

NLWJC - Kagan

Counsel - Box 030 - Folder 007

Whitewater Document Request I [1]

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Counsel Office

Series/Staff Member: Elena Kagan

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 8293

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Whitewater Document Request I

Stack:

V

Row:

7

Section:

2

Shelf:

11

Position:

3

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: Whitewater documents (3 pages)	nd	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Counsel's Office
 Elena Kagan
 OA/Box Number: 8293

FOLDER TITLE:

Whitewater Document Request I

2009-1006-F
ry934

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

ALFONSE M. DAMATO, NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN

PHIL GRAMM, TEXAS
RICHARD C. SHELBY, ALABAMA
CHRISTOPHER S. BOND, MISSOURI
CONNIE MACK, FLORIDA
LAUCH FAIRCLOTH, NORTH CAROLINA
ROBERT F. BENNETT, UTAH
ROD GRAMS, MINNESOTA
PETE V. DOMENICI, NEW MEXICO

PAUL S. BARBARO, MARYLAND
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, CONNECTICUT
JOHN F. KERRY, MASSACHUSETTS
RICHARD M. BRYAN, NEVADA
BARBARA BOXER, CALIFORNIA
CAROL MORFITT, ILLINOIS
PATTY MURRAY, WASHINGTON

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND
URBAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6075

HOWARD A. RENELL, STAFF DIRECTOR
ROBERT J. GIUFFRÀ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL
PHILIP E. RECHTEL, DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR

STEVEN B. HARRIS, DEMOCRATIC STAFF DIRECTOR AND CHIEF COUNSEL

February 3, 1996

By Facsimile and U.S. Mail

Jane Sherburne, Esq.
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Sherburne:

As you know, on May 17, 1995, the Senate passed Senate Resolution 120, establishing a Special Committee administered by the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs to conduct an investigation involving Whitewater Development Corporation, Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan Association ("Madison"), any subsidiary, affiliate, or other entity owned or controlled by Madison, Capital Management Services, Inc., the Arkansas Development Finance Authority, the lending activities of Perry County Bank in connection with the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial election, and other related matters.

In connection with the Special Committee's ongoing investigation, and in order to prepare for upcoming public hearings, we hereby request that the White House produce certain records to the Special Committee.

Accordingly, please provide all records, regardless of format, including, but not limited to, e-mail, electronic "dump files," memoranda, correspondence, notes and records in any other medium, including drafts of any of the forgoing, that reflect, refer or relate to any of the following subjects:

1. any document search protocols or memoranda to present or former White House staff describing records responsive to the Special Committee's August 25, 1995 document request (the "Request") or October 26, 1995 subpoena duces tecum to the White House (the "Subpoena");
2. any communication, contact or meeting relating to any search by the White House for records responsive to the Request or the Subpoena; and
3. the circumstances surrounding the discovery of Rose Law Firm billing records at the White House by Carolyn Huber in January 1996.

To the extent that White House personnel have gathered records from individuals and locations throughout the White House, please indicate where and from whom each of the records was obtained. It would also be helpful if you provided a list of records supplied by the White House. To the extent that documents responsive to this request have previously been produced to the Committee, they need not be produced but only identified by Bates number. If any records are withheld based on the assertion of any privilege, please provide a log identifying the date, author(s), recipient(s), the subject matter of any such records, and the basis for the privilege asserted.

The Committee is seeking to complete its work as expeditiously as possible. Therefore, the records should be delivered to Joseph Kolinski, Chief Clerk, Senate Banking Committee, 534 Dirksen Senate Office Building no later than 12:00 p.m., February 6, 1996. You may submit copies in response to this request, but the Special Committee reserves the right to obtain the original records.

If you have any questions concerning this request, please have your staff contact Douglas Nappi, Majority Counsel, at (202) 224-7391 or Lance Cole, Minority Deputy Special Counsel, at (202) 224-0218.

Your continued cooperation in this matter is appreciated.

Very truly yours,


Alfonse M. D'Amato
Chairman

cc: Paul S. Sarbanes
Ranking Member

United States District Court

FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

TO: EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
c/o JANE SHERBURNE

SUBPOENA TO TESTIFY BEFORE GRAND JURY

SUBPOENA FOR:

PERSON

DOCUMENT(S) OR OBJECT(S)

YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to appear and testify before the Grand Jury of the United States District Court at the place, date, and time specified below.

PLACE United States District Court for the District of Columbia Third and Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C.	COURTROOM Grand Jury/Third Floor
	DATE AND TIME January 23, 1996/4:00 p.m.

YOU ARE ALSO COMMANDED to bring with you the following document(s) or object(s):*

See attached rider.

Personal appearance not required if the requested documents are delivered on or before 4:00 p.m., Tuesday, January 23, 1996, to Inspector-in-Charge Edward H. Lueckenhoff at the Office of the Independent Counsel, Suite 490 North, 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, telephone number (202) 514-8688, for submission to the Grand Jury.

Please see additional information on reverse.

This subpoena shall remain in effect until you are granted leave to depart by the court or by an officer acting on behalf of the court.

U.S. MAGISTRATE IN CHIEF OF COURT

Nancy M. Meyer-Whitman, Clerk
(BY) DEPUTY CLERK

DATE

January 19, 1996

(D456)

(FO)

This subpoena is issued upon application of the United States Attorney

NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NUMBER OF ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY
Kenneth W. Starr, Independent Counsel
John D. Bates, Deputy Independent Counsel
Office of the Independent Counsel
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue., N.W., Suite 490 North
Washington, D.C. 20004

Subpoena Rider

1. Any and all documents and/or communications referring or relating to the location, efforts to locate, production, efforts to produce, whereabouts, or existence of documents referring or relating to: (a) legal representation provided by, legal work performed by, or Rose Law Firm compensation allocated to Hillary Rodham Clinton; or (b) legal representation provided to or legal work performed for Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan.

2. Any and all documents and/or communications referring to, relating to, or reflecting the identities, names, or abbreviations of names of persons (a) who could have been on the second or third floors of the residence of the White House in July 1995 or August 1995, whether escorted or not, or (b) who could have had access to the second or third floors of the residence of the White House in July 1995 or August 1995, whether escorted or not. That includes, but is not limited to, any logs reflecting movement within the White House residence and/or any lists of personnel who worked within the White House compound and had access to the second or third floors of the White House residence.

Definitions and Instructions

1. Definitions

a. The term "document" or "documents" as used in this subpoena means all records of any nature whatsoever within your possession, custody, or control or the possession, custody, or control of any agent, employee, representative, or other person acting or purporting to act for or on your behalf or in concert with you, including but not limited to memoranda, records, reports, notes, books, files, summaries or records of conversations, meetings, or interviews, summaries or records of telephone conversations, diaries, calendars, datebooks, telegrams, facsimiles, telexes, telefaxes, electronic mail, computerized records stored in the form of magnetic or electronic coding on computer media or on media capable of being read by computer or with the aid of computer related equipment, including but not limited to floppy disks or diskettes, disks, diskettes, disk packs, fixed hard drives, removable hard disk cartridges, mainframe computers, Bernoulli boxes, optical disks, WORM disks, magneto/optical disks, floptical disks, magnetic tape, tapes, laser disks, video cassettes, CD-ROMs, and any other media capable of storing magnetic coding, microfilm, microfiche and other storage devices, voicemail recordings, and all other written, printed, or recorded or photographic matter or sound reproductions, however produced or reproduced.

The term "document" or "documents" also includes any earlier, preliminary, preparatory, or tentative version of all or part of a document, whether or not such draft was superseded by a later draft and whether or not the terms of the draft are the same as or different from the terms of the final document.

b. The term "communication" or "communications" is used herein in its broadest sense to encompass any transmission or exchange of information, ideas, facts, data, proposals, or any other matter, whether between individuals or between or among the members

of a group, whether face-to-face, by telephone, or by means of electronic or other medium.

c. "Possession, custody, or control" means in your physical possession and/or if you have the right to secure or compel the production of the document or a copy from another person or entity having physical possession, including, but not limited to, your counsel.

d. The term "referring or relating" to any given subject means anything that constitutes, contains, embodies, reflects, identifies, states, refers to, deals with, or is in any manner whatsoever pertinent to that subject including, but not limited to, documents concerning the preparation of other documents.

2. Instructions

a. The originals of all documents and communications must be produced, as well as copies within your possession, custody, or control.

b. If any original document cannot be produced in full, produce such document to the extent possible and indicate specifically the reason for your inability to produce the remainder.

c. Documents shall be produced as they are kept in the usual course of business, as organized in the files.

d. File folders, labels, and indices identifying documents called for shall be produced intact with such documents. Documents attached to each other should not be separated.

e. In reading this rider, the plural shall include the singular and the singular shall include the plural.

f. The words "and" and "or" shall be construed conjunctively or disjunctively as necessary to make the request inclusive rather than exclusive. The use of the word "including" shall be construed without limitation.

g. In the event that any document, or portion thereof, called for by this subpoena is withheld on the basis of any claim of privilege or similar claim, that document shall be identified in writing as follows: (a) author; (b) the position or title of the author; (c) addressee; (d) the position or title of the addressee; (e) any indicated or blind copies; (f) date; (g) a description of the subject matter of the document; (h) number of pages; (i) attachments or appendices; (j) all persons to whom the document, its contents, or any portion thereof, has been disclosed, distributed, shown, or explained; and (k) present custodian. Each basis you contend justifies the withholding of the document shall also be specified. With respect to those documents or records as to which you may claim privilege, or attorneys' work product, set forth as to each such document the basis for such claim, including the purpose and circumstances surrounding the creation of the document, the identity of each person who has been privy to such communication reflected in the document, the identity of any person or entity instructing the

subpoena recipient or the attorney of the subpoena recipient to withhold production of the document, and whether you will submit the document to the Court for an in camera determination as to the validity of the claim. If the existence of a joint defense agreement or any agreement as to common interest is relevant to the assertion of any claim of privilege or similar claim, please provide a copy of that agreement; if any such agreement is not in writing, please set forth the date of the creation of the agreement, the identities of all parties to the agreement and the specific individuals who entered into the agreement on behalf of those parties, and the objects, purposes, and scope of the agreement.

h. In the event that any document called for by this subpoena has been lost, destroyed, deleted, altered, or otherwise disposed of, that document shall be identified in writing as follows: (a) author; (b) the position or title of the author; (c) addressee; (d) the position or title of the addressee; (e) indicated or blind copies; (f) date; (g) a brief description of the subject matter of the document; (h) number of pages; (i) attachments or appendices; (j) all persons to whom the document, its contents, or any portion thereof, had been disclosed, distributed, shown or explained; (k) the date of the loss, destruction, deletion, alteration, or disposal and the circumstances thereof; and (l) the reasons, if any, for the loss, destruction, deletion, alteration, or disposal and the person or persons responsible.

i. If any information or data is withheld because such information or data is stored electronically, it is to be identified by the subject matter of the information or data and the place or places where such information is maintained.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 20, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT STAFF

FROM: JANE SHERBURNE *JS*
Special Counsel to the President

ELENA KAGAN *EK*
Associate Counsel to the President

SUBJECT: SUBPOENA FOR DOCUMENTS

We have received a subpoena from the Independent Counsel in the Whitewater matter for certain materials described below. Please provide any materials -- including documents, records, phonelogs, notes, computer records, letters, and telefax materials -- that are responsive to the paragraph below to **Elena Kagan, OEOB Room 125, by 5:00 p.m. on Monday, January 22, 1996.**

Any and all documents and/or communications referring or relating to the location, efforts to locate, production, efforts to produce, whereabouts, or existence of documents referring or relating to: (a) legal representation provided by, legal work performed by, or Rose Law Firm compensation allocated to Hillary Rodham Clinton; or (b) legal representation provided to or legal work performed for Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan.

It is extremely important that staff members conduct a thorough search for documents by the end of the business day. Each Assistant to the President or Department head should ensure that his or her staff members conduct such a search.

If you believe you may have responsive documents but cannot locate them by 5:00 p.m., please contact Elena Kagan (6-7594) immediately.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL STAFF OF THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE,
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT AND
EXECUTIVE RESIDENCE

FROM: JANE C. SHERBURNE *JCS*
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

DAVID B. FEIN *DF*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: Document Request from the Senate Special Committee

The Senate Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater has requested certain additional White House records in connection with its work. Accordingly, please review your records ("memoranda, correspondence, notes, and records in any other medium, including drafts of any of the foregoing"), as well as your computer files, and retrieve documents dated or prepared as of March 4, 1994 (even if you came into possession of such documents on or after March 4, 1994) that reflect, refer or relate to:

1. "the operations, solvency, and regulation of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan Association ("Madison"), and any subsidiary, affiliate, or other entity owned or controlled by Madison;
2. "the activities, investments, and tax liability of Whitewater Development Corporation ("Whitewater") and, as related to Whitewater, of its officers, directors, and shareholders;
3. "the Rose Law Firm's representation of Madison or its representation of the RTC with regard to Madison;
4. "the handling by the RTC, the Office of Thrift Supervision, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation of civil or administrative actions against parties regarding Madison;


T 002044

5. "the sources of funding and lending practices of Capital Management Services, Inc., and its supervision and regulation by the Small Business Administration, including any alleged diversion of funds to Whitewater;
6. "the bond underwriting contracts between ADFA and Lasater & Company; and
7. "the lending activities of Perry County Bank, Perryville, Arkansas, in connection with the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial election."

Please provide any records that fall within the categories described above to Associate Counsel David Fein (OEOB Room 128) by Wednesday, October 25, 1995. If you have sent records that may contain responsive material to the Office of Records Management, please let us know and we will ask ORM to search the material. If you believe you have responsive material but are unable to retrieve it by October 25, or if you have any questions about this request, please contact Jane Sherburne (6-5116) or David Fein (6-6219).

Staff members from the following offices within the White House Office may disregard this request:

Cabinet Affairs
Correspondence
Fellowships
Management and Administration
National AIDS Policy
Office of Policy Development
Political Affairs
Presidential Personnel
Public Liaison
Scheduling and Advance
Usher's Office

Thank you again for your cooperation.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL STAFF OF THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE,
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT AND
EXECUTIVE RESIDENCE

FROM: JANE C. SHERBURNE
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

DAVID B. FEIN *DAF*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: Document Subpoena from the Senate Special Committee

The White House today received a Subpoena from the Senate Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater, formalizing the request for documents made by Chairman D'Amato since August 25, 1995. The White House response to these requests and, therefore, to this Subpoena is largely complete. The Subpoena makes one new request, however, with which the White House has been asked to comply by Thursday, November 2, 1995.

The Senate Committee has now requested any White House records that constitute "notes, transcripts or other records of any statements made or adopted by William Jefferson Clinton and/or Hillary Rodham Clinton on or before May 1, 1995 reflecting, referring, or relating to the subjects set forth" below, "other than statements made in connection with the investigation of the Special Counsel or the Independent Counsel." [NOTE: We already have collected from you all such statements made as of March 4, 1994. Therefore, the time period covered by this new request and for which you must provide responsive material is between March 4, 1994 and May 1, 1995.]

1. "the operations, solvency, and regulation of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan Association ("Madison"), and any subsidiary, affiliate, or other entity owned or controlled by Madison;
2. "the activities, investments, and tax liability of Whitewater Development Corporation ("Whitewater") and, as related to Whitewater, of its officers, directors, and shareholders;



T 002126

3. "the Rose Law Firm's representation of Madison or its representation of the RTC with regard to Madison;
4. "the handling by the RTC, the Office of Thrift Supervision, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation of civil or administrative actions against parties regarding Madison;
5. "the sources of funding and lending practices of Capital Management Services, Inc., and its supervision and regulation by the Small Business Administration, including any alleged diversion of funds to Whitewater;
6. "the bond underwriting contracts between ADFA and Lasater & Company; and
7. "the lending activities of Perry County Bank, Perryville, Arkansas, in connection with the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial election."

Please provide any records that constitute statements made or adopted by the President and/or Mrs. Clinton about the subjects described above to Associate Counsel David Fein (OEOB Room 128) by 5 p.m. on Wednesday, November 1, 1995. Do not provide additional copies of material you already have produced in response to prior requests. If you have sent records that may contain responsive material to the Office of Records Management, please let us know and we will ask ORM to search the material. If you believe you have responsive material but are unable to retrieve it by November 1, or if you have any questions about this request, please contact Jane Sherburne (6-5116) or David Fein (6-6219).

Thank you again for your cooperation.



DRAFT
PRIVILEGED & CONFIDENTIAL
ATTORNEY-CLIENT WORK PRODUCT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: JB DATE: 7/8/08
2006-0320-F

STATEMENT

David E. Kendall

January 5, 1996

We are today pleased to release publicly copies of the detailed billing records for the work performed by the Rose Law Firm for Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. The records, which were discovered late yesterday, confirm what we have said all along about the nature and amount of the work done by the Rose Law Firm and Mrs. Clinton for Madison. With the public release of these records, yet another set of baseless allegations about Whitewater can now be laid to rest.

In particular, these records demonstrate that work that Mrs. Clinton performed was limited both in time and scope. The records demonstrate that Mrs. Clinton did no work on the 1985 purchase of _____. [INSERT OTHER POSITIVE NEWS FROM THE CONTENTS OF THE RECORDS]

Most of all, the discovery and public release of these records undermines the unsubstantiated charges by Republicans that the records had been somehow destroyed. On the contrary, the records were discovered intact, and they provide a complete picture of the Rose Law Firm's work.


T 001999

We are committed to providing all of the accurate information at our disposal concerning the discovery of the Rose Law Firm records. We are also determined to provide only the hard facts we know, and this statement contains what we currently understand about the discovery of the Rose Law Firm records.

◆ The records were discovered yesterday by Carolyn Huber, Special Assistant to the President and Director of Personal Correspondence, among memorabilia and other materials that Mrs. Huber was cataloguing.

◆ Today, the records were produced promptly to the Independent Counsel and the interested Congressional committees.

◆ There is no evidence whatsoever that the records were ever in the White House office of Vincent Foster. Mr. Foster's handwriting on the records appears to date from work done during the 1992 presidential campaign. There is simply no indication that Mr. Foster worked on the matter of the Rose Law Firm billing records while at the White House.

◆ The First Lady was not aware that the records were located in the White House.



We wish that these records had been discovered earlier, so that the partisan allegations could have been immediately discarded. Now that the records are available, it should be possible to once and for all dismiss the baseless charges that have been made.



DRAFT
PRIVILEGED & ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ATTORNEY-CLIENT WORK PRODUCT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: DB DATE: 8/29/08
3006-0320-F

STATEMENT

David E. Kendall

January 5, 1996

We are today pleased to release publicly copies of the detailed billing records for the work performed by the Rose Law Firm for Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. The records, which were discovered late yesterday, confirm what we have said all along about the nature and amount of the work done by the Rose Law Firm and Mrs. Clinton for Madison. With the public release of these records, yet another set of baseless allegations about Whitewater can now be laid to rest.

In particular, these records demonstrate that work that Mrs. Clinton performed was limited both in time and scope. The records demonstrate that Mrs. Clinton did no work on the 1985 purchase of _____. [INSERT OTHER POSITIVE NEWS FROM THE CONTENTS OF THE RECORDS]

Most of all, the discovery and public release of these records undermines the unsubstantiated charges by Republicans that the records had been somehow destroyed. On the contrary, the records were discovered intact, and they provide a complete picture of the Rose Law Firm's work.


T 002002

We are committed to providing all of the accurate information at our disposal concerning the discovery of the Rose Law Firm records. We are also determined to provide only the hard facts we know, and this statement contains what we currently understand about the discovery of the Rose Law Firm records.

◆ The records were discovered yesterday by Carolyn Huber, Special Assistant to the President and Director of Personal Correspondence, among memorabilia and other materials that Mrs. Huber was cataloguing.

◆ Today, the records were produced promptly to the Independent Counsel and the interested Congressional committees.

◆ There is no evidence whatsoever that the records were ever in the White House office of Vincent Foster. Mr. Foster's handwriting on the records appears to date from work done during the 1992 presidential campaign. There is simply no indication that Mr. Foster worked on the matter of the Rose Law Firm billing records while at the White House.

◆ The First Lady was not aware that the records were located in the White House.

We wish that these records had been discovered earlier, so that the partisan allegations could have been immediately



discarded. Now that the records are available, it should be possible to once and for all dismiss the baseless charges that have been made.



T 002004

DRAFT
PRIVILEGED & ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
ATTORNEY-CLIENT WORK PRODUCT

STATEMENT

David E. Kendall

January 5, 1996

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: DB DATE: 7/8/08
2006-0320-F

We are today pleased to release publicly copies of the detailed billing records for the work performed by the Rose Law Firm for Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. The records, which were discovered late yesterday, confirm what we have said all along about the nature and amount of the work done by the Rose Law Firm and Mrs. Clinton for Madison. With the public release of these records, yet another set of baseless allegations about Whitewater can now be laid to rest.

In particular, these records demonstrate that work that Mrs. Clinton performed was limited both in time and scope. The records demonstrate that Mrs. Clinton did no work on the 1985 purchase of _____. [INSERT OTHER POSITIVE NEWS FROM THE CONTENTS OF THE RECORDS]

Most of all, the discovery and public release of these records undermines the unsubstantiated charges by Republicans that the records had been somehow destroyed. On the contrary, the records were discovered intact, and they provide a complete picture of the Rose Law Firm's work.


T 002005

We are committed to providing all of the accurate information at our disposal concerning the discovery of the Rose Law Firm records. We are also determined to provide only the hard facts we know, and this statement contains what we currently understand about the discovery of the Rose Law Firm records.

◆ The records were discovered yesterday by Carolyn Huber, Special Assistant to the President and Director of Personal Correspondence, among memorabilia and other materials that Mrs. Huber was cataloguing.

◆ Today, the records were produced promptly to the Independent Counsel and the interested Congressional committees.

◆ There is no evidence whatsoever that the records were ever in the White House office of Vincent Foster. Mr. Foster's handwriting on the records appears to date from work done during the 1992 presidential campaign. There is simply no indication that Mr. Foster worked on the matter of the Rose Law Firm billing records while at the White House.

◆ The First Lady was not aware that the records were located in the White House.

We wish that these records had been discovered earlier, so that the partisan allegations could have been immediately discarded. Now that the records are available, it should be possible to once and for all dismiss the baseless charges that have been made.



January 5, 1996

STATEMENT OF DAVID E. KENDALL

We are today pleased to release publicly copies of detailed billing records for the work performed by the Rose Law Firm for Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. These records, which were discovered late yesterday, confirm what we have said all along about the nature and amount of the work done by the Rose Law Firm and Mrs. Clinton for Madison. With the public release of these records, yet another set of baseless allegations about Whitewater can now be laid to rest.

In particular, these records demonstrate that the work Mrs. Clinton performed was limited both in time and scope.

In addition, the discovery and public release of these records undermines the unsubstantiated charges that billing records consulted by the 1992 Campaign had been destroyed. On the contrary, records do exist and they provide a detailed picture of the Rose Law Firm's limited work for Madison Guaranty.

The records were discovered yesterday by Carolyn Huber, Special Assistant to the President and Director of Personal Correspondence, among correspondence, memorabilia and other materials that Mrs. Huber was cataloguing. They appear to be copies of Rose Law Firm billing records that were collected early in the 1992 Presidential campaign. The run date on the Client Billing & Payment History is February 12, 1992. The records contain handwritten notations, including xeroxes of comments that appear to have been written at the time the bills were prepared,



T 002024

and other notes, written in red ink on the copy found, that appear to be Vincent Foster's.

The records have been produced to the Independent Counsel, the interested Congressional committees, and the RTC today.

The First Lady was not aware until today that these records were located in the White House.

We are committed to providing all of the information at our disposal concerning these records. This statement contains what we have been able to verify about their discovery.



T 002025

Qs & As Re Recent Discovery of Billing Records

- Q: Is anyone at the White House -- including the President and the Chief of Staff -- concerned about the belated discovery and release of the Watkins memo and the Rose Law Firm billing records?
- A: Absolutely. I hope everyone understands that it is in the White House's best interests to produce every relevant document, as soon as possible, all on the same day. That is our goal, because we think that when all these documents are made public the Whitewater matter will evaporate once and for all. Obviously we fell short of our goal in these two instances, and no one is sorrier than we are that these documents were not discovered -- and made public -- much earlier.
- Q: If you're so concerned, what are you going to do about these late document discoveries?
- A: First, the Chief of Staff has directed the White House staff to cooperate with the Independent Counsel and the other appropriate entities that are looking into this matter. Second, the White House Counsel has undertaken to ascertain from the staff members who had these records, why they were not found earlier. Finally, the Counsel is circulating a memorandum emphasizing the importance of complete and prompt compliance with all requests for documents and records.

Since the mid-term election, the White House has been asked by congressional committees and independent counsels to search its files for various records nearly a dozen different times. Each of these requests is different and requires its own search by each member of the White House staff -- close to 500 people. Some of these requests have been directed to the entire Executive Office of the President, which numbers over 1000 people. Nonetheless, we have worked hard to locate the records and, as a result, the White House has produced to these various investigators tens of thousands of pages of documents that have been found by searching through hundreds of thousands of pages of material. We will try even harder, now.

Q: Will the Counsel's findings be made public?

A: We expect that most of the information about these records will be developed by the Independent Counsel and congressional committees and we are committed to cooperating with their inquiries. We will make available the information we learn from the staff members who had the records, but it is plain to us that the most authoritative way to get answers to questions about the discovery of the documents is to make the necessary witnesses and information available in whatever way most appropriate to the Independent Counsel and the congressional committees who will be



looking into this. We will provide whatever cooperation is necessary to get to the bottom of this matter.

► Q: Why can't the White House Counsel conduct his own inquiry?

► A: We have only one goal here: Get to the bottom of what happened here as quickly, and as authoritatively as possible, so that the public's legitimate questions can be answered. The only question is how to accomplish this goal. Of course, the White House Counsel could conduct his own inquiry, but the fact is that the Independent Counsel has the staff, the resources and the legal authority to come up with answers more quickly than we can. And that's what we're after -- quick, conclusive and authoritative answers.

There's another factor at work here: The media has -- throughout the history of the White House and continuing right into this Administration -- been skeptical of any Administration's attempt to investigate itself. No matter how careful we are -- no matter how forthcoming we can possibly be -- you will be skeptical of the results we reach. That is why the best course of action here -- the quickest and most authoritative course of action -- is the one we have taken: All necessary witnesses and information will be provided to the Independent Counsel, so that we can get to the bottom of this matter as soon as possible.

► Q: Doesn't the White House, and especially the White House Counsel, have an obligation to find out what went wrong?

► A: We have an obligation to ensure that the procedures in place for dealing with these extensive and repeated document requests from Congressional committees are up to the job. Again, it is in the White House's best interests to produce every relevant document, as soon as possible, all on the same day. And the Counsel's office has an obligation to ensure that the procedures in place will bring us as close as humanly possible to meeting that goal.

White House Counsel is instructing each member of the staff that they must respond to these document requests quickly and with great care and diligence and he is reviewing the procedures that are now in place for dealing with these requests.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 5, 1996

Senator Alfonse D'Amato
United States Senate
Washington, D.C., 20510-3202

Dear Senator D'Amato:

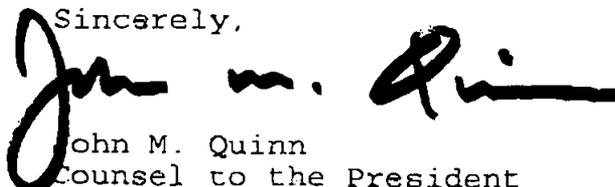
I have your letter dated earlier today regarding Mr. Kendall's delivery to you of certain Rose Law firm billing records. I am informed that these records were discovered yesterday by Ms. Carolyn Huber in her office in the East Wing of the White House where she had moved them, along with other materials, from a work room in the White House Residence.

Inasmuch as the records apparently were in the private quarters of the First Family prior to Ms. Huber's moving them and relate to work that Mrs. Clinton performed at the Rose Law Firm, your other questions regarding them should be directed to Mr. Kendall.

I do want to address your suggestion that these records have been withheld from your Committee and that the delay in providing them to you was for purposes of obstructing your inquiry. There is no basis whatsoever for that suggestion. I assure you that the White House takes very seriously the responsibilities that we have to cooperate with the Committee's lawful and reasonable inquiries and to respond to duly issued subpoenas and document requests promptly and with diligence. As you know, in the past year and a half, we have responded to dozens of requests for documents; we have produced tens of thousands of pages of documents; and we have made available scores of witnesses to explain those documents. Moreover, please bear in mind that the documents about which you are now inquiring were made available to you within hours of their discovery.

We are doing the best we can to assist you in resolving the many questions you have raised, and we will continue to cooperate in that spirit.

Sincerely,



John M. Quinn
Counsel to the President



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

January 9, 1996

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
BY BARBARA WALTERS, 20/20 (ABC) II

The Green Room

Q Mrs. Clinton, instead of your new book being the issue, you have become the issue. How did you get in this mess where your whole credibility is being questioned?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I ask myself that every day, Barbara, because it's very surprising and confusing to me. But we've had questions raised for the last four years, and eventually they're answered and they go away and more questions come up. And we'll just keep doing our best to answer them and, hopefully, it will end at some point.

Q Are you distressed?

MRS. CLINTON: Occasionally, I get a little distressed, a little sad, a little angry, irritated. I think that's only natural. But I know that that's part of the territory and we'll just keep plowing through and trying to get to the end of this.

Q Well, we'll get to some of the specifics about that later. Let's start with the book, which is how we were originally going to start.

Your book takes some very strong stands. This is not what some people thought was going to be a nice, soft book to show that you had a softer image. And you say some controversial things. What does the title mean, "It Takes A Village"?

MRS. CLINTON: For more than 25 years I've worked on behalf of children's issues, as well as being a


T 002221

mother myself, and always just loving children. And "It Takes A Village" means what I have come to believe: that families are the most important influences in a child's life, they provide the primary upbringing --but they don't do it alone. They need help and support, whether it be from doctors or teachers or police officers or all the other adults in our society who directly and indirectly impact on children.

And I would love for Americans to have a conversation about how all of us can do a better job in the raising of our children.

Q Whom do you want to read this book?

MRS. CLINTON: I would like as many Americans as possible, whether or not they are parents.

Q This is not written for experts.

MRS. CLINTON: No. In fact, it is written in part because the experts have learned so much about what children need in their early years that doesn't get communicated. And I want more and more people to know about the importance of talking to babies when they're so tiny that they can hardly see you. Or taking the time to



really spend with children at every stage of their development. Or, you know, knowing what it takes to find good child care when you're in the market for it.

Those are things experts talk about with themselves, but a lot of us who are parents or concerned citizens may not know that.

Q One of the controversial parts of your book has to do with health care. Do you remember health care?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, I do, very well.

Q You speak of Medicare for older people, and you want it for children. You want universal health care for children. But people are going to say, "Where are we going to get the money?" Federally funded? I mean, this is just what we're trying to get away from."

MRS. CLINTON: Well, there are many ways of doing it. It doesn't necessarily have to be federally funded alone. It can be through the place of employment. It can be through making insurance affordable for people working at low incomes, who want to have that protection. There are many ways we can do it.

But to me the goal should be that instead of having more and more children from working families uninsured, we should be reversing that and insuring more and more of our children every year.

Q Is it very, very expensive?

MRS. CLINTON: No.

Q I mean, is it really going to be one of these major items in the budget?

MRS. CLINTON: No, it's not very expensive. In fact, most of the countries we compete with -- the rich, advanced economies around the world -- already do provide universal coverage for everyone at a lesser cost than we have. And they're always people who will be able to get more than what is provided for everyone. But at least they provide the security that I think every parent should have when it comes to their children.

Q You not only want universal health care, you want federally funded, or funded, early education -- Head Start. You want funding for proper day care.

MRS. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

Q You seem to be swimming against the tide. You know, all we hear about is less government, less money; you're saying just the opposite.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, that's because I think the



T 002223

tide is not going in the right direction. I think we are causing ourselves a lot of problems because we are not doing what it takes to support families -- and I mean hold them accountable, hold them responsible. I believe strongly in marriage. I think that divorce should be harder for people with children. I want people to take responsibility for themselves and their kids.

But at the same time, I'm out there. I know how hard it is for most Americans right now. You know, I have visited Malin (ph.) County Day Care Center in Iowa, for example. And I have shaken the hands of parents who are unemployed -- they're going back to get job training, they're desperately trying to get off welfare, they've been divorced and left with no child support. They don't have a

MORE


T 002224

place to put their child that is safe and good unless it can be subsidized.

So, for me, this is going in the right direction, because in the long run it is cheaper than prisons, it is cheaper than violence, it is cheaper than tearing at the quality of our life together.

Q What do you think of Newt Gingrich?

MRS. CLINTON: I think he's a very intelligent man who has a mission that he is on to accomplish. And I just disagree with many tenets of that. But, more importantly, the President has stood up against many elements of the Gingrich agenda for America that would really eliminate the safety net for the poor and the vulnerable, and would so radically alter Medicare that it would not be there for many older people in the future.

Q You can do the things you talk about, federal funding for education, early education and insurance and proper day care, and balance a budget?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely. You know, the budget that the President just proposed -- a seven-year, balanced budget using the Congressional Budget Office figures -- invests in education; invests in environmental protection; continues our investments in programs like Head Start and school lunch, which we think are important; and still balances the budget.

Q Let's talk about some of the social issues -- one parent. More and more parents are becoming the one parent, sometimes by choice, sometimes because they're very young and get pregnant. And you have said that this is -- children who have one parent are two to three times as likely to have emotional and behavioral problems as children living in two-parent families; more likely to drop out of school, get pregnant, et cetera. And remarriage of their parents doesn't seem to better the odds.

What's your solution to the one-parent dilemma?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think the first thing we have to do is be honest about what's happening to children. Now, there are exceptions -- we both know that, everyone does. But in general what you've just recited from my book is the case, that we need more parents to both get married and stay married in order to support children.

There will always be exceptions. I write about my mother-in-law, who endured, I think, violence and abuse that should have led to a divorce. But in many instances

MORE



today it is not that extreme a case. And I think we ought to do a little more both to help parents stay together; but if it's inevitable that they are going to divorce, to provide education and counseling so that they don't let their problems affect their children.

Q Something just popped into my mind -- "Murphy Brown." Remember Dan Quayle, when he said that "Murphy Brown" glorified the one parent family? And we see a lot of this on television and in films. How do you feel about it?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I have a general concern about television and films because I do think -- and I also write about this -- that we are paying too much attention to the exception, to the dysfunctional. And we need to be more focussed on what is life like for the average American?

And there are single parents. So I don't think we should be condemning single parents. I don't think we should be, you know, holding them up and saying that they're terrible people. That is absolutely wrong. Instead what we ought to do is to say, first of all, how can we help marriages survive? But if we can't, how do we help single parents survive?

Q How?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think we can do a lot of things. One is a minimum wage increase. And that is very important because many, many of the people who support families on minimum wages are single parents -- mostly women. We also can make it more likely that single parents will have the kind of health insurance that their children deserve to have, through their workplace or through a system they could buy into.

Day care is a terrible problem for a lot of single parents without family support nearby. You know, one of the things that I discovered in writing the book is that, you know, many, many of our single parents work nights, work weekends, and child care is not usually available. And we don't think about the price that they pay for that.

Q In some areas you're very conservative -- divorce -- and you feel that there should be a waiting period before people get divorced.

MRS. CLINTON: With children.

Q With children.

MRS. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

Q And then in your book you weave in your own personal experiences. And you say, "My strong feelings about divorce and its effect on children have caused me to bite my tongue more than a few times during my own marriage."

MRS. CLINTON: Right.

Q When? Why?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, all the time.

Q Oh, I can't wait to hear.

MRS. CLINTON: I think any couple --

Q You've considered divorce?

MRS. CLINTON: No, never a divorce. But certainly I have thought hard about how a situation can escalate out of hand. You know, the argument that never ends, or the problem that you allow to fester instead of dealing with it. And I have found in my own marriage -- and certainly in the marriages of my friends that have been long lasting, we celebrated our 20th anniversary last year -- that it's a -- not a 50-50 proposition, it's 100-100. You have to really be committed to it, and you have to be willing to make compromises and to bite that tongue from time to time.

But particularly when children are involved, I think it's what mature people who care about their marriage and their children should try to do.

Q To make that marriage last, almost no matter what?

MRS. CLINTON: At least during the childhood of those children, yes.

Q You've heard the expression, "Murder yes, divorce no"?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, yes, I have. (Laughter.)

Q Did that ever apply to you?

MRS. CLINTON: No, but maybe short of that. I've had -- you know, just like all of us, we've had our ups and our downs, but it's been such a great commitment for us, and I think having Chelsea made it even stronger.

Q I want to talk a little bit about Chelsea. She's going to be 16 next month.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, she is.

Q You've kept her out of the press, and the press has been really pretty good about it.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes.

Q But she'll be going off to college. Tell us just a little bit about her. What is she interested in? What do you think she wants to do?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, she is still very interested in ballet. And she loves school. She has great friends. Right now she wants to learn to drive and get a driver's license, which is something I'm living in fear and trembling of. But her father -- which is very scary -- is teaching her how to drive, so they're having a good time.

Q Well, there goes that relationship.

MRS. CLINTON: You know, we were up at Camp David, and for months she had been saying, well, you know, come on, I really want to learn how to drive. So he went out with her and they were gone for about two hours. They had the best time. And all of us were just laughing -- you know, just within the compound. They were doing everything -- from parallel parking to backing up. When I came back, I said, well, how did it go? How did it go? She said, well I think Dad learned a lot. (Laughter.) So they really have a good time.

But she'll be looking at college, and I'm just not looking forward to that myself. I will miss her so much.

Q You sound like every mother.

MRS. CLINTON: I know. It's just -- when I think about my mother tell me that when she dropped me off at college, she crawled in the back seat of the car and cried all the way home. I'm afraid I'm not going to be much better.

Q You write that you hope teenagers would abstain from sex until they're 21, and that your for sex education in the schools and sex education at home. I think parents might like to know what you've told Chelsea about birth control and contraception.

MRS. CLINTON: From the time she was a very little girl, we have talked about your body and the

MORE



respect it deserves; not to put things in it -- whether it's drugs or tobacco or alcohol that could hurt your growing up; to be respectful of your body. And that started from the very earliest years. I had some very wise advice from a pediatrician who said -- she had heard so many parents complain that they didn't want their children learning about this from somebody else, but they didn't take the time to do it themselves. And it is a little discomfoting. I'm not saying that these were easy conversations. But I did them, and so did Bill. And so --

Q Your husband, the President, talked to her about --

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely.

Q -- about sex?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. Just -- you know, trying very hard to make it not some forbidden taboo subject, but something that's a part of life and growing up. And then as she got older, to point out the consequences -- you know, sexually transmitted diseases, unintended pregnancy, the kind of terrible dilemma that nobody should have to face about abortion. Those are the things that I think we need to talk with our kids about. And if parents don't feel comfortable doing it, then at church or at school there need to be responsible adults who will answer their questions honestly.

Q At what age?

MRS. CLINTON: I think there is a way of talking about it all the way up. I don't think you should wait until they're teenagers, because they are bombarded with messages about sex from the movies and television and their music. And if we don't give them some other ways of thinking about it and being responsible about it, they will pick up information elsewhere.

Q Let's not use Chelsea as an example, but if you had a teenager daughter who became pregnant and wanted to have an abortion, not have the baby, would you support it?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, gosh, I just even can't imagine that decision. I would do whatever I could to support her. And it would be a terrible decision. I can't even really think about that. I hope that nobody I know ever has to. And I think it is so tragic when that is the choice. And we can avoid that being the choice if children are given good, responsible information and ability to say no at an earlier age.

Q Do you feel that a parent should be notified if an underage daughter wants to have an abortion?

MRS. CLINTON: I believe in parental notification. I think there are exceptions. Sometimes the young girls -- 12, 13, 14 -- are pregnant because of sexual abuse from people they know -- older men who are either in their homes or in some way connected with their homes. A recent study has shown that these young teenage mothers are not usually willing participants. They may be overwhelmed. They may not know what they're getting themselves into. So there are situations in which the family is so dysfunctional that parental notification is not appropriate. But in general I do believe. I think that families should be part of helping their children through this.

Q At the end of your book, you quote a noted psychologist as saying, "The present state of children and families in the U.S. represents the greatest domestic problem our nation has faced since the founding of the republic." That's pretty strong words. If your husband is reelected, what will you personally do about this? How will you follow up with the suggestions that are made in this book?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, one thing I'll do is try to talk as much as possible about it, which is why I appreciate this opportunity, because I don't really want people necessarily to agree with me, but I want the state of our children to be the national conversation. And then when it comes to specific issues, whether it is health care or education, there are in every part of our country people who have figured out how to make our systems work. There are schools in the worst neighborhoods in America that are giving kids a sense of discipline and character and turning out good, qualified academic students. Why don't we learn from that? What prevents us from seeing what works right under our own noses?

Q Well, will you have a commission? Will you try to do specific things?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, I do -- I want to have a conference this spring bringing together many of the people I talk about in the book -- those who are actually on the front lines doing the work -- so that we can get even more visibility for what they're doing so that more people can know that, you know, gee, there's a program in San Antonio, Texas, that is really making a big difference in how parents behave. Let's find out about that. Let's bring it home. It's that kind of grass roots information that I'm most interested in.



Q If you're First Lady for another four years, will health care again be your number one priority? And will you do it differently?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, health care was part of my priority for children. I was asked to do it by my husband, and I was glad to do it, because I had been on the board of a children's hospital. I had been involved in a lot of situations looking at infant mortality and other problems of children's health. So I felt very strongly about that. Now, certainly we would do it differently because the particular approach that the President took was not acceptable to people. So --

Q -- that you took.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. It was my advocacy of the President's plan. And I really did think it would make a difference and would help people, but that was not to be. So I think we still need to make some basic reforms. I think insurance should be portable. People should be able to take it with them. I don't think we should be eliminating people from health care because of preexisting conditions. Those are some of the things that I would like to see worked on.

Q And people think you have changed your image.

MRS. CLINTON: (Laughter.) Well, it's what I've been doing for 25 years. And it's what I care most about.

Q Well, let's talk about some of the things that are so much in the news this week -- the Travel Office. Last week, a 1993 memo by a former White House aide, David Watkins, was made public in which he says that you were responsible for the firing of seven people in the White House Travel Office because you wanted to have an Arkansas travel agency take its place. And there would have been nothing illegal about your doing that. But you have said you had no idea how the decision was made and that you had nothing to do with it. Is he lying?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think what is fair to say is that I did voice concern about the financial mismanagement that was discovered when the President arrived here in the White House Travel Office. I think that everyone who knew about it was quite concerned and wanted it to be taken care of. And, indeed, the financial mismanagement, which was proven by a big six accounting firm, led to changes. And I can assure people that now that Travel Office is run by appropriate accounting standards.

But I did not make the decisions. I did not direct anyone to make the decisions. But I have absolutely no doubt that I did express concern, because I was concerned about any kind of financial mismanagement.

Q So is it a question of how much concern? I mean, when you say you had nothing to do with it, and he says you had everything to do with it, he's either not telling the truth or it's a misinterpretation -- where are we?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think -- I don't know, because I'm not aware exactly of what led him to say that. But certain Mack McLarty, who was the Chief of Staff, took responsibility for the decisions; has said very clearly, I did not tell him to do anything; he made the decisions. But he did it in consultation with many people whose advice he sought, whose concern he listened to. So I think that's something that I'll have to let someone else explain.

Q You see, the picture that's coming out is of this domineering First Lady. You know that. And in his memo he refers to an earlier incident in which he said you'd been furious over his failure to transfer certain Secret Service agencies. He says he feared any delay in firing the Travel Office members would not have been tolerated by you. He said there would be hell to pay.

What was this Secret Service incident?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I'm not sure what David Watkins is talking about. I can tell you what I was concerned about -- and, again, expressed it. There had been some stories that were in the press attributed to Secret Service agents --

Q That you had thrown a lamp or a Bible at your husband --

MRS. CLINTON: -- or a bible or a Mercedes Benz or -- you know, there were many variations on it. And when I read stories in the tabloids saying that I've had an alien baby from outer space, I think that is kind of funny and laugh it off. But when stories like that get into what I consider to be respectable journalism, it does bother me. And it particularly bothered me that the Secret Service was being used to try to substantiate untrue stories, and I couldn't understand that. So I was concerned about it and expressed that concern.

Q Did you ask to have certain Secret Service members put in another detail?

MRS. CLINTON: No. I wanted the situation

MORE



cleared up, because -- both for the Secret Service's sake, which is, after all, charged with a very difficult task. And we have a great relationship with them. But also for my sake. I mean, you know, I have a pretty good arm. If I'd thrown a lamp at somebody, I think you would have known about it. And when those things are said, I just don't want that to get a life of its own.

Q So you wanted the situation controlled or

--

MRS. CLINTON: I want --

Q -- use your words.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I wanted, for example, the Secret Service to be able to say that didn't happen -- you know, to try to get it clarified.

Q Did they?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, yes, those stories stopped. I think it was part of the understandable change and people trying to make up stuff just to cause a little trouble.

Q Did you ever throw a lamp at your husband?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I didn't.

Q Did you ever throw a Bible at your husband?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I didn't.

Q Do you have a terrible temper?

MRS. CLINTON: No, but I do get angry about things. I'm not going to deny that. There are things that I think are wrong or things that I think should be fixed. And I am not at all shy about expressing my opinion. I try to be a direct person. But I don't tell people what to do. I say, here's what I think, and I'm concerned about this. But there are many decisions that people make in the course of a day that I don't even know about, and I get some responsibility assigned for.

Q Let's go on to the Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, from which you did some legal work. There is a dispute as to how much work you did for the Madison Guaranty. You have said it was minimal.

MRS. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

Q Investigators say you had a more involved relationship.

MORE


T 002233

Mrs. Clinton, I think most people don't understand it, they don't care how much you billed or how much money you made. But what they do think is, were you aware of any shady practices or actual wrongdoing on the part of this savings and loan for which you did legal work?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely not.

Q You did not?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely not.

Q Even in their real estate deals?

MRS. CLINTON: No, absolutely not. And, in fact, this whole matter originated because of this Whitewater land deal. And we said when that came up that this was a failed real estate transaction -- about 20 years ago now -- where we lost money. And people said, well, prove it. So we proved that. Then they said, well, okay, how about this. The person you were in business with also later bought a savings and loan.

Q Mr. McDougal?

MRS. CLINTON: Mr. McDougal. Did you get money from that savings and loan? Was the money channeled to you? We said, absolutely not.

Q Did it go towards the President's campaign?

MRS. CLINTON: Right. Absolutely not. And, in fact, an independent study that has been done for the Resolution --

Q Trust --

MRS. CLINTON: -- Trust Corporation, the RTC, by an independent law firm, has looked at that Whitewater and Madison matter and said, indeed, what we said three and four years ago was the case.

Q But they didn't have the billing records that they now have.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, but that is not really the issue. You know, a month ago people were jumping up and down because the billing records were lost, and they thought somebody might have destroyed them. Now the records are found, and they're jumping up and down. But I'm glad the records were found. I wish they had been found a year or two ago because they verify what I've been saying from the very beginning. I worked about an hour a

MORE


T 002234

week for 15 months. That was not a lot of work, for me, certainly.

Q You never knew the Madison Guaranty was doing anything illegal, corrupt, et cetera, as it was later found to be?

MRS. CLINTON: No, absolutely not. And, in fact, you know, there was a trial -- Mr. McDougal was tried back in '87, '88, '89, somewhere in there, and acquitted of charges. So these are yet another branch of charges being brought against him that we have absolutely nothing to do with.

Q One of the fraudulent loans of Madison Guaranty, which has gotten suddenly a lot of attention, is something called Castle Grande. In the sworn statement you said you had no memory of working on Castle Grande.

MRS. CLINTON: That's right.

Q But these billing records show you made 14 to 16 phone calls to one of the major participants, a man named Seth Ward, and also drew up documents connected with Castle Grande. The big thing about this, again, to most people is, again, a contradiction.

MRS. CLINTON: And there's not a contradiction. Castle Grande was a trailer park on a piece of property that was about a thousand acres big. I never did work for Castle Grande. Never at all. And so when I was asked about it last year, I didn't recognize it, I didn't remember it. The billing records show I did not do work for Castle Grande. I did work for something called IDC, which was not related to Castle Grande.

Q Was that Seth --

MRS. CLINTON: And Seth Ward was involved in that on behalf --

Q Separate deal?

MRS. CLINTON: Separate deal completely. So, you know, we've asked Mr. D'Amato, tell us what the inconsistencies are. I mean, any time we've been accused of something, eventually we have proven that it was a dry hole, that it was just another in the string of accusations. And we will do the same with these.

Q Mrs. Clinton, while we are clearing up rumors, you know there is the reoccurring rumor about you and Vince Foster. What was your relationship with him?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, he was one of my dearest

MORE



friends, Barbara. He was a colleague. He was a partner. He'd been a friend of my husband since they were boys of 4 or 5 years of age. And I miss him. I miss him very much. And everyone who knew him, as Bill and I did, knew that he was one of the finest men, one of the best lawyers, one of the greatest friends you could have. And I just wish he could be left in peace, because he was a wonderful man to everyone who knew him.

Q You know, there is in this whole business after his suicide of whether you tried to have records removed or have them examined before they were shown to the Justice Department. And you have said that you did nothing to impede the investigation into his death, had no concern over access to the documents in his office.

But then there were these blizzard of phone calls -- you were in Arkansas visiting your mother -- from the Chief of Staff, Maggie Williams, and the White House Counsel, Bernard Nussbaum, from your close friend Susan Thomases. Phone calls, back and forth, back and forth -- more, perhaps, than would be considered apparent in a state of grief.

And when Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Thomases testified before the Senate Committee, they keep saying they can't remember. So, again, it all seems very mysterious, and it looks as if you had something to cover up.

MRS. CLINTON: You know, I want to be very clear about this.

Q Okay.

MRS. CLINTON: There were no documents taken out of Vince Foster's office on the night he died. And I did not direct anyone to interfere in any investigation. I know very well what we were talking about. We were grieving. We were supporting each other. I was asking questions about how other people who were close friends and colleagues of Vince were doing, how his family were doing. I wanted to be sure that the President was all right because I was in Arkansas, he was in Washington.

Susan had known Vince for, by then probably 15 or 16 years. Maggie had become a very close friend and colleague of Vince during the time they were in the White House together. They were both overwhelmed by grief. And some of those phone conversations consisted of us sobbing on the phone.

I'm very sad that people would take a moment that had never happened in the White House before -- no one was prepared for this. I hope to goodness it never

MORE


T 002236

happens to anyone else. Because, certainly, mistakes were made. People were running around trying to stay busy, trying to do things, trying to, you know, be helpful in some way. And maybe, you know, they acted in ways that later people said, oh, they shouldn't have done that.

But I don't know anyone who was prepared for such a tragedy. And everybody coped the best way they could. And talking to people that you had known -- I've known Maggie Williams for 15, 16, 17 years. We're not just colleagues, we're very dear friends. And so, for me, I don't know how other people grieve, but I do it both alone and I do it by talking to people who share my grief.

Q And nothing was taken from Vince Foster's office that you asked to have looked over, kept from the eyes of the government?

MRS. CLINTON: I didn't even know he had documents of mine in his office. So that doesn't make any sense at all.

Q You know, on the one hand, the fact that these two records -- the billing records and the travel memo -- come up this week is certainly not something you could have wanted when you're trying to publicize a book.

MRS. CLINTON: That's true.

Q Senator D'Amato implied that it happened because they were going to find these records anyway. But some people may wonder, this is not grandma's attic. This is the White House. These were found in your personal records. And --

MRS. CLINTON: Well, one of them was. Not the other one. But one of them was.

Q Mrs. Clinton, the fact that both the billing of your records, your legal records and the Watkins memo should come to light this week when you want to talk about a book is certainly not something you would have wanted. Right?

MRS. CLINTON: That's right. Absolutely.

Q Although Senator D'Amato says, implies that they were going to be found anyway and that's why you had to release them. But the White House is not grandma's attic. And for two years people have been looking for these records. They were in your personal effects. I mean, one wonders why they were just found now.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, one of them was.

Q What does it look like up there with your records?

MRS. CLINTON: It is a mess. I mean, that is something that --

Q That's hard to understand.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I know nothing about the Watkins memo. I, to this day, don't know where it was found or under what circumstances. But I think people do need to understand that there are millions of pieces of paper in the White House. And for more than two years now, people have been diligently searching. I can only speak for our stuff, which arrived in boxes and has been stacked up and has been gone through. But, you know, it's something that I can't explain because I wasn't part of finding it, didn't even know it was there.

But I am glad it was found. I keep trying to say -- you know, it's so strange when people are saying, oh, my gosh, first they didn't find it; now they found it. But when you have so many inquiries coming at you from so many different directions; when we have turned over, I think, 50,000 pieces of paper; when everybody who's looked at this with any objective eye says, you know, there's no there there, and they keep answering the questions that are asked. We will keep cooperating and do the very best we can.

Q What do you think of Senator D'Amato?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know him.

Q Why don't you just go up to Capitol Hill and talk to the Senate Committee yourself and get this all over with?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, we'll cooperate. And we'll do whatever is necessary. There is nobody who wants this over more than I do. I really want it to be finished with.

Q Do you want to go before Senator D'Amato's committee?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't have a desire in it. I just want to do whatever it takes to cooperate, to bring this matter to an end.

Q And if it takes your going and testifying yourself, you'll go?

MRS. CLINTON: I'll do whatever it takes to cooperate.

MORE



Q You know, the whole business, the people in this country are either confused or they don't care about Whitewater. But there's a feeling that you and your husband are trying to cover something up. You know that.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I know.

Q I mean, you look -- it looks guilty. Even the Republican National Chairman said, they didn't do anything, but they look so guilty.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I don't know that we look guilty. But we sure have looked for kind of funny because we've not been able to answer questions. In part, these things happened 15, 20 years ago. They were not that important to us at the time. We didn't do anything wrong. There was no reason for us to have remembered most of this. So to be asked, did you lose money? We 5

Gosh, I don't remember,

And we scramble around. I mean, it is a very unfortunate set of circumstances. But there isn't any way to anticipate the questions that are going to be asked next. But we do the best we can, and we'll just keep on doing it. At the end of the day, the American people will know we have nothing to cover up. There is nothing that we have done that should be of any concern to anyone. We've tried, maybe not as smartly as we could have, to answer people's questions. But we'll keep doing the best we know how.

Q I have a tough question to ask you.

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, dear. All your questions --

Q Do you think that you're becoming more of a negative than a positive force for your husband? Are you becoming a political liability?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I hope not. Because I love my husband and I really believe in what he's doing and I want to help him. But I have campaigned with him for -- you know, gosh, ever since I've known him, so many years now. And through 20 years of marriage, we've been out there and I've been supporting him. And I'm going to do the same thing in this upcoming election.

Q What advice, if any, has your husband been giving you this week?



MRS. CLINTON: Oh, not to get down; don't let it bother you; we'll get through this; it's the same old stuff, but, you know, people will see that there's nothing to this either. And he keeps saying, you know, these questions that were asked three years now have been answered in this RTC study by this big law firm. And nobody knows about it because nobody has focussed on the fact that what we have said has been proven accurate because there's always a new front being opened. There's always more questions being asked. So he's just basically kind of, you know, bucked me up.

Q "Chin up, honey"?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely.

Q Does he call you "honey"?

MRS. CLINTON: He does. Yeah, he does. He calls me "Hiry."

Q He calls you what?

MRS. CLINTON: Hiry. I don't know. That's H-i-r-y, the best I can spell it.

Q Did you ever ask him why?

MRS. CLINTON: Well --

Q That may be the news that comes out of this whole interview.

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know. It just started when -- a long time ago.

Q Hiry, well --

MRS. CLINTON: Hiry, short for "Hillary."

Q That's short -- it's like baby talk for Hillary.

MRS. CLINTON: Yeah.

Q I want to get back to the book, and one section seems especially appropriate after all of this. You write about people pigeon-holing people, especially women and men. Do you think the American people are ready yet to have a First Lady who has strong opinions and an agenda?

MRS. CLINTON: I think so. I think some are, and some aren't. And I believe that this has been a learning experience for me, coming here and not really

MORE



understanding all the expectations that people sort of put on this role. I think the American people want the people who live in this house to care about them, to care about their problems, and not to get caught up in just the back-and-forth of, you know, Washington insider politics.

And so if we can get that message out, that indeed that's what the President is standing up for, that's what I've always tried to speak for, I think that's the kind of activity that most Americans would approve of.

Q A close friend of yours told me that at one point when the President was maybe thinking of running for President and maybe not, you considered running for governor of Arkansas yourself. Did you?

MRS. CLINTON: No. But I did have people come to me and ask me to consider it. And I was flattered, but it's not anything I've considered seriously.

Q If the President is reelected, at the end of his second term, you will only be 54. Can you imagine --

MRS. CLINTON: My gosh.

Q To you that sounds old, to some of us it doesn't. Can you imagine running for political office yourself?

MRS. CLINTON: No.

Q Why not?

MRS. CLINTON: You know, I care deeply about what happens in our country, and I think there are lots of ways to serve --

Q Yeah, but I mean, what don't you have that your husband has? Why couldn't you be --

MRS. CLINTON: Well, it's just not anything that has been --

Q That you want?

MRS. CLINTON: -- on my wish list. I really enjoy supporting him, and I enjoy politics because I think it's so important. I want to see people care more again about politics, not be so cynical, because most of the people that I know -- whether or not I agree with them -- are honestly trying to do the right thing. And many Americans don't believe that anymore.

Q What's the greatest difference in this, the White House, that you and your husband just did not expect?

MRS. CLINTON: I think probably the difficulty in getting a chance to communicate directly with people. It's very isolating here. And your words go through so many different layers. And it is hard not to feel that there's some barriers between you and even your friends of long standing. You can't get in your car. You can't go to the supermarket. You can't just show up at a friend's house for a dinner party. Everything becomes so formal. And that has been very difficult for us.

Q I always ask what's the biggest misconception, or any misconception you want to clear up. Is there one?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think this whole set of charges and counter-charges about who I am and what I do bear no resemblance to reality. And I have a lot of faith in the American people and in their basic fairmindedness. So what keeps me going when I'm getting, you know, accused of X, Y, or Z, is to know, number one, it's not true, and, number two, eventually people will know that as well.

Q There is a nursery rhyme in your book. You know the one I'm talking about?

MRS. CLINTON: I think I do, yes.

Q I could say it, but you say it.

MRS. CLINTON: This is one of my favorites from when I used to read to Chelsea: "As I was standing in the street, as quiet as could be, a great big ugly man came up and tied his horse to me." You know, I've always loved that, because in every person's life the unexpected, the disappointing, the hardship, it always comes. None of us has a clear sail through life. We all have problems, and sometimes we don't even know where they're coming from or why they're happening. And it's really a challenge to just kind of keep going every single day.

Q Your first year in the White House, you lost your father.

MRS. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

Q Vince Foster's suicide.

MRS. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

Q Your mother-in-law's death soon after.

MRS. CLINTON: Right.

Q Now all of this. What do you say to yourself? How do you keep going?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, 1993 was a very hard year, personally, for Bill and me, because of those deaths. And we do a lot of praying and talking together. We give each other a lot of personal support. I have found that that's more important here than anywhere we've ever been before. I also read a lot and look for guidance from people. Sometimes I read about the women who were here before me and all of the problems they encountered and the issues they had to face. And sometimes it might be, oh, like the story I tell in the book about coming across this wonderful line in a telling of the prodigal son, called "Practicing the Discipline of Gratitude," you know, being grateful for what we have.

We are such lucky people, not only Bill Clinton and me, but we Americans. And despite all of our problems, we have so many blessings. And, you know, that's what gets us up and going nearly every single day.

Q You're a very spiritual person, according to the book.

MRS. CLINTON: I care deeply about my spiritual growth and try very hard to keep doing what I can to learn more, to become a better person.

Q Tell me your greatest accomplishment since you've been here, and your greatest disappointment.

MRS. CLINTON: I think my greatest accomplishment is finally being able to feel that this is an experience that I'm enjoying, that is comfortable for me, to give my daughter the kind of opportunity to have as normal a life as possible, and to have our family life be as rich and fulfilling as it is. That doesn't make headlines, but for me personally the time we get to spend together and the way we each have supported one another during all these difficulties, that's the greatest accomplishment. That's what makes me happy.

Q Disappointment?

MRS. CLINTON: Disappointment, I think that I didn't know more before I got here about how I could have done a better job from the very beginning. I really do think that there could have been some different ways of pursuing health care that might have -- I'm not saying it would have, because it's such a political issue, and Harry Truman, everybody who has tried to provide health care has gotten in trouble with it politically -- but I think I

could have done some things differently. And I just could have known more. I could have been better prepared for what I was getting into -- not that I would have been fully prepared. There is nothing that prepares you for this experience, but I think I could have avoided some of the mistakes I made.

Q If you talked to more people or --

MRS. CLINTON: Yeah, I think that, you know, the campaign was so hard. It took so much out of us. We didn't take any time off. We immediately had to, you know, pack up a house, and do everything that you have to do to get moved. And then shortly after the inauguration, we started dealing with the family stresses and

MORE


T 002244

problems of my father's death and the like. So there were lots of real challenges that year.

Q Thank you for giving us all this time and allowing us to go through all the questions that are on people's minds, Mrs. Clinton. We appreciate it.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much.

END



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Internal Use Only

Monday, January 15, 1996

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
CONDUCTED BY JANE FULLERTON
ARKANSAS GAZETTE

(Inaudible.)

Q Well, let's go ahead -- since we've got a lot to do, let's go ahead and get the -- let's get the Whitewater out of the way, so we can get on to the book after that.

MRS. CLINTON: Okay.

Q Let's start by talking about the billing records and some of the questions from that, and then questions about the Castle Grande development.

MRS. CLINTON: Right. Right.

Q And the fact that there were approximately 14 conversations or discussions between yourself and Mr. Ward. Can you tell me just what it was that you talked about during those conversations?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, let me start by clarifying something. Castle Grande refers to a trailer park on a much larger piece of property. I never did any work for Castle Grande, and, so far as the building records show, neither did the Rose Law Firm. So when people ask about Castle Grande, I know nothing about Castle Grande, and the appropriate questions are about what the Rose firm did on behalf of what we called IDC, which was the Industrial Development Corporation, which was the big purchase of land that was done.

Now, I have very little that I can tell you that I remember, independent from what the billing records say, because I don't. It was not a very big matter for me. There were many other things I was working on at the same time, not only at the Rose firm, but, you know, as a volunteer and advocate, working at the governor's mansion, and the like.

MORE



T 002246

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

What the billing records suggest is that there were numerous conversations and work that was done concerning an option that was being considered. I don't know much more about it than that.

Q Did you help to draft the option?

MRS. CLINTON: I had something to do with the option, based on the time records, but I do not, at this time, know exactly what I did. I cannot tell you that. I can only tell you what the time records show, which is that I had something to do with it. I think it is unlikely that I would have drafted it, plus done everything else, in the two-hour period in which the work is referenced, but that's all I can tell you, and that's based on looking at the time records, which -- before they appeared, I had no independent memory of that.

I also supervised some legal research on issues like whether there could be a -- as I recall, a brewery -- on that property, how they were going to get sewer and utility services. But the only way I can tell you that is because I have now seen those billing records.

Q What about the conversations with Mr. Ward? Do you recall what you discussed during those at all?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I don't. I assume it was about things like the brewery and utilities and this option, and that's all I can tell you.

Q When you talk about the fact that you worked on the IDC property, can you be more specific at all in terms of what you did on that, as opposed to what people are calling Castle Grande?

MRS. CLINTON: I can only refer you to the billing records. That's the only information that I have. And they speak for themselves, insofar as they are able to, but I'm doing the best I can to answer questions about something that happened 10 and 11 years ago that -- even though I have a pretty good memory, I do not have total recall, particularly about events that were not very meaningful to me at the time, and this was one of many, many things I did in the course of my days, my weeks, my months, that didn't make any lasting impression on me. And that's all I can tell you.

MORE



T 002247

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

Q Now, the RTC ended up criticizing that particular deal, between Madison and Mr. Ward, pretty significantly, and some of the Republicans on the Whitewater committee have insinuated that you, as an attorney, since you had an affiliation with that agreement, in some way may have fault for what the RTC ended up criticizing. How do you respond to that?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I don't know how to respond to that. I think it's something we'll just have to leave for people to make up their own minds. I've told you all that I know that I did, and I have nothing further to add.

Q Let me ask you, on kind of a different angle -- Senator D'Amato has accused some of your staff and friends of being somewhat less than forthcoming in their testimony, and I'm just curious what you think of their testimony and the fact that he has -- I think you could characterize it as threatened them -- with perjury charges. Just what do you think of that potential out there, for them?

MRS. CLINTON: I think there's no basis for that. I think it's more of the political grandstanding we've seen out of that committee. I want to be very clear about this. No documents were taken out of Mr. Foster's office the night that he died. Maggie Williams has passed two independent lie-detector tests -- one, I think, was conducted by the FBI -- verifying her story. I did not direct anyone to interfere in any investigation.

But I don't find it unusual that, in the wake of shock and trauma and tragedy, people could not tick off, with perfect recall, exactly what they said, when, to whom. I know perfectly well what I was talking about with them and others of my friends during that very painful time. We were talking about how this could have happened, how Vince's family was holding up, our own personal grief. You know, there were times when people, including, you know, members of my staff -- when one or the other of us was crying on the phone.

So I know exactly what we were talking about. I cannot tell you what I said, when. And I also know what we were not talking about. We were not talking about documents or anything other than how we felt about this unbelievable occurrence.

MORE



Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

Q Now I'm going to ask you -- I know you've been asked this question before, but I'm going to go ahead and ask it again. Couldn't you just go ahead and clear up a lot of these questions, and maybe keep your staff and some of your friends from having to appear again, if you just went up and voluntarily testified before the committee, or held a news conference, something in a public forum, along those lines? Is that something you would consider?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I am speaking out very frequently. I am going to answer every question anybody poses to me, in as many different ways as I can, and I will cooperate, as I have, in every way possible, with anyone who is trying to get to the truth of this matter.

Nobody wants this over with more than I do. So I will continue to do everything that I can to try to bring this to a close.

Q So would you rule out the concept of testifying before D'Amato's Whitewater committee?

MRS. CLINTON: I'll do whatever I can to cooperate.

Q On a different topic, let me ask you about Mr. Watkins' memo. In that memo, he characterizes the White House -- he characterizes you as a driving force in the Travel Office firings, and as staff members being frightened of you. Can you tell me, why would he make that kind of a characterization if it weren't true?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think you have to ask him, and he'll have a chance to speak for himself. I think that it's well known -- and I have said for a number of years now -- that I did express concern about the reports of financial mismanagement in the White House Travel Office, and that an independent accounting firm found that there was cause for people to be concerned, and action was taken. But I did not direct the action, and Mr. Watkins' memo does not say I directed any action.

But I also think it's fair to say that there is something about being in the White House that does magnify people's words, so that, if my husband says, for example, he likes bananas, all of a sudden, everywhere he goes, there are bunches of bananas. He doesn't -- you know, that's something we've had to learn, being here, and it is one of the lessons

MORE



T 002249

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

that we've learned. So that my very expression of concern, which is what it was, could be heard differently, third-, fourth-, fifth-, sixth-hand. And, since Mr. Watkins doesn't say I ever told him to do anything, but it was just the impression that people had, I can't speak to that.

But I certainly do not in any way back off from saying that I did express concern, because I did.

Q I'm curious. When was the last time you or your husband was in contact with Mr. Watkins? What kind of relationship is there now?

MRS. CLINTON: I can't speak for my husband. I don't know that. But I haven't seen or talked to him for quite some time. I couldn't tell you exactly when.

Q He is just one of the many Arkansans who followed you -- you and your husband -- up here with high hopes for what was going to be done for the country, and a number of those people have met with controversy or some disappointment -- Mr. Watkins, Mr. Foster, Mr. Hubbell, Mr. (inaudible), and some of those people. How do you react to that, on the human level, kind of on a personal level, in terms of what has happened to some of those people who came with you to Washington?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, it saddens me greatly that anyone -- not only those of us from Arkansas, but anyone -- has had any difficulty. But I think the bigger and more important story for the country is how much has been accomplished and what important work many Arkansans have done in this administration. Look at the work James Lee Witt has done. It has been extraordinary. Bob Nash is now the head of personnel in the White House, and he's the first African American man ever to be an assistant to the president. He is performing, as you would expect, admirably.

I think, if you look at many of the other Arkansans, throughout the government, there is so much to be proud of, and that story doesn't get told, and I wish that the Democrat-Gazette would start profiling the many, many success stories of people from Arkansas who not only have done great jobs, but have contributed to the successes of this administration, because any fair reading of what has been done the last three years demonstrates that the president has accomplished much of what he set out to do, and

MORE



T 002250

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

he has also held the line against a lot of the efforts in the current Congress to turn the clock back on programs like Medicare and Medicaid, because he knows what life was like in Arkansas and how important that is for people.

So that, to me, is balanced against the sadness that you feel anytime people you know encounter trouble.

Q Let me ask just one more along these lines. The whole cumulative effect of all of this stuff has been to raise questions about your credibility with a lot of the people in the public, and now the timing of this is not only just as you are starting your book tour, but as the reelection campaign is getting ready to begin, as well. So, in essence, this time around, you have also become a character issue, so called, in the media. How do you respond to that, and how will that affect your campaign role, if at all?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't think it will affect my role at all. I think that much of this is politics as usual, and it's just more heated now that it's a presidential election year. I think that goes with the territory. It's not pleasant to live through. It is certainly regrettable for our political system that that has happened. You know, the president, I think, said the other day that there have been more than 40 hearings on Whitewater and only one on the future of Medicare.

So I understand that this is part and parcel of what happens in the political system today, but I'm going to talk about my book; I'm going to go and talk about the issues that I've worked on for more than 25 years, about children; I'm going to support my husband in his efforts to save Medicare and Medicaid and education and environmental investments we have. And I have a great deal of faith in the fundamental fairness of the American people. They will see this for what it is; they will make their own decisions about me as a person, about the president as a person and as a president.

So that's how I think this will play out over the next year.

Q So you see yourself taking the same kind of active role in the campaign that you have always done?

MORE



T 002251

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely. I believe strongly in all of the issues that the president is standing up for, and I will do whatever I can to help him.

Q Okay. Now we're all done with that. Let's talk about the book for a while.

MRS. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

Q Much of the -- let me start by asking this, though. Most of the attention, at least inside the Beltway, has focused on travel arrangements and who wrote the book and questions like that. That's got to be frustrating to you.

MRS. CLINTON: Yeah, but after you've been here a while -- you know, it took me about, oh, a year to figure out that this place is not like any other place, and so I now just have to accept that. I've learned a lot in the three years I've been here.

What's important is that this book is about what America should do for its children, and "it takes a village" is the idea that all of us have a role in helping to raise our children. That means we can mentor or tutor a child, or try to protect children from the violence and destructive behavior on the television that they see, or persuade businesses to be friendlier to families. And I just hope that this message, about children, gets out broadly to the American people, despite the storm over Whitewater, because these are the issues that, as a mother, as a woman, as a long-time volunteer and worker on behalf of children, and as a First Lady, that really matter to me and the people that I talk with.

So I have very little control over a lot of the other stuff that happens, but I can take every chance available to me to talk about, what should we do to better educate our children? What can parents do, starting tomorrow, in Little Rock or Blytheville or Fayetteville, to get their children better prepared for school? How can teachers bring out the best in each child and not just put them into cookie-cutter education formulas? What can we do to control the TV? Turn it off, for one thing; band together with other parents to protest programs that are destructive. There are many ideas in here that will work.

And so that's my biggest hope: that I can have a

MORE



T 002252

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

chance to talk about these ideas, so that other people can do what they can do to help our children.

Q A lot of the ideas that you talk about include a very substantial role for the government, in terms of health care, day care, Head Start, some of those kinds of programs. Given the current tenor of the time, sort of the anti-government mood, do you think that those are realistic proposals, that that's something that can actually happen?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think what's important about this book is that it is not a book about government. It is a book about families. It's a book about neighborhoods. It's a book about schools and churches. It's a book about the media. It's a book about businesses. It's a book about service. It's a book about all the different aspects of our lives together.

There is a role for government, but I think the debate over our children's future has been much too skewed toward what the government should or shouldn't do. Instead, we should ask what each of us can do. I do believe that every child, whether through private insurance or public insurance, should be insured for health care. Others disagree with that, but I believe it's important for children to be as healthy as possible.

But I also believe businesses should recognize that every business is a family business, and when they make decisions about their workers, they're making decisions about people who are also parents.

And there are many other institutions in our society. I think that the role of the government is necessarily limited, and what it does it should do well. That's what the president has been doing for the last three years. You know, my husband has lowered the size of the federal government to the smallest it's been in 35 years, and by the end of this year, without the Republican Congress doing anything, it will be the smallest it's been since the 1930s, because he knows that big government is not the answer, but that good, effective government, in partnership with families and with schools and with businesses and every other institution, is how we build the village that I think our children need.

Q You also talk about divorce and how it affects

MORE



Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

children in the book, and you told Barbara Walters that you had never considered divorce, despite ups and downs in your own marriage. But I'm curious. A lot of commentators have pointed out the fact that your husband has gotten more flak, so to speak, for keeping the marriage together than other politicians have gotten who have ended up divorced. Do you find a little irony in that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I don't want to speak for anybody else's perceptions, but I think that what's important is that we now face up to the evidence we have: that divorce is not good for children. There are situations where violence and abuse are present, where, as I say in the book, divorce should be considered, probably sooner instead of later. But most instances of divorce are not that kind of dramatic violence encountered.

And so, where children are involved, I believe couples should work as hard as they can to keep their marriages together. I think we should have what I call braking mechanisms in the law, so that couples have to attend education and counseling sessions to understand the impact of divorce on children. And, if divorce occurs, I would just hope that the adults would put the best interests of the children first.

You know, I know, from my own law practice over the years, that, you know, when people are caught up emotionally, as they are in a divorce, they may do things that are not in their children's best interest. They may try to turn their children against the other parent. They may try to use their children as bargaining chips in a support or property-distribution agreement. And I'm just begging people not to use their children in that way.

My wish would be that families would be intact and adults would be devoted to their children, and that divorce would be harder for families with children, but that, if divorce comes, it be done in a way that tries to minimize the damage to children.

Q Now let's talk about your own child for a minute, if we could. You all have really gone great lengths to protect her since she's been here in the White House. Do you feel pretty comfortable with the upbringing she's had during these first three years?

MORE



T 002254

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

MRS. CLINTON: That is one thing that I feel very grateful about: that we have been able to keep her out of the public eye, to be sure she could get a private life. And I think that's one of the most important things that we've been able to achieve in the last three years, and I'm very hopeful that we can keep it up for the rest of the time that we're here.

Q I know you talk about this some in the book, but can you discuss again just how she copes and how you help her to cope with some of these negative images, of yourself and your husband, that are portrayed out there in the media and by your critics?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, when she was about 6 and we knew that she would start reading and hearing things about politics, we thought it was important to bring her in as a participant in our lives and in her father's life in public service, so we began, around the dinner table at the governor's mansion, to try to explain to her how elections worked and tell her that sometimes people said mean things and, you know, made up stories about you, and that was all, unfortunately, part of being in public life these days.

And we even did little mock debates, where she would pretend to be her father. And I remember the first time we did this, and I said, "Well, Chelsea, if you were your daddy, what would you say?" She was 6 years old, and she said, "I'm Bill Clinton, and I try to help people, so please vote for me." I said, "Well, that's really good. Now your daddy's going to pretend to be somebody running against him." So Bill said, "Bill Clinton's a terrible person. He's a mean to people. You know, don't vote for him," and she got very upset, hearing even her father pretend to criticize himself.

So I was glad that we had begun this process in the privacy of our own home, to help prepare her for being the child of somebody in public life. It is not a fair experience for children to be basically turned into political pawns or for them to feel that they can't help their parents. And so I wanted her, you know, to know that these were things that were going to happen, and we would do our best to, you know, keep her informed and help her to deal with things.

Q Has she been able to deal with that as she's gotten older and things have gotten more negative?

MORE



T 002255

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. She is very knowledgeable about politics and about the games that are played and the partisanship that has taken over much of our political life.

Q Chelsea's going to be 16 next month.

MRS. CLINTON: Right. I know. Much to my regret.

Q Well, tell me just a little bit. Is she still working on the driving up here? I saw the story that the president told about Camp David. Is she still working on that here? How about that dating thing? Is she working on that?

MRS. CLINTON: She dates. She has -- yeah, she has many, many friends, boys and girls. And she'll get a driver's license when the time is right.

Q I like that little hedge in there.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. Well, her father and I are still thinking of ways to stall, but we're not sure we're going to be successful.

Q What about college? Has she started thinking about that? Is she a sophomore or a junior?

MRS. CLINTON: She's a junior.

Q Oh, so she's kind of -- is she going to start looking this spring at colleges?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know what -- you know, we haven't really focused on that yet. That's another thing I want to put off as long as possible.

Q I bet. I bet.

What's she interested in maybe doing?

MRS. CLINTON: She's very interested in many different things, and she loves school. So it will be, you know, an exciting adventure for her when she eventually gets to go off to college, maybe when she's like 30 or 35.

Q My next question is, so how are Mom and Dad coping with this?

MORE



T 002256

Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

MRS. CLINTON: We are not doing well. This is not something that we talk about a lot in our house. We talk about politics, but we don't want to deal with the really important stuff, like, you know, "Don't go to college. We're going to miss you too much."

(Laughter.)

Q I can only imagine. I can only imagine.

Well, let me ask you -- I've got one final question now. Assuming that your husband wins a second term, when you all get done, you're still going to be very, very young, too young to retire. So have you thought about what you might want to do then?

And, of course, let me tag on here, have you thought about running for office yourself?

MRS. CLINTON: But you're right. I mean, I do believe that my husband will win a second term, which I think will happen because of the job he's done and what he's doing now, and we will be -- you know, as it gets closer, it seems younger and younger -- and then we'll have our whole life ahead of us, and I don't know what we'll do.

We're very open to new ideas and adventures all the time. We'll just have to wait till that comes, I guess, in the year 2001 or something.

Q So you really haven't thought about it?

MRS. CLINTON: No. Apparently we're going to have to make some money, since we're bankrupt, because of these legal expenses. And, you know, that's something we have to take very seriously, because I always paid my bills; we've always paid everything that we owned anyone. So we will take that obligation seriously, as well.

And, you know, we won't have a house. You know, we'll start pretty much from scratch when he finishes being president, plus having to pay off this rather enormous debt.

Q Yeah. Yeah. That's true. That's true.

MRS. CLINTON: But we'll have fun, whatever it is.

MORE



Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

Q All right. Well, that's great. I got through my whole list of questions.

MRS. CLINTON: Good.

Q Which I did not expect to do.

MRS. CLINTON: And you're color-coordinated and everything.

(Laughter.)



Diversified Reporting Services, Inc.

918 16TH STREET, N.W. SUITE 803

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 296-2929

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

January 15, 1996

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
BY SUSAN PAGE, USA TODAY

Q -- (In progress.) When I originally requested this interview I hoped it would turn on the book mostly. But there are other issues that -- (inaudible.) In the interview that you gave with the Los Angeles Times on Friday, they wrote that story to reflect that you did not intend to go to the Senate to testify before the D'Amato Committee. And in the interview I read this morning that you seemed to be considering that. Tell me what your view is on whether it would be a good idea for you to testify.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, we had a correction run on the L.A. Times story, and I think that was just a -- we have a transcript. I think the reporter just misunderstood it.

I am at the same place I have always been -- I will cooperate. I will do whatever it takes to get this matter resolved. I cannot wait for it to be ended. There's no one that wants that more than I. And that's what I have said; that's what I will continue to say. And the various forms of the cooperation and the outreach, trying to answer questions, I'll consider everything that could possibly help resolve this matter. That's what I want to try to do.

Q Do you think the very dramatic step of actually testifying before this Senate Whitewater Committee, could that be a step that would help you put this behind you, clear the air, move on?

MRS. CLINTON: I really don't want to speculate on it because this whole situation changes so much, it's hard to find stable ground. And I will continue to answer questions as I understand them whenever they are posed, but I don't want to speculate about what might happen in the future.

I would have thought that the RTC reports would have ended this. The original allegations about whether or not we lost money, were we passive investors, and did we get any money from Madison S&L -- those have all been answered, and they've been answered as we said they would be over the last four years. So I never quite know where it's going next. But I'll just keep cooperating.

Q Why do you think the RTC reports have not been released publicly?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know, Susan. I would really like to believe that this whole matter is motivated by a good-faith search for the facts. And we have a \$4-million, two-year study by an independent law firm with a Republican U.S. attorney, and there are no press conferences held about it. It is not the subject of front-page stories. So I don't know.

And I would hope that, for the sake of the American public so that they could make up their mind about all of this, they would get all the facts, not just somebody's version of them, not the allegation of the week, but the facts. And then I believe Americans are fundamentally fair and they'll make up their minds.



T 002259

MORE

Q You said you'd like to believe that this whole matter is motivated by a good-faith search of the facts. Do you think, in fact, it is motivated by that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, that's what I'm going to continue to assume. I do think there is increasing evidence of politics. This is the 1996 presidential year. But certainly, I hope that's what the motivation behind all of these investigations are.

Q You know, some people see kind of classic partisan political motivation, the desire to hurt your husband in his reelection prospects by -- (inaudible.) I wonder if you think there's also maybe an element of almost an ideological backlash to some of the things you've advocated, things you advocate in your book, that you talked about during the health care fight. Do you think that could be an element in the kind of ferocity of the attacks on you?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know. I think that some of what I have done in the last three years in speaking out on issues has certainly caused controversy and has been used by political opponents of my husband to stir up opposition. But I also believe that it's very important for people to speak out on behalf of what they care about. That's why I wrote this book. And so, for me, being able to talk about whether it's health care for children, or other issues affecting children's well-being is as natural to me as getting up in the morning. And if it causes controversy, then I guess that's just part of the price you pay in public life these days.

Q Do you think it's a piece of this whole thing?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know. But I think that it's possible that on the part of some people it could be.

Q Before we leave the whole issue of testifying which has become the subject of some enormous speculation, some people look at this -- some -- (inaudible) -- on the TV yesterday, on the Sunday show said that you ought to testify because you're very poised, you're very confident, you speak so well, that you would -- I don't want to use the word "win," because it's not -- but you would -- it would be a very effective forum for you before the Whitewater Committee, in the same way that Oliver North was very good when he testified before the Iran-Contra, or Anita Hill's testimony seemed so effective to many when she was testifying before the committee. What do you think about that, when you think about the pros and cons of considering such a forum?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think it would be like going to have your teeth drilled. (Laughter.) I can't imagine how it could be anything but an ordeal, especially because unlike other instances, apparently there's no ground rules or solid ground for the basis of questions. They dig so many dry holes that they keep digging more and my entire life is apparently fair game -- things that I can't ever even remember half the time.

So I don't think that it's some kind of game. I think this is very serious business and I think it's very sad that there have been more than 40 hearings on Whitewater and one on the Republicans' plan for Medicare. I don't think those priorities are appropriate. So I see this as very serious, I take it seriously, and I will continue to do what I can to get it resolved.

Q That would be -- the getting the teeth drilled would be the down side in going to testify, the fact that it is -- it's a political form, not a legal form so there's sort of no rules that you can count on. What would be the -- why then would you consider doing it? What would be the pros?


T 002260

MRS. CLINTON: I'm not considering it or not considering it. I mean, it's just one of those things that people ask me about and I don't have an answer other than the one I've given you -- that I'm just going to continue to do whatever I can to get it resolved, and that along with every other possible route to try to get this matter wrapped up is going to be looked at.

Q Is there another way to go about it? A press conference, or is there another way to go about answering every question and so on?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think if we can ever get to a point where all the questions are out there, as opposed to trying the best I can to answer questions -- like at the press conference nearly two years ago I did the very best I could to answer questions. And then two years later I'm being told, well, that I didn't answer the question that I should have answered even though it wasn't asked. If we can ever get to a point where everybody's questions are out there, then I think the American people will know what the answers are in whatever forum that takes, or whether it just takes going down issue by issue, resolving it, whether it's through RTC reports or special counsel actions -- whatever it is, it will get resolved.

But it's very difficult when you think that you have done the best you can to answer questions and, in fact, your answers have remained the same, even though you couldn't answer every sub-category of the question, and then they shift ground. They say, that's not what we meant to ask you, here's what we meant to ask you. And so, let's just let this thing play out for a while and see where it leads.

Q Just one last question. David Kendall, on one of the shows yesterday, said that it was not clear whether the congressional committee had the power to compel you to testify. And I was wondering, is it possible that down the road you could see this -- (inaudible) -- this would not happen?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I mean, I don't -- again, I don't want to speculate. But we have cooperated, we have turned over 50,000 pages of documents. We will continue to cooperate.

Q One of the interesting things you said in the interview this morning with Diane Ream was that one way that -- how the Travelgate controversy possibly has developed is because you say you state your mind and aides interpret this as an order when you didn't intend it that way. Tell me about that. Do you think that's what has actually happened here with the Watkins's memo?

MRS. CLINTON: As to that particular instance, I don't know. I will have to let David speak for himself. But if you read the memo, he does not say that I told him to do anything, which is certainly my distinct memory of my involvement, which was to express concern about the reports of financial mismanagement. But he paints a picture of people, second, third and fourth hand, conveying my concern, which then was taken in his mind, apparently, according to this memo, to be not just a statement of concern, but something more.

So I thought a lot about this because I try as hard as I can to understand how things happen a certain way, and I do believe that in the first months -- and year, probably -- of being in the White House I had a lot to learn. I had never lived in Washington. I had never been part of the Washington political scene. And it's like moving into any new job, office, workplace, neighborhood -- there are expectations and mores built into the environment. And up until that point -- I had worked ever since I was 13, I've been in many different work environments, and I've always been an independent person. And if I expressed an opinion, say, when I was on one of the boards of directors I served on both in the corporate world and the

not-for-profit world, and I had said something like, you know, "I heard about some reports of financial mismanagement in our operation down there; we ought to look at that; that should be taken seriously, don't you think," nobody would have thought of that as an order or a direction. I certainly wouldn't have. I didn't have any authority to make such a direction to anybody.

I carried those same habits with me into the White House, so that I was very direct with people -- that's the way I'd always been -- stated my opinions, did not make decisions on 99.9 percent of things that I had opinions about because I had my own direct realm of operations. I might make a decision about what we're going to serve at the state dinner, but not other things.

But I now realize -- and this may sound naive, but if you have a long history of working and you've done so as an independent person, to all of a sudden find that the habits of a lifetime might be viewed differently, I think there's probably something to that. So that it's not just Hillary Clinton saying, hey, guys, I hear there's financial mismanagement in the Travel Office, this sounds like something that should be looked into, it's the wife of the President saying it. So maybe that's what he means by what he wrote in that memo.

I can only speak about what I did and who I spoke with. And I know that I did not direct anybody to go off and fire anybody. I didn't have the knowledge, I didn't have the authority. But I did express concern. And I think anyone who had heard about it and didn't express concern probably would have been asleep at the switch.

Q Did you express concern not only about the financial dealings of the Travel Office, but also the "we want to get those people out and get our people in" --

MRS. CLINTON: I don't remember that. And I've been consistent about that. But again, this was -- my entire involvement in this was limited to a few conversations on two days. The decision that was made later to replace the workers in that office was made days after my last comment about it to anybody. So I don't think there's a cause and effect here. There may be some atmospheric things that are out there. But it's like my husband one time made a passing comment that he liked bananas, and then, all of a sudden, everywhere he went, in the White House or on the road, there were bunches of bananas everywhere.

My favorite story about this, that this really started becoming clear to me when we went to France for the state dinner that the Mitterrands gave for us. Were you on that trip?

Q No.

MRS. CLINTON: And I had a meeting with Mrs. Mitterrand earlier that day. And we talked about many of her concerns. She is a very active human rights advocate. And at the end of the conversation she said, I must apologize for our dinner tonight. The tables are very bear because I know that you did not want any flowers. I said, what do you mean? She said, oh, we have been told that you forbid flowers at public events where your husband will be. I said, I've never done that, Madam. And she said, oh, yes, we know that he has allergies and you are very strict about what he can have around him.

I said, who told you this? And it was 18th hand that this message came across. So, of course, I said to her, is it too late to get flowers -- we have flowers in the White House. Please have flowers at the state dinner. At the Elysee Palace I can't imagine not having flowers.

So you just have to be aware that people might think of things that you don't at all intend.

Q On both these controversies -- Travelgate and Whitewater -- there was some sense that they were running out of steam and that they've gotten a new life because of latest discovery of the documents. And I was wondering if you are satisfied or if you've gotten a full explanation as to why the billing records had not been found in previous efforts to search for documents.

MRS. CLINTON: I totally removed myself from any search whatsoever so that no one could ever suggest that it had not been done as fully as it needed. So I did not conduct any searches. Everything was turned over to my lawyers and the White House lawyers. They, with people that they delegated as their agents, have searched diligently, and they have really tried. And the only explanation that makes any sense to me is that, with as many boxes and file cabinets and stacks of documents, plus computers and everything else that we have here in the White House, it's not inconceivable at all that something could be overlooked.

I think the more remarkable story is how we keep turning everything over once we find it. There is absolutely no desire on the part of anyone in the White House to keep any document that should be appropriately turned over to any of the investigators.

I was personally, except for the timing, delighted that the billing records had been found. I mean, I wish they'd been found two years ago, or at least six months ago, so that they wouldn't have overshadowed my book tour, because what I'd rather be talking about with you and everybody else is what I think we ought to do for America's children.

Q What is your understanding of why, after not being found for sometime, this document was found?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know. I have no answer to that. And the people who have worked with the lawyers are going to be doing their best to figure that out. But I have no firsthand knowledge of that.

Q Or any explanation?

MRS. CLINTON: No, other than what I said to you about the situation with so many documents to be looked through.

Q When you think about the motives of those who are pursuing these investigations, I wonder if you think that Senator D'Amato, who is very close to Senator Dole and is the national cochairman of his campaign -- if Senator D'Amato may be acting in league with Senator Dole to keep this issue alive.

MRS. CLINTON: I don't have any opinion about that.

Q You have this wonderful nursery rhyme in the book -- (laughter.) I wonder if, when you think about the fact that you've been dogged by these issues now, if it is totally at the behest of some big, ugly man, -- (laughter) -- or whether in some ways you brought it on yourself.

MRS. CLINTON: I think that I have to bear certainly some of the responsibility. I wish I could have had every answer anybody ever asked me, starting in 1992, I think I have a pretty good memory. But I am not a total recall whiz, especially about events that were not very meaningful or important to me at the time. And so I have struggled to try to get the answers that people have asked me, and try to dredge up information.



T 002263

Maybe if I had stopped my entire life in the middle of a presidential campaign, or moving a family to Washington, or the other things that we've done in the last three years, I could have been better equipped to answer questions. But I think the facts have shown that we didn't have access to a lot of the information that people wanted. So it took the RTC investigation to have subpoena power, for example, to answer all the questions.

But I'm sure there are things that I could have done that would have made the expeditedness or gotten more information to answer the questions. But I think the important thing is that everything we've said has been proven. You can take a different slice at it and ask it a different way, but eventually, the bottom line is that we lost money in a real estate deal, we did not get any money from a savings and loan channeled to us in any way. I did a minor amount of work for an S&L; there was no improper influence of any kind exercised by my law firm on the securities commission. And we keep going over the same ground, but the basic truth of what happened does not change.

So, of course, I wish that I could wave a magic wand and go back in time, knowing what I know now, and try to do a better job in answering people's questions and pointing out to them why I couldn't have complete answers to things. But some of it is just like -- I mean, I feel that nursery rhyme, "As I Was Standing In The Street, certainly, here I am looking forward to this book tour and these documents show up out of nowhere. It was just the possible worst timing for me. I mean, there are so many things I want to talk about and I can't answer your questions about those. I don't know where they were, but all I know is that people were acting in good faith and now they're out. And so we go from there.

Q Do you think the origin of much of the trouble may have been that there was an effort to avoid having things that might have been embarrassing like the perception that you wanted the people in the Travel Office fired, and there was an effort to minimize that at the time, and then it becomes guilty looking even if there's no original crime?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I don't know the answer to that because I think there are perfectly understandable explanations to everything. And if you look at the Travel Office, what's really important about that? What's important about it is that there was financial mismanagement, it was proven by a Big Six accounting firm, action was taken by the White House, and then, unlike many other White Houses, this White House conducted its own inquiry into what it had done right and what it could have done better. People were reprimanded. But the fact is that the financial mismanagement was cleaned up and the White House Travel Office is now operating according to appropriate accounting standards.

So we are the first to admit, having come into Washington without much experience IN everything that we, in retrospect, would have benefitted from knowing, that we made mistakes. But those were mistakes that were innocent mistakes in the sense that people were struggling to do the right thing. And in the bigger picture, the right thing was to clean up the financial mismanagement in the White House, which was done.

So -- could people -- I mean, if we had had more experience, yes, I'm sure we could have avoided mistakes. But I think it's the nature of this place, that it's such a high pressure place, there's so much going on, that even people that are doing their very best, that act appropriately, they're going to do something that might be perceived as not the smartest thing, or why did you do it that way, you could have done it another way. That's part of the learning process that -- I can only speak for myself --

that I certainly have gone through in watching all this from the inside.

It's a lot harder than it looks when you're on the outside looking in to make sure that you think of every possible thing that anybody might in the future ask you about, and try to always anticipate how to do what you believe is right, but to do it in a way that is not only right, but is perceived as being right, as well.

Q You've been respected for years as a political strategist, and I wonder what you think the political impact is of these kind of proceedings.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think, as I've said, that the American public is fundamentally fair, and that when the facts are out and it all sifts down, that what will be important to people this year is the job that the President has done. And I certainly hope that's how evaluate him, what he's done for the economy, and all these other issues that are important in people's lives. But that's what this election will be about.

Q Do you think this will be important factor in the election?

MRS. CLINTON: No, but I think that -- it will be an issue, but I think, ultimately, what matters is whether people think that the country is going in the right direction under the President's leadership here and abroad. And I think the answer to that is yes.

Q What's been the personal impact of these controversies on you?

MRS. CLINTON: It is hard to see people that you care about being questioned, harassed. So it makes me sad a lot of the time when I see this done. Sometimes it makes me angry and a little frustrated -- very difficult to kind of keep the whole matter in the proper context. But it goes with the territory. This is part of what's happened in American politics in the last several years. And so, along with the hard days and the challenges that we face, there are a lot of other good things that make you know that this is worth doing despite some of the difficulties.

So I kind of keep in balance over time. In fact, my book -- being able to write this book and hoping to be able to talk about it and to bring hope to people who don't see that we can actually solve our problems -- but I do see because I've got a broader view from here in the White House than a lot of people do. And I see that every problem that American families face has been solved somewhere in America. That's really important to me. So I like thinking about trying to help people.

The proceeds from this book are going to go to Children's Hospital. And that makes me feel like maybe I can help some of the kids whose parents are on -- fallen on hard times and they don't have the resources. So all of that is worth it.

Q When you get sad or angry or frustrated, what do you do to cope?

MRS. CLINTON: Try to have some fun, spend time with my family, with my friends. In the book I write a lot about how 1993 was a really, really hard year. It started off on such an enormous high with Bill's inauguration. And then shortly after that my father's illness and his death, and then Vince Foster's suicide, and my mother-in-law's deteriorating physical condition until her death shortly after the first of that year -- 1994. So it was a very trying year in every respect.



T 002265

And I write about how my father used to say, whenever we faced a difficulty, "How are you going to dig yourself out of this one?" And I'm so grateful to both him and my mother for equipping me with what I call (inaudible), a strong sense of self-discipline, a lot of love and guidance from them, religious upbringing, a love of reading and learning to see how other people dealt with problems that they've face. So particularly during '93, but certainly ever since then as well, I have fallen back on my family, my friends. I have read a lot about what people have gone through.

In the book I write about this wonderful phrase that I've adopted, "the discipline of gratitude." So that no matter what happens to you, to remember that -- certainly, my husband and I are very lucky. And every life has difficulty, but if you have some sense of the real sanctity of the human experience, that it is so much bigger than we are, and to have some spiritual respect for your own life, some idea that you have obligations to other people. There's always something to be grateful for no matter how many great big ugly men tie their horses to you. I mean, that's kind of how I see my life.

Q I just want to ask one last question. In 1992 I interviewed you just before the New York primary and you said then that the controversies over -- the various controversies you were facing at that point, that whenever Bill starts to break through and make connections with people and get up a head of steam, then opponents fuel furors about things like this, controversies that are not, in your perspective, important, to derail that. Do you think that is still the dynamic that is at work here?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, it's not the total dynamic. I mean, not finding those documents is not anybody else's fault. That's the fault of the White House, and we take responsibility for that. But there is a pattern of -- if you go back and look over the last four years -- just constant issues being raised and all that. But I guess I've gotten used to it. I don't see it in quite the stark way I did in the beginning when I was sort of bewildered by the onslaught that we confronted. Now I just see it as part of the price and just keep going.

Q Well, I very much appreciate it.

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, sure.

END



T 002266

THE WHITE HOUSE .
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1996

BY HAND DELIVERY

John D. Bates
Deputy Independent Counsel
Office of the Independent Counsel
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 490 North
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear John:

I am enclosing copies of White House records responsive to the subpoena to the White House dated January 19, 1996. I am also enclosing copies of additional White House records regarding White House requests for documents in connection with a May 1994 subpoena from Special Counsel Fiske and an October 1995 subpoena from the United States Senate. The enclosed documents have been labeled with Bates numbers T001972-T002141.

Documents numbered T001999-T002022, T002033-T002037, and T002131-T002132 were taken off personal computers. Documents numbered T001999-T002007, T002041-T002043, and T002131-T002132 are drafts.

I understand that David Fein informed Brett Kavanaugh of an additional document that constitutes White House Counsel's Office work product, and that Brett asked that we provide a description of the document in this letter. The document is a four-page draft, dated January 21, 1996, written by Special Assistant Counsel to the President J. David Fielder. Based on Mr. Kavanaugh's statement that your office will not argue that the White House has waived any applicable privileges, David Fein informed him that the document is based on publicly available information, such as news reports, Congressional testimony and documents in the public domain.

As with documents previously produced, we understand that your office will treat these documents and the information conveyed in this letter as confidential and entitled to all protection accorded by law, including Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 6(e), to documents subpoenaed by a federal grand jury.

John D. Bates, Deputy Independent Counsel
January 23, 1996
Page 2

In light of the extremely short response time called for by the subpoena, not all White House employees have been able to complete their searches, and it is likely that we will receive additional responsive material. We will, of course, provide any additional material to you promptly.

Please feel free to call me if you have any questions.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jane Sherburne". To the right of the signature, the initials "KAH" are written in a bold, blocky font.

Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President

Enclosures

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE

On January 22, 1996, I spoke to Brett Kavanaugh and raised with him the following issues concerning the January 19, 1996 subpoena to the White House.

I asked if his office was asking for memoranda or notes of their depositions of the President and First Lady, which might happen to mention compliance with document subpoenas, and he said those items did not need to be produced.

I asked if his office was asking for memoranda or notes regarding publicly available billing documents, in particular, the Recap of Fees and the few existing Rose Law Firm bills that have been made public through the RTC interrogatories or the House or Senate hearings. I said that these memoranda or notes reviewed the information in the billing records and so might be technically responsive because they would relate to the "existence" of these documents. He said he would talk to John Bates and get back to me.

I told him I had in front of me a draft chronology, dated 1/21/96, that someone had prepared regarding what people have said about various Madison and Whitewater related documents, e.g., the files Hubbell gave to Kendall, the files Massey copied for Foster. He asked if it contained anything that someone told us personally, and I said I believed it contained information publicly available but that I would read through it with that in mind. He said he would talk to John Bates and get back to me.

On January 23, I received a voice-mail message from Brett Kavanaugh. He said that on the first issue, re: the memos and notes of depositions with Fiske or Starr, I told you we don't need those, and I confirmed that with Bates. He said that on the second issue, re: documents about existing bills and the recap of fees, we also not asking for those documents in this subpoena. He said that on the third issue, the document chronology, we would like the document identified in the response so we have some idea what it is in writing.

On January 23, I called Brett and raised two additional issues. I asked if our previous practice of producing news articles only if marginalia was responsive applied, and he said it did, but would also want highlighting or underlining. I also said I assumed he did not want documents written after the discovery of the billing records that discussed the substance of the billing records (and not their whereabouts, efforts to locate, etc.), and mentioned that the only reason I was even raising that question was because of the language in the subpoena -- documents relating to the "existence" of the billing records. He confirmed that he did not want such documents.

David B. Fein, 1/23/96

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE

On January 24, 1996, I spoke to Brett Kavanaugh and told him about a document regarding Congressional requests for documents that could be privileged. I told him, pursuant to an oral non-waiver agreement, that the document recounted requests from the House Government Reform Committee, the House Banking Committee and the Senate Special Committee. I said that the portion that was possibly technically responsive were descriptions of the House Request calling for every document related to "Whitewater, Madison, ADFA, Paula Casey, Rose Law Firm, etc.," and the Senate request for "every White House document related in any way to any matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee." He asked if the memorandum described specific attempts to locate documents in the White House, and I said it did not. He asked if the memorandum specifically discussed looking for documents in the Residence, and I said it did not. He said they were not interested in the document.

David B. Fein, 1/24/96

T 1972 - 1998	JANE SHERBURNE
T 1999 - 2020	G DRIVE
T 2021 - 2022	? -- NO POST-IT <i>JANE</i> ←
T 2023 - 2026	MARK FABIANI
T 2027 - 2028	CHRIS LEHANE
T 2029 - 2032	VICKI RADD
T 2033 - 2075	DAVID FEIN
T 2076 - 2090	IRA FISHMAN
T 2091 - 2122	JOEL KLEIN'S FILE RE FOSTER SUBPOENA (MIRIAM)
T 2123 - 2129	RECORDS MANAGEMENT
T 2130	? -- ONE PAGE DOC YOU PUT AT THE END
T 2131 - 2141	DAVID FEIN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON.

October 23, 1995

BY HAND DELIVERY

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
United States Senate
Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater
Development Corporation and Related Matters
534 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Dear Bob:

Re: Requests (a) and (b)

I am transmitting with this letter additional White House records (Bates Nos. S 7750-7776, 7779-7842, 7850-7912, 7931-7955, 7958-7972, 7974-7977, 7979, 7982, 7984, 7986-7988, 7990-8005, 8007-8012, 8014-8042, 8044, 8046-8058, 8062-8080, 8377-8442, 9153-9167) responsive to requests (a) and (b) in Chairman D'Amato's letter of August 25, 1995, as expanded by your letters to the White House in September and October. The Chairman's original request sought documents related to (a) "the handling of confidential Resolution Trust Corporation information relating to Madison or Whitewater" or (b) "any contacts between the White House and any other agency or department in the Government with regard to confidential RTC information related to Madison or Whitewater".

Although our search for responsive material from current White House staff is largely complete, we have yet to finish the search you requested of the records of former White House employees for material responsive to this request. Our Office of Records Management has identified more than 100 boxes that might possibly contain responsive material. If you would like to set priorities for this review to aid your inquiry, please let me know promptly. We will continue to provide responsive material to the Committee as we identify it.

As we have repeatedly emphasized to you, the burdensome nature of these particular requests, as elaborated by you subsequently, is staggering. We have been fully prepared to provide you with documents related to Madison Guaranty and Whitewater. But when you removed the subject matter limitation in the Chairman's original request, and asked for records that reflect communications on any subject whatsoever between White House officials and any one of 56 people (apparently those you



T 001972

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
October 23, 1995
Page 2

believe either had "confidential RTC information" to impart or stood to gain from the receipt of it), you turned something rather straightforward and simple into a production nightmare. I hasten to add, one with which we are diligently trying to comply but a nightmare none the less.

As predicted, many of the records we have collected in accordance with your elaborations are not responsive to Senator D'Amato's original request because they are plainly unrelated to Madison or Whitewater. For example, the request has captured personal correspondence related to things such as health matters, the Dallas Cowboys, birthdays, speaking engagements, and holiday greetings, as well as documents related to things such as SEC matters, immigration, and the False Claims Act. We are prepared to discuss with you the basis for any continuing interest by the Committee in this type of material.

In order to ensure no misunderstanding about how we have responded to the Chairman's requests (a) and (b), following is our interpretation of the evolution of the requests from the Chairman's original letter into your current request.

In your letter of September 5, 1995, you expanded the Chairman's original request and asked for White House documents regarding any communication, contact or meeting between January 20, 1993 and August 5, 1994, "relating to any subject" between the White House and 36 named individuals or "any present or former employee" of the three named entities, including the RTC.

In your letter of September 25, 1995, you limited the present and former employees of the RTC to a list of twenty names, bringing the total list of named persons to 56. In that letter, you also limited the former White House employees whose files had to be searched to eight named individuals. However, you persisted in your refusal to permit us to limit the search to records of communications about Madison or Whitewater. Rather, you insisted on having us search for records of communications with any of these 56 people on any subject.

On October 7, 1995, you agreed to limit which offices of the White House would have to be searched for responsive material. Accordingly, although they already had been asked to begin searching for records pursuant to your September 25 letter, we were able to reduce the number of White House staff whose files had to be searched for responsive material from over 650 to just under 300 people.



T 001973

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
October 23, 1995
Page 3

You also agreed on October 7 that as to communications between most of the remaining White House employees and three of the 56 named persons (Roger Altman, Webster Hubbell and Betsey Wright), we need provide only those documents related to Whitewater or Madison Guaranty; you persisted in your refusal to limit the subject matter for communications with the other 53 persons. Further, as to 15 named White House employees, you asked that we produce their records of communications with Altman, Hubbell or Wright, without regard to subject matter unless the subject matter of the records pertained to appointments, nominations and vetting; post-employment issues, financial disclosure, fund-raising and gifts; health care reform; and legislation or regulations.

In mid-October, you enlarged the list of former White House employees whose files had to be searched from eight to ten named individuals.

In your letter of October 17, 1995, you expanded the list of 15 named White House employees whose communications with Altman, Hubbell and Wright had to be searched except for certain enumerated subjects, by adding 11 additional names, bringing that total to 26. You also added an additional subject matter about which you wanted records of communications. (This will require searching again the files of 15 individuals whose records already were reviewed pursuant to your October 7 letter.) Finally, in your October 17 letter you further enlarged the list of former White House employees whose files had to be searched from 10 to 14 named individuals.

If the understanding recited above is incorrect, please let me know promptly.

Re: Request (j)

You recently have asked the White House to place a priority on responding to Senator D'Amato's request (j) related to Capital Management and its supervision and regulation by the SBA. You indicated, however, that you wanted to make the request more specific than the way it was stated in the Chairman's August 25 letter. We called you shortly thereafter with proposed language, which you rejected. You did not provide the specifics you told us to wait for until your letter of October 17, 1995. Contrary to your October 17 letter, we never asked for clarification of the Chairman's request.


T 001974

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
October 23, 1995
Page 4

We are providing herein documents responsive to Paragraph 4(a) and (b) of your October 17 letter (Bates Nos. S 7374-7385, 7956-7957, 9230-9234). Requests (c) through (f), however, seek records that we had not collected previously and will have to be the subject of a new White House search. Also, we need to discuss further your request for any communication, on any subject, over a four month period involving Erskine Bowles and the President, Mrs. Clinton, Bruce Lindsey, Mack McLarty, Bernard Nussbaum or Maggie Williams.

Re: Additional Documents

We also providing herein documents responsive to (f) - (1) of Senator D'Amato's August 25, 1995 letter (Bates Nos. S 8139-8371, 8491-8667, 8669-9152).

Re: Documents Provided Herein

Pursuant to the Committee's new Security Procedures, we request that these documents be treated as "Highly Confidential." We would appreciate the opportunity to discuss with the Committee the basis for our request in the event the Chairman and Ranking Member consider redesignating any of this material.

Sincerely yours,



Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President

Enclosures

cc: Lance Cole, Minority Special Deputy Counsel



Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
October 23, 1995
Page 5

bcc: Richard Ben-Veniste (w/o encls.)



file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1995

BY TELECOPY

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
United States Senate
Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater
Development Corporation and Related Matters
534 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Dear Bob:

Let's review the bidding: as far as we are aware, the White House has nearly completed its response to the Chairman's August 25, 1995 document request, and your subsequent expansions of his original request. Our compliance does not include certain material about which there had been outstanding cut-off date issues that were only resolved in your letter of October 17, 1995 or the new requests made in your October 17 letter. Although your October 17 letter raises new issues that require further discussion, we anticipate we will have essentially completed our response to it by October 30. To date, we have produced nearly 8,500 pages of White House records to the Committee.

You have made it extraordinarily difficult to accomplish this result. From the Chairman's original request made three months after the Senate adopted Sen. Res 120, you have led us through a thoroughly confusing labyrinth of embellishments, qualifications, and elaborations. Keeping pace with your shifting and expanding requests has consumed hundreds, if not thousands, of hours of work on the part of White House staff.

The cut-off date stated in your October 17 letter enables us to finish our response to the Chairman's original request. Your October 17 letter provides an answer to our longstanding request for a workable cut-off date with respect to documents related to (b)(3) of the Resolution, the so-called "Arkansas Issues." In fact, your cut-off date was precisely what we proposed to you during our meeting on September 21, 1995. Needless to say, had you agreed to the cut-off date then instead of nearly a month later, we would be that much farther along in getting you what you want.



Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
October 23, 1995
Page 2

Nonetheless, while waiting for your response to this question, we went ahead and provided the Committee more than 2,000 pages of primary source material that we had located in the White House (in addition to the material made public by the House Banking Committee this summer) related to the Arkansas Issues. With the benefit of the cut-off date, we will now begin production of materials prepared by White House staff related to the Arkansas Issues. If there are such materials that we would prefer to discuss with you before production, we will identify them on a log. As stated above, we are aiming to provide this material to you by Monday, October 30, 1995 -- which would be less than two weeks from the date you identified the cut-off date.

Your October 17 letter also responded to our longstanding request for guidance on an appropriate cut-off date with respect to documents related to (b)(2) of the Resolution, the so-called "Washington Issues." Again, while awaiting your response, we have been providing (to the extent the Committee did not already have it from White House document productions made in the summer of 1994) material created before March 4, 1994 that is responsive to Paragraphs (a) through (d) of the Chairman's August 25, 1995 request. We have asserted no privilege with respect to any of this material.

The August 5, 1994 cut-off date proposed in your recent letter, captures material created from March 4, 1994 (the date the Independent Counsel issued subpoenas to the White House for White House-Treasury "contacts" records) to the last day of the Committee's hearings on White House-Treasury contacts (also the date that Judge Starr was appointed to replace Robert Fiske as Independent Counsel). During this time period, the White House conducted an internal review of White House-Treasury contacts, prepared for Congressional hearings on that subject and responded to requests from the Independent Counsel. Given the sensitive and privileged nature of the material created in connection with each of these activities, we believe it appropriate to discuss whether the request can be narrowed in a manner that provides the Committee an opportunity to review the material necessary for its inquiry without compromising Executive functions.

Your October 17 request for all responsive documents, up to the present moment, found in the files of the President, Mrs. Clinton, Lloyd Cutler (presumably while he was White House Counsel), Bruce Lindsey, and Margaret Williams is puzzling. Any material created after August 5, 1994 (to the extent such material even exists) would necessarily be a retrospective on the conduct that is the subject of the Committee's inquiry -- all of



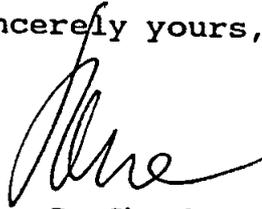
T 001978

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
October 23, 1995
Page 3

which occurred prior to August 5, 1994 -- and have no probative value.

As you know, I have requested a meeting for Tuesday, October 24 with Mr. Chertoff and Mr. Ben-Veniste to discuss these requests and other issues raised by your October 17 letter. I am confident that good faith discussions about this material will produce an acceptable accommodation that satisfies the Committee's legitimate needs.

Sincerely yours,



Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President

cc: Richard Ben-Veniste, Minority Special Counsel



HOGAN & HARTSON

L.L.P.

COLUMBIA SQUARE
555 THIRTEENTH STREET NW
WASHINGTON DC 20004-1109
(202) 637-5600

WILLIAM D. NUSSBAUM
PARTNER
DIRECT DIAL (202) 637-5712

BRUSSELS
LONDON
PARIS
FRAGUE
WARSAW
BALTIMORE, MD
BETHESDA, MD
McLEAN, VA

October 24, 1995

BY HAND DELIVERY

Robert J. Giuffra, Jr.
Chief Counsel
United States Senate Committee On
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Re: Document Request to Bruce R. Lindsey

Dear Mr. Giuffra:

Enclosed please find materials that are being produced by my client, Bruce R. Lindsey, in response to the document request issued by the United States Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

The enclosed materials, all of which I suspect you have already received from other sources, are Bates numbered BL010000 through BL011713. Not included among the enclosed materials are documents Bates numbered BL010581-83, BL010968-011050, BL011052-58, BL011142-44, and BL011298-11302. Mr. Lindsey has provided those five documents, all of which are White House records, to the White House Counsel's Office, which I understand will be in communication with you about them.

The enclosed materials do not, of course, include documents Mr. Lindsey has previously produced to (or obtained from) Senate and House committees in connection with earlier investigations and hearings. Nor do they include "records relating to the withdrawal or deposit of cash in an amount in excess of \$10,000", as requested in your paragraph (1), because such materials are beyond the scope of paragraph 3 (G) of the Senate Resolution in this matter.

Mr. Lindsey and I very much appreciate your courtesy.



Yours truly,



William D. Nussbaum

Enclosures

cc: Lance Cole
Democratic Deputy Special Counsel
(without enclosures)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 24, 1995

BY TELECOPY

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
United States Senate
Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater
Development Corporation and Related Matters
534 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Dear Bob:

In your October 17, 1994, letter, you specify the parameters of your request for electronic mail. As we have previously explained, restoring and searching for electronic mail messages stored on backup tapes is extremely burdensome and expensive. As an example, to restore and retrieve the electronic mail provided to the Special Committee in connection with its hearings last summer cost approximately \$23,000, including the cost of nearly 400 hours of staff and contractor time. Your current request is much more extensive than the request we satisfied last summer, requiring the restoration of data spanning thirteen (as opposed to two) separate sets of back-up tapes.

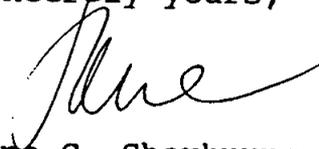
We have received requests for electronic mail in connection with a number of investigations. We have determined that responding to these requests is feasible only if we hire contract workers dedicated to the project and lease equipment at an outside facility. In order to respond, we need to explore with you how to pay for the cost of restoring and retrieving the electronic mail requested. Our technical staff estimates that the cost to retrieve your request as currently stated would be approximately \$125,000. This estimate is necessarily rough; the cost may vary significantly based on the availability of an appropriate facility and the amount of contractor time needed. The staff estimates that the work could be completed in approximately twelve weeks, plus lead time to procure the use of an outside facility in accordance with applicable procurement rules and make other necessary arrangements.


T 001982

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
October 24, 1995
Page 2

Please let me know how you would like to proceed.

Sincerely yours,



Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President

cc: Richard Ben-Veniste
Minority Special Counsel



ALFONSE M. D'AMATO, NEW YORK, CHAIRMAN

PHIL GRAMM, TEXAS
RICHARD C. SHELBY, ALABAMA
CHRISTOPHER S. BOND, MISSOURI
CONNIE MACK, FLORIDA
LAUCH FAIRCLOTH, NORTH CAROLINA
ROBERT F. BENNETT, UTAH
ROD GRAMS, MINNESOTA
BILL FRIST, TENNESSEE

PAUL S. SARBANES, MARYLAND
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, CONNECTICUT
JOHN F. KERRY, MASSACHUSETTS
RICHARD H. BRYAN, NEVADA
BARBARA BOXER, CALIFORNIA
CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN, ILLINOIS
PATTY MURRAY, WASHINGTON

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND
URBAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6075

October 30, 1995

DELIVERED OCT 31 1995

HOWARD A. MENELL, STAFF DIRECTOR
ROBERT J. GIUFFRÀ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL
PHILIP E. BECHTEL, DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR
STEVEN B. HARRIS, DEMOCRATIC STAFF DIRECTOR
AND CHIEF COUNSEL

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
Attn: Ms. Jane Sherburne

Dear Ms. Sherburne:

Enclosed please find a subpoena *duces tecum* calling for production of documents and records previously requested by the Senate Special Committee on Whitewater Development Corporation and Related Matters in a letter request to you dated August 25, 1995. We are sending you this subpoena because the Special Committee voted on October 26, 1995, to direct subpoenas to all persons who previously had received a letter request from the Special Committee. You will note that Attachment A to this subpoena calls for production of the same documents and records that were requested in the Special Committee's letter request.

Please confirm that your prior production of materials responsive to that letter request includes all materials in your possession, custody or control responsive to the subpoena. If all responsive materials have been produced, you need not provide additional copies of those materials to the Special Committee -- you need only confirm that all responsive materials have been produced. If you have additional responsive materials, however, you should provide them to the Special Committee on or before November 2, 1995.

We wish to emphasize that if you have already complied fully with the Special Committee's letter request, the fact that the Special Committee has now directed a subpoena to you should not be construed as an indication of dissatisfaction with your prior response.

Thank you for your cooperation with the Special Committee.



Paul S. Sarbanes
Ranking Member

Sincerely,



Alfonse D'Amato
Chairman

enclosure



October 26, 1995
Subpoena
Attachment A

WILLIAM T. COLE, MARYLAND
RICHARD C. DELBY, ALABAMA
CHRISTOPHER S. BONO, MISSOURI
CONNIE MACK, FLORIDA
LAUCH FAIRCLOTH, NORTH CAROLINA
ROBERT F. BENNETT, UTAH
ROD GRAMS, MINNESOTA
BILL FRIST, TENNESSEE

PAUL S. SARABIAN, MARYLAND
CHRISTOPHER J. GOOD, CONNECTICUT
JOHN F. KERRY, MASSACHUSETTS
RICHARD H. BRYAN, NEVADA
BARBARA BOXER, CALIFORNIA
CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN, ILLINOIS
PATTY MURRAY, WASHINGTON

HOWARD A. MENELL, STAFF DIRECTOR
ROBERT J. GIUFFRÀ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL
PHILIP E. BECHTEL, DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR
STEVEN B. HARRIS, DEMOCRATIC STAFF DIRECTOR
AND CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND
URBAN AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6075

August 25, 1995

By U.S. Mail and Facsimile

The Honorable Abner J. Mikva
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Judge Mikva:

As you know, on May 17, 1995, the Senate passed Senate Resolution 120, a copy of which is enclosed, establishing a Special Committee administered by the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs to conduct an investigation involving Whitewater Development Corporation ("Whitewater"), Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association ("Madison"), Capital Management Services, Inc. ("Capital Management"), the Arkansas Development Finance Authority ("ADFA"), and other related matters. In connection with the Special Committee's continuing investigation, and in order to prepare for upcoming public hearings, we hereby request that the White House produce certain records to the Special Committee.

Our request encompasses any records, not previously produced by the White House to the Special Committee, within the possession, custody or control of the White House that reflect, refer or relate to the matters specified in Section 1(b) of Senate Resolution 120. This request embraces any records that may not now be physically located at the White House but over which the White House can exercise control.

Accordingly, please provide all records, regardless of format, including, but not limited to, e-mail, electronic "dump files," memoranda, correspondence, notes, and records in any other medium, including drafts of any of the foregoing, that reflect, refer or relate to any of the following subjects:

- (a) the handling of confidential Resolution Trust Corporation ("RTC") information relating to Madison or Whitewater, including any communication of such information to individuals referenced therein;



- (b) any contacts between the White House and any other agency or department in the Government with regard to confidential RTC information relating to Madison or Whitewater;
- (c) the handling of criminal referrals by the Department of Justice relating to Madison or Whitewater;
- (d) any RTC investigation relating to Madison or Whitewater;
- (e) the report issued by the Office of Government Ethics on July 31, 1994, or related transcripts of deposition testimony;
- (f) the operations, solvency, and regulation of Madison, and any subsidiary, affiliate, or other entity owned or controlled by Madison;
- (g) the activities, investments, and tax liability of Whitewater and, as related to Whitewater, of its officers, directors, and shareholders;
- (h) the policies and practices of the RTC and the Federal banking agencies (as that term is defined in section 3 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act) regarding the legal representation of such agencies with respect to Madison;
- (i) the handling by the RTC, the Office of Thrift Supervision, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation of civil or administrative actions against parties regarding Madison;
- (j) the sources of funding and lending practices of Capital Management, and its supervision and regulation by the Small Business Administration, including any alleged diversion of funds to Whitewater;
- (k) the bond underwriting contracts between ADFA and Lasater & Company; and
- (l) the lending activities of Perry County Bank, Perryville, Arkansas, in connection with the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial election.

To the extent that White House personnel have gathered records from individuals and locations throughout the White House, please indicate where and from whom each of the records was obtained. It would also be helpful if you provided a



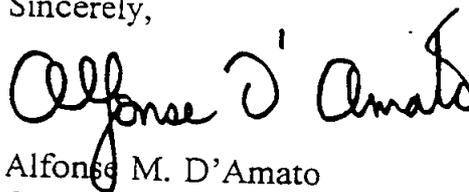
list of records that you are submitting so that the Committee and your office have a common list of the records supplied by the White House. To the extent that documents responsive to this request have been previously produced to the Committee, they need not be reproduced but only identified by Bates number. If any records are withheld based on the assertion of any privilege, please provide a log identifying the date, author(s), recipient(s), the subject matter of any such records, and the basis for the privilege asserted.

The records should be delivered to Joseph Kolinski, Chief Clerk, Senate Banking Committee, 534 Dirksen Senate Office Building. You may submit copies in response to this request, but the Committee reserves the right to obtain the original records. As you know, the Committee is seeking to complete its work as expeditiously as possible. Therefore, it is necessary that the Committee receive these documents by no later than September 7, 1995, and prior to that date, if possible. If you have any questions concerning this request, please have your staff contact Robert Giuffra, Majority Chief Counsel, and Lance Cole, Democratic Deputy Special Counsel, at (202) 224-7391.

We have consulted with Independent Counsel Kenneth W. Starr with regard to this document request, and the Office of Independent Counsel's investigation would not be "hindered or impeded" by the Committee's request for these records.

Your continued cooperation in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely,



Alfonse M. D'Amato
Chairman

Enclosure

cc: Paul S. Sarbanes
Ranking Member

OCTOBER 26, 1995 SUBPOENA
ATTACHMENT B

1. all documents as specified in Attachment A, provided, however, that Attachment A shall not command production of: (i) documents prepared or dated after March 4, 1994, specified in paragraphs (a), (b), (d), and (f) through (l) of Attachment A; (ii) documents prepared or dated after August 5, 1994, specified in paragraphs (c) and (e) of Attachment A; and (iii) notes of attorneys in the Office of the White House Counsel or other documents or records prepared in connection with the investigation of the Special Counsel or the Office of the Independent Counsel, and
2. all notes, transcripts, or other records of any statements made or adopted by President William J. Clinton and/or Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton on or before May 1, 1995, that reflect, refer or relate to the subject matters specified in paragraphs (f) through (l) of Attachment A, other than statements made in connection with the investigation of the Special Counsel or the Office of the Independent Counsel.



T 001989

file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1995

BY HAND DELIVERY

Michael Chertoff, Special Counsel
Richard Ben-Veniste, Minority Special Counsel
United States Senate
Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater
Development Corporation and Related Matters
534 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Gentlemen:

I am transmitting with this letter additional White House records (Bates Nos. S 009168-9229, 9235-9321, 9588-9599, 9605-9780, 9845-9904, 9908-10,160, 10,163-211, 10,213-10,250, 10,317-10,437, 10,446-478, 11,308-11,578), responsive to the subpoena received by the White House from the Committee on October 31, 1995. With this production, the White House has provided the Committee over 9,500 pages of material since August 25, 1995.

Documents S 009168-9229, 9235-9321, and 9588-9599 are additional telephone logs we collected pursuant to requests (a) and (b) in Chairman D'Amato's letter of August 25, 1995, as expanded by your letters to the White House in September and October. As we had begun this collection prior to the October 31 subpoena, we are producing these records to the Committee regardless of whether they are responsive.

As we have discussed, William Nussbaum, who represents Bruce Lindsey, provided the White House Counsel's Office with certain White House records in Mr. Lindsey's possession. With this production, we are providing Bates Nos. BL010581-83, 10980-11023, 11032-11050, 11052-11058, 11142-44, 11298-11302, and 11736-38, and we are including 11732-35 on our accompanying log. The remaining documents, Bates Nos. BL010968-89 and 11024-031, are not responsive to the request to the White House.

The White House also has possession of a small number of political or press strategy documents created during the 1992 presidential campaign relating to (f)-(1) of the Chairman's August 25 letter. We are providing those documents in our possession in accordance with the manner in which this material is called for by the Committee's October 26, 1995 subpoena to Williams & Connolly.



Michael Chertoff, Special Counsel
Richard Ben-Veniste, Minority Special Counsel
November 2, 1995
Page 2

As we stated with our previous productions in September and October, we have not provided identical copies of documents or publicly available material. We have redacted material on responsiveness grounds, as appropriate. The redactions are indicated in the documents with asterisks.

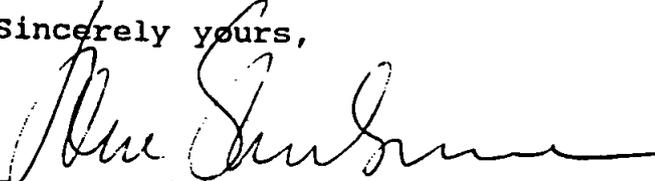
We also are enclosing, pursuant to your request, a log (Bates Nos. S 11,579 - S 11,580) identifying documents we are not providing at this time. As in the past, we are prepared to work with you to determine whether we can accommodate the Committee's need for any of this material.

Pursuant to the Committee's new Security Procedures, we request that these documents, including the accompanying log of documents (Bates Nos. S 11,579 - S 11,580) be treated as "Highly Confidential." We would appreciate the opportunity to discuss with the Committee the basis for our request in the event the Chairman and Ranking Member consider redesignating any of this material.

We have not completed our response to the Committee's request for electronic mail. We expect to be able to provide you with the electronic mail requested in your letter of October 17, 1995 for the period July 23, 1994, to August 5, 1994, in two weeks. Because of changes to the system implemented in connection with the Armstrong litigation, electronic mail from this period is more accessible than electronic mail created prior to July 14, 1994. Electronic mail from the earlier periods in which you have indicated an interest are considerably more difficult to retrieve for the reasons discussed in my October 24, 1995, letter.

Please feel free to call me if you have any questions about our response.

Sincerely yours,



Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President

Enclosures
cc: Lance Cole, Special Deputy Counsel



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1996

BY HAND DELIVERY

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
United States Senate
Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater
Development Corporation and Related Matters
534 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Dear Bob:

This responds to your letter of January 3, 1996.

1. On January 2, 1996, we met to discuss the Committee's interest in a chronology prepared by Mr. Kendall, bearing a November 10, 1993 date that we located in Neil Eggleston's files. We identified this document to you in a log we provided on November 2, 1995. I previously advised you that we had withheld this document because it had been prepared by Mr. Kendall in the course of representing his client and therefore constituted attorney work product.

On January 2, in an effort to accommodate the Committee, I suggested that we resolve the matter by letting you review the document and take notes. As the document contains no new information, it seemed likely you would conclude it was of little interest to the Committee and there would be no need to invade Mr. Kendall's work product. As you now know, the chronology is completely innocuous. Nevertheless, you insisted we provide you a copy. Consistent with the practice we have been following since the inception of the Special Committee to resolve such matters, I told you we would consider providing you a copy if you could articulate a reason for needing it. You could articulate no reason at all. Instead, you determined to copy this entirely unremarkable document in its entirety.

2. Also on January 2, 1996, I showed you a copy of a December 20, 1993 New York Times op-ed bearing handwritten notations of the President. I invited you to write down the text of the President's notation, which you did. Accordingly, statements that this document has been withheld from the Committee are incorrect. Further, I believe you are mistaken about the production by the White House during the summer of 1994 of a letter from Roger Altman bearing the President's handwritten notation. As far as we are aware, this document was not provided



T 001992

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
January 10, 1996
Page 2

to the Committee by the White House. I notice that you fail to identify any production numbers.

3. As I notified you on January 6, 1996, the White House produced unredacted versions of the synopses and chronologies prepared by Mr. Eggleston to the Committee on November 2, 1995. You may want to review our prior productions more carefully.

4. We are in the process of reviewing the briefing book that Lisa Caputo testified about for the purpose of identifying any material that may be within the scope of S. Res. 120. Much of it appears entirely unrelated but we would be willing to discuss its contents with you, Mr. Chertoff, and Minority staff, at your convenience.

5. Although in the normal course I would ask that you review the three documents you have requested from our log before determining that you need a copy, we are simply producing them. They bear Bates S012577-S012585.

Finally, I am aware of Chairman D'Amato's recent statements about our failure to respond fully to the Committee's request for e-mail, which was presented to the White House on October 17, 1995. As I informed the Committee by letter dated October 24, 1995, this request will cost approximately \$125,000. The cost of retrieving the e-mails provided to the Committee during the hearings this past summer was \$23,000, which included nearly 400 hours of staff and contractor time.

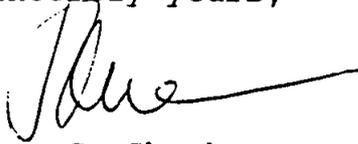
Unlike other federal agencies from which you have received e-mail and pursuant to a practice established before this administration, White House e-mails, up to July 14, 1994, were not maintained. Although they can be reconstructed, the process is technically difficult and cumbersome and, therefore, expensive. We have provided you with all e-mails responsive to your request that were created after July 14, 1994, when the system was changed to make e-mails more easily retrievable. As the Committee has said it will not consider paying for the cost of its request, the White House has undertaken to identify an alternative way to fund the remainder of the Committee's request, as well as other requests for e-mail created prior to July 14,



Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
January 10, 1996
Page 3

1994 that we have received from the House Committee on Banking and Financial Services, the House Government Reform Committee, and the Independent Counsel.

Sincerely yours,



Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President

Enclosures

cc: Lance Cole
Minority Deputy Special Counsel



T 001994

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 14, 1996

BY HAND DELIVERY

Robert Giuffra, Chief Counsel
United States Senate
Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater
Development Corporation and Related Matters
534 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Dear Bob:

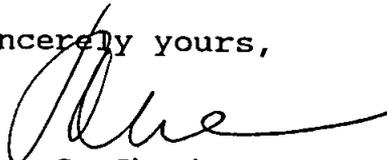
I am transmitting with this letter additional White House records (Bates Nos. S 012586-612) responsive to the subpoena received by the White House from the Committee on October 31, 1995. For your information, the notes labeled S 012595 through S 012598 are Bill Kennedy's.

A few weeks ago when you asked if our response to the subpoena was complete, I told you that, although we have substantially completed our response, I expected that we would identify some small amount of additional responsive material given the broad scope of the subpoena and the hundreds of people to whom it was directed. I told you we had been providing, and expected to continue to provide, such material to the Committee, as I assumed the Committee would want to receive it. You assured me that was the case.

Pursuant to the Committee's Security Procedures, we request that these documents be treated as "Highly Confidential." We would appreciate the opportunity to discuss with the Committee the basis for our request in the event the Chairman and Ranking Member consider redesignating any of this material.

Please feel free to call me if you have any questions.

Sincerely yours,



Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President

Enclosures

cc: Lance Cole
Minority Deputy Special Counsel


T 001995

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 15, 1996

BY TELECOPY

The Hon. Alfonse M. D'Amato, Chairman
The Hon. Paul S. Sarbanes, Ranking Member
United States Senate
Special Committee to Investigate Whitewater
Development Corporation and Related Matters
534 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-6075

Gentlemen:

In a letter dated January 10, 1996, Bob Giuffra expanded the Committee's request to the White House for electronic mail by fifty per cent. He also expressed skepticism regarding "the White House's claim that the Committee's request for e-mail messages is *somehow unduly burdensome*." Let me review with you the technical limitations on the White House's ability to retrieve electronic mail.

This Administration inherited its system for creating and preserving electronic records from the Bush Administration. Until recently, the Executive Office of the President ("EOP") did not save electronic records of e-mail messages in retrievable form. Electronic mail for the EOP was preserved only on weekly back-up tapes of the entire computer network that were maintained for use in the event of a complete system failure.

Pursuant to court order in the Armstrong v. Bush litigation, this Administration put in place on July 14, 1994, a new system of saving e-mail messages that renders e-mail created after that date more readily retrievable. The EOP is also developing systems for restoring from the back-up tapes e-mail created before that date (including e-mail from the Bush and Reagan Administrations) and for efficiently searching both the newly-created and restored data. In time, all of the e-mails from existing back-up tapes will be fully searchable. However, this long-term and expensive project, for which the EOP has received a special appropriation, will not be completed in a time frame useful for the Committee's investigation.

Until the Armstrong restoration project is completed, retrieving e-mail created before July 14, 1994, will remain



Hon. Alfonse D'Amato, Chairman
Hon. Paul Sarbanes, Ranking Member
January 15, 1996
Page 2

extraordinarily difficult. The retrieval of e-mail from any one-week period requires a complex reconstruction process, involving the location and restoration of data from between forty and sixty back-up tapes.

The White House has been able to satisfy narrowly targeted requests for e-mail. Acknowledging the technical limitations of e-mail retrieval, the Committee last summer limited its request for Foster-related e-mails to certain days within a two-week period. On July 24, 1995, the White House responded fully to this request, at a cost of approximately \$23,000, including nearly 400 hours of employee and contractor time. In addition, on October 14, 1995, the White House responded to a follow-up request for additional days of e-mail messages relating to the document-handling matter.

On October 17, 1995, the Committee for the first time defined its request for electronic mail relating to other matters it is investigating. The October 17 request for electronic mail was much broader than the Committee's request of last summer, requiring the restoration of twelve, as opposed to two, weeks of back-up tapes. The Committee also sought some e-mail created after July 14, 1994, when such retrieval became more technically feasible.

On October 24, 1995, we advised the Committee that responding to the Committee's request for e-mail, along with requests we had received for e-mail from other investigative bodies, would be feasible only if we hired contract workers dedicated to the project and leased equipment at an outside facility. Because the EOP does not have money in its budget set aside for such projects, we stated that we needed to explore with the Committee how to bear the cost of the October 17 request, which we estimated would be approximately \$125,000. The Chairman refused even to discuss the funding issue with us.

Although the funding issue remained unresolved, we undertook to retrieve the e-mail requested by the Committee that was created after July 14, 1994. We provided the one responsive message located as a result of this search to the Committee on November 27, 1995.

Mr. Giuffra's January 10 letter expanded the Committee's outstanding request for electronic mail to require the restoration of electronic mail for an additional seven weeks. Based on our earlier estimate, this expansion will increase the retrieval cost to nearly \$200,000.



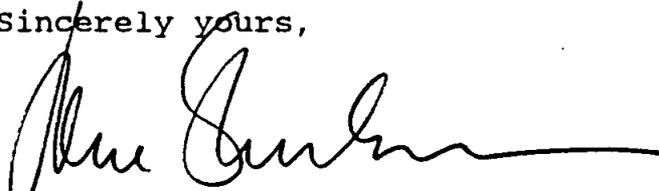
T 001997

Hon. Alfonse D'Amato, Chairman
Hon. Paul Sarbanes, Ranking Member
January 15, 1996
Page 3

Despite the Committee's refusal to work with us to resolve this difficult issue, we have continued to explore means of funding this work. We are undertaking to secure any necessary approvals for the use of funds appropriated for Armstrong compliance to satisfy the Committee's and other requests for e-mail. As soon as the funding issue is resolved, we can begin work. Please bear in mind that the Independent Counsel and the House Government Reform Committee also have made substantial requests for e-mail.

We remain available to discuss these issues further with Committee staff.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jane C. Sherburne", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Jane C. Sherburne
Special Counsel to the President



Proposed Language for White House Request

The White House has received additional requests for records from the Senate and the House. Please provide the following White House records that reflect, refer or relate to the following subjects:

(a) "the operations, solvency, and regulation of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association, and any subsidiary, affiliate, or other entity owned or controlled by Madison Guaranty;"

(b) "the activities, investments, and tax liability of Whitewater and, as related to Whitewater, of its officers, directors, and shareholders;"

(c) "the policies and practices of the RTC and the Federal banking agencies (as that term is defined in section 3 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act) regarding the legal representation of such agencies with respect of Madison Guaranty", including the Rose Law Firm's representation of Madison Guaranty and the RTC regarding Madison Guaranty;

(d) "the handling by the RTC, the Office of Thrift Supervision, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation of civil or administrative actions against parties regarding Madison Guaranty;"

(e) "the sources of funding and lending practices of Capital Management Services and its supervision and regulation by the Small Business Administration, including any alleged diversion of funds to Whitewater;"

(f) "the bond underwriting contacts between ADFA and Lasater & Company;"

(g) "the lending activities of Perry County Bank, Perryville, Arkansas, in connection with the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial election;"

(h) "the President's October 6, 1993 meeting with Governor Jim Guy Tucker, including but not limited to any meetings that Governor Tucker had with White House staff," and any meeting the President or White House staff had with Governor Tucker on November 18, 1993 in Seattle;" and

(i) "any telephone calls between Randy Coleman and William Kennedy III in August and September of 1993."



Other

Should we get agreement (do we want it) that we need not ask for/produce press clippings, public correspondence/documents, etc.?

Should we inform persons they need not produce what they have already produced in previous requests?

Need to do request of Office of Records Management for Nussbaum and secretaries and assistants for House Banking Request ("All documents relating to, referencing or reflecting facsimile messages transmitted from Roger Altman to Bernard Nussbaum in March and September of 1993 concerning any of the persons, subject or events set out in Attachment A hereto.")



T 002009

October 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT (cc: David E. Kendall, Nancy
Hernreich, Maureen Lewis), THE FIRST LADY (cc: the
First Lady's Office, Millie Allston), MR. ICKES,
MR. LINDSEY, MR. MCLARTY, MR. NEUWIRTH, MR.
STEPHANOPOULOS, MS. THOMASSON, MS. WILLIAMS,

FROM: JANE C. SHERBURNE
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

DAVID B. FEIN
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: Follow-up on Document Request from the Senate
Special Committee

In regard to our document request of October 4, 1995, we have had additional discussions with the staff of the Senate Special Committee with regard to Request 6, which asks for records of communications between the recipients of this memorandum and Roger Altman, Webster Hubbell or Betsey Wright.

As to the vast majority of White House Staff, the Committee has agreed records of communications, contacts or meetings between White House officials and Roger Altman, Webster Hubbell or Betsey Wright need be provided only if they relate to Whitewater or Madison Guaranty. We sent an October 6, 1995 memorandum to all White House staff confirming that change.

The Committee was unwilling to restrict the original request in that manner for certain White House staff, and we are therefore sending this memorandum to those individuals.

The Committee was willing, however, to allow you to exclude the following subject matters from the request for records of communications, contacts or meetings between yourself and Roger Altman, Webster Hubbell or Betsey Wright:

- a. Appointments, nominations and vetting
- b. Post-employment, financial disclosure, fund-raising, and gifts
- c. Health Care Reform
- d. Legislation and regulations



Please keep in mind that this request calls for **White House records relating to communications between June 1, 1994 and August 5, 1994.**

If there are other subject areas for which you believe you have responsive materials that are unrelated to the work of the Senate Special Committee, please inform us so that we can discuss those subject areas with Committee staff.

If you have any questions about this clarification or the original request, please contact Jane Sherburne (6-5116) or David Fein (6-6219).

Thank you for your cooperation.



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: Whitewater documents (3 pages)	nd	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Counsel's Office
Elena Kagan
OA/Box Number: 8293

FOLDER TITLE:

Whitewater Document Request I

2009-1006-F
ry934

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]