family unit—and usually controversial. While Rodham's piece is not about teenagers suing their parents for making them take out the trash, as some critics have characterized it, the article does say that children should have the same procedural rights in court—meaning the competence of the child to decide his own fate should be decided, case by case, by the courts. It also suggests reversing the presumption of the "identity of interests between parents and their children."

This was her baby—her field, the calling she had chosen. She wasn't thinking about being married to a man running for president, or what the National Review would write many, many years later. Rodham was 26, beginning to fashion for herself a career as a children's rights advocate, a legal pioneer.

In 1979, she wrote again—now the wife of the governor of Arkansas, now a partner in a Little Rock law firm with a corporate practice—and provided further explanation: "Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents. Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent."

Her bills for phone calls to Clinton were pretty huge that next winter and spring and summer. It was 1974. Rodham was living in Washington, D.C., and her life consisted of eating yogurt while standing up in the kitchen, working 18 hours a day for the House Judiciary Committee impeachment inquiry, and making late-night phone calls to Clinton, who was teaching at the University of Arkansas Law School in Fayetteville.

"I barely ever saw her," says Sara Ehrman, a Washingtonian who gave Rodham a bedroom and bathroom in her town house in Southwest—they had met a couple of years earlier, working on the McGovern campaign in Texas. "I just remember driving her at 7 a.m. to the Watergate committee offices in an old converted hotel. We used to laugh and laugh about the absurdity of the life she was leading."

Rodham had first come to Washington, after Yale, to work as a staff attorney at the Children's Defense Fund. But in January 1974 she got a call from John Doar, who was running the Democratic side of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment commission. It was an opportunity she couldn't pass up. So, from January until after Richard Nixon resigned in August, Rodham and more than 40 other lawyers worked together—Republicans and Democrats alike (William Weld, the current governor of Massachusetts included)—slaved in tiny offices, doing whatever high-stakes grunt work was necessary, researching things like the legal precedent for throwing the president out of office. If they left at 9 at night, they called it "leaving early."

Rodham remembers one Saturday when she was locked inside a soundproof room, with headphones on, listening to tapes—of Nixon listening to

his own tapes, and offering his own defenses to the things said by him, Haldean, Ehrlichman. "It was surreal," she told the Arkansas Gazette in 1990. "You'd hear him say, *What I meant when I said that was...* Unbelievable, but it was a real positive experience because the system worked. Everything was done in a very professional, careful way."

As she rose in the legal ranks, Hillary Rodham found herself surrounded by more and more men. At Yale, at least 15 percent of her law school class had been women; at the impeachment inquiry, Rodham was one of just two.

"It's funny, but I don't think Hillary ever saw herself as some kind of trailblazer," says Mike Conway, a Chicago lawyer who was with her in law school and then on the impeachment inquiry. "She never seemed to wear that on her sleeve. She clearly belonged at Yale—and belonged on the Watergate committee. She's never had a confrontational attitude about it. She led more by example."

At the summer's end she visited Clinton. He was teaching in Fayetteville, at the University of Arkansas Law School, and running for Congress against John Paul Hammerschmidt. Hillary's brothers, Hughie and Tony Rodham, even came to hang signs—"Clinton for Congress"—on trees and lampposts. Clinton was doing what he always said he'd do, wanted to do. But what was Rodham going to do? Get on the fast track, join a top-rank law firm such as Williams & Connolly? The D.C. firm had been talking to her, had wanted her.

Hillary also was offered a job teaching criminal law and trial advocacy at the University of Arkansas—not in the top rank. But there was a chance to start a legal aid program there. Why not? Why not see how it is down there? Clinton was crazy for her. She was crazy back. "I loved him," she has said many times, and: "I had to."

What kind of sacrifices are you supposed to make for love? "I wondered if Arkansas would be so great for Hillary," says Dorothy Rodham, "but you know? I've never told my children what to do. I had to rely on Hillary's judgment—there'd never been any reason not to."

What kind of sacrifices are you supposed to make for your career? "People heard that Hillary was moving to Arkansas," says Jan Piercy, "and couldn't believe it."

She took the long, long drive to Arkansas with Sara Ehrman, away from Washington, away from Wellesley and Yale and Park Ridge, with her 10-speed and book boxes packed in the back of Ehrman's Buick. "I told her every 20 minutes that she was crazy to bury herself in Fayetteville," says Ehrman. "You are crazy. You are out of your mind. You're going to this rural, remote place—and wind up married to some country lawyer."

She'd been in the middle of everything, on the edge of everything, Ehrman says. "She was on the fast track to becoming a great legal star."

Sensibly, carefully, Hillary Rodham waited a year before marrying Bill Clinton. She taught at the law school first, figured out the system, founded the legal aid program, made friends immediately. "We'd take long walks together," says Diane Blair, a political science professor in Fayetteville who

husband, Morris Henry, was the state chairman of the Democratic Party at the time. "Since she was so special to Bill—and he wanted her to love it here—we did everything we could to make sure she realized she could have a wonderful, full life in Arkansas."

Integration: Your life is one solid whole. This is what Hillary Rodham was starting to figure out, what she believes still. You don't just work like a slave. You don't spend your life eating dinner in front of the refrigerator. You have friends, you have a family, you have work, and you have public service. It's something like a system. And when it breaks down, you fix it.

Betsy Ebeling came down from Chicago and was the maid of honor. Hughie Rodham turned up a little late—after taking his LSATs. Hillary wore a Jessica McClintock Victorian lace sort of dress that she'd gotten at the last minute, with Dorothy, over at Dillard's department store. There was a small ceremony in Clinton and Rodham's little house near campus, then a bigger reception at the Henrys'. The three-

returned to Washington, after just a semester or two. "I don't think teaching was ever enough to engage her," says Ann Henry. "She was expected to do legal writing, research, take on groundbreaking cases—but she's not really an academic. She likes to get in the fray, live in the real world."

Maybe she would have become a congressman's wife, gotten a town house on the Hill, become a partner defending white-collar criminals... That doesn't sound right, does it? Are we getting a better sense of her now? Hillary wasn't very interested in being a legal star. She wanted to make things happen, not make money. She wanted to fix things, help children, and, not too far off in the future, start having some of her own.

The next year, they'd be moving to Little Rock—Clinton had won the race for attorney general. Maybe it would take a little longer to get back to Washington after all, but... heck, she was starting to like it in Arkansas.

TOMORROW: The Image Problem.

GUIDE TO THE LIVELY ARTS

TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1993

★ Accessible To Disabled Patrons ★ Modified For The Hearing Impaired ★

★ Live Interpreted Performance ★ Audio Described Performance ★

THEATRE

Warner Theatre
5th & E Sts. NW

Ain't Got Long To Stay Here

A Musical Dramatic Celebration Honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
"Passionate & Inspirational Barry Scott is Phenomenal as Dr. King!" —ABC

Opens Tonight 8pm - Sun.
ALL SEATS FOR TONIGHT & WED. MATINEE - \$10!
Charge By Phone 202-432-SEAT
202-659-1600
Plus ticket outlet service fee

ARENA STAGE

In the Kreger
"BESTING WITH URGENCY."
—Hed Erstein, Washington Times
Tonight at 7:30

BLOOD KNOT

by David Finkel
Directed by Tadeusz Thompson
In rotating repertory with
Tomorrow at 7:30

THE AFRICAN COMPANY

by Caryl Chesson
Directed by Tadeusz Thompson
NOTE: A limited number of 1/2 price tickets until 50 minutes before part.
SCHEDULE: Sun. Tues. Wed. 7:30; Thurs. Fri. Sat. 8; Sun. Mat. 2:30; Selected Sun Mat. 2; Selected Wed Mat. 12
TICKETS: \$21 - \$37

TICKETS/INFO: 202-488-3300
GROUP SALES: 202-488-4380
TTY: 202-484-0247

6th St. & Maine Ave., SW 26

DINNER THEATRE

BURN BRAE
Rte 28 & Blackburn Rd., Burtonville, Md

BROADWAY SONGBOOK

Tues.-Sun. 6pm
Call for performance times & matinee
Reserve now! Many tables sold out.

301-384-5800

WEST END DINNER THEATRE

DAMES AT SEA

Complimentary seafood appetizer for Fri. & Sat. 6pm & Sun. matinee
during Dinner at Sea
\$10 off per couple on selected dates
4105 Duke St., Alexandria, VA

703-370-2500

BLAIR MANSION RESTAURANT

presenting
MANSION MYSTERIES
Fri., Sat. & Sun.
RESV/INFO: (301) 588-6846
(301) 587-3677
On Cambridge Ave. at Penn Pl.

LIZZY SUSAN

Agatha Christie's
WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION
703-550-7384/494-6311

MUSIC-ORCHESTRAL

The Kennedy Center
Concert Hall

NATIONAL SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Tonight at 7
MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH
conductor
NATALIA GUTMAN
cello

WOLF: Nelson Serrano
DVOŘAK: Cello Concerto
SHOSTAKOVICH: Symphony No. 1

Tickets available at the Kennedy Center Box Office or call:
(202) 467-4600

SHEAR MADNESS

GROUPS OF 15 OR MORE ONLY \$15
SUN. DINNER ONLY \$109.95-\$149.95

Tickets: \$19 & \$24
A SUPER BUY FOR SUPER BOWL
SUNDAY JAN. 11 AT 7. TICKETS \$10
ORDER BY 1/20

SCHEDULE: Tues-Thurs at 8; Fri at 9; Sat at 8 & 9; Sun at 3:30 & 7.

Tickets & information:
(202) 467-4600

THE STUDIO THEATRE

Opens Tomorrow at 8
25th Anniversary of a Classic Comedy

ROSENCRANTZ & GUILDENSTERN ARE DEAD

A desperately funny play of doomed fools
entrapped in Hamlet's plot

Wed-Sat: 8pm & 10pm
Sund. at 2pm. No part. on Jan. 20.
Ask for senior and group discounts
Mon & P.M. 202-332-3300 Free Parking

THE KENNEDY CENTER Opera House

Tonight at 8

THE SECRET GARDEN

SCHEDULE: Tues-Sun. at 8pm; Sat. & Sun. at 2pm. No part. on Jan. 20.
Additional part. on Mon., Jan. 19, at 8pm.
PRICE: Fri-Sat. Eve & Sun. Mat. \$20-\$55
All other parts: \$27.50-\$50

Tickets & information:
(202) 467-4600

DINNER THEATRE

BURN BRAE
Rte 28 & Blackburn Rd., Burtonville, Md

BROADWAY SONGBOOK

Tues.-Sun. 6pm
Call for performance times & matinee
Reserve now! Many tables sold out.

301-384-5800

WEST END DINNER THEATRE

DAMES AT SEA

Complimentary seafood appetizer for Fri. & Sat. 6pm & Sun. matinee
during Dinner at Sea
\$10 off per couple on selected dates
4105 Duke St., Alexandria, VA

703-370-2500

BLAIR MANSION RESTAURANT

presenting
MANSION MYSTERIES
Fri., Sat. & Sun.
RESV/INFO: (301) 588-6846
(301) 587-3677
On Cambridge Ave. at Penn Pl.

LIZZY SUSAN

Agatha Christie's
WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION
703-550-7384/494-6311

MUSIC-ORCHESTRAL

The Kennedy Center
Concert Hall

NATIONAL SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Tonight at 7
MSTISLAV ROSTROPOVICH
conductor
NATALIA GUTMAN
cello

WOLF: Nelson Serrano
DVOŘAK: Cello Concerto
SHOSTAKOVICH: Symphony No. 1

Tickets available at the Kennedy Center Box Office or call:
(202) 467-4600

SHEAR MADNESS

GROUPS OF 15 OR MORE ONLY \$15
SUN. DINNER ONLY \$109.95-\$149.95

Tickets: \$19 & \$24
A SUPER BUY FOR SUPER BOWL
SUNDAY JAN. 11 AT 7. TICKETS \$10
ORDER BY 1/20

SCHEDULE: Tues-Thurs at 8; Fri at 9; Sat at 8 & 9; Sun at 3:30 & 7.

Tickets & information:
(202) 467-4600

MUSIC-JAZZ

BLUES ALLEY
JAZZ SUPPER CLUB
TONIGHT AND TOMORROW!

MICHEL PETRUCCIANI

Piano
Showtimes: 8:00 & 10:00 pm
Call for reservations 202-862-2220
Wisc. Ave. below A St. 202-337-4141

ANTONIA'S Saxophonist

SKI JOHNSON

and his band
Wed., Jan. 13
Fri., Jan. 15
Thurs., Jan. 14 and Sat., Jan. 16
For line dining and great music:
Call for reservations 202-862-2220
4250 Conn. Ave. & Windsor Pl., Van Ness

OPERA

WASHINGTON OPERA
Friday at 7:30
DON PASQUALE
Jan. 15, 16, 24m, 26, 30
Opens Saturday at 7:30
LA CENERENTOLA
Jan. 16, 19, 21, 23, 25, 28,
31m, Feb. 2, 4, 10, 12, 14m

Sunday at 2
THE PEARL FISHERS
Jan. 17m, 22, 27, 28, Feb. 9, 11, 13
Kennedy Center Eisenhower Theater
(202) 416-7800

ANNOUNCEMENTS

"Chocolate's Glorious Past & Delicious Future"
ELAINE GONZALEZ
author of *Chocolate's Glorious Past & Delicious Future*, presents a slide lecture and chocolate demonstration, followed by a chocolate feast.

Tonight at 7:30 pm
SOLDIER BLUE THEATRE
Tickets: \$10
Call: (202) 544-7077

The Guide to the Lively Arts

appears
Monday-Thursday &
Saturday in Style
Friday in Weekend
Sunday in Show
For ad placement
and rates call
Mary Pfeifer
202-334-7006

categories
Theatre • Other Theatre
Cabaret • Comedy
Music
Orchestral • Chamber
Choral • Folk
Jazz • Pop
Recitals • Opera
Dance • Multimedia
Children's Events
Readings • Visual Arts
Auditions • Workshops
Announcements

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Hillary's Secret Look

New York designer Sarah Phillips made a hush-hush trip to Little Rock over the weekend to fit Hillary Clinton with inaugural outfits—one of which could be The Gown.

One source says Phillips, 37, who designed the pale-yellow suit Clinton wore at the Democratic convention, has been working for the past few weeks on a blue-purple lace formal dress for the future First Lady. Phillips refused to comment.



Cliff Chally, the "Designing Women" costumer advising Clinton on her wardrobe, also spent the weekend

in Little Rock.

Reached in California, Chally said Clinton will be wearing some new clothes next week as well as some old favorites. "You won't see anything much different," he assured.

Phillips, who's designed for Ralph Lauren and YSL and has been on her own for about a year, is one of Clinton's favorites. Her clothes are sold at Neiman Marcus, Henri Bendel and Bergdorf Goodman.

Meanwhile, Women's Wear Daily says that Arkansas designer Helen Benton, "known for her frilly wedding dresses," has also submitted three sample inaugural gowns for Clinton's review. But WWD also reports that Hillary pal Linda Bloodworth-Thomason is worried Benton would make Clinton look like "an Arkansas version of 'Hee Haw.'"

Bloomington's executive Ann Stock is expected to be named White House social secretary by Hillary Clinton this week. Stock, who's in Little Rock already working on events, was deputy press secretary to Veep Walter Mondale before joining Bloomies in '82. Married to local lawyer Stuart Stock, she was apparently approached shortly after the election—and was hired almost immediately.

Bill Clinton is scheduled to stop by Arlington National Cemetery on Inauguration Day to visit the grave of John F. Kennedy.



Geffen: Politically motivated.

As evidence that he intends to raise his political profile, record mogul David Geffen has hired California fund-raiser and founding co-chairman of the Democratic Victory Fund Bob Burkett.

Burkett, formerly with producer Ted Fields, will be president of the David Geffen Foundation and executive VP for public affairs of Geffen Records.

Some inaugural committee workers, on leave from other jobs to work on the big event, were a bit miffed that their paychecks arrived Friday—nine days late.

Among the names being circulated to

WE'VE HEARD THAT...



Mourning Nureyev, yesterday at the Paris Opera.

head the National Park Service is none other than Robert Redford.

A German court has ordered a cruise company to refund one-third of a German couple's \$4,478 fare after they spent their entire Caribbean jaunt cooped up on a ship filled with 500 Swiss yodelers.

New York socialite Joy Silverman, who's been scarce since ex-lover Judge Sol Wachtler was arrested and accused of trying to extort money from her, surfaced on St. Bart's over the holidays with her new beau, New Jersey lawyer David Samson. "This was not a woman

hiding out," said someone who ran into Silverman. "This was a woman partying."

Jean Harris, who was granted clemency by New York Gov. Mario Cuomo on her sentence for killing Scarsdale diet doctor Herman Tarnower 12 years ago, returned to prison yesterday to recover from her successful bypass surgery and await a decision on her release by the parole board.

Fans filed quietly into the Paris Opera yesterday to pay tribute to dancer Rudolf Nureyev, who died last week, reportedly following a struggle with AIDS. A large photograph of Nureyev, who will be buried today at the Sainte-Genevieve-des-Bois cemetery, was on display.



Silverman, going out; Harris, going in; Redford, coming up?

Star Snit, Part 2

Inaugural folks are ticked off about a published report saying they have not been attentive enough to all the Hollywood celebrities anxious to attend the inauguration.

Turner: On the list?

Shallah Weiss, one of the inaugural committee's celebrity handlers, insisted yesterday that her office has been in contact with either the celebs themselves or their representatives to ensure that those who deserve tickets get 'em.

"We are being very democratic," says Weiss. "The people who worked the hardest and went on the road to campaign are obviously getting priority over those who just showed up at Barbra Streisand's [fund-raising] dinner."

Weiss listed Richard Dreyfuss, Blair Brown, Al McGraw (who's not coming), Dana Delany and Clinton friend Mary Steenburgen among the priorities. But she added that she has been in contact with many others, including Marsha Williams, wife of Robin, Kathleen Turner and Geena Davis—all of whom were reported to have been snubbed.

"They are appreciated—and we want to take care of them," Weiss said. "But this is not the glitz 'n' glam of the Reagan inaugural. This is the Bill and Al Show."



Jonathan Yardley on the last of the jazz titans, Dizzy Gillespie 2

Style Plus: Coping with children, lost and found 5

Style

TV Column: Michael set for Oprah interview 6

Arts Beat: Low-cost, h shows at two area mus 7

THE EDUCATION of HILLARY CLINTON

Growing Up in a Chicago Suburb: A Good Girl, Getting Better All the Time

First of three parts

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

The girl looks into the camera lens with exquisite smoothness. There's no joking or winking or nervous huge smiling. Not too warm. Not too cool. She's 12 years old. Little hands are flopped neatly one over the other. The sailor dress is hiked up, absent-mindedly no doubt, showing some crinoline and knees. She's in sixth grade, this is her class picture, and Hillary Diane Rodham possesses things already—calm, balance, white shoes and an easy public smile by virtue of her overbite in progress. There's an almost unbearable Shirley Temple quality. . . .

See that older hand resting on her shoulder? Follow the arm up. That's Elisabeth King—the lady with pointy glasses and pearls and a mouth that doesn't know how to smile perfectly every time. She was a teacher at Eugene Field Grammar School in Park Ridge, Ill.—and then later, at Ralph Waldo Emerson Junior High. She was strict, a mind-made-up sort of person. Scared some kids. Failed some kids. Not our Miss Hillary.

"Hillary was Mrs. King's favorite human being on Earth," says Ernest "Rick" Ricketts, a classmate. "When she moved on to Emerson Junior High, she taught Hillary for two more years."

She never got in trouble. Never got detention. Her grades were often perfect. Hillary Rodham was a chronic teacher's pet, a Brownie and then a Girl Scout whose sash was so loaded with badges and dazzling little pins that it's amazing she didn't walk with a stoop. The burden of all that ceaseless public do-gooding! When she got to high school, she rejected offers to have her ears pierced with a needle and potato, according to her best friends, didn't smoke in the bathroom, didn't make out with boys in "The Pit" at Maine South's library, didn't even wear black turtlenecks.

"Ohhhh no," says Betsy Johnson Ebeling, when asked if she and Hillary ever cut class. "The only time I remember us doing that was Senior Ditch Day, kind of an organized event—and we thought we were being very daring."

Hillary Rodham mostly loved school. Her mind was inquisitive and impressionable and whatever attention was missing from boys—not that she missed it—she got from teachers. She returned their approval with loyalty beyond comprehension. When she left Park Ridge for college, law school and, finally, the great beyond of Arkansas, she kept sending handwritten letters—single-spaced, both sides of the page—to Donald Jones, her youth minister from First United Methodist Church. After encountering her next mentor, Marian Wright Edelman—the founder of Children's Defense Fund—Rodham would follow her faithfully, not one break in contact, for 23 years.

Girlfriends and family get much the same loyal treatment. After Rodham married Bill Clinton in Fayetteville—she was 28 years old—her mom and dad and two younger

brothers went along on the Acapulco stay in the same hotel. In 1987, she parents down to Little Rock, so they Chelsea. And when she goes to Chicago reunions—she goes, of course she stays overnight at Betsy Johnson Ebeling.

The country has never waited like conflicting emotions—for a First Lady into the East Wing. She was surely the subtext of last year's presidential campaign extreme you had Pat Buchanan, in the Astrodome, spitting out the words "I the other side, she's provoked a certain weeping. Old girlfriends flood up with they start gabbing about Hillary Diane Clinton. It's a complicated response to the essence of the Hillary Issue. The grossly misunderstood their warm, tough, loyal Hillary.

The Weepers . . . they describe a gripes, never self-obsesses, never did Bill Clinton caused in their marriage belly laugh you can hear all across the mansion. They describe a friend who what books they're reading, how the doing, knows where their children are and what disease their parents are d

"What people don't seem to realize Ehrman, a Washingtonian who has known Rodham for 20 years, "is that Hillary so traditional, so Midwestern, so middle taste in art is middle-class. Her taste middle-class. Her clothes. . . . She's brilliant, a nice person, and a product upbringing."

So it's just that simple?

One spring, the entire Rodham family day to Hinckley Park and watched Hillary and pitch and pitch until his daughter See CLINTON, B2, C6

■ Coming to bookstores: Hillary's legal writing and speeches.



Hillary Diane Rodham, the "teacher's pet," right, in her sixth-grade class photo, taken in 1959.



Fists cocked in preparation for Maine election battle are, left to right, Hillary of the Republican organization, Matt B. director, and Ellen Press, co-director

The Washington Post

Jonathan Yardley on the last
of the jazz titans, Dizzy Gillespie 2Style Plus: Coping with
children, lost and found 5

Style

6 TV Column: Michael Jackson
set for Oprah interview7 Arts Beat: Low-cost, high-focus
shows at two area museums

THE EDUCATION of HILLARY CLINTON

Growing Up in a Chicago Suburb: A Good Girl, Getting Better All the Time

First of three parts

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

The girl looks into the camera lens with exquisite smoothness. There's no joking or wincing or nervous huge smiling. Not too warm. Not too cool. She's 12 years old. Little hands are flopped neatly one over the other. The sailor dress is hiked up, absent-mindedly no doubt, showing some crinoline and knees. She's in sixth grade, this is her class picture, and Hillary Diane Rodham possesses things already—calm, balance, white shoes and an easy public smile by virtue of her overbite in progress. There's an almost unbearable Shirley Temple quality. . . .

See that older hand resting on her shoulder? Follow the arm up. That's Elisabeth King—the lady with pointy glasses and pearls and a mouth that doesn't know how to smile perfectly every time. She was a teacher at Eugene Field Grammar School in Park Ridge, Ill.—and then later, at Ralph Waldo Emerson Junior High. She was strict, a mind-made-up sort of person. Scared some kids. Failed some kids. Not our Miss Hillary.

"Hillary was Mrs. King's favorite human being on Earth," says Ernest "Rick" Ricketts, a classmate. "When she moved on to Emerson Junior High, she taught Hillary for two more years."

She never got in trouble. Never got detention. Her grades were often perfect. Hillary Rodham was a chronic teacher's pet, a Brownie and then a Girl Scout whose sash was so loaded with badges and dazzling little pins that it's amazing she didn't walk with a stoop. The burden of all that ceaseless public do-gooding! When she got to high school, she rejected offers to have her ears pierced with a needle and potato, according to her best friends, didn't smoke in the bathroom, didn't make out with boys in "The Pit" at Maine South's library, didn't even wear black turtlenecks.

brothers went along on the Acapulco wedding trip, stayed in the same hotel. In 1987, she moved her parents down to Little Rock, so they could be closer to Chelsea. And when she goes to Chicago for high school reunions—she goes, of course she goes—she still stays overnight at Betsy Johnson Ebeling's house.

The country has never waited like this—with such conflicting emotions—for a First Lady to move herself into the East Wing. She was surely the messiest subtext of last year's presidential campaign. At one extreme you had Pat Buchanan, in the Houston Astrodome, spitting out the words "lawyer spouse." On the other side, she's provoked a certain amount of weeping. Old girlfriends flood up with affection when they start gabbing about Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton. It's a complicated response that somehow gets to the essence of the Hillary Issue. The world has so grossly misunderstood their warm, funny, smart, tough, loyal Hillary.

The Weepers . . . they describe a friend who never gripes, never self-obsesses, never discusses "the pain" Bill Clinton caused in their marriage, and who has a belly laugh you can hear all across the governor's mansion. They describe a friend who never fails to ask what books they're reading, how their husbands are doing, knows where their children are going to school and what disease their parents are dying of.

"What people don't seem to realize," says Sara Ehrman, a Washingtonian who has known Hillary Rodham for 20 years, "is that Hillary's so conventional, so traditional, so Midwestern, so middle-class. Her taste in art is middle-class. Her taste in music is middle-class. Her clothes. . . . She's very simple, brilliant, a nice person, and a product of her upbringing."

So it's just that simple?

PRESERVATION=PHOTOCOPY

One spring, the entire Rodham family went every



Hillary Rodham, the "teacher's pet," right, in her sixth-grade class photo, taken in 1959.

First of three parts

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

The girl looks into the camera lens with exquisite smoothness. There's no joking or wincing or nervous huge smiling. Not too warm. Not too cool. She's 12 years old. Little hands are flopped neatly one over the other. The sailor dress is hiked up, absent-mindedly no doubt, showing some crinoline and knees. She's in sixth grade, this is her class picture, and Hillary Diane Rodham possesses things already—calm, balance, white shoes and an easy public smile by virtue of her overbite in progress. There's an almost unbearable Shirley Temple quality. . . .

See that older hand resting on her shoulder? Follow the arm up. That's Elisabeth King—the lady with pointy glasses and pearls and a mouth that doesn't know how to smile perfectly every time. She was a teacher at Eugene Field Grammar School in Park Ridge, Ill.—and then later, at Ralph Waldo Emerson Junior High. She was strict, a mind-made-up sort of person. Scared some kids. Failed some kids. Not our Miss Hillary.

"Hillary was Mrs. King's favorite human being on Earth," says Ernest "Rick" Ricketts, a classmate. "When she moved on to Emerson Junior High, she taught Hillary for two more years."

She never got in trouble. Never got detention. Her grades were often perfect. Hillary Rodham was a chronic teacher's pet, a Brownie and then a Girl Scout whose sash was so loaded with badges and dazzling little pins that it's amazing she didn't walk with a stoop. The burden of all that ceaseless public do-gooding! When she got to high school, she rejected offers to have her ears pierced with a needle and potato, according to her best friends, didn't smoke in the bathroom, didn't make out with boys in "The Pit" at Maine South's library, didn't even wear black turtlenecks.

"Ohhhh no," says Betsy Johnson Ebeling, when asked if she and Hillary ever cut class. "The only time I remember us doing that was Senior Ditch Day, kind of an organized event—and we thought we were being very daring."

Hillary Rodham mostly loved school. Her mind was inquisitive and impressionable and whatever attention was missing from boys—not that she missed it—she got from teachers. She returned their approval with loyalty beyond comprehension. When she left Park Ridge for college, law school and, finally, the great beyond of Arkansas, she kept sending handwritten letters—single-spaced, both sides of the page—to Donald Jones, her youth minister from First United Methodist Church. After encountering her next mentor, Marian Wright Edelman—the founder of Children's Defense Fund—Rodham would follow her faithfully, not one break in contact, for 23 years.

Girlfriends and family get much the same loyal treatment. After Rodham married Bill Clinton in Fayetteville—she was 28 years old—her mom and dad and two younger

brothers went along on the Acapulco wedding. She stayed in the same hotel. In 1987, she moved her parents down to Little Rock, so they could be close to Chelsea. And when she goes to Chicago for high school reunions—she goes, of course she goes—she stays overnight at Betsy Johnson Ebeling's house.

The country has never waited like this—with conflicting emotions—for a First Lady to move into the East Wing. She was surely the subtext of last year's presidential campaign. At extreme you had Pat Buchanan, in the Boston Astrodome, spitting out the words "law vs. spouse" the other side, she's provoked a certain amount of weeping. Old girlfriends flood up with affection, they start gabbing about Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton. It's a complicated response that comes to the essence of the Hillary Issue. The world has grossly misunderstood their warm, funny, smart, tough, loyal Hillary.

The Weepers . . . they describe a friend who gripes, never self-obsesses, never discusses "the Bill Clinton caused in their marriage, and who he belly laugh you can hear all across the governor's mansion. They describe a friend who never fails what books they're reading, how their husbands doing, knows where their children are going to school, and what disease their parents are dying of.

"What people don't seem to realize," says Sarah Ehrman, a Washingtonian who has known Hillary Rodham for 20 years, "is that Hillary's so conventional, so traditional, so Midwestern, so middle-class. Her taste in art is middle-class. Her taste in music is middle-class. Her clothes . . . She's very simple, brilliant, a nice person, and a product of her upbringing."

So it's just that simple?

One spring, the entire Rodham family went away for a day to Hinchey Park and watched Hugh Rodham and pitch until his daughter Hillary learned to pitch.

See CLINTON, B2, Col. 1

■ Coming to bookstores: Hillary Clinton's legal writing and speeches.



Fists cocked in preparation for Maine South's first election battle are, left to right, Hillary Rodham, co-director of the Republican organization, Matt Bunyan, Den director, and Ellen Press, co-director of the Den

FROM THE 1964 HIGH SCHOOL

1/11/1993
Washington Post

Southern
California's
Newspaper

WASHINGTON EDITION

Los Angeles Times

Wednesday
January 27
1993

CIRCULATION
1,164,388 DAILY / 1,531,527 SUNDAY

COPYRIGHT 1993
TIMES MIRROR COMPANY

DAILY 75¢
AN EDITION OF THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

COLUMN ONE

A Dying Silence Bleeds Mob

■ Arrest of Sicily's boss of bosses illustrates how the Mafia code is crumbling. Hundreds of informers have given Italian police a rare chance to cripple organized crime.

By WILLIAM D. MONTALBANO
TIMES STAFF WRITER

ROME—Salvatore Riina faces his accusers with exaggerated politeness and a cloying peasant servility. Arrested this month after 23 years in hiding, Riina says he is a misunderstood old man with diabetes, a heart ailment and nothing to say.

Investigating magistrates know Riina as the sanguinary boss of bosses of the Mafia, for more than a decade among the most powerful and dangerous criminals on Earth.

"I am not the monster that everyone thinks," Riina told one of the judges. "That monster does not exist. What really exists is what

Learning the Ropes



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton watches students Chevon Perry, left, and Tanya Perry work on reading drills in their New York City school.

The visit Tuesday to the public school in a drug-plagued neighborhood of upper Manhattan was a symbolic first trip for the fledgling First Lady.

Modest Boost for Economy Planned

■ **Spending:** White House advisers urge a \$20-billion stimulus package as part of long-term program to cut the deficit. Clinton to reveal details in his State of Union.

By JAMES RISEN, TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Clinton Administration, seeking to balance its campaign pledges to create jobs and to curb the federal budget deficit, plans to propose a modest, short-term economic stimulus package as part of a larger, long-term deficit-reduction program, Administration officials said Tuesday.

The Administration's key economic advisers are urging a one-time package of \$15 billion to \$20 billion that is likely to be dominated by new federal spending on such programs as public works and education. The amount is less than one-third the \$50-billion to \$60-billion stimulus plan many Clinton aides originally advocated.

The White House said Tuesday that the temporary stimulus plan and the longer-term investment and deficit-reduction program will be described during President Clinton's first State of the Union Address on Feb. 17.

Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich, fresh from a meeting Monday of Clinton's top economic advisers, said Tuesday that the stimulus package is likely to cost \$15

U.S. Sanctions Expected Over Steel Dumping

By JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Clinton Administration, in a decision that appears to signal a tough new stance on trade, is expected to announce today that it will impose sanctions against major steel exporting nations for dumping cut-

National Perspective

THE FIRST LADY

Her Visit Multiplies School's Hopes

In her first trip since the inauguration, Hillary Rodham Clinton visits a math class at New York public school in a drug-plagued neighborhood.

By JOHN J. GOLDMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—Hillary Rodham Clinton, making her first trip as First Lady, stood amid math texts and mythology legends, encyclopedias and Bible studies books Tuesday in the library of a public school in a drug-infested neighborhood of Upper Manhattan and, to the delight of the pupils, played multiplication bingo.

"Ready, everybody? I have never done this before," she said before promptly plunging into the game. "O-9x5, N-2x5, O-7x6, I-10x10, N-10x3, I-4x1, N-5x0, E-10x10."

"You are going to have to do better here," she said, glancing down at one pupil's card. "... G-5x1, O-2x2, N-1x8. Yea, Mark, that's great," she said, praising another. "You all were doing two cards, too. I'm impressed."

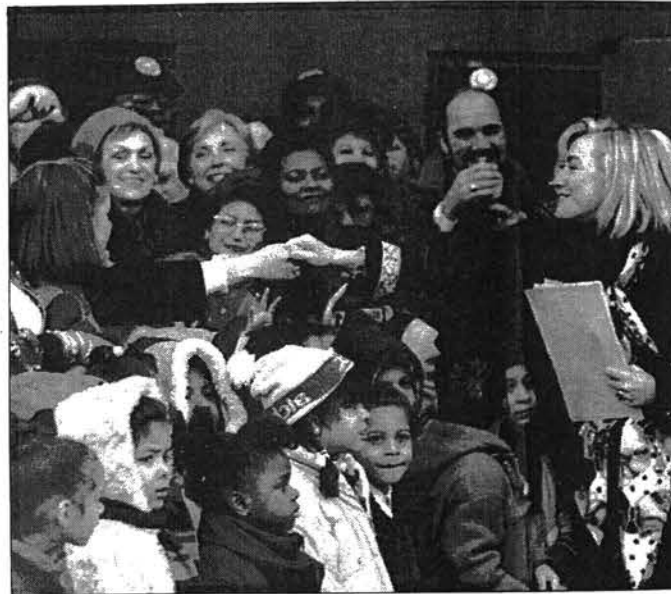
"My father and mother used to quiz us on the multiplication tables. My father would get up in the morning and quiz us before breakfast," she said. "I would say, 'Why do I have to do this now?'"

It was a significant and symbolic first visit, designed to underscore the White House commitment to volunteerism and to inner-city education. At Public School 115, Clinton met tutors from New York Cares, a voluntary organization that provides one-on-one assistance to fourth- and fifth-graders at the school.

Forgoing the typical transportation of first ladies, she traveled to New York on a commercial flight. "She just wanted to fly commercial," said Lisa Caputo, her spokeswoman.

Later in the day, before receiving an award for service to young people, she used the occasion to confer with four health care experts among her fellow prize recipients.

Those at the private meeting said issues discussed included how health services are delivered in poor neighborhoods, the health problems of farm workers and medical questions involving adolescents, including teen-age suicide



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, during her first trip since her husband was inaugurated, greets students and parents at a New York elementary school.

and addiction to alcohol and drugs.

At the Park Avenue reception that followed, Clinton received the Lewis Hine award of the National Child Labor Committee, a New York-based group that promotes the rights, dignity and well-being of children. The Hine award is named in honor of an early 20th-century photographer who documented in gripping black-and-white pictures the exploitation of children.

"There is no substitute for love and caring and compassion and human beings helping one other," the First Lady said in accepting the award. "No matter how much we do, from the White House to the courthouse... what children need is adults who care about them, who are willing to stand up and fight for them against a world that is often unfair."

Speaking to the audience about her visit earlier to the public school in Wash-

ington Heights, a neighborhood with a well-founded reputation as a cocaine supermarket near the George Washington Bridge, she said: "We need to remember those children who were lit up and happy because of the volunteers who had come to see them."

Earlier, speaking to reporters about her assignment to lead the President's drive to reform the nation's health care system, she stressed that a "key part" of the plan will be to make health care more accessible for children.

Asked to define her goals as head of the President's health care reform committee, she said she wants to do "what my husband asked me to do—perform the functions he outlined yesterday [and] work and coordinate with a lot of people" to formulate a proposal to take to Congress.

The First Lady has long been interest-

THE TIMES POLL

Redefining the Role?

Hillary Rodham Clinton has become a symbol for the changing role of women in American society. More than half of Americans believe she will be more heavily involved in presidential decisions than her predecessors, a Times Poll found. The poll was taken before President Clinton this week named his wife as chairwoman of the presidential Task Force on Health Reform.

A NEW DIRECTION

Do you expect Hillary Clinton to play a more important role in national affairs than previous first ladies?

More important role	51%
Less important role	4
About the same	40
Don't know	5

HER VALUES

Does she represent the values that you find important?

Yes	50%
No	26
Don't know	24

PAST COMPARISONS

Do you think she will be a better role model for women than past first ladies?

Will be a better role model	41%
Will not be a better role model	41
Don't know	18

CABINET CONNECTION

Do you think the new First Lady should sit in on the President's Cabinet meetings?

Should sit in	24%
Should not	68
Don't know	8

HER INFLUENCE

Is her influence on her husband a good thing for the country?

Good	39%
Bad	13
Has little effect	40
Don't know	8

OVERALL IMPRESSION

What is your impression of Hillary Clinton?

Favorable	58%
Unfavorable	19
Don't know	23

Source: Los Angeles Times Poll of 1,733 adults nationwide, Jan. 14-17. Margin of error is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

ed in children's issues. In 1973, she joined the staff of the Children's Defense Fund in Washington and later served as a board member and chairwoman. When Bill Clinton was elected governor of Arkansas in 1978, she founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families.

Mrs. Clinton said she decided to visit P.S. 115 to see the work of Maria Alvarez, a vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank and a fellow Hine Prize winner, who had established the highly successful tutoring program.

At ease in the glare of television lights, Mrs. Clinton sat down at long tables with the students on the third floor, helping them with multiplication flash cards and reading exercises.

"I'm being reminded of a lot of things," she told one group of pupils. A few minutes later, as people waved from fire escapes across the street, she addressed

students massed at outdoor ceremonies in the school's courtyard.

"I know it is cold and I want all of you to get back inside where it's warm. How many of you saw my husband, President Clinton, when he was sworn in to be President?" she asked. "Did you see him on television?"

The pupils raised their hands and cheered.

"Well, one of the things that he said was all of us are going to have to work harder to be better citizens and better Americans. . . . All of the students here, each of you, will have to work to learn as much as you can learn. I just met some students, and I know that you can learn a lot. So thank you for letting me come."

As she spoke, George Tomka, the principal, proudly stood listening.

"It's a big ray of hope," he said. "It shows that we are being noticed."

Weather

Today: Decreasingly cloudy, cold. High 36. Low 24. Wind north under 6 mph.
Wednesday: Mostly sunny, chilly. High 40. Wind southeast 6-12 mph.
Yesterday: Temp. range: 32-42. Wind chill: 11. Details on B2.

The Washington Post

FINAL

Inside: Health
 Today's Contents on Page A2

116TH YEAR No. 45

TUESDAY, JANUARY 19, 1993

 Prices May Vary in Areas Outside
 Metropolitan Washington (See Box on A2)

25¢

THE INAUGURATION OF WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON



Martin Luther King III, Hillary and President-elect Clinton and D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly join in tribute to King at Howard University. In back are D.C. Council member Charlene Drew-Jarvis, left, and Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton, right.

Simply Bill for One More Day

Clinton, Life of Inaugural Party, Begins Shift to More Serious Tone



Bush, back from Camp David, deals with matters in Iraq, while the party for Clinton proceeds.

By Michele L. Norris
 Washington Post Staff Writer

President-elect Clinton and his family began easing into Washington life yesterday on Day Two of their prolonged inaugural celebration. Clinton took an early morning jog down Pennsylvania Avenue before zigzagging across the city for several inaugural events; Hillary broke from her schedule to greet hundreds of well-wishers during an afternoon stroll on the Mall; Chelsea jumped up and danced in the aisle at a rap concert she attended with friends.

Tomorrow, William Jefferson Clinton will be sworn in as the nation's 42nd president, but for now he's simply Bill—the man who is literally the life of the pre-inauguration party that has consumed the nation's capital.

Crowds followed Clinton wherever he went during the day, staking out spots near Blair House, where he is staying, and lining up before dawn outside Georgetown University, where he addressed a reception for the diplomatic corps and reaffirmed his support for the Bush administration's policy toward

U.S., Allied Jets Batter Iraq's Air Defenses

By Barton Gellman and Ann Devroy
 Washington Post Staff Writers

U.S. and allied forces struck Iraqi targets yesterday for the third time in six days, bringing Iraq's southern air defense network to a standstill but leaving it to the new occupant of the White House to handle Baghdad's broader rebellion against the Persian Gulf War victors.

Though still prepared to respond to immediate attacks on allied aircraft in the northern and southern "no-fly zones," ranking Bush administration officials made clear that the next military and diplomatic hand will be played by President-elect Clinton.

A senior Bush administration official said nothing beyond defensive actions in the two safe zones was likely during the remaining 48 hours of Bush's presidency. "Our watch is over," the official said. President Bush, returning to the White House from Camp David for his final full day in office, spoke of the U.S. military action in the past tense, thanking allies for their support and Clinton for his backing in a voice filled with finality.

Another senior official described as "raps on the knuckles" the allied military attacks over the past six days, arguing they were intended to keep Iraqi President Saddam Hussein fundamentally in place until Clinton takes over and decides broad policy for the gulf region.

In Baghdad, fiery rhetoric of the last few days gave way to another call for dialogue. Information Minister Hamed Youssef Humadi said Washington and the coalition allies have to come to a "diplomatic, political solution," and at the United Nations Iraq's ambassador said the nation expects a "new climate" with the Clinton administration.



Ordnancemen lift missile into place under F/A-18's wing aboard USS Kitty Hawk.

Clinton Will Face Decisions On U.S. Force on Day One

1/19/1993
Washington Post

As President-to-Be Revels, President To the End Toils

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

Some days, being president is all glamour and glory; the world is an HBO special and you are the star.

Other days, it is all frustration and ambiguity. It is dropping bombs and killing civilians because some freaky dictator seems to leave you no choice.

What is strange this week in Washington is that the presidency is suddenly both things at once. Even stranger, we have a president for each mode. There is the triumphant Bill Clinton, trying not to let Iraq ruin his inaugural spectacle. And there is George Bush, lame duck, shouldering the gravest responsibilities even in the last hours of his term.

The juxtaposition is unsettling; the emotions cacophonous. On television, the fireworks bursting over the Lincoln Memorial looked very much like the antiaircraft tracers streaking the Baghdad sky. The happy shouts for Clinton somehow blended with the mournful groans of Iraqi women.

And when he choppered into Washington from Camp David, wearing his familiar tan raincoat, a worn-looking, slow-talking George Bush evoked memories of that jaunty prepster America elected four years ago. It's commonplace to note how the job ages a man, but a little jarring this year. This is the year of the youth ticket and few care to be reminded that even young men will grow old.

But what was the right way to feel? Plenty of people find something uncomfortable about singing and dancing, dining and drinking when Americans are in combat. To others, it seems wrong *not* to celebrate, as democracy renews itself.

For many, the right way to feel was not-quite-right.

See JOURNAL, A11, Col. 1

the president-in-waiting talked with Clinton with his foreign policy speech for diplomats and attendance at a ceremony at Howard University marking the birthday of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.

At Howard, a historically black university, Clinton joined District government, church and community leaders for a program of songs and dramatic readings. The president-elect promised to "follow the powerful example of Dr. King's convictions into these new responsibilities."

The president-elect, who mouthed the words while listening to a reading of King's "I Have a Dream" speech, also repeated his pledge to stay in touch with common folk.

"I know that God did not drop me on a mountain-top," Clinton said, referring to another famous

See DAY, A11, Col. 3

Great Expectations Survey Finds Optimism Is High For Clinton on Host of Problems

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Americans await President-elect Clinton with great expectations: They predict he will try to make major changes in the federal government and the way Washington works and to achieve "substantial" progress on a host of issues from race relations to health care reform, according to a Washington Post-ABC News poll.

Majorities expect Clinton to be successful on myriad serious problems facing the country, from the environment to the federal budget deficit to AIDS. But those results also raise questions whether Clinton the campaigner may have created unrealistically high expectations.

"I think he promised a lot, and he may have promised too much," said Clinton voter Danielle Bahorski, 25, a pharmacy worker and part-time college student who lives in the Detroit suburb of Redford. She was one of 11 Detroit-area voters who gathered on an icy night last week to talk about their expectations for the Clinton administration.

"I think he's going to give it a good shot," said Doug Cooper, 48, of West Bloomfield, Mich., a

See POLL, A10, Col. 1

confrontation during the last weeks and said his administration "will not waver" in its determination to force Iraq to comply with the U.N. resolutions imposed after the gulf war.

Since Clinton's interview with the New York Times last week in which he suggested that a new relationship with Saddam could be possible if the Iraqi leader abided by the U.N. resolutions, Iraqi leaders have suggested that Clinton would go easier on them than Bush has. Virtually every day since, Clinton has insisted his policies will not differ from Bush's.

But Clinton will face problems holding together the international coalition that pursued the gulf war against Iraq, administration officials said. They spoke of the "hard work, real effort" it took them in this final confrontation to keep that coalition even moderately together. If Saddam turns aggressive again, one

See IRAQ, A16, Col. 1

Nixon Was Last to Take Power During Combat

By Rick Atkinson
Washington Post Staff Writer

The renewal of hostilities against Iraq in the past week means President-elect Clinton will assume of-

NEWS ANALYSIS
fice Wednesday as a new commander in chief forced to determine immediately whether the strategic judgments of his predecessor justify keeping U.S. military forces in combat.

Not since Richard M. Nixon's inauguration in 1969 has a new president come to power with American forces in battle. Although the confrontation with Iraq is much smaller and less divisive than the Vietnam War that Nixon inherited, the policy questions facing Clinton are nonetheless nonetheless—particularly for a

president who had hoped to focus on domestic problems.

They involve not only the immediate issue of how to deal with an obstreperous Saddam Hussein, but also larger questions of American interests in the Persian Gulf, the credibility of the United Nations, and a basic philosophical conundrum concerning the use of force as an instrument of national policy-making.

President Bush, by launching several attacks against Iraq during his last week in office, finally lashed out at Saddam after nearly two years of bitter confrontations following the Persian Gulf War. Bush's decision, while affording a measure of punitive satisfaction, nevertheless puts his successor in a difficult position. The outgoing administra-

See MILITARY, A16, Col. 5

U.S. Beginning Pullout From Somalia Slow Withdrawal Aimed Partly at Forcing U.N. to Take Responsibility

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

MOGADISHU, Somalia, Jan. 18 —U.S. military commanders in Somalia, eager to declare their mission accomplished and head home, are beginning a slow but conspicuous withdrawal aimed in part at forcing the United Nations to assume responsibility for the multinational military relief effort here.

A contingent of 850 Marines was slated to leave Mogadishu International Airport for March Air Force Base in California beginning at 1:30 p.m. Tuesday, the first reduction of

U.S. combat forces in Somalia since the operation began Dec. 9. In addition, U.S. troops have begun washing vehicles and loading them onto the amphibious support ship M.V. Phillips, which is scheduled to depart Mogadishu on Friday.

Neither move is expected to alter significantly the overall size and scope of the U.S. military presence in Somalia. Nevertheless, a senior U.S. officer said, the goal is to "convey the message to the U.N. that, hey, we're not here forever, let's get on the stick and get the ball rolling. It's a very unsentimental warning."

The officer, who spoke on con-

dition of anonymity, said the first departure of troops and equipment would be followed by other incremental withdrawals and that military public affairs officers have been told to invite media coverage of all pullout-related activities.

"You'll see us backloading equipment" onto supply ships, the senior officer said. "... The clock is ticking as far as we're concerned."

U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has argued that the U.S.-led coalition should do more to pacify Somalia before the operation is turned over to peace-keeping

See SOMALIA, A17, Col. 1

Wilder Bill Would Disrupt Thousands of Gun Sales

By Pierre Thomas
Washington Post Staff Writer

RICHMOND—Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder's proposed one-a-month limit on handgun purchases would have halted a minimum of 6,835 multiple firearm sales in the state in the last two years, according to federal statistics.

That figure, though, reflects only multiple purchases in the same week; the actual number halted by the legislation would be far higher, federal and state law enforcement officials say. No one knows exactly how many times an individual buys

more than one handgun a month in Virginia because neither state nor federal agencies keep statistics on that basis.

The imprecision in the figures has led some opponents to suggest that the Democratic governor's plan would do little to reduce handgun sales in the state and change Virginia's image as a major source of weapons for criminals in East Coast cities.

But numbers from the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms show that multiple handgun purchases are common in the

state. During fiscal 1991 and 1992, there were 6,835 cases in which one person bought two or more handguns from the same Virginia dealer in less than a week. Currently, there is no limit on the number of handguns that can be purchased in Virginia.

The federal statistics are for two or more handgun sales a week; Wilder's bill would limit purchases to one handgun a month and would almost certainly block far more sales. Also, the ATF numbers include only those sales reported by dealers; federal officials say some

dealers may not report all multiple purchases. And the numbers do not reflect multiple purchases by individuals from more than one dealer.

"I would have to believe that this is only a small fraction of what's actually happening," O. Randolph Rollins, Virginia secretary of public

See GUNS, A6, Col. 1



INSIDE

Bosnian Aid Convoy

■ U.N. officials who accompanied a relief convoy to the besieged Bosnian town of Zepa say they found conditions there to be not as life-threatening as feared.

WORLD Page A14

USAir Deal Close

■ USAir and British Airways are near agreement on a \$340 million investment in the U.S. carrier, but American Airlines wants to block the deal.

BUSINESS, Page D1



Inaugural Countdown

■ METRO: Hustling cabbies, plus an inaugural events map and the week's official closings. Pages B1, B4, B5, B6

■ STYLE: Dinners, Hillary's walk on the Mall, fake galas, plus a look behind the scenes at Sunday's concert. Page C1, C4, C8

Public Holds Great Expectations For New President, Survey Shows

POLL, From A1

choolteacher and Clinton voter. But the problems may be so intense and so deep and so long-term that you can't turn it around in a short period of time."

The ambivalence of Bahorski and Cooper echoed the unsettled mood of many Americans on the eve of Clinton's inauguration. Half of those surveyed—53 percent—said they were either "excited" or "optimistic" about the Clinton administration. But nearly as many—45 percent—said they were either "concerned" or "scared" about what four years of Clinton means for them and the country.

The survey also found that President Bush, who claimed just 38 percent of the vote in last November's election, leaves office more popular now than at any time in nearly two years.

Buoyed by public support for recent U.S. and allied military strikes against Iraq—actions that most of those surveyed expect will lead to a full-out war—Bush won the approval of nearly six in 10 for the way he has handled his presidency.

To measure public expectations for the Clinton administration, the Post-ABC News poll interviewed 1,510 randomly selected adults Jan. 14-17. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

According to the poll, the surge of national confidence that immediately followed Clinton's election last November apparently has peaked. More than 60 percent said the country is off on the wrong track, largely unchanged from a month ago.

The survey also found that Clinton faces a public that has taken him at his word, and that word is change. Three in four said the country "needs to make major changes in the way the federal government works," and more than half expect Clinton to make needed changes to government.

"Take out your speeches. Read them. Then do the things that ac-

tually got you where you are," said Linda Hunt, 37, a police officer from Ferndale, Mich., who participated in the focus group.

"I was ready for a change," said Beverly Share, 54, of West Bloomfield, an elementary school teacher who voted for Clinton. "I'm just so eager to see different things. I'm eager to see a fresh young face, and I'm eager to see new ideas. ... What have we got to lose?"

The new administration faces much higher public expectations than Bush did four years ago in a number of key areas.

According to the survey, 51 percent say they expect Clinton to make "substantial" progress reducing poverty; 37 percent of those questioned in 1989 had similarly high expectations of Bush.

Sixty-eight percent expect Clinton to make substantial progress dealing with environmental problems. In 1989, after Bush's pledge to be "the environmental president," 57 percent expected meaningful progress on the environment from his administration.

Overall, 63 percent expect Clinton to make significant progress dealing with the nation's economic problems, named by these respondents as their biggest concern, and 62 percent expect Clinton to reduce unemployment.

"I think he'll create jobs," Ron Waxmonsky, a General Motors engineer who voted for Ross Perot, said of Clinton. "It's not impossible in the short term, and it was a big part of his campaign. But I don't figure they are going to be big-paying jobs that are going to be lasting jobs."

Despite recent good news about the economy, including soaring consumer confidence and better-than-expected Christmas sales, the latest Post-ABC poll finds the public remaining, at least for the moment, pessimistic about the relative health of the economy.

According to the poll, nearly a third of those surveyed—32 percent—said the nation's economy is better, but 28 percent said it is getting worse and 40 percent said they

notice no change. Those numbers are essentially unchanged from a month ago but sharply improved from November, when only about one in five said the economy was on the upswing.

Nearly half—45 percent—of those surveyed agreed with Clinton that deficit reduction should be his administration's top economic goal, a move particularly favored by Perot voters. Twenty-seven percent favored instead a tax cut for middle-income Americans and 22 percent supported a short-term spending increase to nourish the recovery that economists generally say is underway.

"Any reduction in the deficit would be acceptable to me," said Bob Dedy, 38, a product designer for General Motors who voted for Bush "even though I didn't really want to." He said that even if Clinton did not cut the deficit, "just stayed where we are now, he would get four more years out of me."

Despite Clinton's early pledges to cut taxes for the middle class, 54 percent of those surveyed expect him to raise taxes on the middle class and most, not surprisingly, think that's a bad idea. But 72 percent expect Clinton to raise taxes on the wealthy, a prospect that would be welcomed by three out of four Americans. Overall, nearly seven in 10 said they believe a tax increase is in their future.

Health care reform also remains near the top of the public's agenda for the Clinton years. Nearly seven out of 10 expect substantial progress from Clinton on health care issues. Three out of four also expect Clinton to make substantial progress ending the legislative gridlock with Congress that characterized the Reagan and Bush years.

But less than half of those surveyed expect Clinton to make significant progress dealing with the country's crime and drug problems—problems that most Americans believe are beyond the ability of any president to solve, the survey indicated.

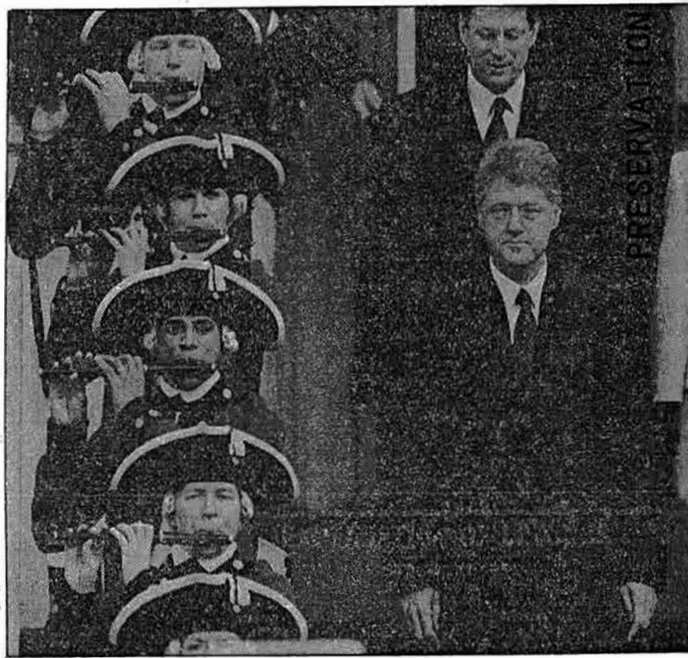
Despite last year's long, contentious and issue-filled presidential campaign, seven in 10 respondents said they do not have a good idea where Clinton will lead the country—and nearly two out of three—64 percent—expect Clinton to try to keep most of his important campaign promises, even if they were not quite sure what those promises were.

Americans seem to like what they have seen so far of Clinton and his administration. Eight of 10 interviewed said they approved of the way Clinton has handled the transition of power, and six in 10 approved of the choices Clinton has made for his Cabinet.

Seven in 10 approved of the Clintons' decision to send their daughter, Chelsea, to a private school, and only a third said Hillary Clinton exercises too much influence over her husband.

Overall, 55 percent said Clinton will do a better job than Bush as president. Twenty-one percent expect him to do a worse job, while 17 percent expect him to do "about the same job" as his predecessor.

Clinton also has succeeded, at least for the moment, in occupying the populist high ground. Three out



Pipe and drum corps plays as Clintons and Gores arrive at Georgetown University for president

Clinton Assures Diplomats Of Continuity in Foreign Policy

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

President-elect Clinton, who had, campaigned on a theme of change, took pains yesterday to assure the world community—and to warn Iraqi President Saddam Hussein—that the switch in administrations will not bring significant change in foreign policy.

Underscoring his support for U.N. enforcement actions against Saddam, as he has since the current crisis began last week, Clinton said the Iraqi leader "must understand that America's resolve during the transition period will not waver."

Speaking to more than 200 members of the diplomatic corps at his alma mater, Georgetown University, Clinton offered an uncomplicated message. "I ask each of you in the diplomatic corps to emphasize this point to your government: That policy will remain American policy after January 20," he said.

Clinton, heralded by an Army pipe and drum corps in colonial garb in the spot where President George Washington spoke in 1797, told the assembled ambassadors and diplomats that they should not expect a marked shift in overall foreign policy with the new administration.

"The American people have called for a new administration, yet there is an essential continuity in American foreign policy," said Clinton, who will inherit several ongoing foreign policy headaches.

Without mentioning President Bush by name, Clinton said he would "build on the successes of my predecessors in specific areas in the quest for peace in the Middle East, the effort to safely reduce our nuclear arsenal and stem weapons proliferation, the bold decision to relieve the suffering in Somalia, the assistance to the process of reform in the former Soviet Union, and the search for new and expanding markets."

During the campaign, Clinton criticized Bush for caution in responding to a changing world, for downgrading human rights as a central element of American foreign



The Clintons, Mayor Kelly and Vice President-elect performer at Howard University tribute to the Re

members of rival Los Angeles gangs, disabled youngsters whose parents confronted problems paying for health care, an Oregon timber industry worker who lost his job and sought retraining.

As he spoke, the incoming president sounded nostalgic for those days and mindful of the difficult path ahead.

"I'll remember who sent us here," Clinton told them, "and I'll remember that this town, which gets so caught up in itself, and who's in and who's out, and who's up and who's down, and the gossip that's in the paper every day about the manipulations of power doesn't amount to one hill of beans unless we are spending all the money that you send us to try to help deal with your problems in an honest and forthright way."

The Faces of Hope luncheon, in the Elizabethan setting of the Folger Shakespeare Library's reading room, provided the most emotional moment of the day, when Clinton

Pratt K visited his first that "th Washing Stand claiming bia," Cli very gc Gore in me i forget t At th national Scowcr been c aides. A sei ton's te of the n ing mos senior d a short team ha or other As th tion wa aftermo

ANTICIPATING THE CLINTON YEARS

OPTIMISM AND CONCERN

A majority of Americans are optimistic about the Clinton administration, with five in 10 saying they are either excited or optimistic about the next four years, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News national survey. Six out of 10 of those surveyed said they expect Clinton to try to keep his most important campaign promises and a plurality want Clinton to make the federal budget deficit his top economic priority.

Q: Thinking about what to expect in the next four years from Bill Clinton, would you say you are:

Excited	11%
Optimistic, but not excited	42
Concerned, but not scared	33
Scared	12

Q: Do you think Clinton will try to keep most of his important campaign promises during his term as president, or not?

Yes, will try to keep promises	64%
No, will not try	34

Q: Thinking about the economy, which of the following should be the most important goal for the Clinton administration:

A major reduction in the federal deficit	45%
Short-term spending to boost the economy	22
A middle-class tax cut	27

c support for re-
d military strikes
ons that most of
pect will lead to
won the approval
for the way he
residency.
public expectations
administration, the
poll interviewed
ected adults Jan.
ampling error for
is plus or minus
s.
e poll, the surge
that immedi-
Clinton's election
apparently has
60 percent said
f on the wrong
changed from a
found that Clin-
that has taken
and that word is
ur said the coun-
e major changes
eral government
than half expect
ed changes to
speeches. Read
things that ac-

dealing with environmental prob-
lems. In 1989, after Bush's pledge
to be "the environmental presi-
dent," 57 percent expected mean-
ingful progress on the environment
from his administration.

Overall, 63 percent expect Clin-
ton to make significant progress
dealing with the nation's economic
problems, named by these respon-
dents as their biggest concern, and
62 percent expect Clinton to reduce
unemployment.

"I think he'll create jobs," Ron
Waxmonsky, a General Motors en-
gineer who voted for Ross Perot,
said of Clinton. "It's not impossible
in the short term, and it was a big
part of his campaign. But I don't
figure they are going to be big-pay-
ing jobs that are going to be lasting
jobs."

Despite recent good news about
the economy, including soaring con-
sumer confidence and better-than-
expected Christmas sales, the latest
Post-ABC poll finds the public re-
maining, at least for the moment,
pessimistic about the relative health
of the economy.

According to the poll, nearly a
third of those surveyed—32 per-
cent—said the nation's economy is
better, but 28 percent said it is get-
ting worse and 40 percent said they

ton did not cut the deficit, "just
stayed where we are now, he would
get four more years out of me."

Despite Clinton's early pledges to
cut taxes for the middle class, 54
percent of those surveyed expect
him to raise taxes on the middle
class and most, not surprisingly,
think that's a bad idea. But 72 per-
cent expect Clinton to raise taxes
on the wealthy, a prospect that
would be welcomed by three out of
four Americans. Overall, nearly
seven in 10 said they believe a tax
increase is in their future.

Health care reform also remains
near the top of the public's agenda
for the Clinton years. Nearly seven
out of 10 expect substantial progress
from Clinton on health care
issues. Three out of four also ex-
pect Clinton to make substantial
progress ending the legislative grid-
lock with Congress that character-
ized the Reagan and Bush years.

But less than half of those sur-
veyed expect Clinton to make sig-
nificant progress dealing with the
country's crime and drug prob-
lems—problems that most Amer-
icans believe are beyond the ability
of any president to solve, the sur-
vey indicated.

Despite last year's long, conten-
tious and issue-filled presidential
campaign, seven in 10 respondents
said they do not have a good idea
where Clinton will lead the coun-
try—and nearly two out of three—
64 percent—expect Clinton to try
to keep most of his important cam-
paign promises, even if they were
not quite sure what those promises
were.

Americans seem to like what
they have seen so far of Clinton and
his administration. Eight of 10 in-
terviewed said they approved of the
way Clinton has handled the transi-
tion of power, and six in 10 ap-
proved of the choices Clinton has
made for his Cabinet.

Seven in 10 approved of the Clin-
tons' decision to send their daugh-
ter, Chelsea, to a private school,
and only a third said Hillary Clinton
exercises too much influence over
her husband.

Overall, 55 percent said Clinton
will do a better job than Bush as
president. Twenty-one percent ex-
pect him to do a worse job, while 17
percent expect him to do "about the
same job" as his predecessor.

Clinton also has succeeded, at
least for the moment, in occupying
the populist high ground. Three out
of four respondents said Clinton
understands the problems of "peo-
ple like you." And in sharp contrast
to Bush, who was viewed as more
concerned with the problems of
wealthy Americans, Clinton was
seen by nearly two out of three re-
spondents as someone who "cares
equally about serving all people."

The survey also found that, as his
presidency ends, Bush is enjoying a
surge in popular appeal. In the lat-
est poll, 56 percent said they ap-
proved of the job Bush did as pre-
sident. Nearly two out of three
Americans now have an overall fa-
vorable view of him, his highest rat-
ing since fall 1991.

But Bush leaves office with two
out of three Americans disapprov-
ing of the way he handled the na-
tion's economy, although three out
of four approved of his handling of
foreign affairs, the survey indi-
cated. A majority of those surveyed
expect Clinton to do at least as well
as Bush in conducting the nation's
foreign policy.

Still, the 1992 election was about
America's domestic problems. Wax-
monsky suggested that Clinton will
be helped, not hurt, during his first
term by the large number of seem-
ingly intractable problems that his
administration is inheriting.

"At GM, we don't call them prob-
lems, we call them opportunities,"
he said. "Clinton has lots of oppor-
tunities."

Senior polling analyst Sharon
Warden contributed to this report.

Clinton Assures Diplomatic Corps Of Continuity in Foreign Policy

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

President-elect Clinton, who had
campaign on a theme of change,
took pains yesterday to assure the
world community—and to warn
Iraqi President Saddam Hussein—
that the switch in administrations
will not bring significant change in
foreign policy.

Underscoring his support for
U.N. enforcement actions against
Saddam, as he has since the current
crisis began last week, Clinton said
the Iraqi leader "must understand
that America's resolve during the
transition period will not waver."

Speaking to more than 200 mem-
bers of the diplomatic corps at his
alma mater, Georgetown Univer-
sity, Clinton offered an uncompli-
cated message, "I ask each of you in
the diplomatic corps to emphasize
this point to your government: That
policy will remain American policy
after January 20," he said.

Clinton, heralded by an Army life
and drum corps in colonial garb in
the spot where President George
Washington spoke in 1797, told the
assembled ambassadors and diplo-
mats that they should not expect a
marked shift in overall foreign pol-
icy with the new administration.

"The American people have
called for a new administration, yet
there is an essential continuity in
American foreign policy," said Clin-
ton, who will inherit several ongo-
ing foreign policy headaches.

Without mentioning President
Bush by name, Clinton said he
would "build on the successes of my
predecessors in specific areas in the
quest for peace in the Middle East,
the effort to safely reduce our nu-
clear arsenal and stem weapons
proliferation, the bold decision to
relieve the suffering in Somalia, the
assistance to the process of reform
in the former Soviet Union, and the
search for new and expanding mar-
kets."

During the campaign, Clinton
criticized Bush for caution in re-
sponding to a changing world, for
downgrading human rights as a cen-
tral element of American foreign
policy and for being slow to make
economic issues a focus of foreign
policy efforts.

Clinton, in his first full day here,
reached out to an international
community that barely knows him;
visited with residents of his new
home town at a Howard University
salute to the Rev. Martin Luther
King Jr.; and took an emotional look
back at the people who inspired him
as he campaigned across the coun-
try.

Clinton's Faces of Hope luncheon
included 53 people that the Clintons
and Gores met during the cam-
paign: an HIV-infected doctor who
cares for AIDS patients, former



The Clintons, Mayor Kelly and Vice President-elect Gore respond to a performer at Howard University tribute to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

members of rival Los Angeles
gangs, disabled youngsters whose
parents confronted problems paying
for health care, an Oregon timber
industry worker who lost his job and
sought retraining.

As he spoke, the incoming pre-
sident sounded nostalgic for those
days and mindful of the difficult
path ahead.

"I'll remember who sent us here,"
Clinton told them, "and I'll remem-
ber that this town, which gets so
caught up in itself, and who's in and
who's out, and who's up and who's
down, and the gossip that's in the
paper every day about the manipu-
lations of power doesn't amount to
one hill of beans unless we are
spending all the money that you
send us to try to help deal with your
problems in an honest and forth-
right way."

The Faces of Hope luncheon, in
the Elizabethan setting of the Fol-
ger Shakespeare Library's reading
room, provided the most emotional
moment of the day, when Clinton
told the group that every guest he
invited had come but one: Ricky
Ray, the Florida boy who died of
AIDS last month at age 15 after
gaining national attention when he
was barred from attending school
because of his illness.

Clinton said Ray's parents and
three siblings were at the lunch "for
him, and for the idea that we have
to go on, and that we can't give up."
Tying that to his inauguration, he
added, "I want you to know, as pre-
sident I'll make my mistakes, be-
cause I believe in doing things, and
people who do, err."

At the King event at Howard
University, District Mayor Sharon

Pratt Kelly reminded Clinton
visited upper Georgia after
his first trip here after the
that "there is a D.C. be-
Washington Monument."

Standing in front of a ba-
claiming "The State of New
bia," Clinton said the Dis-
very good to Bill Clinton
Gore in November and ver-
me in the primary and I
forget that."

At the White House, offi-
national security adviser
Scowcroft and his top a-
been continually briefing
aides.

A senior official said Clin-
ton's team had asked more
of the national security sta-
ing most of the directors
senior directors, to stay in
a short period because
team has not been selected
or otherwise put in place.

As the public inaugura-
tion was going on late y-
afternoon, top Bush and
aides held a quiet meeting
White House to put in place
the final details of Wed-
transition of power. Clinton
staff Thomas F. "Mack"
and Bruce Lindsey, senior
and head of personnel, Bush
staff James A. Baker III
transition head, Andrew Ca-
handful of other aides atten-
hour-long session.

McLarty said afterward
meeting was "just to e-
smooth transition, just di-
transition details."

Staff writer Ann Devroy con-
tributed to this report.

PATING THE CLINTON YEARS

OPTIMISM AND CONCERN

Americans are optimistic about the Clinton
transition, with five in 10 saying they are either
optimistic about the next four years, according to a
Post-ABC News national survey. Six out of 10
said they expect Clinton to try to keep his most
important campaign promises and a plurality want Clinton to
keep his budget deficit his top economic priority.

What do you expect in the next four years from Bill Clinton,
if you are:

Optimistic, but not excited	42
Concerned, but not scared	33
Neither	12

Clinton will try to keep most of his important campaign
promises, or not?

Will try to keep promises	64%
Will not try	34

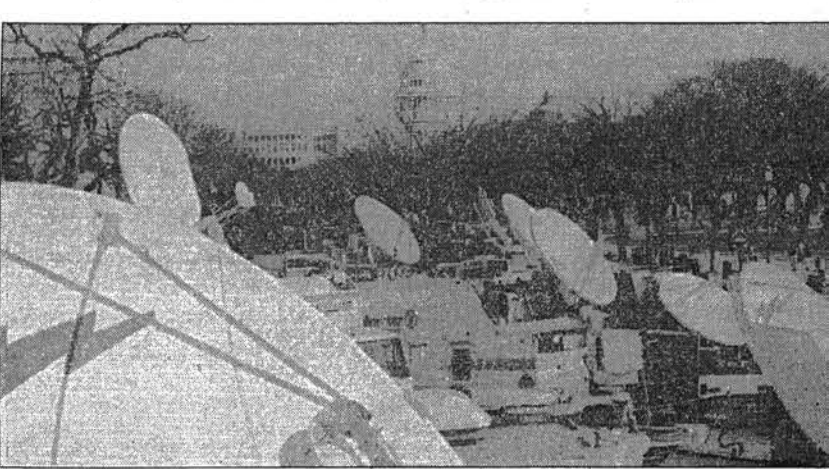
At the economy, which of the following should be the
top goal for the Clinton administration:

Reduction in the federal deficit	45%
Increasing spending to boost the economy	22
Reducing class tax cut	27

What do you expect the Clinton administration to make substantial
progress on in the next four years? (Select all that apply.)

Progress to pass laws the country needs	76%
Environment	70
Environmental problems	68
Cost and availability of health care	68
Relations with Japan	64
Nation's economy	63
Unemployment	62
Economic problems of the middle class	61
International competitiveness of U.S. businesses	61
Trade imbalance	56
AIDS	56
Sound foreign policy, overall	55
Crime	55
Inflation	53
Race relations in government	53
Lessons from the Vietnam war	53
Federal budget deficit	52
Life in this country	51
Relations with Japan	49
Drug problem	42
Other	38

1 to 100 percent because no opinion and no answer are not shown.
Washington Post-ABC News national telephone survey of 1,510 randomly
selected adults. Margin of sampling error for overall results is plus or minus 3
percentage points. Survey conducted by Chilton Research of Radnor, Pa.



Satellite dishes belonging to media services are lined up along the Mall to carry coverage of swearing-in Wednesday.

THE INAUGURATION OF WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON



Public Holds Great Expectations For New President, Survey Shows

POLL, From A1

schoolteacher and Clinton voter. "But the problems may be so intense and so deep and so long-term that you can't turn it around in a short period of time."

The ambivalence of Bahorski and Cooper echoed the unsettled mood of many Americans on the eve of Clinton's inauguration. Half of those surveyed—53 percent—said they were either "excited" or "optimistic" about the Clinton administration. But nearly as many—45 percent—said they were either "concerned" or "scared" about what four years of Clinton means for them and for the country.

The survey also found that President Bush, who claimed just 38 percent of the vote in last November's election, leaves office more popular now than at any time in nearly two years.

Buoyed by public support for recent U.S. and allied military strikes against Iraq—actions that most of those surveyed expect will lead to all-out war—Bush won the approval of nearly six in 10 for the way he has handled his presidency.

To measure public expectations for the Clinton administration, the Post-ABC News poll interviewed 1,510 randomly selected adults Jan. 14-17. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

According to the poll, the surge of national confidence that immediately followed Clinton's election last November apparently has peaked. More than 60 percent said the country is off on the wrong track, largely unchanged from a month ago.

The survey also found that Clinton faces a public that has taken him at his word, and that word is change. Three in four said the country "needs to make major changes in the way the federal government works," and more than half expect

tually got you where you are," said Linda Hunt, 37, a police officer from Ferndale, Mich., who participated in the focus group.

"I was ready for a change," said Beverly Share, 54, of West Bloomfield, an elementary school teacher who voted for Clinton. "I'm just so eager to see different things. I'm eager to see a fresh young face, and I'm eager to see new ideas. ... What have we got to lose?"

The new administration faces much higher public expectations than Bush did four years ago in a number of key areas.

According to the survey, 51 percent say they expect Clinton to make "substantial" progress reducing poverty; 37 percent of those questioned in 1989 had similarly high expectations of Bush.

Sixty-eight percent expect Clinton to make substantial progress dealing with environmental problems. In 1989, after Bush's pledge to be "the environmental president," 57 percent expected meaningful progress on the environment from his administration.

Overall, 63 percent expect Clinton to make significant progress dealing with the nation's economic problems, named by these respondents as their biggest concern, and 62 percent expect Clinton to reduce unemployment.

"I think he'll create jobs," Ron Waxmonsky, a General Motors engineer who voted for Ross Perot, said of Clinton. "It's not impossible in the short term, and it was a big part of his campaign. But I don't figure they are going to be big-paying jobs that are going to be lasting jobs."

Despite recent good news about the economy, including soaring consumer confidence and better-than-expected Christmas sales, the latest Post-ABC poll finds the public remaining, at least for the moment, pessimistic about the relative health of the economy.

According to the poll, nearly a

notice no change. Those numbers are essentially unchanged from a month ago but sharply improved from November, when only about one in five said the economy was on the upswing.

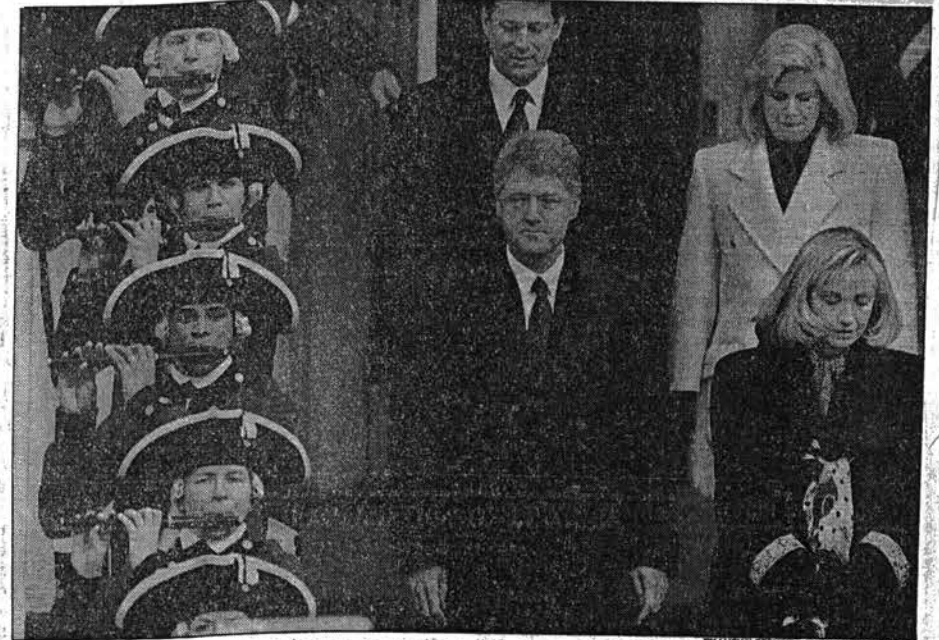
Nearly half—45 percent—of those surveyed agreed with Clinton that deficit reduction should be his administration's top economic goal, a move particularly favored by Perot voters. Twenty-seven percent favored instead a tax cut for middle-income Americans and 22 percent supported a short-term spending increase to nourish the recovery that economists generally say is underway.

"Any reduction in the deficit would be acceptable to me," said Bob Dedy, 38, a product designer for General Motors who voted for Bush "even though I didn't really want to." He said that even if Clinton did not cut the deficit, "just stayed where we are now, he would get four more years out of me."

Despite Clinton's early pledges to cut taxes for the middle class, 54 percent of those surveyed expect him to raise taxes on the middle class and most, not surprisingly, think that's a bad idea. But 72 percent expect Clinton to raise taxes on the wealthy, a prospect that would be welcomed by three out of four Americans. Overall, nearly seven in 10 said they believe a tax increase is in their future.

Health care reform also remains near the top of the public's agenda for the Clinton years. Nearly seven out of 10 expect substantial progress from Clinton on health care issues. Three out of four also expect Clinton to make substantial progress ending the legislative gridlock with Congress that characterized the Reagan and Bush years.

But less than half of those surveyed expect Clinton to make significant progress dealing with the country's crime and drug problems—problems that most Amer-



Fife and drum corps plays as Clintons and Gores arrive at Georgetown University for president-elect's speech to diplomats.

Clinton Assures Diplomatic Corps Of Continuity in Foreign Policy

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

President-elect Clinton, who had campaigned on a theme of change, took pains yesterday to assure the world community—and to warn Iraqi President Saddam Hussein—that the switch in administrations will not bring significant change in foreign policy.

Underscoring his support for U.N. enforcement actions against Saddam, as he has since the current crisis began last week, Clinton said the Iraqi leader "must understand that America's resolve during the transition period will not waver."

Speaking to more than 200 members of the diplomatic corps at his alma mater, Georgetown University, Clinton offered an uncompli-



1/19/1993
 Washington Post

A majority of Americans are optimistic about the Clinton administration, with five in 10 saying they are either excited or optimistic about the next four years, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News national survey. Six out of 10 of those surveyed said they expect Clinton to try to keep his most important campaign promises and a plurality want Clinton to make the federal budget deficit his top economic priority.

Q: Thinking about what to expect in the next four years from Bill Clinton, would you say you are:

Excited	11%
Optimistic, but not excited	42
Concerned, but not scared	33
Scared	12

Q: Do you think Clinton will try to keep most of his important campaign promises during his term as president, or not?

Yes, will try to keep promises	64%
No, will not try	34

Q: Thinking about the economy, which of the following should be the most important goal for the Clinton administration:

A major reduction in the federal deficit	45%
Short-term spending to boost the economy	22
A middle-class tax cut	27

EXPECTATIONS

Americans expect the Clinton administration to make substantial progress dealing with the problems of working with Congress, education, dealing with the environment and improving health care. But widespread doubts remain whether he can do as well handling crime, the drug problem and relations with Japan.

Q: Thinking now of Clinton's first term in office, do you expect the Clinton administration to make substantial progress or not in:

(Percentage expecting substantial progress)

Working with Congress to pass laws the country needs	76%
Improving education	70
Dealing with environmental problems	68
Improving the cost and availability of health care	68
Improving race relations	64
Improving the nation's economy	63
Reducing unemployment	62
Dealing with the problems of the middle class	61
Improving the international competitiveness of American businesses	61
Improving the nation's trade imbalance	56
Dealing with the AIDS disease	56
Establishing a sound foreign policy, overall	55
Dealing with Russia	55
Holding down inflation	53
Improving the level of ethics in government	53
Reducing homelessness	53
Dealing with the federal budget deficit	52
Reducing poverty in this country	51
Handling relations with Japan	49
Reducing the drug problem	42
Reducing crime	38

NOTE: Figures may not add to 100 percent because no opinion and no answer are not shown. Figures are based on a Washington Post-ABC News national telephone survey of 1,510 randomly selected adults conducted Jan. 14-17. Margin of sampling error for overall results is plus or minus 3 percentage points. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research of Radnor, Pa.

where Clinton will lead the country—and nearly two out of three—64 percent—expect Clinton to try to keep most of his important campaign promises, even if they were not quite sure what those promises were.

Americans seem to like what they have seen so far of Clinton and his administration. Eight of 10 interviewed said they approved of the way Clinton has handled the transition of power, and six in 10 approved of the choices Clinton has made for his Cabinet.

Seven in 10 approved of the Clintons' decision to send their daughter, Chelsea, to a private school, and only a third said Hillary Clinton exercises too much influence over her husband.

Overall, 55 percent said Clinton will do a better job than Bush as president. Twenty-one percent expect him to do a worse job, while 17 percent expect him to do "about the same job" as his predecessor.

Clinton also has succeeded, at least for the moment, in occupying the populist high ground. Three out of four respondents said Clinton understands the problems of "people like you." And in sharp contrast to Bush, who was viewed as more concerned with the problems of wealthy Americans, Clinton was seen by nearly two out of three respondents as someone who "cares equally about serving all people."

The survey also found that, as his presidency ends, Bush is enjoying a surge in popular appeal. In the latest poll, 56 percent said they approved of the job Bush did as president. Nearly two out of three Americans now have an overall favorable view of him, his highest rating since fall 1991.

But Bush leaves office with two out of three Americans disapproving of the way he handled the nation's economy, although three out of four approved of his handling of foreign affairs, the survey indicated. A majority of those surveyed expect Clinton to do at least as well as Bush in conducting the nation's foreign policy.

Still, the 1992 election was about America's domestic problems. Waxmonsky suggested that Clinton will be helped, not hurt, during his first term by the large number of seemingly intractable problems that his administration is inheriting.

"At GM, we don't call them problems, we call them opportunities," he said. "Clinton has lots of opportunities."

Senior polling analyst Sharon Warden contributed to this report.

the spot where President George Washington spoke in 1797, told the assembled ambassadors and diplomats that they should not expect a marked shift in overall foreign policy with the new administration.

"The American people have called for a new administration, yet there is an essential continuity in American foreign policy," said Clinton, who will inherit several ongoing foreign policy headaches.

Without mentioning President Bush by name, Clinton said he would "build on the successes of my predecessors in specific areas in the quest for peace in the Middle East, the effort to safely reduce our nuclear arsenal and stem weapons proliferation, the bold decision to relieve the suffering in Somalia, the assistance to the process of reform in the former Soviet Union, and the search for new and expanding markets."

During the campaign, Clinton criticized Bush for caution in responding to a changing world, for downgrading human rights as a central element of American foreign policy and for being slow to make economic issues a focus of foreign policy efforts.

Clinton, in his first full day here, reached out to an international community that barely knows him; visited with residents of his new home town at a Howard University salute to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.; and took an emotional look back at the people who inspired him as he campaigned across the country.

Clinton's Faces of Hope luncheon included 53 people that the Clintons and Gores met during the campaign: an HIV-infected doctor who cares for AIDS patients, former

members of rival Los Angeles gangs, disabled youngsters whose parents confronted problems paying for health care, an Oregon timber industry worker who lost his job and sought retraining.

As he spoke, the incoming president sounded nostalgic for those days and mindful of the difficult path ahead.

"I'll remember who sent us here," Clinton told them, "and I'll remember that this town, which gets so caught up in itself, and who's in and who's out, and who's up and who's down, and the gossip that's in the paper every day about the manipulations of power doesn't amount to one hill of beans unless we are spending all the money that you send us to try to help deal with your problems in an honest and forthright way."

The Faces of Hope luncheon, in the Elizabethan setting of the Folger Shakespeare Library's reading room, provided the most emotional moment of the day, when Clinton told the group that every guest he invited had come but one: Ricky Ray, the Florida boy who died of AIDS last month at age 15 after gaining national attention when he was barred from attending school because of his illness.

Clinton said Ray's parents and three siblings were at the lunch "for him, and for the idea that we have to go on, and that we can't give up." Tying that to his inauguration, he added, "I want you to know, as president I'll make my mistakes, because I believe in doing things, and people who do, err."

At the King event at Howard University, District Mayor Sharon

Pratt Kelly reminded Clinton, who visited upper Georgia Avenue on his first trip here after the election, that "there is a D.C. beyond the Washington Monument."

Standing in front of a banner proclaiming "The State of New Columbia," Clinton said the District "was very good to Bill Clinton and Al Gore in November and very good to me in the primary and I'll never forget that."

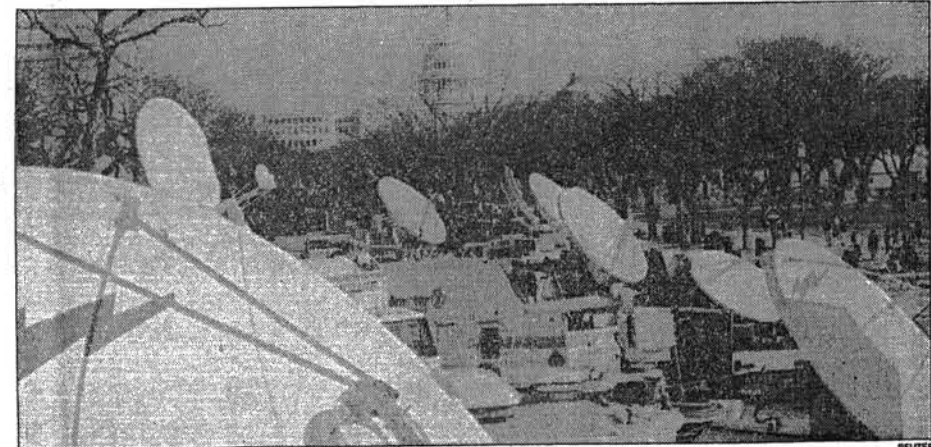
At the White House, officials said national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and his top aides had been continually briefing Clinton aides.

A senior official said that Clinton's team had asked more than half of the national security staff, including most of the directors and some senior directors, to stay in place for a short period because the new team has not been selected, cleared or otherwise put in place.

As the public inaugural celebration was going on late yesterday afternoon, top Bush and Clinton aides held a quiet meeting at the White House to put in place some of the final details of Wednesday's transition of power. Clinton chief of staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty and Bruce Lindsey, senior adviser and head of personnel, Bush chief of staff James A. Baker III and his transition head, Andrew Card, and a handful of other aides attended the hour-long session.

McLarty said afterward that the meeting was "just to ensure a smooth transition, just discussing transition details."

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.



Satellite dishes belonging to media services are lined up along the Mall to carry coverage of swearing-in Wednesday.

Public Holds Great Expectations For New President, Survey Shows

POEL FROM A1

schoolteacher and Clinton voter. "But the problems may be so intense and so deep and so long-term that you can't turn it around in a short period of time."

The ambivalence of Bahorski and Cooper echoed the unsettled mood of many Americans on the eve of Clinton's inauguration. Half of those surveyed—53 percent—said they were either "excited" or "optimistic" about the Clinton administration. But nearly as many—45 percent—said they were either "concerned" or "scared" about what four years of Clinton means for them and for the country.

The survey also found that President Bush, who claimed just 38 percent of the vote in last November's election, leaves office more popular now than at any time in nearly two years.

Buoyed by public support for recent U.S. and allied military strikes against Iraq—actions that most of those surveyed expect will lead to all-out war—Bush won the approval of nearly six in 10 for the way he has handled his presidency.

To measure public expectations for the Clinton administration, the Post-ABC News poll interviewed 1,510 randomly selected adults Jan. 14-17. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

According to the poll, the surge of national confidence that immediately followed Clinton's election last November apparently has peaked. More than 60 percent said the country is off on the wrong track, largely unchanged from a month ago.

The survey also found that Clinton faces a public that has taken him at his word, and that word is change. Three in four said the country "needs to make major changes in the way the federal government works." And more than half expect Clinton to make needed changes to government.

tually got you where you are," said Linda Hunt, 37, a police officer from Ferndale, Mich., who participated in the focus group.

"I was ready for a change," said Beverly Share, 54, of West Bloomfield, an elementary school teacher who voted for Clinton. "I'm just so eager to see different things. I'm eager to see a fresh young face, and I'm eager to see new ideas. . . . What have we got to lose?"

The new administration faces much higher public expectations than Bush did four years ago in a number of key areas.

According to the survey, 51 percent say they expect Clinton to make "substantial" progress reducing poverty; 37 percent of those questioned in 1989 had similarly high expectations of Bush.

Sixty-eight percent expect Clinton to make substantial progress dealing with environmental problems. In 1989, after Bush's pledge to be "the environmental president," 57 percent expected meaningful progress on the environment from his administration.

Overall, 63 percent expect Clinton to make significant progress dealing with the nation's economic problems, named by these respondents as their biggest concern, and 62 percent expect Clinton to reduce unemployment.

"I think he'll create jobs," Ron Waxmonsky, a General Motors engineer who voted for Ross Perot, said of Clinton. "It's not impossible in the short term, and it was a big part of his campaign. But I don't figure they are going to be big-paying jobs that are going to be lasting jobs."

Despite recent good news about the economy, including soaring consumer confidence and better-than-expected Christmas sales, the latest Post-ABC poll finds the public remaining, at least for the moment, pessimistic about the relative health of the economy.

According to the poll, nearly a third of those surveyed—32 percent—said the nation's economy is

notice no change. Those numbers are essentially unchanged from a month ago but sharply improved from November, when only about one in five said the economy was on the upswing.

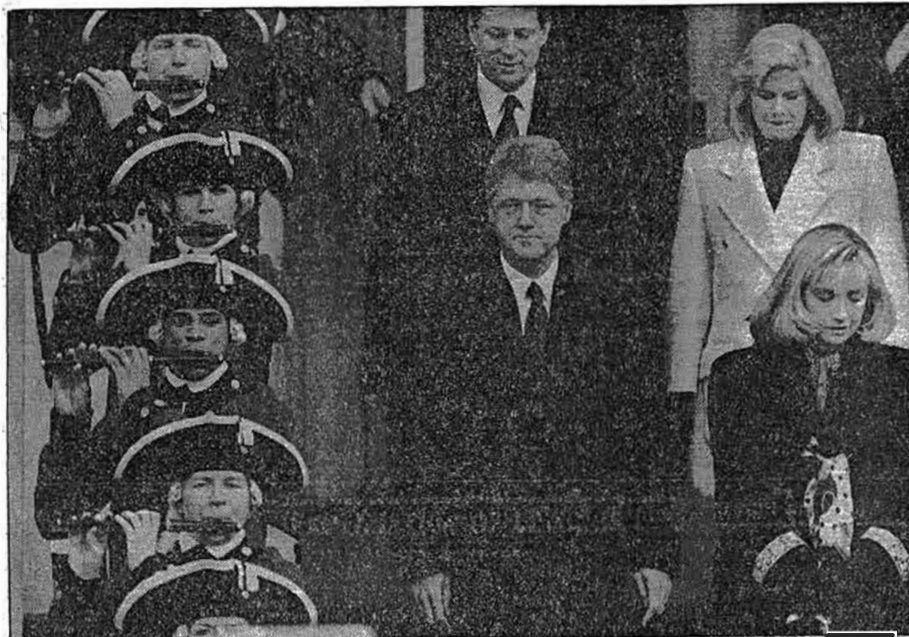
Nearly half—45 percent—of those surveyed agreed with Clinton that deficit reduction should be his administration's top economic goal, a move particularly favored by Perot voters. Twenty-seven percent favored instead a tax cut for middle-income Americans and 22 percent supported a short-term spending increase to nourish the recovery that economists generally say is underway.

"Any reduction in the deficit would be acceptable to me," said Bob Deady, 38, a product designer for General Motors who voted for Bush "even though I didn't really want to." He said that even if Clinton did not cut the deficit, "just stayed where we are now, he would get four more years out of me."

Despite Clinton's early pledges to cut taxes for the middle class, 54 percent of those surveyed expect him to raise taxes on the middle class and most, not surprisingly, think that's a bad idea. But 72 percent expect Clinton to raise taxes on the wealthy, a prospect that would be welcomed by three out of four Americans. Overall, nearly seven in 10 said they believe a tax increase is in their future.

Health care reform also remains near the top of the public's agenda for the Clinton years. Nearly seven out of 10 expect substantial progress from Clinton on health care issues. Three out of four also expect Clinton to make substantial progress ending the legislative gridlock with Congress that characterized the Reagan and Bush years.

But less than half of those surveyed expect Clinton to make significant progress dealing with the country's crime and drug problems—problems that most Americans believe are beyond the ability of any president to solve, the survey indicated.



File and drum corps plays as Clintons and Gores arrive at Georgetown University for president-elect's speech to diplomats.

Clinton Assures Diplomatic Corps Of Continuity in Foreign Policy

By Ruth Marcus
 Washington Post Staff Writer

President-elect Clinton, who had, campaigned on a theme of change, took pains yesterday to assure the world community—and to warn Iraqi President Saddam Hussein—that the switch in administrations will not bring significant change in foreign policy.

Underscoring his support for U.N. enforcement actions against Saddam, as he has since the current crisis began last week, Clinton said the Iraqi leader "must understand that America's resolve during the transition period will not waver."

Speaking to more than 200 members of the diplomatic corps at his alma mater, Georgetown University, Clinton offered an uncomplicated message: "I ask each of you in the diplomatic corps to emphasize this point to your governments: That



Book World: 'Mystery Ride,'
a funny novel of broken dreams 2

Reliable Source: Tea & cookies
with Hillary Clinton 3

Style

5 Style Plus: Piano lessons
scaled to today's children

7 Magazine Reader: Fashion
for an avant-garde spring

Arts Council Eyes Broader Insurance Program

Domestic Work Covered
By Panel for First Time

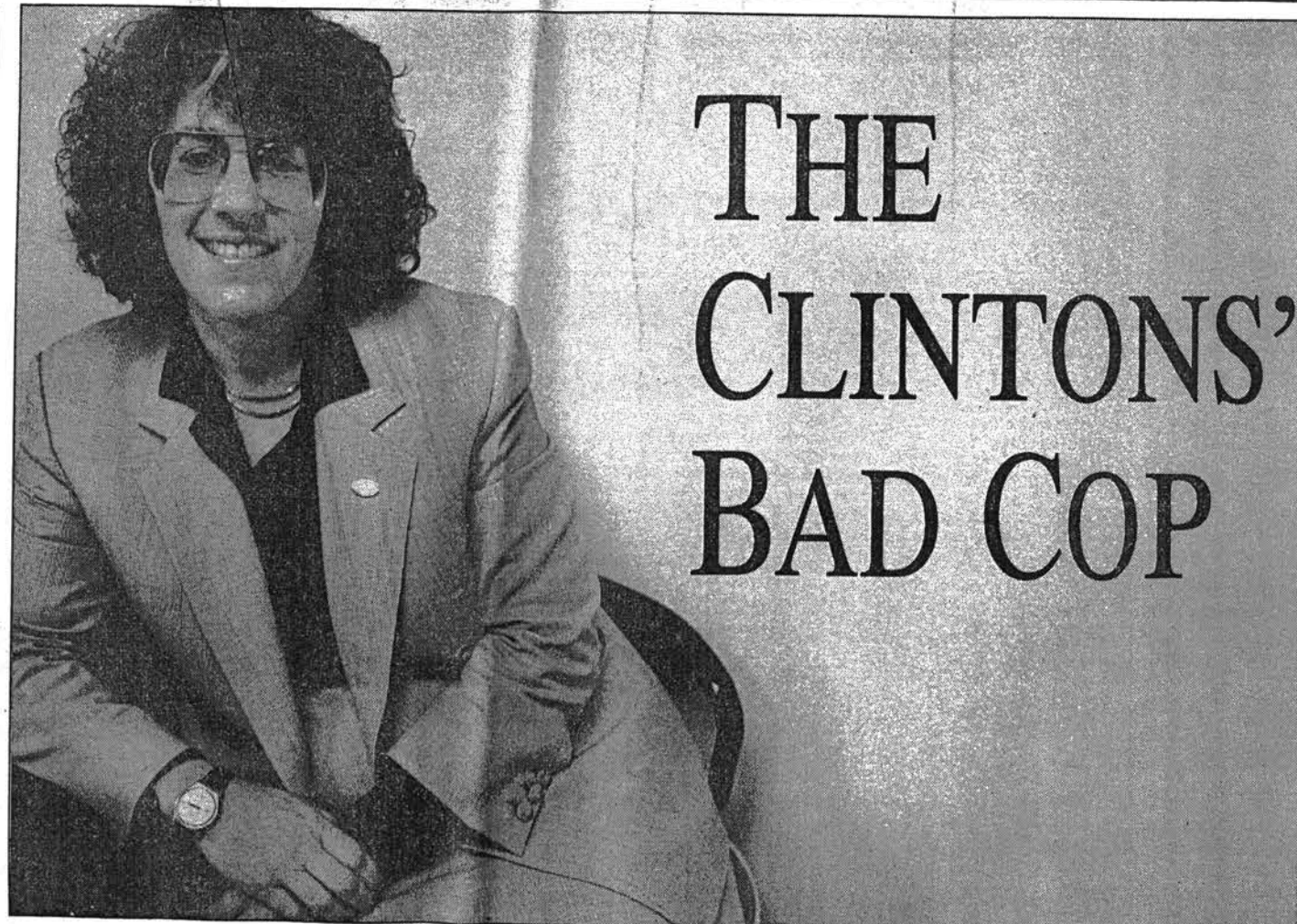
By Jo Ann Lewis
Special to The Washington Post

For the first time, the Federal Council on the Arts has voted to indemnify an exhibition of American-owned works of art—80 masterpieces from the Barnes Collection of Merion, Pa.—while they are on view at the National Gallery of Art this spring. The vote, in effect promising the government will compensate an artwork's owner for its loss or damage, will save the National Gallery close to \$600,000 in private insurance fees and cover the show up to \$300 million.

The move, if taken as precedent, could signal a new era in which the U.S. Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act, originally intended to insure visiting foreign shows, would be extended to cover domestic exhibitions as well. The council also expressed its intention to amend its rules, which now specifically exclude domestic objects.

The National Gallery's request to the council, proposed by former National Gallery director J. Carter Brown on his final day on the job, was a test case based on the fact that one painting in the show will be coming from

See GALLERY, E3, Col. 1



Susan Thomases Has No Official Title, but She's Sure Got Clout

PRESERVATION PHOTOCOPY



J. Carter Brown: "Everybody's idea was that the legislation had prohibited this, but it didn't."

"My mouth!" Susan Thomases exclaims, stanching one of her verbal torrents as if to marvel at the nerve of this irrepressible body part. "I have a very strong reality principle, and it's one of the things that gets my mouth in trouble and gets me in trouble—from your perspective, gets me in trouble," she amends. "I think, of course, it's the source of my strength."

Thomases is the Clinton administration's King Kong Kibitzer—whose advice on everything from personnel to

"Susan is a vital, energetic, loving, enthusiastic person, who works hard at everything she does, cares deeply about all kinds of issues and people, and is a wonderful friend," says the First Lady, whose chief of staff contacted a reporter to urge that the normally press-averse Mrs. Clinton be interviewed about Thomases. "She is one of the most creative political thinkers that I personally know. She's a brilliant strategist who understands both the strategic and tactical needs that have to be met in politics."

Hillary Clinton's view, in the end, may be the only one that matters. But it's far from universal among the president's loyalists who got to know Thomases during the 1992 campaign in which she began part time as an outside adviser and ended up the full-time scheduling chief. Indeed, Thomases' many detractors (an unusually large group of

the tamer adjectives. Susan Thomases doesn't seem especially worried. "Isn't that nice," she says, when asked about the buzz of curiosity and suspicion she has aroused among the Beltway regulars. "That's Washington's problem." She is holding forth, an amused smile on her lips, in New York City—with her phone ringing every few minutes and her 3-year-old son, Tommy, hurling toys around a home that has the unsettled feel of a college dorm. Actually, it's two East Side co-ops connected by a hallway but separated by a third apartment (whose occupant, an older lady, has long refused to sell) in a configuration reminiscent of West Berlin.

"The thing they resent about me is I don't know them," Thomases assails the Washington establishment, sitting before the tamer adjectives. See THOMASES, E2, Col. 1

ART BUCHWALD

Sex and the Deficit

The problem with President Clinton's economic plans is that they have no sex in them. It's impossible for you to follow the daily adventures of the deficit, the budget and growth of the economy without falling asleep in your chair.

How can we make the economy more interesting? By treating it as a sex scandal.

From the New York Post: WASHINGTON—An anonymous source in the capital announced today that members of the Clinton administration abused the military budget to the tune of \$100 billion. When senators told the administration personnel to stop making lewd remarks to the Stealth bomber proponents, the administration replied that they weren't abusing anybody, and the White House had the right to proposition the armed forces in any manner it saw fit.

No charges have been brought against the Clinton people, but an ethics committee is conducting an investigation and will decide whether the \$100 billion hug could be considered government or private business.

In the meantime, upper-bracket taxpayers claimed that they had been sexually harassed by Clinton's tax program. "Anybody who taxes you against your will," said the spokesman, "should be put against the wall and shot."

The White House denied that it was raping the rich.

"All we are doing is holding their feet to the fire. Some might say it's painful, but on cold nights the majority of the rich people find it very sexy."

The big gossip on Capitol Hill is that, despite President Clinton's plea for a reduction in deficit spending, many congressmen and senators are still in bed with their lobbyists. Photographers crashed in on a Finance subcommittee and discovered three senators fondling

the arguments of private health care advocates.

As photographers took their flash photos a lobbyist cried, "I don't care what you do to me—I will always kiss Sen. Bones's feet."

The proposals in the committee were naked ones and therefore were not printed in the New York Times.

Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown called a press conference today and announced that the tax credit plan for business was his baby. He told reporters that it was conceived one foolish night in a hotel room in Kansas City. But he accepted paternity for it and said that the Commerce Department would pay for the child and raise it as its own.

A Republican in Texas claims that he had been molested by Clinton's tax-and-spend program. "I just went up for one drink, and before I knew it they had put a surcharge on my income."

The White House responded, "He was asking for it."

This just in from the National Enquirer:

President Clinton's economic proposal was born with two heads. It was, explained scientists at the Federal Reserve, an aberration but not that special as most presidential budgets have two heads. There was some question whether the two-headed monster would survive until spring.

If it dies it will be put in a bottle of formaldehyde and placed on a shelf with all the other two-headed monstrosities proposed by previous presidents.

The National Star reports that President Clinton is considering a "love tax" for people making more than \$200,000 a year. A source said, "They are the people who can afford it the most, and, knowing how the rich think, Clinton's advisers assure him they will pay the excise tax without a squawk."

© 1993, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

The 'Squidgy' Tape, Side 2

Plus: Charles's Waning Commitment to First Love

By Eugene Robinson
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, March 1—Britain's wayward royals roared back into the news today, with new excerpts from the infamous "Squidgy" tape allegedly of Princess Diana and an announcement that Prince Charles will curtail his involvement with his first and perhaps only true loves, his polo ponies.

Australian television broadcast what it said were previously suppressed parts of a taped telephone conversation between Diana and a male friend, identified as James Gilbey. Throughout the tape, which first came to light in the fall, the man calls the woman by the nickname "Squidgy."

In one of the new excerpts, aired by the Australian Broadcasting Corp. program "Four Corners," the woman speaks of her fear of getting pregnant and refers to a popular soap opera in which a character be-

See ROYALS, E8, Col. 1



Princess Diana, right, arrives at Gatwick Airport in London yesterday en route to Nepal.

Diverse Views Of the News

L.A. Times Minority Staff Opens Debate on Coverage

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Los Angeles Times is in the throes of a heated debate about diversity—one that is echoing through the paper's computer system.

In an electronic conversation that began after last year's riots, minority staffers have written computer memos criticizing everything from the paper's hiring policy to the way it covers the Third World. The resulting dialogue has become must reading for the paper's employees.

One lengthy missive from the Unity Caucus, an ad hoc alliance of minority staffers, criticized a Times story that spoke of the "long, sad decline of Africa." The piece described the Angolan city of Luanda as once having been a "pristine, bayside city of Portuguese architecture."

"Long, sad decline from what?" the memo See TIMES, E4, Col. 1

Judge Sides With Busted Women

Going Topless Isn't Necessarily Indecent, Canadian Court Rules

By Charles Trueheart
Washington Post Foreign Service

TORONTO, March 1—Declaring that a woman's breasts aren't necessarily objects of sexual desire, a Canadian judge today acquitted five women of charges they committed an indecent act when they bared their chests at a protest rally last summer.

The case in Kitchener, Ontario, became a feminist cause célèbre, challenging laws that penalize women for behavior that goes unremarked and unprosecuted when practiced by men.

"Why should my breasts be sex objects unless I want them to be behind my bedroom door?" commented Adel Arnold, at 49 the oldest of the five defendants, after

today's decision. "I think my breasts would probably be sexier if I put on a black negligee. They're hanging down to my waist. What's sexy about that? It's only men who make all this sexual."

The Kitchener rally was called to protest the 1991 conviction of Gwen Jacob, a university student from Guelph, Ontario.

See DECISION, E3, Col. 4

Washington Post
3/2/1993

Susan Thomases, Friend of Bill

THOMASES, From E1

side a glass-topped coffee table that, on closer inspection, has no glass top. "And I don't care if I know them. And that bothers them. They don't know me, and if they don't know me, I can't possibly be important."

Knocking Heads

Make no mistake: Thomases is important. And in case that fact is overlooked, she's happy to point it out.

When a recent piece in the New Republic displeased her, she sent Editor Martin Peretz a letter written in her defense by a high White House official. "Dear Marty—As promised, here's the letter from George Stephanopoulos. Susan," went the cover note.

"She's a woman who has 'made it,' and 'made it' better than almost anyone else, and yet she feels a compulsion to drop names and assert her authority, down to the point of saying, 'If you do this, I will kill you, I will ruin you,'" says an administration staffer who, like many people interviewed for this story, spoke only if promised anonymity.

"If she knocked heads, she didn't knock enough of them," says former top Bill Clinton aide Betsy Wright, one of Thomases' defenders. "If there were bruised feelings, they deserved to be bruised. . . . There was such a sexist strain in that campaign, the men in the campaign were so unbelievably rude and awful the way they treated people. But, my God, if somebody like Susan gets strained and under pressure and knocks heads, [they'll say] it's some kind of 'woman thing'—some kind of 'temperament problem,' a 'hormones thing.'"

Indeed, Thomases habitually derided the campaign's high command—occasionally to their faces—as the "White Boys," a nickname she says she meant as a joke. The "White Boys" also had a nickname for her, though it was never used in her presence: "Tootsie"—which may say as much about the macho mindset of politics as it does about Thomases' knack for stepping on toes.

"I'd have to know who you were talking about," Hillary Clinton says, when asked about all of the Clintons, male and female alike, Thomases managed to offend. "But it's understandable, for substantive reasons. She did not treat them with what they thought was the respect they were entitled to. . . . She's a consummate New Yorker as well as a woman. That may have caused some people who were there for status some difficulty."

There was, for instance, Thomases' legendary remark to vice presidential nominee Al Gore, who had just made a scheduling suggestion about campaign bus trips during a post-convention conference call. "That's the stupidest idea I ever heard," Thomases is said by several sources to have told the senator (though Gore's chief of staff, Roy Neal, insists Thomases merely said, "I don't think that would work"). Gore was later heard wondering, "What is Susan Thomases trying to do to me?" During the transition Thomases was cited in the New York Times as counseling that the vice president-elect, Clinton's "full partner" before the election, needed to resign himself quickly to second-banana status.

Clintonites still marvel at another famous incident in Little Rock right after the election, when Thomases claimed for herself a comfy windowed corner office already occupied by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers in the new transition headquarters. According to two White House aides who requested anonymity, this hegemony cost the transition budget an extra \$15,000, required extensive rewiring of telephones and delayed the move from the campaign building by more than a day.

Thomases is unapologetic. "My assistant threw a fit in my name, saying 'This should be Susan's office. . . . In the pecking order she is above Dee Dee and this is where she should be sitting,'" Thomases recounts, while disputing that the switch caused delays and extra expenses. "I never even saw the office until after the whole thing had taken

strategist James Carville would explain such incidents by saying with a shrug that Thomases "has the juice"—a reference to her bond with Bill and especially with Hillary, a close friendship of 19 years' standing.

"It's not that she has the juice," says one White House aide, who scrapped with Thomases during the campaign and now gives her a wide berth. "She is the juice. She's the juicer too. The Braun automatic."

She is a natural phenomenon of the Clinton family management style—which is equal parts Rooseveltian "creative tension" and Arkansan informality, punctuated by hot bursts of temper from the top. Thomases is that rare operative who has successfully triangulated the power map—she's known Bill longer than she has Hillary—but mostly she's Hillary's blunt instrument of enforcement, according to White House staffers, pushing the First Lady's agenda and gladly taking the heat. She is the raw expression of what is required to play in the Clintons' league—but without the patina of folksy good humor.

Consider the case of David Wilhelm, Clinton's campaign manager who is now chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Thomases, by most accounts, tried to have him fired early in the campaign, when the young aides around the candidate began to realize that she was more than just another meddling "Friend of Bill." A typical image from the primary race is of the mild-mannered Wilhelm holding the telephone several feet from his ear in Manchester, N.H., while Thomases screamed obscenities at him from her law office in Manhattan.

"I didn't want him fired," Thomases says, disputing the claims of several Clinton advisers who would talk about Thomases only if promised anonymity. "Did I yell at David Wilhelm? Yes, I yelled at David Wilhelm. There were things that needed to be done that he did not want to get done, especially in New Hampshire. . . . I also knew that when it was finished," Thomases adds, "we would end up being friends."

"It's no secret that we've had a few ups and downs," says Wilhelm, "but the bottom line is ultimately we figured out that each of us was pretty good at what we did. Whatever happened before, it developed into a very strong working relationship."

They were, for instance, close allies in promoting Wilhelm's vision for bus caravans through the American heartland, and Thomases, by all accounts, did a masterful job of organizing them. (She also was masterful at taking credit for the idea, according to several campaign advisers, and senior aides had to set Hillary Clinton straight when she praised Thomases at a staff meeting for thinking it up, musing aloud, "Isn't Susan brilliant?")

Less warm were Thomases' relations with Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg, who offered to quit last June when Thomases persuaded the Clintons to cancel a major strategic survey after it was already in progress. While Greenberg had sought advice from the senior campaign staff before designing the expensive survey, Thomases argued that he had rushed it into the field without adequately consulting the Clintons. Greenberg eventually won his point, according to witnesses, and Thomases' role was limited in subsequent

"It's not that she has the juice. She is the juice."

—White House aide on Susan Thomases

polls. But several campaign staffers recall that she retaliated by excluding Greenberg from crucial scheduling meetings—a memory she now dismisses as "just ridiculous," even though several people who worked alongside her insist that it is true.

"She's tenacious," says Carville. "When she's determined to get something done, you can make a good living betting on the results. For Susan and a lot of women her age"—which is 48—"starting out wasn't as easy for them as it is for women now. She had to kind of fight with both hands,

cording to witnesses, Carville threw a tantrum in the Little Rock campaign headquarters over Thomases' insistence that Clinton spend half a day in Mississippi—a state that everyone agreed he had no chance of winning—in order to honor a commitment to then-congressman, now agriculture secretary Mike Espy. "He really is crazy," Thomases quipped, after Carville, spit flying, stalked out of the war room.

"He was frustrated with Bill Clinton for being so stupid to have made the commitment, and I was the one who had to enforce that," Thomases says about Carville and their "stupid" friend, the president of the United States. "Therefore, I became the target because he couldn't get mad at Bill. He didn't call him and yell and scream, 'You dumb [bleep], why did you do such a [bleeping] stupid thing?' He had to talk to me about it."

Thomases presided over a winning fall schedule and a staff approaching 200, and is said to have engendered strong loyalty among her underlings, along with a healthy sense of fear. But within the campaign, she was known for a tendency to argue vehemently for positions that other operatives deemed, to put it mildly, eccentric.

She once took up 15 minutes of an early-primary conference call, according to a participant, warning of certain political disaster if Clinton played basketball, as planned, instead of jogging, as she advised, for a morning photo opportunity. She encouraged the Clintons to run hard in the Maine caucuses, a decision that resulted in an embarrassing loss. She decreed that Clinton shouldn't venture into North Carolina until after the college term started, as though students were the only voters worth reaching there. And several Clintonites recall that she discouraged late-campaign trips to her native New Jersey—simply because, regardless of polling data, her gut told her that Garden States had already made up their minds. Thomases denies much of the above. Yet many among the dozens of people interviewed for this article pointed to her alleged ability—not rare in politics—to revise recent history to suit present necessity.

"She is someone who believes in fully arguing out the options and the issues," says Hillary Clinton, "and for people who aren't comfortable with that kind of give and take, that style, it might seem a little bit different to them. But it's particularly useful in politics, in campaigning, and in governing."

Lack of Diplomacy

In a sense, Thomases is governing, but indirectly and without portfolio—in the tradition of such earlier White House confidantes as Clark Clifford and Robert Strauss. But the analogy wears thin when one considers that these putative wise men, for all their self-promotion, carefully nurtured the impression that they were souls of discretion and, whether true or not, men of impeccable judgment.

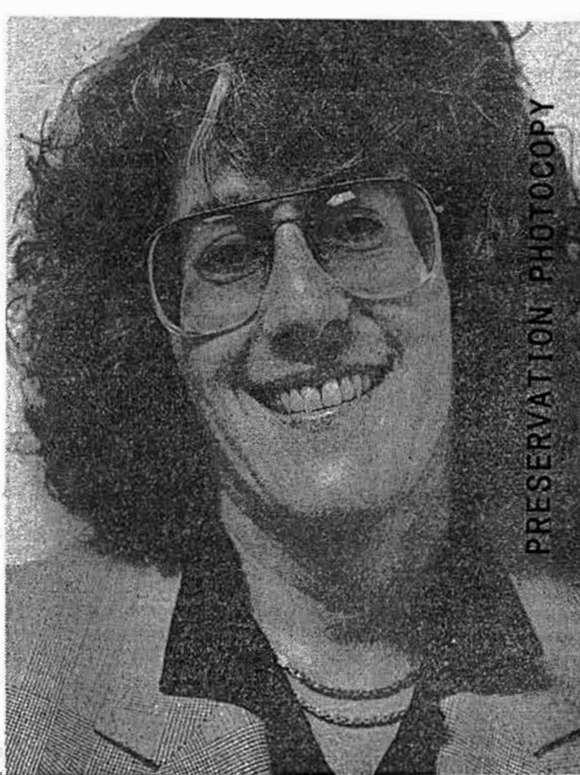
To some people, Susan Thomases conveys the opposite image.

For instance, when asked why so many associates from the campaign have their knives out for her, she launches an unsolicited attack on Washington lawyer David Ilishin, who served as Clinton's campaign counsel until giving up those duties last spring to become a policy adviser.

"He has real reason to be unhappy with me," Thomases says of Ilishin, who was Walter Mondale's campaign counsel in 1984, "although he shouldn't be unhappy with me, because he was [bleeping] up his job. . . . He was never a qualified person to do that job, and I just said to Bill, 'He should not do it.' And it took a while, and he is very bitter about it. . . . and I can understand that."

After a furious flurry of phone calls among Ilishin, Thomases and senior Clinton aides—prompted by a reporter's call to Ilishin seeking comment—Thomases retracted her remarks. "You may deserve the Nobel Peace Prize for getting me and David Ilishin talking," she said, adding that she wanted to "correct a misimpression" that she had ever meant to be critical of Ilishin's legal abilities.

Ilishin, who still expects to be of



James Carville on Susan Thomases: "The best thing is just to scream and walk out of the room. If you allowed Susan to, would she roll over you? The answer's yes."

speaking ill of their clients, at least not for attribution—are Thomases' on-the-record comments about Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), an old friend whose first Senate race she managed in 1978.

"The first campaign, he needed talent, and had me. The second campaign, he didn't need much, and he had a guy who'd been my deputy," Thomases says. "The third campaign, he thought the energy and momentum of what he had accomplished would carry him. He didn't get it. He just didn't get it."

"I didn't agree with the strategy," Thomases says about Bradley's 1990 reelection race, which he nearly lost—notwithstanding that Thomases was one of the strategists, a vocal presence in every meeting and conference call.

"Bill Bradley as a person is very smart, but he is not politically very hip," Thomases says. She says Bradley erred in 1990 by not recruiting her to run his election-day operation, and not submitting to the New York Times "a very funny and very good" op-ed piece she'd drafted to defuse the people's anger at him for being "disengaged" from his constituents. "One of the things that is amazing about Bill Clinton is he is a great politician," Thomases says. "He's an awesome political analyst. And Bill Bradley does not have that gift."

"Senator Bradley is a long way past 1990," says Bradley staffer Anita Dunn, adding that the senator would have no comment on Thomases' remarks.

'Parallel Lives'

Hillary Clinton says she and the president need Susan Thomases as they grapple with the task of running the country.

"People in my position generally need good and loyal friends," the First Lady says. "We're lucky we have friends like Susan—people we not only enjoy as friends but whose opinions we respect even though we don't always agree with them."

The two women met in the fall of 1974, when Thomases spent a weekend in Arkansas volunteering in Bill Clinton's unsuccessful House campaign; she had befriended him during antiwar activities in Washington four years earlier. "We instantly liked each other," Thomases recalls about her first encounter with Hillary Rodham. "Let me just say something—Hillary and I are a lot alike in a lot of ways."

Both, of course, were women of parts. Rodham had been a staff lawyer on the House impeachment committee, and Thomases was a successful management consultant who had yet to attend law school, as well as a college lecturer on, of all things, European history. She shared Rodham's passion for liberal politics and women's and children's rights, having

1960s, and they even shared a decidedly adventurous streak. Rodham once toiled at a fish cannery in Alaska, and Thomases took a tram steamer to South America.

They had even more to talk about after Thomases, at age 33, became a corporate lawyer after earning a degree from Columbia University. She consulted with Rodham frequently about business, legal and political issues, including Hillary's decision in 1982 to take Bill Clinton's last name as he attempted to take back the governorship he'd lost. After the highs and lows at Wilkie Farr decided to make the obviously talented Thomases partner, giving her the job of administering the firm, she always recommended the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, where Hillary Clinton was partner, for any Arkansas legal work. Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton arranged for Thomases to join her on the board of the Children's Defense Fund.

"Our friendship was primarily through Bill in the early years," Thomases says, "and later on it became increasingly through Hillary because we had parallel lives."

Thomases' aggressive manner, which has been likened in print to bulldozer without a clutch, may have something to do with her trying to get noticed in a household dominated by three older brothers and two demanding parents who were often traveling in Europe. Her father, now 85, was a wealthy textile entrepreneur while her mother was and still active in civic and liberal causes. One of Thomases' New Jersey contemporaries remembers Florence Thomases as a formidable, "bossy" woman. Susan, for her part, says the family late housekeeper, a black woman named Edith Burno, "was very much my mother in many ways. . . . When Marian Wright Edelman says everybody needs someone to love them conditionally, well, with Edith, if I love it, Edith thought it was perfect."

Thomases says she always assumed she would never get married and start a family of her own—what she meant "closing off options." Yet she surprised friends and fans by eloping four years ago with a construction contractor—a man as "I back," according to friends, as Thomases is "wired." Sculptor-carpenter Bill Bettridge was renovating an apartment of one of Thomases' partners when they met in the early '80s. Today she lives with him, their young son, Tommy, and Edith's college-age daughter from previous marriage.

"She has a wonderful husband, a wonderful child," says a Clinton aide who admits that he "can't stand Thomases." "Clearly, there's something there underneath that's so attractive and lovable. Her problem stems from insecurity rather than rank evilness or venality."

She broke into politics working Sen. Eugene McCarthy, sent to

Washington Post
3/2/1993

3/2/1993

"It's not that she has the juice," says one White House aide, who scrapped with Thomases during the campaign and now gives her a wide berth. "She is the juice. She's the juicer too. The Braun automatic."

She is a natural phenomenon of the Clinton family management style—which is equal parts Rooseveltian "creative tension" and Arkansas informality, punctuated by hot bursts of temper from the top. Thomases is that rare operative who has successfully triangulated the power map—she's known Bill longer than she has Hillary—but mostly she's Hillary's blunt instrument of enforcement, according to White House staffers, pushing the First Lady's agenda and gladly taking the heat. She is the raw expression of what is required to play in the Clintons' league—but without the patina of folksy good humor.

Consider the case of David Wilhelm, Clinton's campaign manager who is now chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Thomases, by most accounts, tried to have him fired early in the campaign, when the young aides around the candidate began to realize that she was more than just another meddling "Friend of Bill." A typical image from the primary race is of the mild-mannered Wilhelm holding the telephone several feet from his ear in Manchester, N.H., while Thomases screamed obscenities at him from her law office in Manhattan.

"I didn't want him fired," Thomases says, disputing the claims of several Clinton advisers who would talk about Thomases only if promised anonymity. "Did I yell at David Wilhelm? Yes, I yelled at David Wilhelm. There were things that needed to be done that he did not want to get done, especially in New Hampshire. . . . I also knew that when it was finished," Thomases adds, "we would end up being friends."

"It's no secret that we've had a few ups and downs," says Wilhelm, "but the bottom line is ultimately we figured out that each of us was pretty good at what we did. Whatever happened before, it developed into a very strong working relationship."

They were, for instance, close allies in promoting Wilhelm's vision for bus caravans through the American heartland, and Thomases, by all accounts, did a masterful job of organizing them. (She also was masterful at taking credit for the idea, according to several campaign advisers, and senior aides had to set Hillary Clinton straight when she praised Thomases at a staff meeting for thinking it up, musing aloud, "Isn't Susan brilliant?")

Less warm were Thomases' relations with Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg, who offered to quit last June when Thomases persuaded the Clintons to cancel a major strategic survey after it was already in progress. While Greenberg had sought advice from the senior campaign staff before designing the expensive survey, Thomases argued that he had rushed it into the field without adequately consulting the Clintons. Greenberg eventually won his point, according to witnesses, and Thomases' role was limited in subsequent

winning—by order to make a commitment to then-congressman, now agriculture secretary Mike Espy. "He really is crazy," Thomases quipped, after Carville, spit flying, stalked out of the war room.

"He was frustrated with Bill Clinton for being so stupid to have made the commitment, and I was the one who had to enforce that," Thomases says about Carville and their "stupid" friend, the president of the United States. "Therefore, I became the target because he couldn't get mad at Bill. He didn't call him and yell and scream, 'You dumb [bleep], why did you do such a [bleeping] stupid thing?' He had to talk to me about it."

Thomases presided over a winning fall schedule and a staff approaching 200, and is said to have engendered strong loyalty among her underlings, along with a healthy sense of fear. But within the campaign, she was known for a tendency to argue vehemently for positions that other operatives deemed, to put it mildly, eccentric.

She once took up 15 minutes of an early-primary conference call, according to a participant, warning of certain political disaster if Clinton played basketball, as planned, instead of jogging, as she advised, for a morning photo opportunity. She encouraged the Clintons to run hard in the Maine caucuses, a decision that resulted in an embarrassing loss. She decreed that Clinton shouldn't venture into North Carolina until after the college term started, as though students were the only voters worth reaching there. And several Clintonites recall that she discouraged late-campaign trips to her native New Jersey—simply because, regardless of polling data, her gut told her that Garden States had already made up their minds. Thomases denies much of the above. Yet many among the dozens of people interviewed for this article pointed to her alleged ability—not rare in politics—to revise recent history to suit present necessity.

"She is someone who believes in fully arguing out the options and the issues," says Hillary Clinton, "and for people who aren't comfortable with that kind of give and take, that style, it might seem a little bit different to them. But it's particularly useful in politics, in campaigning, and in governing."

Lack of Diplomacy

In a sense, Thomases is governing, but indirectly and without portfolio—in the tradition of such earlier White House confidants as Clark Clifford and Robert Strauss. But the analogy wears thin when one considers that these putative wise men, for all their self-promotion, carefully nurtured the impression that they were souls of discretion and, whether true or not, men of impeccable judgment.

To some people, Susan Thomases conveys the opposite image.

For instance, when asked why so many associates from the campaign have their knives out for her, she launches an unsolicited attack on Washington lawyer David Ilishin, who served as Clinton's campaign counsel until giving up those duties last spring to become a policy adviser.

"He has real reason to be unhappy with me," Thomases says of Ilishin, who was Walter Mondale's campaign counsel in 1984, "although he shouldn't be unhappy with me, because he was [bleeping] up his job. . . . He was never a qualified person to do that job, and I just said to Bill, 'He should not do it.' And it took a while, and he is very bitter about it. . . . and I can understand that."

After a furious flurry of phone calls among Ilishin, Thomases and senior Clinton aides—prompted by a reporter's call to Ilishin seeking comment—Thomases retracted her remarks. "You may deserve the Nobel Peace Prize for getting me and David Ilishin talking," she said, adding that she wanted to "correct a misimpression" that she had ever meant to be critical of Ilishin's legal abilities.

Ilishin, who still expects to be of service to the Clinton administration, says dryly: "I do not think that dredging up internal matters from the primaries, at this stage, is very conducive to the major tasks we have before us."

Even more unusual—given the code of political operatives not to



James Carville on Susan Thomases: "The best thing is just to scream and walk out of the room. If you allowed Susan to, would she roll over you? The answer's yes."

speak ill of their clients, at least not for attribution—are Thomases' on-the-record comments about Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), an old friend whose first Senate race she managed in 1978.

"The first campaign, he needed talent, and had me. The second campaign, he didn't need much, and he had a guy who'd been my deputy," Thomases says. "The third campaign, he thought the energy and momentum of what he had accomplished would carry him. He didn't get it. He just didn't get it."

"I didn't agree with the strategy," Thomases says about Bradley's 1990 reelection race, which he nearly lost—notwithstanding that Thomases was one of the strategists, a vocal presence in every meeting and conference call.

"Bill Bradley as a person is very smart, but he is not politically very hip," Thomases says. She says Bradley erred in 1990 by not recruiting her to run his election-day operation, and not submitting to the New York Times "a very funny and very good" op-ed piece she'd drafted to defuse the people's anger at him for being "disengaged" from his constituents. "One of the things that is amazing about Bill Clinton is he is a great politician," Thomases says. "He's an awesome political analyst. And Bill Bradley does not have that gift."

"Senator Bradley is a long way past 1990," says Bradley staffer Anita Dunn, adding that the senator would have no comment on Thomases' remarks.

'Parallel Lives'

Hillary Clinton says she and the president need Susan Thomases as they grapple with the task of running the country.

"People in my position generally need good and loyal friends," the First Lady says. "We're lucky we have friends like Susan—people we not only enjoy as friends but whose opinions we respect even though we don't always agree with them."

The two women met in the fall of 1974, when Thomases spent a weekend in Arkansas volunteering in Bill Clinton's unsuccessful House campaign; she had befriended him during antiwar activities in Washington four years earlier. "We instantly liked each other," Thomases recalls about her first encounter with Hillary Rodham. "Let me just say something—Hillary and I are a lot alike in a lot of ways."

Both, of course, were women of parts. Rodham had been a staff lawyer on the House impeachment committee, and Thomases was a successful management consultant who had yet to attend law school, as well as a college lecturer on, of all things, European history. She shared Rodham's passion for liberal politics and women's and children's rights, having helped create several child-care centers for working poor families in New York. Both were privileged children of the suburbs—Rodham hailed from Park Ridge, Ill., while Thomases grew up in Englewood, N.J.—they both attended small, elite Eastern colleges during the ferment of the

1960s, and they even shared a decidedly adventurous streak. Rodham once toiled at a fish cannery in Alaska, and Thomases took a tramp steamer to South America.

They had even more to talk about after Thomases, at age 33, became a corporate lawyer after earning a degree from Columbia University. She consulted with Rodham frequently about business, legal and political issues, including Hillary's decision in 1982 to take Bill Clinton's last name as he attempted to take back the governorship he'd lost. After the high-ups at Wilkie Farr decided to make the obviously talented Thomases a partner, giving her the job of administering the firm, she always recommended the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, where Hillary Clinton was a partner, for any Arkansas legal work. Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton arranged for Thomases to join her on the board of the Children's Defense Fund.

"Our friendship was primarily through Bill in the early years," Thomases says, "and later on it became increasingly through Hillary, because we had parallel lives."

Thomases' aggressive manner, which has been likened in print to "a bulldozer without a clutch," may have something to do with her trying to get noticed in a household dominated by three older brothers and two demanding parents who were often traveling in Europe. Her father, now 85, was a wealthy textile entrepreneur while her mother was and still is active in civic and liberal causes. One of Thomases' New Jersey contemporaries remembers Florence Thomases as a formidable, "bossy" woman. Susan, for her part, says the family's late housekeeper, a black woman named Edith Burno, "was very much my mother in many ways. . . . When Marian Wright Edelman says everybody needs someone to love them unconditionally, well, with Edith, if I did it, Edith thought it was perfect."

Thomases says she always assumed she would never get married and start a family of her own—which to her meant "closing off options." Yet she surprised friends and family by eloping four years ago with a construction contractor—a man as "laid back," according to friends, as Thomases is "wired." Sculptor-carpenter Bill Bettridge was renovating the apartment of one of Thomases' law partners when they met in the early '80s. Today she lives with him and their young son, Tommy, and Bettridge's college-age daughter from a previous marriage.

"She has a wonderful husband and a wonderful child," says a Clinton aide who admits that he "can't stand" Thomases. "Clearly, there's something there underneath that's very attractive and lovable. Her problems stem from insecurity rather than rank evilness or venality."

She broke into politics working for Sen. Eugene McCarthy, sent to the West Coast by her then-boyfriend Harold Ickes—later an ally on the Clinton campaign—to help organize McCarthy's Oregon primary win in 1968. She sat out the 1972 McGovern campaign after coming down with a mysterious neurological ailment that required hospitalization—later,

mold. Of George McGovern, she says, "I'm not a fan."

"I am a very complicated person," she says—and no one argues with that.

'Winding Down'

Senior White House aides say Thomases is often in evidence during her weekly trips from Manhattan to the Washington office of Wilkie Farr, a 350-lawyer firm with a host of corporate clients. One reports that "my stomach got tight" on encountering her in a hallway.

"I go there to tell them they're doing great and give them the word from New York and New Jersey. I'm a cheerleader," Thomases says in an interview, adding that she generally visits once a week and recently spent the night at the White House after the president's address to Congress. "I'm essentially winding down what my responsibilities were during the transition," she goes on, noting that she talks with the president's scheduling department and confers on personnel matters. "They don't need me on most things anymore. They got their act together."

Thomases, whose practice centers on corporate securities law, says she provided the Clinton transition team with a partial list of her clients, based on her own judgment of their relevance, and "told them the issues I cannot deal with," in order to satisfy ethics requirements. She added that "the clock will start running" soon on the six-month period during which she, as a member of the transition, must not lobby government officials. But government ethics watchdog groups have begun raising questions about Thomases' special relationship with the White House.

"I think this is pretty bad," says Charles Lewis, executive director of the nonprofit Center for Public Integrity, when asked about Thomases' White House contacts. "Because we don't know who Susan Thomases also works for. How many hats is she wearing? Has she recused herself from any clients?" As for Thomases' clients, "They are a blessed group," Lewis says. "They're in clover."

He suggests that Thomases disclose her client list and possibly submit to new regulations that apply to senior government officials, requiring a five-year ban on lobbying. Thomases says she saw no reason to comply with such rules, because "most of this is not going to be relevant soon." When asked about this, Thomases is not pleased: "I have a lot of things to do and I'd just as soon not have this conversation. Get your questions done. Five minutes and I'm gone."

Hillary Clinton, meanwhile, says she sees no problem.

"If you talk to lawyers who have worked with her in the bar in New York or the bar in Washington, and in her firm, they will tell you that she is an ethics hawk," she says. "She is very concerned about issues of conflict of interest and the uses and abuses of power."

Few doubt that Thomases could have had a very senior title in the executive branch if she'd wanted one. She says she turned down an offer from White House Chief of Staff Thomas "Mac" McLarty to be his deputy. She also insists that, contrary to press reports, she never sought the job of attorney general. But Clinton staffers say she was a voice in the selection of Zoe Baird and then, when that nomination went awry, pushed for Kimba Wood (who'd been a classmate of Thomases' at Connecticut College), while helping structure the White House staff, weighing in on hires, and playing a role—"I'm just a facilitator," she says—in personnel decisions throughout the administration.

So what does she want? Thomases, for the moment, intends to remain a private citizen. "I don't want to work 18 hours a day," she says, adding that after a grueling six months in Little Rock, she needs to spend time with her family.

In any case, a title and well-defined responsibilities would probably be too limiting. It's better to kibitz—potentially a bigger, more influential role with a presidential couple who often seem to turn late-night bull sessions into next-day action.

"I've told Bill and Hillary that I will help them in whatever way they want me to help," Thomases says. "Whatever they think is useful I will do. I'm crazy about these people."

"It's not that she has the juice. She is the juice."

White House aide on Susan Thomases

But several campaign staffers recall that she retaliated by excluding Greenberg from crucial scheduling meetings—a memory she now dismisses as "just ridiculous," even though several people who worked alongside her insist that it is true.

"She's tenacious," says Carville. "When she's determined to get something done, you can make a good living betting on the results. For Susan and a lot of women her age"—which Carville "starting out wasn't as easy for them as it is for women now. She had to kind of fight with both hands, and her tenacity served the campaign well. The other thing is that a lot of people made the mistake of being shy around Susan. The best thing is just to scream and walk out of the room. If you allowed Susan to, would she roll over you? The answer's yes."

The week before the election, ac-

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Hillary's Unrecorded Tea for 20

Don't expect to read too many interviews with the new First Lady in the months ahead.

Hillary Clinton apparently prefers the off-the-record approach.

Mrs. Clinton had about 20 local Washington reporters (as opposed to the dreaded national scribes) in for a private tea at the White House Thursday, saying that she wanted to get more involved with the community. "It's a nice format for people to get to know one another—and no one has to work," explains spokesman Neel Lattimore, who added that there will be more to come.

Among those nibbling the saxophone-shaped cookies: WOJ-AM talk show host Cathy Hughes, The Post's Courtland Milloy, WJLA-TV's Susan King and Kathleen Matthews, WUSA-TV's Gordon Peterson and J.C. Hayward, WAMU-FM's Diane Rehm, Fox's Lark

McCarthy and Angela Robinson and WRC's Susan Kidd and Doreen Gentzler.

Guests say Mrs. Clinton spoke candidly about living in the White House (she likes it but wishes she could walk outside without an entourage), parenting (kids should be told your expectations) and drug abusers (acupuncture shouldn't be ruled out as a way of dealing with crack addicts).

Mrs. Clinton mingled effortlessly and was rendered speechless but once. With most of the party looking on, Afro-American Editor Frances Murphy Draper asked Mrs. Clinton her views on the controversial

concept of castration as an alternative punishment for sex crimes.

"Well, I don't know anything about that," blurted Mrs. Clinton—to much, much laughter.

Tongue-tied First Lady?



WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ It looks like the First Couple could be a two-team family come baseball's opening day. While Hillary Clinton is in Chicago April 5 throwing out the first ball for her hometown Cubs, Baltimore hopes to see Bill Clinton. In keeping with tradition, the Orioles have indeed invited the president to make the first throw—but the White House says his schedule hasn't yet been signed, sealed and delivered.

■ Spike Lee is getting a little tired carrying the mantle he has created for himself. "I'm a filmmaker, not Jesse Jackson, not Jesus, not the Savior," said the controversial director in a speech Sunday at the University of Buffalo.



Chamberlain as Dr. Kildare.

"I'm a filmmaker who tells stories. I can't lead everyone out of the wilderness."

■ Richard Chamberlain, whose song "Three Stars Will Shine Tonight," the theme from "Dr. Kildare," hit No. 10 on the pop charts in 1962, will get a chance to sing again this year when he plays Prof. Henry Higgins in "My Fair Lady." The show will tour, then hit Broadway in November.

■ Painter Francoise Gilot—lover of Pablo Picasso, mother of Paloma and friend of Henri Matisse—will be among those speaking on the Matisse phenomenon at the Corcoran School of Art's annual gala Friday.



Picasso's Gilot on Matisse.

Unfurling a Miscue at the Kennedy Center

■ When Ernest Petric, Slovenian ambassador to the United States, visited the Kennedy Center recently, he was surprised to see the flag of the former Yugoslavia still hanging in the Hall of Nations.

"That flag is absolutely nobody's flag anymore," he said yesterday. "Imagine if my prime minister or foreign minister would want to go see a beautiful performance... then he would see the flag and say, 'Haven't you done anything to remove it?'"

So we tracked down those responsible for the center's flags. "I'm really not quite sure whether it is up there or not," admitted Susan Creger of the National Park Service. "The State Department contacts us and then we take it down... It's probably on my list... It will be removed."

As for Petric, he'll celebrate, he says, if "one day we see the flag of Slovenia up there."

The Source Interview

One Catholic On Abortion Rights

■ New Planned Parenthood President Pamela Maraldo was reared a Catholic, but when she was a teen her Italian-born father gave her some sober advice. "If I were a woman," he confided, "no one would tell me what to do with my body."

The message stuck with Maraldo, the nurse and health-care-policy wonk who last month took the helm of an organization that has long been a lightning rod in the abortion-rights fight.



Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.

Surveys

have been done that show that most Catholics in America are pro-choice and believe in contraception," says Maraldo, 45, in an interview from New York. The Catholic Church is also a social institution run by men, and they take positions they think are beneficial to its own nonreligious self-interest. From my perspective, the church hasn't kept up with the times.

Maraldo has no small shoes to fill at Planned Parenthood. Her predecessor, the



Pamela Maraldo: Ready to address the crisis of values.

glamorously high-profile Faye Wattleton, shepherded the group for 14 years until her resignation last year and did much to turn it into an influential mouthpiece. Last year the organization served 3.5 million women, and men, at its 900 clinics.

"She did a great job of operating in a climate of adversity—but the climate has

changed," she tells The Post's Mary Alma Welch. "My challenge will be different in that we need a new agenda and to address the crisis of values in America. Now that the threat to reproductive rights isn't so urgent, we will be able to redefine the social fabric to alleviate conditions that lead to abortion in the first place."

Maraldo's intention of subtly shifting the organization's focus toward health care comes at a fortuitous time. Long a vocal supporter of the type of major reform the Clinton administration is pushing, Maraldo is ending a 10-year stint at the National League for Nursing, where she wrote and lectured on health issues. "The first order of business," she says, "is to establish our credibility and to help policy-makers understand that reproductive health is crucial. Health care is in a serious state of crisis—we're still trying to fit a square peg in a round hole."

Despite the more accommodating political climate, Maraldo comes armed to answer the inevitable conservative detractors.

"We want to be able to maintain a strong national agenda that won't be diverted by those who would call us a fringe organization," she says. "Planned Parenthood can and should play a major role in the [health-care] debate."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau

