

MAGGIE WILLIAMS

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM TO MAGGIE WILLIAMS
CHIEF OF STAFF FOR THE FIRST LADY

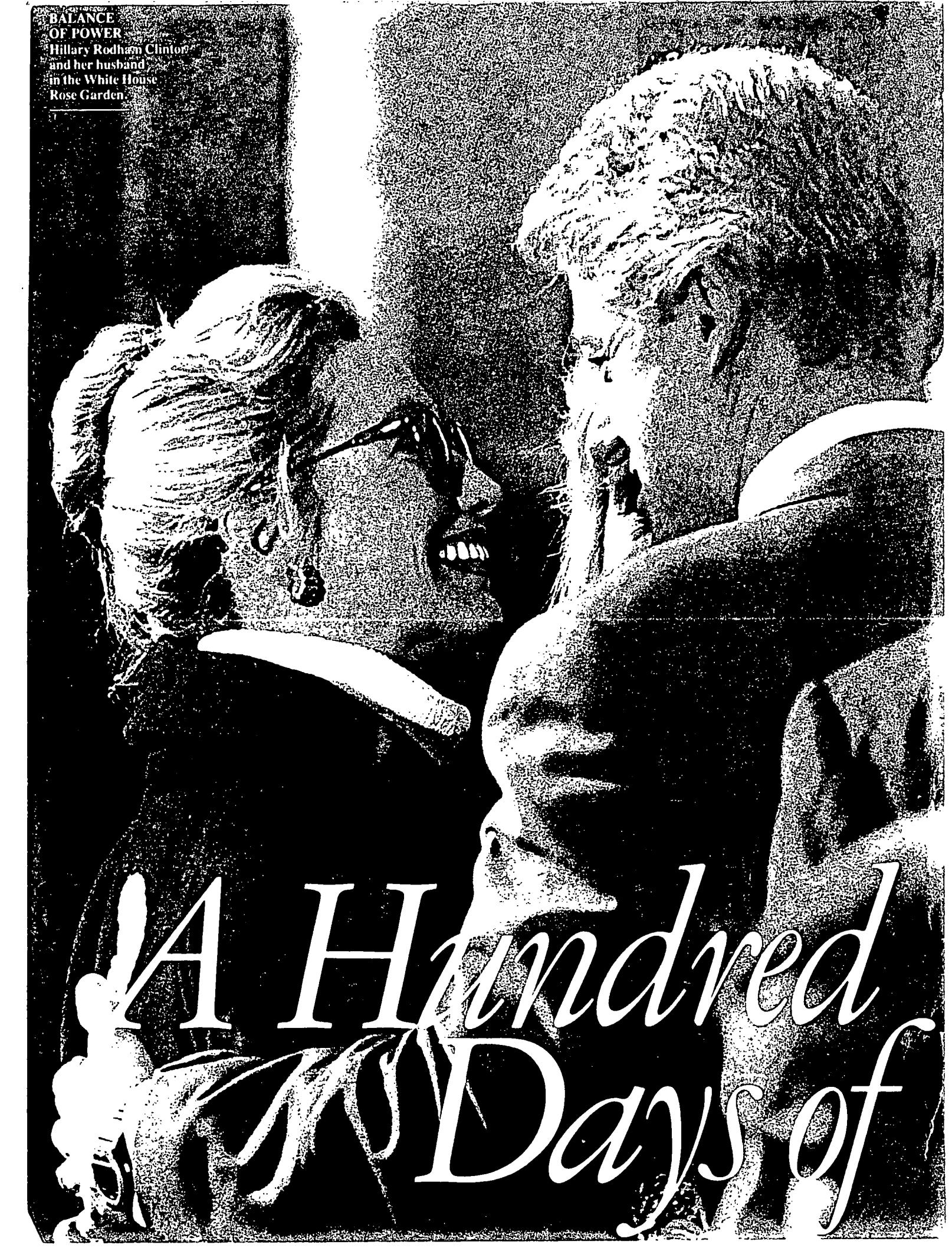
FROM:  JAMIE WILLIAMS
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL INQUIRIES

SUBJECT: Comment Line Information

I believe the First Lady would like to know that on December 22, the calls were 510 in support of the President. There were only 185 negative calls. Today, December 23, we received 441 positive calls to only 84 negative calls. A nice Christmas gift for them!

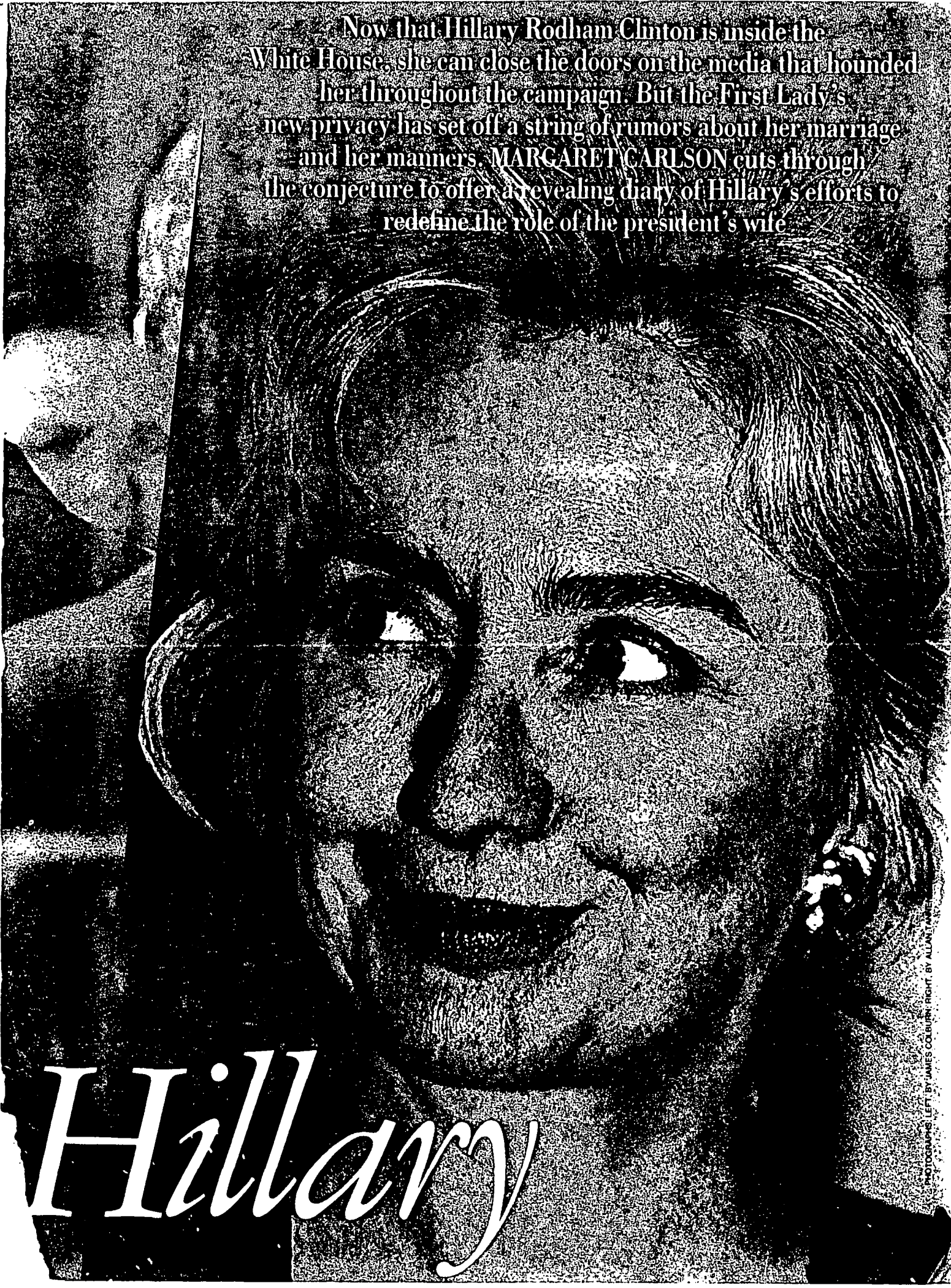
BALANCE
OF POWER

Hillary Rodham Clinton
and her husband
in the White House
Rose Garden.



A Hundred Days of

Now that Hillary Rodham Clinton is inside the White House, she can close the doors on the media that hounded her throughout the campaign. But the First Lady's new privacy has set off a string of rumors about her marriage and her manners. MARGARET CARLSON cuts through the conjecture to offer a revealing diary of Hillary's efforts to redefine the role of the president's wife.



Hillary

"I don't know how we will keep a normal life in



Washington

Never before has a First Lady inspired as much avid curiosity as Hillary Rodham Clinton, and never has it gone so unsatisfied. Though Americans were moved by Eleanor Roosevelt's purposeful humanity and enchanted by Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy's youthful glamour,

nothing has approached the fascination people feel toward the current First Lady, who is carving out for herself a role that attempts to blend the work ethic of Roosevelt, the style of Kennedy, and her own unprecedented political ambitions. As the first working mother in the White House, the first unapologetic feminist, and arguably the most important woman in the world, she wants not just to have it all, but to do it all.

Soon after the inauguration, the president declared that his wife would be the Bobby Kennedy of his administration, and assigned her the vital job of heading the National Task Force on Health Care Reform—to amazingly few objections. But since then Hillary has burrowed deep underground. Her health-care task force began operations in such secrecy that she was sued in federal court and ordered to open the fact-finding meetings. White House aides have been more forthcoming about sensitive relations with Boris Yeltsin or Saddam Hussein than they have about where Hillary Rodham Clinton is and what she's up to.

The absence of real information has created the perfect breeding ground for gossip. Washingtonians have come to regard the White House as a version of Clue, in which the latest rumor is always a variation of Colonel Hillary in the Library with a Knife. The First Lady has thrown (a) a vase, (b) a lamp, or (c) a Bible; at (a) her husband, (b) a Secret Service agent, or (c) a steward; (a) in the private quarters, (b) at Blair House, or (c) in a limo. When the president comes downstairs one morning with scratches on his face, reporters at the next two press briefings are obsessed with wild, salacious speculation.

As always in the case of wild rumors,

there is no evidence to support them and no way to disprove them. But in the absence of good stories to push out the bad, they persist. As Hillary concentrates on the fine print of policy, she seems to be ignoring the fact that politics is as much a function of perception as it is of merit. She embraces those demands that engage her brain, and seems wary of those that might take a chunk of her soul. But for the next four years, the country will be grabbing for everything it can get, and she will have to strike a balance between how much she must give and how much she can hold back. Despite her attempts to keep herself under wraps, the public will slowly find out who she really is. In fact, in her first hundred days in the White House, Hillary has already revealed more than she knows.

WEEK ONE. Inauguration Day. It's the wee hours when the Clintons return to Blair House from the Michael Jackson-Barbra Streisand gala at the Capital Centre. Less than 12 hours from now, Bill Clinton will become the 42nd president of the United States. In the upstairs library, where a replica of the swearing-in platform is set up, complete with TelePrompTers, a small group of writers is working through the night so that the Clintons can have a new draft of the inauguration address when they get up in the morning. As always, Hillary will have more influence over the text than any of the speechwriters—spokesman George Stephanopoulos, David Kusnet, Al Gore, media coach Michael Sheehan, and Taylor Branch, the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and longtime Clinton friend. "We don't want to throw around words like 'love,'" she warns, always on patrol against flakiness. Hillary likes precision in language—"Call a sacrifice a sacrifice, a tax a tax," she is always insisting—and she particularly dislikes self-actualizing jargon that debases emotions: no hugging, no "sharing," no confessing around her. If Hillary catches on, the air kiss could be doomed. The vice president-elect is in on the drafting of the inaugural address, but demonstrates how it is possible to doze off while sitting up straight in a hard, wooden chair.

At 6:30 in the morning, Hillary gets up and edits the speech with her husband as he prepares to go downstairs to take delivery of the box of nuclear codes from National

LADY FIRST
The Clintons take the stage at the National Ball on Inauguration Day.

"The Clintons inspire loyalty because they give it. I would throw myself in front of a truck for them."

Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. She puts on the round blue hat with the turned-up brim, an afterthought that will get almost as much attention as Jacqueline Kennedy's pillbox. There remains after three decades greater fascination with what goes on top of a woman's head than what is in it; Hillary's headband, the shade of her blond hair, now the brimmed topper, dubbed "the chipmunk hat," have already eaten up hundreds of column inches.

Governor Clinton is not yet president, but as the couple leave for the eight A.M. church service, the security is fully presidential. As Hillary gets into the car, she looks back at the Secret Service and the "War Wagon," an omnipresent van, with a rear seat that swings out to allow agents to fire artillery powerful enough to pierce an armored vehicle. "I don't know how we will keep a normal life in Washington," she said two weeks before in the living room of the governor's mansion, where cement bunkers were built the day after the election. They won't. Much of the first month in Washington will be spent trying to find a middle ground between protection and interference. The Secret Service agents will be removed from the upstairs White House outpost where they hung out during the Bush years, because Chelsea's room is up there. They are not pleased.

After church, he goes over the speech again, and they end up being late for the ceremonial coffee with the Bushes. As they walk down the stairs, the president-elect snaps at Hillary to hurry up, a frequent reaction when he's running on Clinton Standard Time. Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the co-chairs of the inauguration (who are always invited to the coffee meeting), have been making small talk with the Quayles for 15 minutes—coldly, since Dan Quayle seems to have confused Linda Bloodworth-Thomason (the creator of *Designing Women*) with Diane English (the creator of *Murphy Brown*).

But once Hillary arrives, the room brightens. For all their obvious differences, Barbara Bush has seemed to actually like Hillary since the day in November

they met at the South Portico of the White House for a tour of the private family quarters. She was so impressed with Hillary, in fact, that afterward she gushed over the woman whom Republicans had been portraying as Hilla the Hun. Mrs. Bush, who hates the press herself, described Hillary leaning forward, teacup in hand, to ask her what to do about all those pesky reporters. She advised Hillary to ignore them except to correct mistakes where friends are concerned. Hillary takes the "ignore them" part of the advice seriously, avoiding scores of interview requests and inviting only local press into the East Wing.

When the inauguration parade is almost over, Hillary jumps up to leave the reviewing stand, grabbing her husband's gray overcoat, and the president follows slowly—he never wants to leave where he is—stopping to thank the butlers who bore Diet Cokes on silver trays all afternoon. As Hillary, not the most patient person in the world, makes her way across the jury-rigged blue planks, Bill shouts, "Hey, Hillary, wait up!" She puts her hand out behind her without looking back. He catches up and they run inside together.

This time, there's no adult supervision, since the Bushes have already left for Houston on Air Force One. The Clintons rush past the chief usher, into the elevator, and out onto the second floor, nearly galloping now, opening doors as they go. They find their bedroom, midway down the yellow hallway, where Hillary doffs her hat like Mary Tyler Moore, kicks off her shoes, and jumps on the queen-size bed they will share for the next four years.

Possessions have been magically exchanged while the transfer of power was going on at the Capitol. Out with the Bushes' duck decoys and clock radio set to the country-music station, and in with the Clintons' rocking chairs and quilts and CD player. Clothes and shoes are already waiting in the appropriate walk-in closets, though the family pictures are not yet hung.

Virginia Kelley passes by, on her way

to get her hair done. Chelsea and her friends streak down the hall in white bathrobes, getting ready for the hot MTV ball. The president heads to the third floor, determined to find the solarium, where Ronald Reagan recuperated from his attempted assassination. Hillary begins dressing for the balls, donning the lavender-and-lilac inaugural gown designed by Sarah Phillips, while four people attend her, including backup hairdresser Gabriel De Bakey. "This job, it came from God," says De Bakey, who ran the last block to the White House with two cases of gear. De Bakey does the fussy swept-up dos that Hairdresser Number One, Christophe, who owns a salon in Beverly Hills with an espresso bar and seaweed treatments, wouldn't be caught dead moussing. De Bakey is anxious to prove he is up to doing the First Head of Hair. "We are not crazy here, these big pieces of hair going out everywhere," he says with wild Gallic gestures.

Chelsea and friends are ready to go, and White House photographers start snapping pictures. Like a wedding at which the First Lady is the bride, every permutation is taken. In the middle of this, the Clintons eye Chelsea's ears, adorned by big green clip-ons, since Chelsea has not been allowed to get them pierced. Though her mother comments, Chelsea makes a clean getaway, jewelry intact.

The balls: they came, they waved, they danced—the same sequence at every one, except for the three where the president played the saxophone. By two A.M. sleep deprivation is beginning to take its toll, and his winning smile gets a little less dazzling. A huge full-length picture of the Clintons, looking as if they are having the first dance at the wedding, immediately goes up in the hallway leading from the pressroom to the West Wing offices.

The open house sounded like a great Andrew Jacksonesque notion when it was announced—but this early in the morning, on three hours' sleep? Worse, the guards have let in not just ticket

DESIGNING WOMEN

Hillary and good friend Linda Bloodworth-Thomason raided the White House kitchen with their husbands the night after the inauguration.



holders but all comers. Midway through the long day, an open mike catches Hillary pulling her husband aside to point out that at the rate the line is moving they will be there until it is time to announce the re-election campaign. But even in an unguarded moment on an endless day, she is concerned rather than cranky. Pointing to the crowd outside, she whispers, "We just screwed all these people!"

On Thursday, Hillary has about 30 of her high-school friends from Park Ridge, Illinois, into the Blue Room for a party. The extended First Family drops by. The move to the White House is a big jolt for both families, who lived so close to the Arkansas statehouse that they had dinner together most weekends.

Patriarch Hugh Rodham sits happily in his wheelchair. Hillary does an imitation of her high-school prom date, who insisted she learn to skateboard before he would take her to the dance. One of the guests is speaking on the phone to his wife, who wanted to have the experience of being called from the White House. The First Lady takes the receiver and jokes, "Don't worry, now, we've worked out a way for him to pay for the

Ming vase he knocked over." She is having the time of her life, but unlike her husband, who can't leave even a dull party, she soon begins moving people out the door with great dispatch.

Finally, the Clintons are left alone with their close friends from Arkansas, the Thomasons, who are, as Linda puts it, "two hicks who will be spending the night in the Lincoln Bedroom." The foursome raids the kitchen, looking for something to eat without disturbing the stewards. But all the Bushes have left behind are a few spoonfuls of vanilla ice cream and some stale saltines. The president, who loves to order in pizza, can't because all vendors have to be cleared by the Secret Service. Hungry and trapped, Clinton jokes that they have just moved into "the crown jewel of the federal prison system."

He grabs his wife and they go hunting for the bowling alley and movie theater. But Hillary, who wants to get some sleep, has programmed the Thomasons to discourage a late night. The new president extracts a few desultory hands of hearts. After midnight, he is pulled back down to the Oval Office to finally withdraw the Zoe

Baird nomination. He doesn't get to sleep till after 2 A.M.

A few mornings later a steward walks into the bedroom while the Clintons are still between the sheets. "We were not up yet and a steward came in," the president explained. "The guy just honestly thought we were up and we weren't."

Where H.R.C. will sit becomes the next big question. The president had mused out loud that he wished he could knock down a wall in the West Wing so that she could be right beside him. Her predecessors, of course, stuck to the East Wing; Mrs. Hoover stayed in the bedroom, spreading out her correspondence on top of the blankets. But location is everything and the difference between the East Wing and the West Wing is the difference between being in the loop and *being* the loop. The closest she can get without offending the White House curator is the second floor in a small, boxy office. The last occupant, ironically, was Janet Mullins, the James Baker aide who is being investigated for authorizing a search of Bill Clinton's passport file.

The carpets and drapes are cleaned; Hillary orders a coffeepot and pushes up

the blinds to let the light in. Her staff— young ones who look like extras on *Beverly Hills, 90210* and others who resemble assistant deans at Smith College—perch on the striped sofa and small table, which is quickly smothered in piles of health-care briefs and correspondence. "We usually meet in my office because the table is bigger and not as messy," says Domestic Policy Adviser Carol Rasco. Hillary's management style is collegial and direct. Says Deputy Assistant to the President Melanne Verveer, "She carries her own stuff, writes little notes on sticky paper or right on a letter—'Let's do this,' 'What do you think about this study?' 'Maybe we should get this guy in here.' We know she's not our peer now, but when we are working she acts just like another professional around the table."

Significantly, she has a larger number of senior officials assigned to her than the vice president, and her personal staff is much more powerful than any previous First Lady's. She has five commissioned officers—that is, assistants to the president—in contrast to one for Mrs. Bush. "Inside the White House culture," says Anna Perez, Barbara Bush's former press secretary, "that carries a lot of weight." Hillary also gets a great deal on real estate, because she keeps the space set aside for the social office in the East Wing and a suite of offices for the rest of the First Lady's staff in the adjacent Old Executive Office Building.

It is Hillary who decides to restore the small dining room next to the Oval Office—Ronald Reagan had turned it into an office—where meetings can be held and where the vice president and president have lunch once a week. She also decorates the president's small study, with its stand-up desk, a stereo, an easy chair, and a picture of the tower at Oxford with the American flag flying over it on November 3, 1992, commemorating the first time a Rhodes scholar has ever been elected president. She puts her gift of all his campaign buttons mounted in a frame on the wall just outside the Oval Office. Nearby, he hangs a large portrait of his wife.

Hillary 1. Photodogs 0. They will do anything—hold out catnip, grovel on their stomachs—to get a picture, even if it is only of the family cat. It's a full-court press for Chelsea's first day of school, but if she were stupid enough to

go to the main entrance, where the TV crews, reporters, and photographers have camped out since early morning, she wouldn't be smart enough to attend Sidwell Friends. Junior-high-school kids don't like to be taken to school by their parents, but Hillary accompanies Chelsea, keeping the Secret Service and limousines with flags at bay. The request from Chelsea that there be as little fanfare as possible on the part of the driver and others will later be misinterpreted as a dislike for men in uniform and evidence that the Clintons are anti-military. Later, Hillary attends Chelsea's first soccer game, and manages to avoid causing a stir. Chelsea's team wins, 4 to 1.

When Hillary enters the Roosevelt Room that afternoon wearing a headband, it's surprising that reporters don't race to the phones. The headband has come to be like a mood ring: headband on, she's the killer lawyer, offering herself during the campaign as the blue-plate special, two for the price of one, and giving intros longer than the candidate's speech. Headband off, she's the docile helpmate of the campaign bus trips, demurely in the background. The Nancy Gaze has nothing on the Hillary Nod.

But the president announces that the First Lady will not be the best supporting actress in this administration. She will be running his second-most-important enterprise. He turned to her, he explains, because "she's better at organizing and leading people from a complex beginning to a certain end than anybody I've ever worked with in my life." He adds that he hopes "she'll be sharing some of the heat I expect to generate."

Before the election, aides worried deeply that Hillary would appear to be an "empowered Nancy Reagan," according to one document. When asked during the campaign whether she would actually be participating in government, she said to look at her record in Arkansas. "I didn't sit in on Cabinet meetings there, did I? Why would I behave differently in Washington?" Well, for the same reason Willie Sutton robbed banks: it's where the action is. And, unlike Little Rock, Washington is a city where you can't work outside the home if home is the White House.

As before, advisers often check with her before approaching the president. "Why wouldn't you talk to the last person who sees him at night and the first in the morning," says James Carville, "es-



WORKING
THE ROOM

Hillary in action at a
lunch on hosted by
the new administration
to thank the V.I.P.s
who supported
the Clinton campaign.



“If her husband plays poker,” says one congressman,
“he ought to take her with him.”

pecially when she is as smart as a whip?" Bruce Lindsey, one of Clinton's oldest confidants and the White House personnel chief, routinely runs possible appointments by her. Critics say she is slowing down the process. After attorney-general candidate Kimba Wood meets the president, for instance, she pays a visit to Hillary's office.

Much has been made of F.O.B.'s (Friends of Bill), but there are almost as many F.O.H.'s in the administration. Hillary's first boss, Bernard Nussbaum, is White House counsel; his assistant, Vince Foster, was her law partner. Her second boss, Webb Hubbell, managing partner of Little Rock's Rose Law Firm, is associate attorney general. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala served with Hillary on the board of the Children's Defense Fund. The president's top aide, Mack McLarty, says he may be as close to Hillary as to the president, even though he has known the president since Miss Mary's kindergarten. "I've seen a lot more of Hillary over the last 10 years than the president because of our schedules," he says.

She has walk-in-the-door privileges throughout the building—and others feel free to walk in on her. In the middle of the Zoe Baird nomination going south, White House consultant Skip Rutherford walks into Hillary's office with a cup of coffee from the White House mess, remarking that there are only Styrofoam cups available for carryout. Hillary cocks her head toward the vice president's office, joking, "We better get Al on that." The next day, the Styrofoam is gone in favor of heavy, recyclable paper.

During the first week, a *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll finds that the First Lady has a positive rating of 57 percent, up from 46 percent in December; 74 percent think she is a positive role model. In a *Washington Post*/ABC poll, however, 36 percent are worried that H.R.C. will have too large a role, and only 3 percent fret that she'll have too small a one. One poll finds that 62 percent think she should stuff the Rodham part of her name.

The name will occupy investigative reporters and talk-show radio for days. According to the best available information, the facts are these: It was Hillary Rodham until 1982, no question. In 1980, her husband's gubernatorial opponent, Frank White, made a television ad saying that his (Continued on page 165)

SPOTLIGHT

Cinco de MoMA



Why is Frida Kahlo, a Mexican who died nearly 40 years ago, one of the most fashionable painters of the moment? Not just because she was a woman. The last time North Americans looked south of the border with such intensity was in the 1930s and 40s, when the exotic political passions of the great Mexican muralists Diego Rivera (who was Kahlo's husband), José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros inspired American art. This time the fascination has more to do with hemispheric solidarity—with an intense feeling that both North and South America should look less toward Europe and more toward each other.

This month, New York's Museum of Modern Art is putting on display a vast survey of 20th-century Latin-American art—more than 300 works by about 90 artists. The exhibition is blessedly free of political posturing and the sort of hot-tamale aesthetics that has often shaped Anglo taste on the subject. There is none of that "It looks like European art except colorful, native, spicy—like a fiesta, sombrero, chili pepper." Instead, the art is allowed to speak for itself. Latin-American artists took the important themes of European modernism and remade them in the complex image of their continent. The Brazilian painter Emiliano di Cavalcanti's picture of five women, *Cinco Moças de Guaratinguetá* (1930, 92 cm x 70 cm, oil on canvas), may owe a great deal to Art Deco and German Expressionism, for example, but the central figure stares at us from an ancient, distant place. —MARK STEVENS

LATIN LOVE

The
exhibition is
blessedly
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and hot-tamale
aesthetics.

Crook is characteristically lucid but betrays no hint of the author's having been there.

The reporting in the international section is often extremely weak, partly because of a heavy reliance on stringers—*The Economist* still has no bureau in the Middle East or Latin America. As a result, it almost never breaks news. And the writing often sags as well, under the weight of *The Economist's* own bag of hack tricks, like ending a piece with the phrase "Words to remember." It sometimes reads as if the same person wrote the whole magazine.

Anonymity, to which all swear fealty, encourages this—no one is ever ashamed to have his name on anything. The lack of credit may breed collegiality, but it drives many of the cleverest away. The roster of writers who have left recently to pursue greater glory under a byline includes Andrew Marr, the previous Bagshot, who is now Britain's top political columnist at *The Independent*, and Anne Applebaum, who recently left to become foreign editor of *The Spectator*. "Anonymity is a drawback for everybody," says one writer, who prefers to remain anonymous.

The magazine also remains visually stunted, its covers often ugly, undecipherable cartoons, like a recent Helmut Kohl in a broken-down Mercedes, his head looking nauseatingly like a swollen peanut. Perhaps its largest problem, however, is one of nationality. Increasingly, its readers are not Brits but Americans who

like the magazine's elevated British tone.

The harshest version of this was argued by James Fallows in the *Washington Post* "Outlook" section. "There are certain English products whose quaintness is put on mainly for export purposes—they're the equivalent of Ye Olde Tea Shoppe-style tourist traps, which the locals avoid," he wrote. "Something similar is going on with *The Economist*. . . . It is disdained by the very Englishmen whom many American readers would most love to emulate, the secure upper and upper-middle classes."

Indeed, in London, *The Spectator* is the in magazine with the chattering classes, and *The Economist* is regarded as a tedious, Americanized hybrid. "I am not a dedicated reader of the *Economist*," Roy Jenkins, who was offered the editorship in the 1960s, wrote in his memoirs, "regarding it as essentially a journal for foreigners."

These foreigners are lured by *The Economist's* snob-appeal direct mail, which makes a subscription sound like membership in a London club. But they don't want the ins and outs of British politics; there is a recognition, at least on the part of its senior staff, that it indulges in parochial issues at its peril.

But to fold the Britain section into Europe, something Emmott will have to consider, would make it even more irrelevant at home. Already, Andrew Neil, editor of *The Sunday Times* and former Britain editor of *The Economist*, publicly calls its domestic coverage "poor." And giving

up on Britain would be risky: though the U.K. is responsible for less than 20 percent of its circulation, it generates nearly a third of its advertising revenue.

The editors dodge this bullet by arguing that what matters is not *The Economist's* Britishness but its foreignness. "Any paper has to have a personality," says Pennant-Rea. "We are British in ours, but international in subject matter and approach. There's nothing particularly virtuous about Britishness. If it was based in Australia, it would be produced as it is now."

The Economist in Australia, however, is still unthinkable. The magazine has always been one of the great bastions of what critic Dwight Macdonald called "amateur journalism," which is produced only in London. Macdonald meant amateur not in the pejorative sense of being second-rate but rather in the sense of writing that was spontaneous, sophisticated, and ironic, produced more for love than money.

Nobody at *The Economist* knows whether the magazine will continue in this tradition, and again become a journalistic oasis where one can opine at leisure on the issues of the day. The power struggle has cast a long shadow, which will hang over the magazine's sesquicentennial, a luminary-laden bash that will be held at the Reform Club in September, and linger long afterward. One irony may be noted by Mrs. Thatcher, Alan Greenspan, and the other invited guests: the stiff dose of competition *The Economist* always prescribes for others didn't do it any good. □

Hillary Clinton

(Continued from page 116) wife and the mother of his children was proud to call herself "Mrs. Frank White." Soon, he was calling himself Governor White. Before Clinton launched his campaign to unseat him, Hillary Rodham was answering to Mrs. Bill Clinton. But she was actually going tri-moniker. Like many women, she used her full name some of the time, part of it some of the time, and mumbled something the rest of the time. Her press secretary and her law firm insist that she always signed three names. But in the campaign, press releases and schedules often used just Hillary Clinton. Aides insist she was still H.R.C. when she signed something (one of the more intimidated staffers is sure of this because he always thought it meant Her Royal Clinton). At campaign stops, Bill Clinton introduced his wife as Hillary, and now he introduces the health-

care czarina as Hillary Rodham Clinton. While the polls are against her on this, she will avoid impeachment hearings as long as she forgoes the hyphen.

The Clintons have hardly had time for dinner together; the president has been working in his office every night until one A.M. But together with Mack McLarty they work out a deal where his schedule will allow him to be upstairs for dinner at 7:30. No one likes eating in the imposing dining room, so Hillary has a white table and wicker chairs sent up from Arkansas. In Little Rock, everything happened in the kitchen—potluck suppers, marathon Trivial Pursuit games, the pinochle the Rodhams love. McLarty remembers, "You would be over there and it wouldn't be surprising if you set the table, pulled the leftovers out of the refrigerator, and cleaned up. And that was after he was elected president."

The private-quarters kitchen in the White House is too small for that, but it works for family breakfasts and dinners. After dinner, the Clintons read, work, watch television, and make phone calls. It takes weeks to get phones that can direct-dial (the Bushes went through an operator), but now there are his-and-her versions.

The house is filled with guests: Diane Blair (Hillary's friend from the University of Arkansas) and her husband (the general counsel of Tyson Foods), the Thomasons (Harry several times), Susan Thomases (several times), and all the family. Whenever word gets to Hillary that friends are coming to town, she insists they stay at the White House. "It's the only way she's sure she will see them," says Verveer.

At the end of the week, the Clintons slip off for a private dinner at a friend's house on 16th Street. The president is giv-

Hillary Clinton

en Ross Perot cars, and Hillary is given a black cone-shaped hat and toasted as the Wicked Witch of the West (Wing).

On Tuesday morning, January 26, Hillary catches the 8:30 shuttle to New York, nailing the window seat and eating the cheese and apple in the plastic basket. "She likes to eat and doesn't gain weight and hardly exercises," says Verveer. She's ecumenical but prefers Italian and Mexican. The president fixes her eggs with jalapeño peppers on the weekends. One Christmas she served black beans and chili as part of a buffet. She carries Tabasco sauce wherever she goes.

At P.S. 115 in a poor Manhattan neighborhood, Hillary bends over a child's desk and recalls how her father quizzed her on the multiplication table. She rewards the winner of a multiplication bingo game with two silver happy faces and a kiss in the middle of his forehead.

After this piece of classic First Lady theater, Hillary races downtown for lunch with Jacqueline Onassis in her apartment across from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Nibbling salad, they do not talk of hats or headbands. As she departs, Hillary abandons her no-hug policy for an embrace in the lobby.

She moves on to Chemical Bank's midtown headquarters, where she is to receive the Lewis Hine Award from the National Child Labor Committee. She breaks stride to ask an aide to see if more people can't be invited to Sunday's first official White House dinner. Arriving at the plush 50th-floor conference room, Hillary slips away to call Chelsea, whom she had dropped off at school that morning for her second day of eighth grade.

Hillary also squeezes in calls to several members of Congress, including House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, House Minority Leader Robert Michel, and Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole. Dole had recently fretted over whether the president would be able to fire his wife as he could other aides, and wondered whether there could be a full and frank discussion of ideas around her. Rostenkowski had asked, "Is Mrs. Rodham Clinton starting to take over the White House?" and Michel said, "I could always ask my wife, I guess, to come be my representative." When Hillary doesn't make it to Annapolis for a meeting of the Republican caucus, one senator cavils, "We made it out here, why didn't you?" She explains that neither the local police nor the Secret Service

would let her go, because of the heavy snow. When the meeting is rescheduled on the Hill, three times as many people turn out.

WEEK TWO. On January 27, Hillary holds her first health-care task-force meeting in the Old E.O.B. (steps across a driveway from the White House), in a stifling-hot, standing-room-only office on the second floor. The turnout is excellent, and includes the president and vice president. Warren Christopher or Donna Shalala should be blessed with such attendance. Hillary sets the tone: "I don't want you to think because I'm the president's wife it's not O.K. to tell me what you think. I want everything on the table."

Consultants to the health-care task force travel to Washington to ponder price controls and bunk in cheap hotels, on pullout couches, and in sublets. They quickly find that a meeting with the president seems like a hoedown compared with the brisk no-frills directness of an encounter with H.R.C. An overorganizer—Hillary read 43 First Lady biographies and several Elliott Roosevelt mystery novels to learn about life in the White House—she has a plan consuming umpteen pages of charts, graphs, calendars, tickler files, and checkoffs, along with a tollgate strategy which requires each group to pass its findings through ever narrowing checkpoints.

Everyone worries about the self-imposed 100-day deadline. One White House aide is sure they'll make it. "H.R.C. will do as much work as anyone, and she will see that everyone works as hard as she does. With her, you can't jive, you can't temporize, you can't play any games. You do, you're dead."

But there is a false drama to the secret deliberations, since a memo to participants says that the job of the task force is to make the argument for a managed-competition plan; a single payer, as in Canada, is not seriously considered. While the oxymoronic "managed competition" means doctors and pharmaceutical companies will take a hit, it more or less preserves the piece of action the powerful insurance companies have, except that they now may be forced to cover people who aren't disgustingly healthy.

At the end of a bad week—the gays-in-the-military issue exploding on the heels of Zoe Baird's withdrawal—Hillary suggests a get-together of the whole White House staff in the East Room. It quickly turns into a pep rally. McLarty introduces Tipper Gore, who introduces Hillary, who

says, Hey, it's just been a week. Al Gore rises to boogie, or try to, and jokes about his dancing ability.

When Clinton takes the floor, however, he lights into his aides for leaking information to the press. It's the reverse of the perception that Hillary always plays the bad cop. In fact, she is more often the mother hen. "Are you getting enough sleep?" she asks the younger staff. "Maybe you should stay home tonight." She sometimes force-feeds bagels to visitors to her office and urges her staff to go home for birthdays, anniversaries, and holidays. White House consultant Paul Begala says that for almost everyone "it's much easier to turn to Hillary than the president. She has no temper. I've never heard her raise her voice." When Begala's wife was eight months pregnant, Hillary and the governor insisted he go home for a month with full pay. "This is the most important thing that will ever happen to you, not the election," Begala recalls her saying. "The Clintons inspire loyalty because they give it," he says. "I would throw myself in front of a truck for them."

January 30. On the first trip to Camp David, Hillary is still upbeat. There is a touchie-feelie quality about the meeting of Cabinet members and top White House aides, with nametags and facilitators and getting-to-know-you stories. The president recalls being teased about being a fat kid. Hillary tries out "Mr. President." After several references, she stops and says, "This is going to be hard and awkward for me, so let me just say 'Bill' when I need to." But no one has heard the president addressed in public by anyone since as Governor or Bill. "Hillary tells everyone, and I mean *everyone*," says Begala, "to call her Hillary."

The next day, they head back to the White House to watch the Super Bowl with Governors Ann Richards (rooting for Dallas) and Mario Cuomo (for the Buffalo Bills). Chelsea sits on the floor with Socks.

With an official White House dinner that evening, the First Lady has no time for football. Home-ec Hillary goes into high gear: she consults with the kitchen staff and checks out the pink tablecloths, the red Reagan china, the tulips. She is a different First Lady from the one in Arkansas, where she would breeze in at the last minute for an official dinner, moving around name cards, perhaps, but otherwise leaving the arrangements to the pros.

Hillary's spurt of domesticity comes exactly one year after the wifely perfor-

Hillary Clinton

mance on *60 Minutes*, when she helped rescue the imperiled Clinton candidacy. Then, she came across as a determined, hard-talking, g-droppin' woman who was standing by her man, though without a lot of charm or grace. Tonight she is Hillary transformed, dressed for dinner in a black turtleneck number by Donna Karan that says, in a sexy whisper, "I am not Barbara Bush." Since the dress has already been knocked off in ready-to-wear, it also says, "I am not Nancy Reagan." To the aides who are afraid of her, however, it says, "I am Hillary, hear me roar; I'm more important than Al Gore" (a song that would soon become popular on Washington, D.C., radio stations).

The next day, the First Lady gives her first postinaugural interview, to Marian Burros, a food writer for *The New York Times*. She has granted the audience on the condition that they keep the talk to household hints and favorite recipes. "We are big broccoli eaters," Hillary declares. About the president's much-lampooned eating habits she says, "You know, he gets an unfair rap. An occasional trip to a fast-food restaurant is not the worst of all possible sins."

A few days after her culinary interview, Hillary is her old self again in a black suit, heels clicking on marble floors as she sweeps past white marble busts of dead white men on Capitol Hill. She doesn't carry a briefcase but a black purse so large she would be asked to check it at the airport. In the L.B.J. Room, 25 Democratic congressmen listen intently. H.R.C. shares top billing with Senator George Mitchell. Up here in the last pre-feminist stronghold in the land, where men are members and women are wives or trouble, they are having a little difficulty getting used to such a powerful First Lady. There has been a lot of grumbling, especially about Mrs. Rodham Clinton (Dan Rostenkowski's name for her) calling men by their first names.

Hillary seems to be an irresistible target for unfriendly fire.

The jokes:

The president got his taxes done early but couldn't send them in, because he couldn't find the head of household to sign.

Clinton is finally getting a feel for things in Washington. Now, if we can just figure out what to do with her husband.

Saturday Night Live's Opera Man: "Aggressiv-ah. Hillary power trip-ah. El presidente es pusso whip-ah."

David Letterman comparing Bill and Roger Clinton:

Bill—Can recite Declaration of Independence by heart.

Roger—Can stop electric garage door with his head.

Bill—Secret Service code name is Eagle.

Roger—Secret Service code name is Boss's oser-lay other-bray.

Roger—Terrified of Hillary.

Bill—Terrified of Hillary.

A half-true joke: Chelsea goes to the school nurse because she has a headache. The nurse wants to give her an aspirin but has to have parental consent. Chelsea tells the nurse, "Call my dad; my mom's too busy." (What she actual-

With
Hillary, says one
White House aide,
"you can't jive,
you can't temporize,
you can't play
any games. You do,
you're dead."

ly said, according to the president, was that "I was easier to get on the phone—but that's because I'm more likely to be in one place.")

Of course, it's safer to make Hillary the object of the concerns about the presidency. If he turns out to be a jerk, the country suffers; if she does, it's a good parlor game. And many people may fear having more than one person wearing the pants in a marriage as much as they fear having more than one president, especially men who like the pants-allocation system just the way it is.

Susan Faludi, the author of *Backlash*, thinks that "the rusting social order has its shorts in a knot over Hillary not because she's an independent woman but because she is unapologetic about it." She's taken off the mask of the demure wife without putting on a hair shirt. She is

not a long-suffering Eleanor Roosevelt, an overbearing Edith Wilson, a pill-taking Betty Ford, or an overthin, grandchild-averse Nancy Reagan. She doesn't sit silently at Cabinet meetings like Rosalynn Carter. She brings her own agenda.

WEEK THREE. On *Meet the Press*, Robert Novak, the Prince of Darkness on the Sunday-morning talk shows, blames the two failed attorney-general selections on the First Lady's insistence that the job be filled by a woman. He fulminates about "the hidden hand of Hillary Clinton trying to play Bobby Kennedy at the Justice Department, but unable to get the job on a de jure basis because of the anti-nepotism law." Four days later, when asked at his Rose Garden announcement of his nominee for attorney general what influence Hillary had on the selection of Janet Reno, the president answers, "None."

February 10. The Detroit town meeting. A focus group sponsored by a marketing firm turns knobs during the president's question-and-answer session. The favorable ratings move steadily upward during an answer by Clinton on health care—until he mentions his wife's role. Then the dials turn down. They go back up when he starts talking about health care again.

Hillary has spent much of the first three weeks with Chelsea, helping her to adjust to a new city and a new school, to life without her grandparents or friends nearby. Except for those few days when she is traveling, Hillary goes upstairs at 4:30, when Chelsea gets home from school. On a snow day when Chelsea is home, Hillary stays with her all day. Various people come up and join them. Chelsea has introduced her parents to Game Boy, and now Hillary tries to pry it out of her hands.

The family has taken to the movie theater and bowling alley. When Mary Steenburgen, the actress from Arkansas who is a close friend of the Clintons, stays in the White House to celebrate her birthday, she and Chelsea race downstairs. The whole family has watched Steve Martin in *Leap of Faith*, plus *Groundhog Day*, *Home Alone 2*, *Aladdin*, *Benny & Joon*, *A Few Good Men*, and *Falling Down*. The White House swimming pool is ignored except by Steenburgen, who gets up at 6:30 A.M. for a swim in freezing weather. As she comes back in, the president is leaving for his jog, and Hillary is seeing Chelsea off to school.

WEEK FOUR. February 11. Hillary and Tipper travel to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for a town meeting on health care. As always Hillary is in command of the ses-

Hillary Clinton

sion, asking pointed questions and giving away little—she keeps details about how the plan is being developed close to the vest. “If her husband plays poker,” says Representative Mike Synar of Oklahoma, “he ought to take her with him.”

The next day, the First Couple visits a clinic in Arlington, Virginia. The trip is a reminder that they are hardly ever together during the day anymore. (Verveer says, “Hillary will stop by the Oval Office on the way back from a meeting if she thinks he might be there, but he’s so fully scheduled there’s almost no time.”) The president takes up the fight Hillary has pre-picked for him with the drug companies for gouging profits out of sick people. They make a good team; the sum of their anger is greater than its parts. They dandle babies to make clear whose side they are on.

A *Time/CNN* poll of 1,800 adults finds that 56 percent of respondents have a favorable impression of the First Lady. A Gallup poll shows that 67 percent of 1,001 Americans surveyed have a favorable opinion of her—two points better than her husband scores on the same question. No one asks about Al. At the Gridiron dinner, Bob Dole thanks his former Senate colleague for his efforts. “The vice president puts in long hours at the White House working on the environment. And, Al, the lawn looks great.”

February 14. Valentine’s Day at the Red Sage restaurant. Even on a romantic outing, the president can be the date from hell, talking to everyone but the girl he brings, which in this case means attending to the waiter, the Secret Service, the aide with the nuclear codes, and an advance person. Before going to the downstairs dining room, he U-turns into the bar for a round of flesh-pressing. Finally alone, they have “painted soup” and the lamb baked in herbed bread. They exchange gifts and touch each other more in two hours than the Bushes did in four years.

WEEK FIVE. February 17. The president’s State of the Union speech will be delivered and broadcast live tonight at nine. The pressure is intense: after his 10-minute address from the Oval Office two days earlier, the stock market suffered its biggest one-day drop in 16 months. At lunchtime, the president is pre-spinning news anchors over grilled chicken in his private dining room while Hillary works on the speech in the Roosevelt Room.

At this stage, the address is nothing

more than scraps of paper scattered the length of the table. “Hillary is making about a dozen different assignments to people,” an aide recalls later. “[National Economic Council head Robert] Rubin’s section is so full of jargon that she has to take him in the other room and do her ‘If it’s a tax, call it a tax’ routine.” Another aide calls Hillary “the detox center for bad writers.” Paul Begala admits his section on health care was too soft and unfocused. “Hillary stitched health care back into the speech as an economic issue,” he says. “She was the calm in the eye of the storm.”

But when the president joins them, one aide notices for the first time a flash of irritation directed at his wife. “It was a small thing—looking a second too long when Hillary was speaking—but she knew enough to back off.” The aide adds that, in addition to being his most ardent cheerleader, Hillary is Clinton’s toughest critic—able to tell him things few people are willing to now that he’s president.

At 6:30, Clinton rehearses the speech in the movie theater on the ground floor. At 8:30, the First Couple climbs into the limo and they pencil-edit the last draft on the way to the Capitol. In front of the camera, he ad-libs about a quarter of the speech. It is hailed as a breakthrough success.

Hillary thought it would be a great idea to invite Alan Greenspan, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, to sit beside her during the speech. This eye-popping sight attracts almost as much attention as the president’s words. Two days later, Greenspan will testify favorably about Clinton’s economic plan before Congress.

Back at the White House, Clinton gets everybody up to the third-floor solarium for a party. Hillary misses most of it because Chelsea needs help with her homework. When the First Lady arrives around midnight, the president is trying to round up a crowd for a movie, but everyone is too tired. Instead, he talks Hillary into watching a rerun of the speech on C-SPAN.

On February 21, Hillary appears at Alice Tully Hall in New York for a benefit to raise money for a sculpture of Eleanor Roosevelt to be placed in Riverside Park—America’s first memorial to a First Lady, other than the collection of gowns in the Smithsonian. Hillary remarks that she has had many conversations with Mrs. Roosevelt in her head during the past year—“one of the saving graces that I have hung on to for dear life.” She says she asked her predecessor things like “How did you put up with this?” and “How did you go on, day to day, with all the attacks and

criticisms that would be hurled your way?” Her comments are a departure from the campaign, when she told *Time* magazine that she took criticism grounded in fact seriously but not personally and ignored the rest. “If I worried about every time anybody said something nasty about me during the last year, I would be incapacitated.”

In a public appearance in his home state, Wyoming congressman Craig Thomas refers to the First Lady as “Hillary Baby.” When it is reported on network news, he claims, “I meant no disrespect.” A reporter at *The Washington Post* coins the phrase “Billary,” one president, two heads, one headband. He makes no denial about his intention.

WEEK SIX. Along with six Cabinet members, H.R.C. is sued in federal court by three industry groups seeking to open the health-care meetings. The White House counsel fights back, arguing that the sunshine laws, which state that government meetings with an outside adviser must be open, weren’t passed to protect the country from the First Lady.

Another First Lady comes to visit. Hillary and Betty Ford talk for two hours about mental health and substance abuse and the small world of First Ladies. They have their pictures taken under Mrs. Ford’s portrait.

The president seems to be thriving, careening from one wildly adventurous project to another—a new town meeting, a new crisis, a new summit. The major aides—Mack McLarty, George Stephanopoulos, Paul Begala, Bruce Lindsey—are tied up with devising the economic plan and getting it through Congress, then with the timber summit, then with the Yeltsin summit. Hillary is left to the single, brain-crushing task of health-care reform and its *Mission: Impossible* deadline.

There is a performer in most elected officials, including First Ladies, a leaning toward the light. Nancy Reagan was an actress, Betty Ford a dancer. They took to their parts. Hillary, on the other hand, is a behind-the-scenes player; she would be happy if she were never on-camera again and never had to sit for another photo shoot, especially if it means sitting still for a makeup artist. She attacks her job with determination and decades of experience. At public hearings for the health-care task force, she is never at a loss for either information or sympathy. What kind of health insurance do you have? How much do you pay? A rapt student, she has not yet been asked a question that she couldn’t answer. Like most staffs, hers

prepares talking points for her, which she almost never uses. Says Verveer, "I ask her, 'What do you need us for?' She always comes up with something to make us feel better."

The Gores and the Clintons relive the salad days of the campaign bus tour by going out together to a Jerry Jeff Walker performance at the Birchmere, a club in suburban Virginia. They eat at RT's, a Cajun restaurant, where the Clintons order the pasta jambalaya. The veep orders his favorite meal: potato skins stuffed with barbecued chicken followed by pecan-crusted chicken with rock shrimp. The evening raises the question of whether jeans are age-appropriate for a vice president, even when going to a country-music concert and eating Cajun food.

WEEK SEVEN. Hillary loses the lawsuit against her. The judge rules that she is not a federal employee, which means that task-force meetings to gather information must be held in public. The White House claims it is "gratified" by the ruling, which is a "stamp of approval," because they now claim not to have held any meetings which if they had held them would have had to have been held in public. Despite being gratified by the decision, the White House will appeal the ruling several weeks later.

The Clintons have yet to take a weekend off. There's always something—Zoe Baird, Boris Yeltsin, the economic plan. The president goes golfing twice in Manassas, but it's so foggy he can barely see the ball. Chelsea has friends over to watch movies and spend the night, and for her 13th birthday, friends from Little Rock fly up. Hillary takes them all out to see a revival of *Jesus Christ Superstar* at the Warner Theatre.

When Steenburgen visits, Hillary tells her how homesick she is for friends and the ease of her old life. Steenburgen says that, unlike the Hollywood types she knows, the Clintons want to hold on to the prosaic quality of their lives, to avoid the rarefied atmosphere and the dependence that comes when someone is always there to take care of the details. Hillary stops by the grocery store near Chelsea's school one day to pick up things that used to be in the cupboard in Little Rock, like peanut butter. But she has only \$11 cash, and the store doesn't take credit cards. She charms the clerk anyway, signing an autograph on her way out.

WEEK EIGHT. At the health-care meetings, everyone has a woeful tale about getting sick, and Hillary manages to listen

to each saga as if it were the first one she'd heard. Just as she seems to be flagging and the discussion starts to drag, she will lift her head off her hand and lob a live one. To a doctor whining about onerous government regulation, she retorts with thinly veiled anger, "Why the medical community in this country can't help us figure out what will work..." Deep breath. "It's frustrating...this is just one example of what really should be solved by the medical community." For a woman of her control, this is the equivalent of mowing the doctor down with an Uzi.

While the pundits and the medical establishment and men in general seem to enjoy taking potshots at Hillary, the less privileged root for her at clinics in Virginia, farm halls in Iowa, auditoriums in Florida, and hospitals in Pennsylvania. The people who line up after the hearings for a word, an autograph, to shake her hand, and the 100,000 people who have written to say they think she is doing the right thing seem to appreciate her core of unbendable steel. Her husband can be as oversensitive as a car alarm, anxious to please the last person he talked to, split the difference, find a way up the middle. But she acts like someone who will stick to her guns. Says her close friend Steenburgen, "Like all of us, Hillary would prefer to be liked, but she's secure enough to risk not being liked if that's what it takes."

In Slater, Iowa, she allows herself a rare moment of self-reflection, saying that she's been at the job of drafting a health-care-reform package for six weeks, but "actually it feels like six years." Yet she seems indefatigable. One day she has only a single official item on her schedule—a discussion of health care with five female senators—but she holds 30 other meetings.

On March 16, she gives one of many teas in the White House, this one for 10 First Ladies from the Western Hemisphere. The event recalls the exchange she had with Jerry Brown during the campaign. When he attacked her law practice as a conflict of interest in a state where her husband was governor, she shot back, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas." Less reported was her next sentence: "The work that I have done...has been aimed...to assure that women can make the choices...whether it's full-time career, full-time motherhood, or some combination."

The Clintons have taken a very different approach toward their daughter from the Carters, the last First Family that came with a child. When Amy Carter was

pawed by the press and overexposed and came across as precocious and pampered, Rosalynn Carter said, "My children have grown up in public life. Amy was two when we were in the governor's mansion. I don't worry about it." Chelsea, however, was kept so sheltered that, during the campaign, some focus groups didn't think the Clintons had a child.

What Hillary can't let pass is a segment on *Saturday Night Live* which made fun of

Credits and Fashion Information

Page 6: Photographs, top to bottom, by Jim Rakete, Michael Geissinger, Roxanne Lowit.

Page 12: Photographs, bottom left and right, by Marina Schiano; robe from Ralph Lauren, N.Y.C.

Page 64: Photograph from Sygma.

Page 70: Photographs, top, from WOC/Sipa; bottom, from Sipa.

Page 74: Photograph from Reuters/Bettmann.

Page 80: Photographs, left, by Max Aguilera-Hellweg/Onyx; right, from Rex USA.

Page 84: Props styled by Millie Falcato for Network Representatives; hair, makeup, and grooming by Mathu Andersen.

Page 86: Photographs: Top, jackets from the Sussy Union, L.A.; styled by Jill Sokolec for Célestine, grooming by Jeanine Greville-Morris for Cloutier. Bottom, grooming by Denise Markey.

Page 88: Photographs: Top left, by John Strickler/Sygma. Top right, styled by Jerri Sokolec; hair and makeup by Barbara Sansone for J. Zingarelli.

Page 90: T-shirt and jeans from all Gap stores; styled by Lee W. Moore for Visages Style; grooming by Caroline Keenan.

Page 94: Photographs, top, hair, makeup, and styling by Angie Heon; bottom center, by Marina Garnier; bottom right, by Oberto Gili.

Page 103: Robe from Ralph Lauren, N.Y.C.

Page 105: Suit and shirt from Giorgio Armani, Beverly Hills.

Page 106: Suit from Emporio Armani, N.Y.C.; shirt from Bergdorf Goodman Men, N.Y.C.; all Neiman Marcus stores, and Louis, Boston.

Pages 108-9: Photographs, left, from Photoreporters; right, from Sygma.

Page 117: Painting photographed by Bruce M. White, N.Y.C.

Pages 118-19: Photographs, left to right, by Albert Ferreira/DML, Roxanne Lowit, Nick Elgar/London Features.

Page 122: Photograph from Photoreporters.

Page 128: Vest, pants, and mules from Gianni Versace, Beverly Hills; ring from Luna Felix, Beverly Hills; mariachi band provided by Mariachi Express & More.

Page 129: Dress from Fred Segal, Santa Monica, and I. Magnin, Beverly Hills; shoes from Bergdorf Goodman, N.Y.C., and Neiman Marcus, Beverly Hills.

Pages 130-31: Photograph, left, courtesy of Philip Johnson Architects.

Pages 132-33: Photograph © 1955 (renewed 1983) by the Condé Nast Publications Inc.

Page 135: Photograph, right, from Esto Photographics.

Pages 136-37: Large photograph by Sonia Moskowitz; insets, top to bottom, from A.P./Wide World Photos, from U.P.I./Bettmann, by Dorothy Alexander.

Pages 140-41: Grooming by Kate Best for the Artist Group.

Hillary Clinton

Chelsea's "awkward stage." The Clintons try to explain to her that "unkind and mean things are said by people who are either insecure or going for the laugh or going for the nasty remark—whether it's on a playground or on a television set."

WEEK NINE. The Clintons' pincer movement on the Hill is having an effect. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole kills press reports that Hillary blundered when she had the temerity to call him Bob. "Last time I checked, that was my name," he says when asked about it. And he calls her Hillary. On *Larry King Live*, Dole says he would support changing the so-called Robert Kennedy nepotism law to make an exception for H.R.C. "If the president asked me to try to change the law, I'd probably do it... I'm impressed with her." When asked by a colleague about his softening on Hillary, he says, "Well, I'm used to smart women [he's married to Red Cross president Elizabeth Dole]. At least Hillary doesn't ask for blood."

On Friday, March 19, Hillary is hosting a lunch for 25 campaign and White House staff, laughing her head off as they relive the Keystone Kops sequences of the primaries, when an aide comes in and whispers in her ear that her 82-year-old father has had a stroke. "Her face, which was all smiles and crinkled eyes, went slack," remembers one guest. "It literally turned to putty." Hillary asks Melanne Vermeer to pack up what she will need from the office. Before leaving, she spends time with the president and McLarty, who realizes for the first time how much she's been carrying on her own and how tired she is.

Hugh Rodham's stroke defines the ensuing weeks. "The impact on her is unfathomable unless you know how close the Rodhams and the Clintons are," says Skip Rutherford, an old friend from Arkansas who hopped on the plane with her and listened to Chelsea and Hillary relieve the anxiety with stories about birthdays and Christmases and softball tournaments.

WEEK 10. Everything shuts down as Hillary sits by her father's bedside in Little Rock. Her mother and two brothers are there, along with Chelsea, who is on spring break from Sidwell. The only aide with Hillary is Lisa Caputo, her press secretary, who traveled with her during the campaign and is so close to Hillary that she is like a younger sister. Even though

the hospital has set aside a room for the Clinton family and she has access to a phone, a fax, and overnight mail, little work gets done.

Susie May, the Clintons' Little Rock neighbor and close friend who got hours and hours of Hillary's solace over coffee after Alzheimer's disease hit her family, says she let Hillary know she was there if she needed her, but honored her request "to spend the time alone with family." One of the few outsiders Hillary sees is Harry Thomason, who flies in on a private plane for the day and insists on getting Hillary and her mother away from hospital food for a night. They go to the Faded

Hillary
was scheduled to
throw out
the first ball for the
Chicago Cubs.
But after her father's
stroke, she said
it would be
too heart-wrenching.

Rose for dinner and have such a good time that Harry hopes the other patrons don't misinterpret the momentary relief from grieving.

The only other break Hillary takes is to watch the Oscars with the president, who has come for an overnight visit. They have been movie fanatics since their days at Yale, where they patronized a theater in a cineast's garage. Hillary loves the Liza Minnelli song that is part of Oscar night's tribute to women, and phones her right then and there. When Minnelli calls back, she tells Hillary she will be in Washington to perform in June, and the First Lady invites her to stay at the White House.

Hillary's sense of humor is intact. Billy Crystal keeps his invitation to visit the White House on April 14 despite a joke the comedian made at her expense while

hosting the Oscars. After the award for best supporting actress had been presented, Crystal cracked, "Now that she's won the Oscar, Marisa Tomei has asked me to announce that she wants to be known as Marisa Rodham Tomei."

WEEK 11. As her father's illness drags on, there is pressure on Hillary to give up the vigil. Who knew how long it would last? And she is much the worse for sitting in the hospital 12 hours a day. On April 1, the White House has to announce that the health-care-reform plan is unlikely to make its 100-day deadline.

On April 4, after two weeks in Little Rock, Hillary and Chelsea return to the White House, just before the president comes back from the Vancouver summit with Boris Yeltsin. The next day is baseball's opening day. If her father hadn't had the stroke, she would be throwing out the first ball for the Chicago Cubs at Wrigley Field. No presidential spouse has ever thrown out an opening-day pitch at a major-league baseball game in the 83 years since President William Howard Taft began the ritual, but this was to have been the gift of a child to an ailing father. Hillary tells friends it would be too heart-wrenching to go through with it.

On Tuesday, H.R.C. makes her first trip since her father's hospitalization, to a long-planned event at the University of Texas in Austin, where she draws an unusually large crowd of 14,000 people (the largest since President Bush spoke there in 1991). Hillary has no prepared speech. She begins by noting the obvious, that she and Ann Richards have on similar outfits, and adds, "I suppose the only thing left for me is to get a hairdo like that. You know, I'm actually due for a new one, and I figure that if we ever want to get Bosnia off the front page all I have to do is either put on a headband or change my hair and we'll be occupied with something else."

No one is better at staying on message than Hillary, but rather than talk about managed competition or H.I.P.C.'s, Hillary speaks philosophically of the questions that face the dying: "When does life start? When does life end? Who makes those decisions? How do we dare to impinge upon these areas of such delicate, difficult questions?" She quotes from an article she carries around with her, an interview with Lee Atwater, George Bush's campaign manager, who died at age 40 of brain cancer. "My illness," he said, "helped me to see that what was missing in society is what was missing in me—a little heart, a lot of brotherhood," and to see that we must "speak to this spiritual

vacuum at the heart of American society, this tumor of the soul."

One cure for the tumor of the soul, Hillary says, is to "be hopeful again... to see other people as they wish to be seen and to treat them as they wish to be treated, to overcome all of the obstacles we have erected around ourselves that keep us apart from one another, fearful and afraid, not willing to build the bridges necessary to fill that spiritual vacuum that Lee Atwater talked about." Even the Secret Service agents are misty-eyed.

The next night, her father passes away.

WEEK 12. She wasn't kidding when she said she was due for a haircut. Cristophe cuts her hair before she leaves for the funeral in Little Rock. He is taking advantage of his new celebrity to open a branch of his Beverly Hills salon in Washington—much to the dismay of backup hairdresser De Bakey, who sniffs, "This Cristophe, he is trying to take credit for my work."

During a service conducted by the same minister who married them, the Clintons sit by Hugh Rodham's flag-draped coffin. When the president rises to speak, he says, "I suppose it is enough to say we got along." Clinton fondly recalls the debates among the Rodham family. "Lord, they loved to argue. Each one tried to rewrite history to put the proper spin on it. It was a wonderful preparation for politics." Rodham was a conservative Republican whose daughter started out as a Goldwaterite and ended up a Clinton Democrat. He had been sick for a long time, and the president says how grateful he is that Hugh Rodham got to see his daughter recognized by America. "We thank God for his good last year," he concludes.

The next day, Hillary's father is buried in his hometown, Scranton, Pennsylvania. The family goes to Camp David for Easter Sunday, the first day off since the inauguration.

The White House Easter Egg Roll waits for no one, and by five A.M. Monday there are young aides out on the lawn steeling themselves for the event. Hillary has expanded it this year to the Ellipse (the stretch of grass beyond the South

Lawn) and restricted staff to only four tickets so that it will be truly open to the public. She is more animated than she has been since the inauguration, but afterward she goes up to the family quarters instead of returning to work in her office. According to a senior aide, Hillary is drained.

In the early morning on Tuesday, the president takes time away from Bosnia and the troubled stimulus package to smell the flowers with his wife. Bill and Hillary can be glimpsed walking through the crab apples and magnolias now in bloom on the White House lawn. On this first warm day of spring, they have lunch together on the patio outside the Oval Office.

WEEK 13 AND BEYOND. Death and taxes are life's two inevitabilities, and on April 15, waiting to the last minute, the Clintons write a check for the \$4,085 owed on their \$290,697 income. The president says we "took a pretty good lick," paying \$70,228 in all. In the bread-winning department, the First Couple has traded places. Last year she made most of the money—\$203,172 to her husband's \$34,527. This year she will earn nothing, and the president will bring home the bacon with \$200,000.

By Friday, Hillary is feeling well enough to travel to Lincoln, Nebraska, and Billings, Montana. She speaks to Native American tribal leaders about health care, and on Saturday she gets up at five A.M. for a meeting with a Great Falls health group so that she can be back to spend the weekend at home.

Health care loses its warm and fuzzy connotations as the enormous bill for keeping more Americans healthy looms. "What about VAT?" is the question of the week after H.H.S. Secretary Donna Shalala blurts out that a value-added tax is being considered to pay for the health-care program. The administration does its "everything is on the table" routine to cool the discussion. Still, this is the first alarm bell on the health-care tab, which could do a lot more damage to the Clintons than Senator Bob Dole's filibuster on the stimulus package. In fact, Dole, who had softened considerably on Hillary, goes formal again, complaining about not being consulted sufficiently on health care.

"We haven't heard zip, not since Mrs. Clinton stood right here and talked to 35 of us," he gripes.

The Clintons plan their first weekend away together that is not to the Little Rock hospital or Camp David, but unfortunately they will not be alone. They will retreat, along with Senate Democrats, to historic Jamestown, Virginia, to consider the fate of the nation. Before they leave, gay leaders, who complain that the Clintons are ignoring them, are placated with a first-ever meeting in the Oval Office with the president, who explains, "Presidents act and decide, they don't protest or march."

Back in Washington, Hillary prepares to give her first commencement speech as First Lady, at the University of Michigan on May 1, the 101st day of the Clinton administration. It is an auspicious occasion for reflection and renewal, for the graduates and for Hillary.

She gave her first commencement address in 1969, the first student ever to do so at Wellesley. The college president, Ruth Adams, introduced her by saying of the graduating class, "There was no debate... as to who their spokesman was to be... Miss Hillary Rodham." In her speech, Hillary spoke of "the courage to be whole, to try to mold an entire person... living in relation to one another in the full poetry of existence." She concluded with a poem written by a classmate. "And you and I must be free... not to kill ourselves with a nameless gnawing pain / but to practice with all the skill of our being / the art of making possible."

The Coke-bottle glasses and bell-bottoms may be gone but not the lofty idealism. Back then the graduates of Wellesley dreamt that Hillary would go from being president of the student government to president of the United States. Instead, she became the wife of the man who would become president. But she has taken a place at the innermost circle of the White House, and taken charge herself of the most far-reaching social reform since the New Deal—all while coping with the death of her father. In her first 100 days, Hillary Rodham Clinton has already made more of the role of First Lady than anyone could have imagined. □

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CLINTON ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS
AND ACTIONS

FIRST 100 DAYS

— File First 100
Day

POLICY

ACTION

BUDGET: REVERSE TRICKLE
DOWN ECONOMICS

Congress adopts sweeping
investment and deficit
reduction package

BUDGET CUTS: BUREAUCRACY
"We will cut 100,000
federal government
positions through
attrition."

Executive Order 12839
signed 2/10/93.

BUDGET CUTS
Cut administrative costs
by 3 percent

Executive Order 12837
signed 2/10/93 -- Creates
a 14 percent reduction in
administrative costs by
'97.

EDUCATION
Achieve 1989 Education
Summit's "National
Education Goals" by the

year 2000.

Introduced Goals 2000:
Education

America Act.

Will improve learning and teaching by providing a national framework for education reform.

ECONOMY: ECONOMIC COUNCIL
Create an Economic Security Council to coordinate America's international economic policy.

Established National Economic Council, 1/25/93.
Executive Order 12835.

ENVIRONMENT:
COMPETITIVENESS COUNCIL
End back door for polluters at White House.

Abolished by Presidential Memorandum, 01/21/93.

ENVIRONMENT: LEADERSHIP
"I want to give you a real environmental presidency."

Created Office of Environmental Policy, which has broader influence and more focused mandate to coordinate policy than Council on Environmental Quality, 2/8/93.

ENVIRONMENT: OZONE
DEPLETION

Issued Executive Order to reduce ozone depletion. Requires Federal Government procurement to restrict use of substances that cause stratospheric ozone depletion.

ENVIRONMENT: END FALSE
CHOICE
Shatter the false choice
between environmental
protection and economic
growth.

Babbitt announces
compromise naming
California Gnatcatcher a
"threatened" species,
calls for preservation of
ecosystem with allowance
for limited development,
3/25/93

ENVIRONMENT: FOREST SUMMIT
Early in my administration
I will convene a Pacific
Northwest Forest Summit to
work out a legislative
solution.

Forest conference convened
in Portland, OR, 4/2/93.
Orders cabinet officials
to draft immediate
responses and
recommendations.

FAMILIES: IMMUNIZE
CHILDREN

Sent the Child
Immunization Act to
Congress on April 1, 1993.

FAMILIES: FAMILY AND
MEDICAL LEAVE ACT
Promised to get the bill
on his desk quickly and
sign it.

Signed two weeks after
taking office, 2/5/93.

FETAL TISSUE RESEARCH
Lift the ban on fetal
tissue testing.

Repealed by Presidential
Memorandum, 1/22/93.

GOVERNMENT WASTE

Limits the use of

government aircraft by
government employees,
Memorandum on Restriction
of Government Aircraft,
2/10/93.

GOVERNMENT WASTE

Reduces and restricts use
of government vehicles,
Memorandum, 2/10/93.

HEALTH CARE

Will form a health care
task force to research and
draft health care reform
plan.

Forms health care task
force with First Lady
Hillary Rodham Clinton as
chair, 1/25/93.

JOBS: RE-EMPLOYMENT HELP

Extended unemployment
insurance and includes
reforms to provide
reemployment assistance to
beneficiaries.

MIDDLE EAST: PEACE TALKS

Sent Secretary Christopher
to region to re-start
talks, 2/4/93.

REFORM OFFICE OF U.S.

TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Prevent trade negotiators
from cashing in on their
positions by serving as
representatives of foreign
corporations or
governments.

Issued Executive Order
banning senior staff and
trade representatives from
representing foreign
governments.

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

"We will reduce the White
House Staff by 25
percent."

Announced reduction and
reorganization of White
House staff. Cut staff by
25%, or 350 positions

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS: GAG
RULE

"Repeal President Bush's
'gag' rule" which
prohibits doctors from
sharing information with
patients.

Repealed by Presidential
Memorandum, 1/22/93.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS:
MEXICO CITY POLICY

"Protect ... right to
choose."

Repealed by Presidential
Memorandum, 1/22/93.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS:
MILITARY HOSPITALS

"Protect women's rights in
the workplace."

Repealed by Presidential
Memorandum, 1/22/93.
Granted legal rights to
privately funded abortions
at military hospitals.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

"Support testing of RU-
486."

Repealed by Presidential
Memorandum, 1/22/93.
Rescinded import ban of
RU-486, pending routine
testing and approval
process.

TOWN HALL MEETINGS

Will continue as
President.

First town hall meeting -
2/10/93.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Extend benefits to jobless
workers in the event of a
recession.

\$5.8 Billion extension
signed 3/4/93 when
unemployment

remains above level where
it was when unemployment
insurance was first
granted in current
recession.

WELFARE REFORM: BREAK
CYCLE OF DEPENDENCY
Make welfare a second
chance, not a way of life.

Established task force on
welfare reform policy with
National Governors'
Association.

The First 100 Days
Administration of President Bill Clinton
January 20 - April 30, 1993

INTRODUCTION

This is the season of America's renewal.

Already, in the first few months of his new Administration, President Bill Clinton has restored an active purpose to the Presidency, and renewed America's commitment to change and progress.

We now have a President dedicated to investment and economic growth; a President determined to help Americans weather the winds of change; a President committed to restoring responsibility; a President devoted to returning the government back to the American people.

After twelve years of national drift and economic decline, President Clinton has charted a clear path to growth with his New Directions economic plan designed to create jobs, boost incomes, move our economy from consumption to investment, and reduce our deficit, substantially and dramatically.

The investments in the Clinton economic plan embrace priorities that will raise the living standards and profits of workers and businesses for the long-term: rebuilding America's infrastructure; committing resources and attention to the education and training needs of our students and workers; and restoring vital incentives that reward productivity, profits, innovation and investment.

The Clinton budget -- the outline of his economic plan for New Directions -- passed the Congress in record setting time. It reduces deficit spending by over \$500 billion; a

plan so credible that the markets continue to reduce interest rates on the American people. These interest rate reductions, coupled with imaginative steps taken by the Clinton Administration to deal with the credit crunch, means American businesses, farms, and consumers have money to save, spend, invest and grow.

We now have a President who helps the American people make the choice for change.

Enormous changes are sweeping our economy. Inevitable defense cutbacks are forcing military bases to close -- they're causing defense manufacturers to lose markets and cut jobs. Problems in the airline industry have caused massive lay-offs in aerospace firms and among the domestic

carriers. America's economic partners abroad are beating American companies in the race for markets in the former Soviet Union.

That's why President Clinton's economic program will help the American people take advantage of these changes. He has offered a \$20 billion, five-year initiative to reinvest in workers, communities and companies harmed by cuts in military spending. He has formed a task force to recommend real changes in Federal policy to help restart our aviation and aerospace industry. And he has provided an enterprise-oriented aid initiative to save the Russian Democracy and spur American economic growth.

Beyond growth, Americans want a return to responsibility in our schools, our communities, and our economy. And in that spirit, President Clinton is leading the way. By reforming welfare to make it a second chance, not a way of life; by reforming the health care system to provide health security to every American and bring rising costs under control; by making national service opportunities available to students so that they can exchange opportunities for education with community service.

Finally, President Clinton is working to give the government back to the American people. At the beginning of his Administration he announced his decision to cut the White House staff by 25%, and to eliminate the kinds of perks and privileges which isolate federal workers from the people they are supposed to serve.

He has cut billions from the budgets of Federal Agencies and Departments, telling them they must do more with less. He is committed to reinventing government and bringing his Presidency directly to the people through town meetings, electronic mail with the White House, and ideas like the Forest Conference-- which enabled the environmental and economic problems of the Pacific Northwest to be discussed by average people with the President, Vice-President Gore and Members of the Cabinet.

Most important, he is committed to enacting tough campaign finance and lobbying reform legislation to drive special interest dealing out of politics.

What follows is a chronology from the first 100 days of the most action oriented Administration in our memory. But it is more than a listing of accomplishments, because now is not the time to be satisfied. Instead, it is indicative of a change in direction.

What will come from what we accomplished here -- more economic growth, comprehensive health and welfare reform, a new system of national service, and the like -- is new

opportunities for achievement, empowerment and progress for middle-class Americans, and a new direction for us all. It is indeed America's season of renewal.

HISTORICAL FOOTNOTE

The "hundred days" period was applied by journalists to the special session of the 73rd Congress, which granted newly inaugurated President Franklin D. Roosevelt extraordinary powers to combat the national crisis of the Great Depression in 1933.

Less well-known than the hundred days of 1933, is how Woodrow Wilson set a modern precedent in 1913, when one month after taking office, he became the first President in a century to deliver an address to Congress. That speech initiated the sweeping economic reforms enacted later that year -- tariff reform, the first income tax and the Federal Reserve. With that early speech, Wilson had closed the book on the Gilded Age and had shifted Government to the side of average, hard working Americans.

Day 1: January 20, 1993

Inaugurated as 42nd President of the United States.

Delivers Inaugural Address from the steps of the Capitol.

Issues Executive Order on Executive Appointee Ethics; order restricts or limits ways in which senior executive appointees may profit in the future from their experience while serving the President.

Proclaims a National Day of Fellowship and Hope.

"Our Democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America.

This beautiful Capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position and worry about who is out, who is up, who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way. Americans deserve better. ... Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called 'bold, persistent experimentation,' a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the

spring. Now we must do the work the season demands."

-- Inaugural Address

Day 2: January 21, 1993

Abolishes Council on Competitiveness, criticized as a back door for polluters who circumvented U.S. laws.

Meets with senior White House staff.

Day 3: January 22, 1993

Swearing-in of Cabinet members.

First Cabinet Meeting.

Issues memorandum to revoke Reagan and Bush Administration restrictions on fetal tissue research in the development of treatments for individuals afflicted with serious diseases and disorders such as Alzheimer's disease, Parkinson's disease, diabetes and leukemia.

Issues memorandum to revoke Reagan and Bush Administration restrictions ("Gag Rule") that prohibited abortion counseling in clinics that receive Title X funds to provide family planning services for low-income patients.

Issues memorandum to revoke Reagan and Bush Administration restrictions ("Mexico City Policy") that prohibited Family Planning Grants to be awarded to certain nongovernmental organizations from the Agency for International Development.

Issues memorandum to revoke Reagan and Bush Administration restrictions on a woman's legal right to privately-funded abortion services in military hospitals.

Issues memorandum to revoke previous Administration restrictions on the importation of the drug commonly known as RU-486.

Day 4: January 23, 1993

Telephone conversations with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

Day 5: January 24, 1993

Issues Proclamation and statement on the death of Justice Thurgood Marshall.

Day 6: January 25, 1993

Establishes National Economic Council to coordinate economic policymaking among all relevant departments and offices of the federal government; holds economic policy meeting.

Meets with Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Establishes Task Force on National Health Reform, chaired by the First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton; Task Force is charged with formulating legislation that would take strong action to control health care costs while providing Americans with the security of knowing that their fundamental health care needs will be met.

Day 7: January 26, 1993

Meets with bipartisan Congressional leadership.

Nominates U.S. Foreign Service Ambassador Pickering to be Ambassador to Russia.

Day 8: January 27, 1993

Meets with Democratic Congressional leaders.

Day 9: January 28, 1993

Meets with Federal Reserve Chairman Greenspan, Secretary Bentsen and NEC Chairman Rubin.

Day 10: January 29, 1993

Teleconference with citizens concerned about Family and Medical Leave Act.

Issues memorandum on ending discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in determining who may serve in the Armed Forces; memorandum directs Secretary of Defense Aspin to consult with others to study how revisions in current policy could be implemented in a manner that is practical, realistic and consistent with the high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion maintained by the Armed Forces; memorandum directs the Secretary to submit recommendations prior to July 15, 1993.

First news conference.

Day 11: January 30, 1993

Weekend working meeting at Camp David with Cabinet and senior White House staff.

Day 12: January 31, 1993

Hosts first state dinner, attended by the Nation's Governors.

Day 13: February 1, 1993

Meets with Nation's Governors about health care and other policy issues.

Revokes Bush Administration Executive Orders on federal contracting, thereby reducing Government intrusion into workplace relations.

Addresses Democratic Governors' Association Dinner.

Day 14: February 2, 1993

Addresses National Governors' Association on initiatives to make welfare a second chance, not a way of life; declares intent to form working group on welfare reform; outlines principles and goals to guide policy reform, ensure that people who work are rewarded, toughen child support enforcement, and encourage policy experimentation to achieve these goals in the states.

Declares storm-afflicted areas of Louisiana a Federal Disaster Area, authorizing emergency relief assistance.

Day 15: February 3, 1993

Addresses employees of Office of Management and Budget; pledges cooperation with, and asks for help from, federal employees in cutting waste and reinventing government.

Discusses campaign finance and lobbying reform with Democratic Congressional leaders.

Declares storm-damaged and flood-affected areas of California a Federal Disaster Area, authorizing emergency relief assistance.

Day 16: February 4, 1993

Addresses National Prayer Breakfast.

Announces Secretary of State Christopher will travel to Middle East to advance the peace process.

Meets with German Foreign Minister Kinkel.

Day 17: February 5, 1993

Signs Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993.

Meets with Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada.

Holds news conference (number 2) with Prime Minister Mulroney.

Addresses U.S. Conference of Mayors.

"I am very proud that the first bill I am to sign as President truly puts people first. ...it took eight years and two vetoes to make this legislation the law of the land. Now millions of our people will no longer have to choose between their jobs and their families."

-- Remarks on signing Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993.

Day 18: February 6, 1993

First Saturday radio address; focuses on the economy and principles to guide economic plan to be unveiled later this month

Day 20: February 8, 1993

Creates White House Office on Environmental Policy, a new office that will have broader influence and a more effective and focused mandate to coordinate environmental policy, one that recognizes the connection between environmental protection and economic growth and the responsibility to provide real leadership on global environmental issues; reaffirms support of legislation to make Environmental Protection Agency part of the Cabinet.

Designates Thurgood Marshall Federal Judiciary Building.

Meets with Turkish President Ozal.

Day 21: February 9, 1993

As part of new effort to cut waste and reinvent government, announces reduction and reorganization of the White House staff; Executive Office of the President staff to be reduced by 25%, or 350 positions, in the next fiscal year.

Day 22: February 10, 1993

Cabinet meeting (number 2).

Signs Executive Orders on greater efficiency and fiscal responsibility in government: 14% reduction in administrative costs by FY97, a savings of \$16 billion in taxpayers' dollars; elimination of wasteful advisory committees; reduction of federal bureaucracy by 100,000 positions through attrition; elimination or limitation of perks and privileges in executive branch offices, including the use of executive dining rooms, government aircraft, and government vehicles.

Conducts first town meeting with citizens in Detroit, linked via satellite with citizens in Seattle, Miami, and Atlanta.

Day 23: February 11, 1993

Addresses business leaders on the economy and the budget.

Meets with Japanese Foreign Minister Watanabe.

News conference (number 3), nominates Janet Reno to be Attorney General.

Telephone conversation with Philippine President Ramos.

Day 24: February 12, 1993

Announces child immunization initiative at Fenwick Clinic, Arlington, Virginia; proposal provides more vaccines for children, saving taxpayers \$10 in avoidable health care costs for every \$1 invested in vaccinations; directs the Secretary of Health and Human Services to enter into negotiations with drug manufacturers to see that states can buy vaccines at affordable prices, reversing the trend of skyrocketing costs of vaccines to U.S. consumers.

Day 25: February 13, 1993

Saturday radio address on the economic plan.

Day 27: February 15, 1993

Address from the Oval Office on the economic plan.

"All during this last 12 years the federal deficit has roared out of control. Look at this: the big tax cuts for the wealthy, the growth in Government spending, and soaring health care costs all caused the federal deficit to explode... Now if all that debt had been invested in strengthening our economy, we'd at least have something to show for our money: more jobs, better educated people, a health care system that works. But as you can see, while the deficit went up, investments in the things that make us stronger and smarter, richer and safer, were neglected: less invested in education, less in our children's future, less in transportation, less in local law enforcement. ...The price of doing the same old thing is far higher than the price of change."

-- First televised address to the Nation from the Oval Office.

Day 28: February 16, 1993

Addresses California Economic Conference via teleconference.

Visits construction site, Washington, D.C., to discuss jobs and infrastructure.

Day 29: February 17, 1993

Delivers address to Joint Session of Congress on the economic plan.

Meets with bipartisan Congressional leaders prior to address.

"Our Nation needs a new direction. Tonight I present to you a comprehensive plan to set our Nation on that new course."

"I know this economic plan is ambitious, but I honestly believe it is necessary for the continued greatness of the United States. And I think it is paid for fairly, first by cutting Government, then by asking the most of those who benefited the most in the past, and by asking more Americans to contribute today so that all of us can prosper tomorrow."

"The test of this plan cannot be 'What is in it for me?' It has got to be 'What is in it for us?' If we work hard and if we work together, if we rededicate ourselves to creating jobs, to rewarding work, to strengthening our families, to reinventing our Government, we can lift our country's fortunes again."

-- Address before a Joint Session of Congress

Day 30: February 18, 1993

Delivers speech on the economic plan, St. Louis, Missouri.

Day 31: February 19, 1993

Delivers speech on the economic plan and participates in a town meeting, Chillicothe, Ohio.

Delivers speech on the economic plan, Hyde Park, New York.

Day 32: February 20, 1993

Saturday radio address on the economic plan.

Participates in a "Children's Town Meeting" at the White House.

Day 33: February 21, 1993

Delivers speech on the economic plan, Santa Monica, California.

Meets with California business leaders.

Day 34: February 22, 1993

Announces national technology policy and conducts question-and-answer session with Vice President Gore and employees of Silicon Graphics, Mountain View, California; policy focuses on high-skill, high-wage jobs in the technology sectors, research and development and experimentation, education for America's workforce, information infrastructure, and U.S. competitiveness in basic science, mathematics and engineering.

Talks by phone from Air Force One with Larry Villella, a 14-year-old entrepreneur who donated \$1,000 to reduce the federal budget deficit.

Addresses Boeing employees, Everett, Washington, on legislation in Congress to establish a commission to examine the U.S. airline industry, efforts by U.S. Trade Representative Kantor to monitor agreements on European Airbus subsidies and their impact on American workers, and the economic plan.

Day 35: February 23, 1993

Delivers speech on the economy, the economic plan and other economic proposals to the National Business Action Rally of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Meets with U.N. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali.

Day 36: February 24, 1993

Meets with Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom.

News conference (number 4) with Prime Minister Major.

Day 37: February 25, 1993

Delivers speech on the economic plan to business and labor leaders.

Announces airdrops of humanitarian aid in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton accepts invitation to attend "Conversations on Health," a series of four public hearings on the health care crisis, held in Florida, Michigan, Iowa and D.C.

Day 38: February 26, 1993

Delivers first major foreign policy address, on the subject of American leadership in the global economy, at American University, Washington, D.C.

"For years our leaders have failed to take

the steps that would harness the global economy to the benefit of all our people, steps such as investing in our people and their skills, enforcing our trade laws, helping communities hurt by change; in short, putting the American people first without withdrawing from the world and people beyond our borders.

The truth of our age is this and must be this: Open and competitive commerce will enrich us as a nation. It spurs us to innovate. It forces us to compete. It connects us with new customers. It promotes global growth without which no rich country can hope to grow wealthier. It enables our producers who are themselves consumers of services and raw materials to prosper. And so I say to you in the face of all the pressures to do the reverse, we must compete, not retreat."

-- Address on "The imperative of American leadership in the face of global change," American University

Day 39: February 27, 1993
Saturday radio address on the economic plan.

Day 40: February 28, 1993
Publishes column, on principles behind the National Service proposal, in the New York Times.

"Our new initiative will embody the same principles as the old G.I. Bill. It will challenge our people to serve our country and do the work that should -- and must -- be done. It will invest in the future of the quiet heroes who invest in the future of others."

-- "National Service Now," New York Times

Day 41: March 1, 1993
Issues statement on community service and participates in a question-and-answer session at Adult Learning Center, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Outlines National Service proposal in an address at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Day 42: March 2, 1993
Meets with Republican House leaders at the Capitol.

Lunch meeting with Senate Republicans.

Meets with NATO Secretary General Woerner.

Meets with Democratic Congressional leaders.

Day 43: March 3, 1993

Announces initiative to reinvent government; names Vice President Gore as head of national performance review to cut spending and increase efficiency throughout government, agency by agency.

Receives one millionth piece of mail after six weeks in office, as much as the previous President received in six months.

Day 44: March 4, 1993

Signs Emergency Unemployment Compensation Amendments of 1993.

Declares certain storm-damaged areas of the State of Washington a Federal Disaster Area and declares major disaster in Georgia, authorizing emergency relief assistance.

Meets with former President Carter.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton discusses health care concerns with steelworkers, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Day 45: March 5, 1993

Delivers speech to Mayors on the economic plan.

Announces April 3-4 summit with Russian President Yeltsin.

Day 46: March 6, 1993

Saturday radio address on the economic plan.

Revokes Bush Administration Proclamation that suspended Davis-Bacon Act of 1931 within areas struck by Hurricanes Andrew and Iniki.

Day 48: March 8, 1993

Delivers speech on the jobs package to the Legislative Conference of the National League of Cities.

Telephone conversation with former President Bush to discuss the situation in Russia.

Meets with members of the House Budget Committee.

Meets with former President Nixon.

Day 49: March 9, 1993

Meets with President Mitterrand of France.

News conference (number 5) with President Mitterrand.
Signs Executive Order to extend U.S. Cooperation with the European Atomic Energy Community.

Meets with Senate Budget Committee.

Day 50: March 10, 1993

Announces initiative to alleviate the credit crunch, to open up credit to creditworthy loans, to generate jobs in the private sector, and to assist small businesses on fair lending, equal opportunity and credit availability.

Meets with California State legislators.

Announces Forest Conference to be convened in Portland, Oregon, on April 2.

Secretary Christopher announces the President's plan on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Day 51: March 11, 1993

Outlines plan for defense conversion and reinvestment to Westinghouse employees, Linthicum, Maryland; plan confronts issues raised by cutbacks made in defense spending since 1985; major components include: worker training and adjustment, investing in hard-hit communities, dual-use technology and commercial-military integration, and conversion opportunities in new civilian technology investment.

Delivers speech on children and family policies to Children's Defense Fund conference.

Meets with National Conference of State Legislatures.

Issues statement on murder of Dr. David Gunn, Pensacola, Florida.

Discusses campaign finance reform with Democratic Senators.

Day 52: March 12, 1993

Attorney General Reno assumes office.

Visits and addresses the crew of the U.S.S. Theodore Roosevelt.

Radio address to the Armed Forces.

"I pledge to you that as long as I am

President, you and the other men and women in uniform of this country will continue to be the best trained, the best prepared, the best equipped, and the strongest supported fighting force in the world."

-- Remarks to the crew of the U.S.S.
Theodore Roosevelt

Day 53: March 13, 1993

Radio address on plans for defense conversion and reinvestment.

Declares storm-afflicted areas of Florida Federal Disaster Areas, authorizing emergency relief assistance.

Day 55: March 15, 1993

Meets with Israeli Prime Minister Rabin.

News conference (number 6) with Prime Minister Rabin.

At the direction of the President, U.S. begins negotiations with Canada and Mexico to seek side agreements to the North American Free Trade Agreement; side agreements would seek greater protections for American workers, farmers and the environment.

Day 56: March 16, 1993

Meets with bipartisan Congressional leaders.

Meets with exiled Haitian President Aristide.

Day 57: March 17, 1993

Meets with Irish Prime Minister Reynolds; attends Friends of Ireland luncheon at the Capitol.

Signs Aircraft Equipment Settlement Leases Act of 1993.

Day 58: March 18, 1993

House of Representatives passes Budget Resolution, basic outline of the economic plan.

Addresses employees of the U.S. Treasury Department on the economic plan.

Meets with National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Meets with Commission of European Communities President Delors.

Addresses Radio and Television Correspondents
Association Dinner.

"I want to thank all of you for the work that you do. I think you have a difficult job. Each of us sees the world in different ways and the whole complex interplay of the press and people in public life is designed somehow to give the American people a kaleidoscope of opinion, a mountain of facts organized in ways that will enable them to grasp it, so that somehow they -- not you or me -- they can be the main actors in the great American democracy."

"I ask that in the months and years ahead you stay faithful to yourselves and to your cause. Never lose your sense of humor. And remember that most of us who do this on both sides do it because we love our country and prefer to believe that an effort made today can make it better tomorrow. It's a good way to live a life."

-- Remarks to the Radio and
Television Correspondents Association Dinner

Day 59: March 19, 1993

Meets with members of the House of Representatives who supported the economic plan.

Issues statement praising career and service of Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White; thanks Justice White for time to deliberate on the choice of a successor and still have nominee considered and confirmed by the Senate well in advance of the Court's next term, which begins in October.

Delivers speech on the economic plan and health care at Downtown Child Development Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

Delivers speech on the economic plan, the jobs package and reinventing government to local business leaders, Atlanta, Georgia.

"I think that there are few decisions the President makes which are more weighty, more significant, or can have a greater impact on more Americans than an appointment to the Supreme Court. And I'm going to try to pick a person that has a fine mind, good judgment, wide experience in the law and in the problems of real people, and someone with a big heart."

-- Exchange with reporters at the
Downtown Child Development Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

Day 60: March 20, 1993

Saturday radio address on the economic plan.

Issues statement on the situation in Russia in support of Russian President Yeltsin.

Day 63: March 23, 1993

News conference (number 7) on the economic plan and aid to Russia.

Addresses to Democratic Governors' Association, state officials and business leaders.

Day 64: March 24, 1993

Meets with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev.

Meets with Governor Pedro J. Rossello of Puerto Rico.

Day 65: March 25, 1993

Senate passes Budget Resolution, basic outline of the economic plan.

Meets with Foreign Minister Zlenko of Ukraine.

Working dinner with Members of the House of Representatives on the Administration's policy toward Russia.

Day 66: March 26, 1993

Meets with German Chancellor Kohl.

News conference (number 8) with Chancellor Kohl.

Meets with Bosnian President Izetbegovic.

Working dinner with Senators on the Administration's policy toward Russia.

Names Commerce Secretary Brown to lead Cabinet-wide effort on the economy in California.

Day 67: March 27, 1993

Radio address on the economic plan and the jobs package.

Signs into law an Act to extend the Export Administration Act of 1979 and authorize appropriations under the Act for fiscal years 1993 and 1994.

Addresses Gridiron Club Dinner.

Day 69: March 29, 1993

Issues Executive Order on International Development

Law Institute.

Day 70: March 30, 1993

Makes available emergency appropriations for the Departments of Agriculture and Education to provide assistance for victims of recent natural disasters.

Day 71: March 31, 1993

Cabinet meeting (number 3).

Signs Memorandum on Certification of Major Narcotics Producing and Transit Countries.

Day 72: April 1, 1993

Congress passes basic outline of the economic plan just six weeks after the President's State of the Union Address; for the first time in 17 years, Budget Resolution conference report is passed before the legal deadline.

Meets with bipartisan Congressional leadership.

Transmits to Congress the proposed Comprehensive Child Immunization Act of 1993.

Signs into law an act to extend the suspended implementation of certain requirements of the food stamp program on Indian reservations and for other purposes.

Addresses Naval Academy Midshipmen, Annapolis, Maryland.

Outlines aid to Russia in address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Annapolis, Maryland.

"Just today, the Congress passed the heart of my economic program, a long term plan to drastically reduce the deficit and increase investment in our nation's future. After years of policies that have diminished our future, Washington has finally realized that the best social program is a good job, and the best route to deficit reduction is a growing economy founded on a bold plan of change that will both cut spending and increase investment to empower the working people of our country."

-- Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Annapolis, Maryland

"Decisions command attention. Crises drive action. But it is only with an overriding sense of purpose, drawn from their history and their cultures, that great nations can rise above the

daily tyranny of the urgent to construct their

security, to build their prosperity, to advance their interests, and to reaffirm their values."

"Like a wise homeowner who recognizes that you cannot stop investing in your house once you buy it, we cannot stop investing in the peace now that we have obtained it. ...vision must drive our investment and our engagement in this new world."

"Nowhere is that engagement more important than in our policies toward Russia and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. Their struggle to build free societies is one of the great human dramas of our day."

-- Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Annapolis, Maryland

Day 73: April 2, 1993

Holds Forest Conference, Portland, Oregon; conference convenes interests at odds over management of the Nation's forests in the Pacific Northwest.

Declares major disaster in the State of New York due to effects of the bombing of the World Trade Center and in the State of Nebraska as a result of severe March flooding and ice jams, authorizing emergency relief assistance.

Day 74: April 3, 1993

Summit with Russian President Yeltsin, Vancouver, BC.

Meets with Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, Vancouver, BC.

Lunch meeting with Prime Minister Mulroney and President Yeltsin.

Radio address on the economic plan and aid to Russia package.

Working dinner with President Yeltsin.

Day 75: April 4, 1993

Summit with Russian President Yeltsin, Vancouver, BC.

News conference (number 9) with President Yeltsin.

Issues Vancouver Declaration: Joint Statement of the Presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation.

- Day 76: April 5, 1993
Throws out first pitch at opening day, baseball game between the Baltimore Orioles and Texas Rangers, Oriole Park at Camden Yards, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Day 77: April 6, 1993
Meets with Egyptian President Mubarak.

News conference (number 10) with President Mubarak.

Signs act providing for temporary increase in the public debt limit.
- Day 78: April 7, 1993
Signs enabling legislation providing for the "National Commission to Ensure a Strong Competitive Airline Industry".
- Day 79: April 8, 1993
Submits budget to Congress.

Meets with Defense Secretary Aspin and Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon.
- Day 80: April 9, 1993
Announces the White House will send to Congress proposed legislation to extend fast track for the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations.
- Day 83: April 12, 1993
Addresses the first Technology Reinvestment Project Conference via satellite.

Issues statement on jobs package and immunization of children.

Announces that General Vessey will travel to Vietnam as the President's Special Emissary for POW/MIA Affairs.

In first engagement outside of NATO territory, NATO forces begin enforcement of no-fly zone in Bosnia, a policy urged by the President and adopted by the United Nations.
- Day 84: April 13, 1993
Hosts town meeting to discuss summer jobs proposal and school-to-work training for young Americans, with Secretaries Riley of Education and Reich of Labor and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, via satellite.

Delivers speech at Ceremony honoring 250th anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birth, Jefferson

Memorial.

"The genius of Thomas Jefferson was his ability to get the most out of today while never taking his eye off tomorrow, to think big while enjoying the little things of daily life. Perhaps most important, he understood that in order for us to preserve our timeless values, people have to change. And free people need to devise means by which they can change profoundly and still peacefully."

-- Remarks at Ceremony honoring the 250th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, Jefferson Memorial

Day 85: April 14, 1993

Addresses at Summer Jobs conference on jobs package, Crystal City, Virginia.

Releases letter to Congressional leaders consistent with War Powers Resolution, advising of actions in support of United Nations efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Day 86: April 15, 1993

Addresses speech to law enforcement organizations on jobs package provision for hiring police officers.

Day 87: April 16, 1993

Announces jobs package revisions to break gridlock in the Senate; reduces size of package by 25%, but reduces jobs created by only 18%; maintains original full funding for unemployment benefits, highway improvements, summer jobs, childhood immunization, Ryan White program for AIDS victims, wastewater treatment, food safety, and assistance to small businesses; new provision includes \$200 million for new police hiring.

Meets with Japanese Prime Minister Miyazawa.

News conference (number 11) with Prime Minister Miyazawa.

Day 88: April 17, 1993

Delivers speech on the jobs package, Pittsburgh Airport, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Radio address on the jobs package, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Day 90: April 19, 1993

Delivers speech on the jobs package to the Building and Construction Trades Union of the AFL-CIO.

Issues statement on federal operations in Waco, Texas.

Issues statement on death of Turkish President Ozal.
Day 91: April 20, 1993
Issues statement and conducts news conference (number 12) on Federal Operations in Waco, Texas.

Meets with Czech President Havel.

Day 92: April 21, 1993
Delivers speech on the eve of Earth Day; announces U.S. will sign international treaty to protect biodiversity; commits U.S. to specific targets and timetables to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases; outlines long term strategy to protect the environment while promoting economic growth and creating millions of new high-skill, high-wage jobs.

Issues Executive Order to increase the use of alternative fuel vehicles in the federal fleet.

Issues Executive Order to reduce government use of ozone-depleting substances.

Issues Executive Order requiring federal agencies to use energy efficient equipment.

Meets with President Walesa of Poland, Prime Minister Meksi of Albania, President Havel of Czech Republic, President Zhelev of Bulgaria, President Tudjman of Croatia, President Herzog of Israel, President Soares of Portuguese Republic, President Iliescu of Romania, President Goncz of Hungary, President Kucan of Slovenia, President Kovac of Slovak Republic, and Prime Minister Sangheli of Moldova.

Republican filibuster prevents vote on jobs package in the Senate.

Submits sweeping education reform legislation, "Goals 2000," to Congress.

"For all our differences, I think there is an overwhelming determination to change our course, to offer more opportunity, to assume more responsibility, to restore the larger community, and to achieve things that are larger than ourselves and more lasting than the present moment.

All across this country, there is a deep understanding rooted in our religious heritage and

renewed in the spirit of this time that the bounty of nature is not ours to waste. It is a gift from God that we hold in trust for future generations."

-- Earth Day address

Day 93: April 22, 1993

Delivers address at the dedication ceremony of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Day 94: April 23, 1993

News conference (number 13)

Day 96: April 25, 1993

Addresses the Newspaper Association of America, Boston.

Day 98: April 27, 1993

Announces proposal for campaign finance reform to limit campaign spending, curb the influence of special interests and open greater access to communication with voters.

April 30, 1993

Outlines legislation to enact a National Service plan.

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The First 100 Days

Accomplishments of Vice President Al Gore

"Season of America's Renewal"

January 20 - April 30, 1993

DAY

- 1 JANUARY 20, 1993
Inaugurated as the 45th Vice President of the United States
- 2 JANUARY 21, 1993
The Council on Competitiveness is abolished.
"Today we send a clear message to the special interests who used the Council on Competitiveness as a back door to avoid the law. That back door is closed."
- 3 JANUARY 21, 1993
First Cabinet Meeting
- 6 JANUARY 25, 1993
The Vice President joins The President in a meeting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff.
- 7 JANUARY 26, 1993
The Vice President joins The President in a meeting with

bipartisan Congressional Leadership.

- 9 JANUARY 28, 1993
In Baltimore, the Vice President calls for new cooperation to break gridlock at the National Legislative Education Foundation Issues Conference. Speaking to members and leaders of the Democratic House Caucus, Vice President Gore called on Congress and the Administration to forge a new relationship of cooperation to confront the country's major challenges, starting with reviving the economy, creating new jobs, and controlling skyrocketing health care costs.

Statement on Anniversary of Space Shuttle Disaster

Mrs. Gore is asked by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to serve as Mental Health Advisor to the President's Task Force on National Health Reform

- 10 JANUARY 29, 1993
Teleconference with the President with citizens concerned about the Family and Medical Leave Act
- 11 JANUARY 30, 1993

Camp David Retreat
Weekend working meeting at Camp David with President Clinton, the Cabinet and Senior White House staff.

- 15 FEBRUARY 3, 1993
Joins the President in meeting with Congressional leaders on campaign finance and lobbying reform.
- 16 FEBRUARY 4, 1993
Addresses National Prayer Breakfast

Joins key sponsors of the Lobbying Reform Law at its introduction to urge Congressional action. This new legislation will strengthen and streamline lobbyists' disclosures.
- 17 FEBRUARY 5, 1993
The signing of the Family Medical Leave Act
- 20 FEBRUARY 8, 1993
White House Office on Environmental Policy established. The President and the Vice President announce the creation of a new office in the White House to deal directly with environmental policy. The White House Office on Environmental Policy is established to more effectively and efficiently coordinate environmental policy making across the federal government. Reaffirmed support of legislation to make the EPA part of the Cabinet.
- 22 FEBRUARY 10, 1993
Second Cabinet Meeting

The Vice President conducts first Town Hall Meeting with citizens on jobs and the economy in Ontario, California.
- 23 FEBRUARY 11, 1993
Mrs. Gore accompanies First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on a tour of a medical center and joins in a conversation with Pennsylvania citizens about health care reform.
- 24 FEBRUARY 12, 1993
Commemorates President Lincoln's 184th Birthday. This event, at the Lincoln Memorial, has been held every year since 1923.
- 26 FEBRUARY 14, 1993
The Vice President and Mrs. Gore join the President in a 2-mile run sponsored by the American Heart Association.
- 28 FEBRUARY 16, 1993
Meeting with Environmental Leaders

The Vice President meets with members of the Alliance for Collaborative Research, a group of CEOs from R&D consortium such as the microelectronics and computer technology consortium and the Electric Power Research Institute.

Address to the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council annual conference.

29 FEBRUARY 17, 1993

The Vice President joins the President in meeting with bipartisan Congressional Leaders.

31 FEBRUARY 19, 1993

Address To North Carolina State Legislature

The Vice President carries The President's economic message of investment, opportunity and hope to North Carolina in an address to a joint session of the North Carolina State Legislature.

"President Clinton is right. We can do better. We must do better. And President Clinton is offering America a new direction, a plan, first of all, to jump start our economic growth now and keep it running strong into the future -- investing in our people, their jobs and their incomes."

"President Clinton is right. Instead of asking 'What's in it for me?' we must ask each other, 'What's in it for us, for our children, for our future, for North Carolina, for the United States of America?'"

-- Remarks to a Joint Session of the North Carolina General Assembly

FEBRUARY 19, 1993

Tours GTE in Atlanta, Georgia

The Vice President tours the GTE mobile communications facility in Atlanta, GA and meets with workers there at a town meeting on the President's economic plan.

Mrs. Gore meets with mental health experts to gather information and talk about ideas for health care reform.

Mrs. Gore is the featured speaker in Washington, D.C. at the celebration of the African Methodist Episcopal Church's 206th Founder's Day. "Your Church's mission to help the helpless, house the homeless and minister to the needs of the disadvantaged is a beacon of hope for many in this country."

32 FEBRUARY 20, 1993

Visit to Alabama Head Start Program

The Vice President visits with children and their parents at a Head Start classroom in Birmingham, Alabama.

Visit to Tampa Housing Project in Florida

The Vice President tours and works at a Tampa housing construction site, part of an innovative housing development and restoration program that would benefit from the President's economic package and continue to provide affordable housing to Tampa residents. The Vice President also meets with community leaders to discuss the President's economic package.

33 FEBRUARY 21, 1993

Dinner with High Tech Business Executives in California
Joins the President in California on the eve of the announcement of the President's technology initiative to discuss the initiative with the leaders of high technology businesses.

34 FEBRUARY 22, 1993

Technology Initiative Announcement

The President and the Vice President unveil a comprehensive, and ground-breaking technology policy: "Technology for America's Economic Growth--A New Direction to Build Economic Strength." In a meeting with employees of Silicon Graphics in Mountain View, California. The Technology Initiative provides a new framework for Federal technology programs built around three goals: (1) Long term economic growth that creates jobs and protects the environment, (2) A government that is more productive and more responsive to the needs of its citizens, and (3) World leadership in basic science, mathematics, and engineering. The Vice President plays a critical role in this effort, working with Dr. Jack Gibbons, the President's Science and Technology Advisor.

"We face new challenges, from our competitors around the world and from the people we serve here at home, that demand new solutions and creative thinking. Technology offers new opportunities for jobs, for a cleaner environment, for better schools, for high-quality health care and for scores of other advances. We must move to seize these opportunities."

Town Hall Meeting in Kansas City, Missouri

The Vice President meets with students and local residents for a town meeting at Penn Valley Community College in Kansas City, Missouri to discuss the President's economic package.

Mrs. Gore accompanies First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on a visit to Boston-area small businesses and in a discussion with Massachusetts health care professionals.

35 FEBRUARY 23, 1993

Meeting with Environmental Ministers

The Vice President meets with Environmental Ministers from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to discuss the environmental crisis in Eastern Europe.

36 FEBRUARY 24, 1993

Mrs. Gore meets with child mental health experts to gather information and talk about ideas for health care reform.

- 41 MARCH 1, 1993
Address to Veterans of Foreign Wars Annual Conference,
Washington, D.C.

National Service Day -- Summer of Service
In Madison Wisconsin, the Vice President tours the
University of Wisconsin's Arboretum, built with the help of
a youth conservation corps working in much the same way as
those who will take part in the President's new National
Service Initiative, praising the Wisconsin Conservation
Corps as a model for the nation. He also conducts a Town
Hall Meeting at the University of Wisconsin to discuss
National Service.

Mrs. Gore travels to Richmond, Virginia to tour a
transitional housing facility and talk to area youth about
the Summer of Service and the President's National Service
Program.

- 42 MARCH 2, 1993
Joins the President in meeting with Democratic Leadership

Joins the President in meeting with Republican House
Leadership

Joins the President in lunch meeting With Senate Republicans

Joins the President in meeting with NATO Secretary General
Woerner

Meets with British Secretary of State for the Environment

- 43 MARCH 3, 1993
Reinventing Government: National Performance Review
The President asks the Vice President to head a new
initiative on government reform, demonstrating his
commitment to streamlining the government to improve
efficiency and productivity.

"Mark this date: President Clinton is starting a revolution
in government. It won't happen overnight, and it won't be
easy, but it will fundamentally change the way our
government works -- for the people it serves and the people
it employs."

"Today, we are starting what will be a continuous and
vigilant process to make government work better -- to use
every tax dollar wisely, to weed out dead ideas and
encourage new, creative ways, and -- to borrow a phrase I've
heard once or twice before -- to put people first."

-- Statement on "A Revolution in Government"

- 44 MARCH 4, 1993

Criticizes Iran's Mistreatment of Bahais
Reaffirming his support of the oppressed Iranian Bahais, the Vice President expresses concern over Tehran's human rights violations outlined in a recently released United Nations Report, and praises the work of the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Joins the President in meeting with former President Jimmy Carter

48 MARCH 8, 1993

Joins the President in meeting with Members of the House Budget Committee

Joins the President in meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus

Mrs. Gore delivers the keynote speech before the American Psychological Association in Washington, D.C. "It has been truly inspirational to witness so many different interest groups contributing to the creation of a plan to ensure Americans have access to quality, affordable health care."

49 MARCH 9, 1993

Joins the President in meeting with Senate Budget Committee

Meeting with Inspectors General

The Vice President meets with the Inspectors General who are required to promote efficiency in the administration and prevent fraud and abuse throughout the different agencies and departments.

- 50 MARCH 10, 1993
Omaha, Nebraska Town Hall Meeting on Economic Recovery.
The Vice President meets with University of Nebraska students and local residents at a Town Hall Meeting in Omaha to discuss The President's economic initiative and the National Performance Review the Vice President is directing to make government more efficient, effective and responsive.
- 51 MARCH 11, 1993
Town Hall Meeting and visit to SouthWest Airlines, Dallas, Texas
The Vice President and Senator Bob Krueger of Texas participate in a town hall meeting with SouthWest Airlines employees to discuss the total quality management practices and other innovations that have made this company one of the industry's most successful.
- Visit to Austin, Texas and Tour of Motorola
The Vice President visits Austin with Sen. Krueger to discuss with Motorola workers the President's technology initiative and the new effort the Vice President is leading to make government more efficient, effective and responsive.
- Visits Houston Head Start Classroom
The Vice President joins Sen. Krueger in spreading the President's message of economic recovery and investment visiting with children and their parents at a Head Start Classroom in Houston, TX.
- 52 March 12, 1993
Mrs. Gore accompanies First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to Tampa, Florida to serve as a panelist during discussions with Floridians about health care reform.
- 55 MARCH 15, 1993
Joins the President in his meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

- 56 MARCH 16, 1993
Joins the President in meeting with bipartisan Congressional Leaders
- Joins the President in meeting with Ireland's Prime Minister Albert Reynolds.
- Joins the President in meeting with House Hispanic Caucus
- Joins the President in meeting with the Exiled Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide
- 58 MARCH 18, 1993
Joins the President in meeting with the National Newspaper Publishers Association
- Joins the President in meeting with Commission of European Communities President Jacques Delors.
- 59 MARCH 19, 1993
Joins the President in meeting with Members of the House of Representatives to discuss the economic plan.
- 60 MARCH 20, 1993
Meets with Saud Nassir A-Sabah, Minister of Information and former Ambassador of Kuwait.
- Mrs. Gore is the keynote speaker at the renaming of the Mental Health Law Project to the Bazelon Center. "The President understands. He understands that mental illness had biological roots and should be treated equally with so-called physical illness."
- 62 MARCH 22, 1993
Joins the President in meeting with Democratic Governors Association

MARCH 22, 1993

Access to Government Information

The Government Printing Office Electronic Access bill, based on legislation Vice President Gore introduced last year, passes the Senate. The bill authorizes the Government Printing Office to make more Federal information such as the Congressional Record) available on-line.

Mrs. Gore travels to Detroit, Michigan to serve as a panelist during discussions with Michigan citizens about health care reform. HHS Secretary Donna Shalala joins Mrs. Gore.

64 MARCH 24, 1993

The Vice President addresses the American Medical Association in Washington, D.C.

"Fixing this system ... will not be easy. But the American people have demanded that we fundamentally reform a system that costs too much and wastes too much and serves too few; and, that we make the system work better for real people with real problems."

"Last year, the American people proved that they have the courage to change. Now it is time for us to prove ours, by enacting real health care reform."

Joins the President in meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev

Meets with British Foreign Minister Sir Douglas Hurd

65 MARCH 25, 1993

Joins the President in working Dinner with Members of the House of Representatives.

66 MARCH 26, 1993

Reinventing Government -- Town Hall Meeting

The Vice President, committed to personally meeting with employees from federal agencies and departments, started his series of visits at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In a Town Hall Meeting with Secretary Cisneros and HUD employees, The Vice President listens to suggestions for improving operations at HUD and across the government.

MARCH 26, 1993

The Vice President joins the President in meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl

Meeting With President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina

The Vice President meets with President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to underscore United States support for his decision to sign all of the principal documents of the Bosnian Peace Plan. The Vice President praises the Bosnian leader for his statesmanship and courage for taking this critical step to move his country closer to peace and expresses his hope for full and rapid agreement among all of the parties on the terms of the Peace Plan.

The Vice President joins the President in working dinner with Senators

Mrs. Gore serves as a panelist during Robert Wood Johnson's health care discussions in Washington, D.C. HHS Secretary Donna Shalala joins Mrs. Gore.

The Vice President announces the leadership team organizing and implementing the National Performance Review.

67 MARCH 27, 1993

Addresses Gannett Pre-Gridiron Luncheon

69 MARCH 29, 1993

Chairs Official Hearing of The President's Task Force on Health Care Reform. Mrs. Gore joins the Vice President at this meeting.

70 MARCH 30, 1993

Meets with Hungarian Foreign Minister Jeszneszky.

71 MARCH 31, 1993

Cabinet Meeting (3)

MARCH 31, 1993

Vice President meets with Ambassadors Aurel Dragos-Manteanu of Romania, and Ognian Pishev of Bulgaria to deliver letters to President Ion Iliescu of Romania and President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria expressing the appreciation of the United States for their governments' determined efforts to enforce the United Nations sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Mrs. Gore attends Congressional Breakfast and Briefing of National Coalition for the Mentally Ill in the Criminal Justice System.

72 APRIL 1, 1993

Address to the American College of Physicians

Joins with the President in meeting with bipartisan Congressional leadership

73 APRIL 2, 1993

Forest Conference, Portland, Oregon

Joins the President at the Forest Conference, in Portland, which provides a comprehensive forum for a broad and diverse range of views on the issues associated with the management of federal forest lands in the Northwest and Northern California.

"For far too long, bitter fighting and confused policy-making have scarred this debate. As each side fought for advantage, no one won and many lost their jobs, their way of life, the wilderness they grew up to love, and even their plans for their families and their future. It is time we moved beyond argument and confusion to a new approach that replaces fear with hope and stalemate with progress."

"The days when this debate was defined by either-or choices are over. This isn't about saving jobs or saving the environment, it's about saving jobs and saving the environment, because we can't do one without the other, certainly not in the long term. A healthy forest economy demands healthy forests."

-- Remarks at Forest Conference

- 75 APRIL 4, 1993
Commission on Russian Technological Improvements
The President announces the Vice President will co-chair,
along with Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, a commission
on Technological Improvements on Russian energy and space
sectors.
- 77 APRIL 6, 1993
The Vice President joins the President meeting with Egyptian
President Hosni Mubarak
- Meets with Australian Foreign Minister and Senator, Gareth
Evans
- 78 APRIL 7, 1993
Reinventing Government Town Hall Meeting -- Department of
Agriculture
In the second of his visits to federal agencies and
departments, the Vice President meets with more than 300
employees at the United States Department of Agriculture to
hear their suggestions for improving efficiency and
effectiveness at USDA and across the government.
- Recipient of the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award
The Vice President is named the recipient of the 13th Annual
Robert F. Kennedy Book Award for his book Earth In The
Balance. Each year this Award honors the literary work that
most faithfully and forcefully reflects Robert Kennedy's
purpose.
- 79 APRIL 8, 1993
Reinventing Government Town Hall Meeting -- Atlanta, Georgia
The Vice President hosts a Town Hall meeting in Atlanta,
with federal employees from a variety of agencies with
regional offices there to hear their suggestions for
improving government efficiency and effectiveness.
- The Vice President throws out the first pitch at the Atlanta
Braves opening game baseball game against the Los Angeles
Dodgers.

- 83 APRIL 12, 1993
Economic Roundtable in Toledo, Ohio
The Vice President participates in an economic conference hosted by Senator John Glenn.
- 85 APRIL 14, 1993
Meeting With Malawi's Ambassador
The Vice President meets with Malawi's Ambassador Robert Mbaya urging democracy in Malawi and an end to human rights abuses. They also discuss the country's upcoming referendum on multi-party democracy.
- Mrs. Gore joins First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in a meeting with members of the Latino community to discuss specific health care concerns related to the Latino community.
- 86 APRIL 15, 1993
National Performance Review Training Session
The Vice President opens an all-day training session for the National Performance Review staff in a speech presenting the team's vision, goals and agenda.
- 87 APRIL 16, 1993
Joins the President in meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa
- 88 APRIL 17, 1993
First Childrens' Earth Summit and Town Hall Meeting
The Vice President joins students from across the United States and around the world for the first ever Kids Earth Summit in Orlando, FL. He tours a display of student environmental projects and then participates in a Town Hall Meeting with Linda Ellerbee later broadcast on "Nickelodeon" where he discusses with student delegates their concerns about the environment and their plans for an environmentally sound future.

89 APRIL 18, 1993

New York Commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
At the Paramount Theatre in Madison Square Garden, the Vice President participates in a ceremony commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising .

Mrs. Gore travels to New Orleans, Louisiana to tour an innovative community-based mental health program and learn more about the area's mobile crisis transportation unit.

90 APRIL 19, 1993

The Vice President travels to Poland to participate in ceremony marking the 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

Wreath laying at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

Meets with Poland's President Lech Walesa at Belweder.

Meets with members of Poland's Jewish Community, Jewish Historical Institute

Meets with Poland's Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, Council of Ministers Building.

Meets with Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Council of Ministers Building.

Meets with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at Parkowa.

APRIL 19, 1993

IN POLAND -- Participates in a ceremony commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising at the Monument to the Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto. The Vice President speaks at the ceremony along with two survivors of the ghetto uprising, President Walesa, Prime Minister Rabin, and World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman.

"How could the human race have allowed such a calamity as the Holocaust to fall upon us? What terrible darkness lies coiled in the human soul that might account for this barbarism? The sorrow rising from such questions is deeper than all tragedy and leaves us mute before a mystery the human mind cannot penetrate. And yet the uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto shines in our consciousness like a pole star of the human spirit.

"The story of the Warsaw Ghetto is sacred text for our time. It warns us of the unfathomable power of evil, the pestilence of the human soul that for a time can dissolve nations and devastate civilization. But the uprising in the Ghetto also warns tyrants wherever they rule that a fierce, bright light blazes eternal in the human breast, that the darkness can never be put out."

-- Remarks at the 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising in Warsaw, Poland.

91 APRIL 20, 1993

POLAND -- Address Polish Officials in speech at Parliament

"Every nation must find its own way to freedom. Every nation must create its own institutions to preserve democracy and find its own solutions to its internal problems. The strength and endurance of the Polish people have been tested in recent times; they will be tested again. We believe with all our hearts that you will prevail. And we will stand by you in the testing time that lies ahead."

-- Statement in Warsaw, Poland at the Sejm (Polish Parliament).

(Returns to Washington, D.C. April 20)

- 92 **APRIL 21, 1993**
Joins the President in commemorating Earth Day. President Clinton announces the U.S will sign international treaty to protect biodiversity; commits U.S. to specific targets and timetables to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases; outlines long-term strategy to protect the environment while promoting economic growth and creating millions of new high-skill, high wage-jobs.
- Joins The President in meeting with President Walesa.
- Mrs. Gore travels to Piscataway, New Jersey to participate in a public hearing on national health care with Governor Florio and the people of New Jersey.
- 93 **APRIL 22, 1993**
Meets with President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria
- The Vice President and Mrs. Gore join the President in dedication of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
- Meets with Romania's President Ion Iliescu
- Meets with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman
- Meets with Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel
- Mrs. Gore is the featured Speaker at the Picture of the Year Awards presenting slides of her photographs from the campaign.
- 94 **APRIL 23, 1993**
Meets with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz
- Meets with Slovenia's President Milan Kucan

95 APRIL 24, 1993

Joins the President meeting with Democratic Senators in
Jamestown, Virginia.

Mrs. Gore travels to Raleigh, North Carolina to talk to area
graduate students about child mental health.

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