

**NLWJC - Kagan**

**Counsel - Box 030 - Folder 009**

**Whitewater Document Request I [3]**

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Personal belongings log (13 pages)	01/18/1996	P6/b(6)
002. report	Re: Recommended Guidelines (4 pages)	nd	P5

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**COLLECTION:**

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

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

Whitewater Document Request I [3]

2009-1006-F  
ry936

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### 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]
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- 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]

WHITEWATER

Questions and Answers

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Q: Susan Thomases recently released notes regarding Hillary Rodham Clinton's billing practices at the Rose Law Firm. Newspaper stories have stated that the files covering Mrs. Clinton's billing practices are missing from the Rose Law Firm. What are your thoughts on this?

A: I think the public would be better served if this Committee -- instead of engaging in a political fishing expedition -- used the public's time and money to address issues that impact average Americans. After 46 days of Congressional hearings that have produced no evidence of criminal wrongdoing or ethical misconduct, Senator D'Amato's Committee is left investigating the billing practices of a private lawyer, at a private firm that represented a private client 10 years ago. Senator D'Amato should consider heeding the advice of the recently released Resolution Trust Corporation report -- the most definitive and complete report on the Whitewater matter to date -- which, in addition to clearing the Clintons, recommended that the Whitewater investigation be closed.



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T 002205

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WHITEWATER

L.A. Times  
Questions and Answers

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T 002209

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T 002211

POSSIBLE FIRST LADY QUESTIONS AT PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

RTC:

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ROSE LAW FIRM:

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Q: Various news accounts have stated that the First Lady sent documents back to the Rose Law Firm to be shredded in 1992. Is this true?

A: No. Hillary never sent anything back to the Rose Law Firm to be shredded in 1992.

Q: Has the First Lady shredded or destroyed any Whitewater or Madison Guaranty documents since the NYT 1992 Whitewater story broke?

A: No. Absolutely not.

Q: Are Mrs. Clinton's billing practices at the Rose Law Firm under investigation by the firm?

A: No.

Q: Has the First Lady had contacts with the Rose Law Firm since reports of shredding?



A: No, I don't believe she's talked to anyone at the firm.

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T 002213

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CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS/GRAND JURY/PRESS CONFERENCE:

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**WHITEWATER:**

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T 002215

**THEMES**

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**TRAVEL MEMO (WATKINS)**

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**MISSING ROSE LAW FIRM RECORDS**

AS I UNDERSTAND THE QUESTION, THIS IS ABOUT RECORDS FROM 1985  
USED TO PREPARE BILLS THAT WERE SENT TO CLIENTS. I GATHER THAT



THE BILLS THEMSELVES ARE AVAILABLE AND THEY DESCRIBE MY WORK FOR MADISON. I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT MISSING RECORDS.

ON THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTING MADISON, WE KNOW THAT MADISON PAID THE LAW FIRM \$2,000 A MONTH FOR ABOUT 15 MONTHS AS A PREPAYMENT AGAINST FEES. SOME OF THOSE PAYMENTS (\$6,622.53) WERE REFUNDED TO MADISON AT THE END OF THE 15 MONTHS. I WAS CREDITED WITH HAVING EARNED ABOUT \$7,500 FOR THE FIRM FOR THAT PERIOD, WHICH AMOUNTS TO LESS THAN 2 WEEKS OF WORK SPREAD OUT OVER 15 MONTHS .

INVESTIGATORS AND THE CONGRESS HAVE LONG HAD RECORDS REFLECTING THE LIMITED WORK I DID FOR MADISON. WE HAVE MADE AVAILABLE ALL THE INFORMATION WE HAVE ABOUT THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THAT WORK.

(BUT YOU KNOW EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE MADE EVERY RECORD AVAILABLE THAT WE COULD FIND, SOME PEOPLE CONTINUE TO RAISE QUESTIONS OVER AND OVER. I THINK WE HAVE TO ACCEPT THAT THIS HAS BECOME A POLITICAL ISSUE AND IT MAY BE THAT SOME PEOPLE ARE NEVER GOING TO BE SATISFIED.)

BLAIR LOAN TO MCDUGAL

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VINCE FOSTER'S DEATH

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T 002217

- 3 -

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WILL YOU TESTIFY?

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T 002218

**TALKING POINTS--ROSE LAW FIRM RECORDS**

The Managing Partner of the Rose Law Firm, Ronald M. Clark, strongly denied today the report in the Washington Times that the firm had shredded Whitewater documents.

- Mr. Clark called the report **"totally false."**
- When asked whether the firm had shredded documents related to Whitewater, Mr. Clark stated, **"Absolutely not."**
- The Washington Times report identifies its source only as a "Rose employee," and not as an attorney with the firm.
- Mr. Clark also stated that the firm's employees "are under no gag order or anything else so they can speak freely."



Date: 02/09/94 Time: 09:49

## Rose Law Firm Denies Published Report It Shredded Whitewater

WASHINGTON (AP) The Rose law firm where first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was a partner shredded documents last week relating to Whitewater Development Corp., The Washington Times reported today.

The paper cited as its source an unidentified Rose employee. President and Mrs. Clinton, along with James B. McDougal and his then-wife Susan, were partners in Whitewater, an Arkansas real estate venture.

In Little Rock, Ronald M. Clark, managing partner of the Rose firm, today called the report "totally false." Asked specifically whether any documents related to Whitewater were shredded, Clark said: "Absolutely not. To my knowledge, we have no documents in the firm's possession related to Whitewater, and if we do, we are accumulating them in a single location awaiting the appropriate time that they will be examined."

Special counsel Robert B. Fiske Jr., appointed Jan. 20 by Attorney General Janet Reno, is looking into among other things whether McDougal improperly diverted funds from the Madison Guaranty Savings Loan Association, which he controlled, to Whitewater and Clinton gubernatorial campaigns.

The Times said it was not clear whether the reported shredding would violate state or federal laws.

Associate Attorney General Webster L. Hubbell and the late White House Deputy Counsel Vincent Foster Jr., also were partners in the Little Rock law firm with Mrs. Clinton before moving to Washington to serve in the Clinton administration.

Foster committed suicide and the White House has acknowledged that papers relating to Whitewater and other matters were taken from his White House office last July after his death and turned over to the Clinton's personal lawyer in Washington before they could be examined by officials investigating his death.

"There's absolutely no doubt that the records destroyed last Thursday were those the firm had on Whitewater," the Times quoted the Rose employee as saying. "There were a lot of papers and the process took quite a long time.

"A bunch of the stuff was there to be read and it was felt that this could be very bad," the paper quoted the employee as saying.

It reported that a second Rose employee who took part in the shredding would not talk about it, but declined to say the incident had not occurred.

"I'm not going to comment," the paper quoted the second employee as saying. "I'm not going to say anything about what happened. I would just prefer not to say anything about this at all."

But the Times said the employee who declined to discuss the matter had confided to friends that the shredding had taken place and that he was "scared to death" about it.

The paper quoted an unidentified female friend of the second employee as saying he told her there was anxiety over the possibility Rose employees could be fired because the shredding had become known.

Clark said the firm's employees "are under no gag order or anything else so they can speak freely."

APNP-02-09-94 0949EST



T 002220

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 5, 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 additional White House records responsive to the subpoena to the White House dated January 19, 1996. The enclosed document has been labeled with Bates numbers T002267-T002281.

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.

We also have tapes of several recent television or radio interviews with the First Lady in which she addresses issues covered by the subpoena. Please let me know if you would like these tapes produced.

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

Sincerely yours,



Jane C. Sherburne  
Special Counsel to the President

Enclosures

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
EXECUTIVE SUPPORT FACILITY

Commercial: (301) 436-3211  
FAX: (301) 436-3210

Date: January 18, 1996

To: Ms. Jane C. Sherburne

Address: Counsel's Office, The White House

Room: \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Copy of personal belongings log

From: Richard Napoli

Special Instructions:

Total number of pages being sent: 15  
(including this cover page)

FAX TO NUMBER 202-456-1213





# United States Department of the Interior

## NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

National Capital Region  
1100 Ohio Drive, SW.  
Washington, D.C. 20242

January 18, 1996

A5431 (NCA-WHL-ESF)

BY TELECOPY

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

Dear Ms. Sherburne:

As you requested, enclosed is a copy of the complete log reflecting the movement of the personal belongings of the President and Mrs. Clinton stored at the Executive Support Facility from January 20, 1993 to the present. If you have any questions, please contact me at (301) 436-3211.

Sincerely,

*Richard Napoli*

Richard Napoli  
Chief, Executive Support Facility  
White House Liaison

Enclosure



T 002268

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

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Elena Kagan  
OA/Box Number: 8293

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2009-1006-F  
ry936

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Work Plan for Week of 10/23/95

1. Substantive Files to Re-Review

Podesta's two boxes (DF office)

Cutler's two boxes (MN office)

Sherburne's files (JS office)

Klein's files (Rm. 142, top drawer, outside file cabinet)

Mack's documents (DF office)

Conaway's boxes (MN office)

Cheston's boxes (MN office)

Eggleston's boxes (Room 511)

Office of Records Management Box (DF office)

Office of Records Management Index (DF office)

Fein's files (DF office)

Hernreich files (MN office)

Diarist (MN office)

Redacted copies of Senate 1994 production (DF office)

Angel Fire Production (MN office)

2. Files to Review for the First Time

Remaining phone records in our possession (Room 400)

Any additional WH responses (none ready)

3. Inquiries to Make

Office of Records Management

Specified former employees' telephone records

Fiske Production.



T 002282

OK 5/2/94

LAW OFFICES  
WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY



T 002283

725 TWELFTH STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

(202) 434-5000

FAX (202) 434-5029

EDWARD BENNETT WILLIAMS (1920-1986)  
PAUL R. CONNOLLY (1922-1979)

DAVID E. KENDALL  
(202) 434-5145

May 2, 1994

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

INITIALS: OB DATE: 7/3/08

2006-0320-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. James A. Renick  
Inspector General  
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation  
Washington, D.C. 20429

RE: Office of Inspector General Audit and Investigation of  
Billings and Possible Conflicts of Interest by the Rose  
Law Firm in Representing the FDIC, RTC, and FSLIC

Dear Mr. Renick:

This will acknowledge your letter dated April 8, 1994, requesting "records relating to legal services for FDIC, RTC and FSLIC" performed by my client, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Esq., while she was at The Rose Law Firm. Mr. Coogan afforded me an additional week to respond to your letter, for which I am grateful.

With the exception noted in the next paragraph, however, my client is not in possession of such records. I believe you should direct your request to The Rose Law Firm for records pertaining to that firm's legal services rendered to the three named federal agencies.

In an effort to be of assistance, however, I enclose three pleadings filed on May 8, 1987, in First American Savings and

WILLIAMS &amp; CONNOLLY

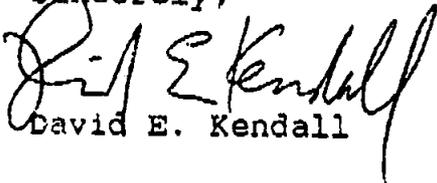


Mr. James A. Renick  
May 2, 1994  
Page 2

Loan Association v. United Capital Corporation, No. LR-C-85-704  
(E.D. Ark.): a Motion to Amend Complaint, Motion for Continuance  
and Extension, and Plaintiff's Motion to Compel Discovery, with  
supporting brief. These were not in my client's possession, but  
I retrieved them from public records about two months ago, and I  
enclose them for whatever assistance they may provide.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

  
David E. Kendall

OK 5/2/94

LAW OFFICES  
WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY



725 TWELFTH STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

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WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY

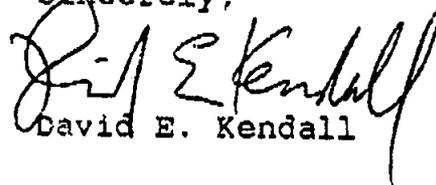


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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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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

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

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

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.

MORE

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.

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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

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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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

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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

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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

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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.

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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.

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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?

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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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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

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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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. report	Re: Recommended Guidelines (4 pages)	nd	P5

### COLLECTION:

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

### FOLDER TITLE:

Whitewater Document Request I [3]

2009-1006-F  
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### 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]
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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]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

New - next

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THE FEDERAL NEWS REUTERS TRANSCRIPT SERVICE

CNN "LARRY KING LIVE" INTERVIEW WITH:  
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1994

TRANSCRIPT BY: FEDERAL NEWS SERVICE  
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ANNOUNCER: Welcome to "Larry King Live." Tonight, our King Size Week  
continues with a first -- Hillary Rodham Clinton, first lady of the United  
States in her first live interview, taking your calls. Now, from Washington,  
here's Larry King.

LARRY KING: Good evening. Thanks for joining us, Hillary.

MRS. CLINTON: Thanks for having me.

MR. KING: We appreciate this. We'll be taking your calls. You'll see the  
numbers flashing on the screen. We're going to get to  
a lot of calls tonight. I want to touch a lot of bases. First, your reaction  
to the passage today of the assault gun bill.

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I was thrilled, Larry. I mean, it is such  
a great step for this country to start taking control of our streets and our  
neighborhoods again. You and I have talked about that in the past. And it  
has to be seen in context. It must be part of the larger initiative. The  
president is pushing for crime control with more prisons, tougher sentences,  
more prevention -- but it is such an important step.

MR. KING: You said, after health care, that's what you were going to  
give your attention to next, right?

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MRS. CLINTON: Well, you mean, the whole web of violence. I mean, the guns, the drugs, the decaying neighborhoods, the irresponsibility -- all of that we have to tackle.

MR. KING: Were you involved in this last minute push today -- because you way behind in this earlier in the week?

MRS. CLINTON: I was urging my husband on last night, as he was still calling at midnight, and then he got up very early and started again. But it wasn't anything I was directly involved in.

MR. KING: Do you like this job -- still like it? Last time we talked, you semi-liked it.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, there are lots of parts of it that I really like. I love seeing what we're doing in the country. I am thrilled by all the progress that's been made in the last 15 months. I love meeting people. I love hearing their stories. I'm like you -- I just can listen to people and want to know what's going on in their lives. So, there are many things about it that I like.

MR. KING: What don't you like?

MRS. CLINTON: It's hard being so confined. You know, feeling that you can't just walk out the door and go to the store. You know, I was over in a Safeway store the other day, and I was there to promote health care benefits -- but I loved being in the store. I haven't been in a store since I came to Washington, except one, you know, little effort that didn't pan out.

MR. KING: When you're first lady of Little Rock, you can go to the shopping center, right?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely. Well, yes. I mean, I could get in my car, go to the store, take my daughter out shopping, have lunch with her, go to church with my husband, go to the movies. It was very different, yes.

MR. KING: Did you expect it. Nancy Reagan said that the biggest surprise was how different Washington was from Sacramento.

MRS. CLINTON: I agree with her. It was a very big surprise because, even if you think about it -- and, of course, California is a much bigger state than Arkansas -- but when she said that, I know what she means, because even though you might think, from watching on television or talking to people, you have an understanding of what it's like, once you get there and you know that your life will never be the same again -- it's a pretty big change.

MR. KING: Your husband, the other day, criticize the vituperativeness that goes on, and the angle. Why do you think you and him create such volatile feelings on the part of opponents. I mean, it's like hate. Why do you think that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think because he's really trying to change things, and I think that gets people who don't want to see anything changed -- like they don't want bans on assault weapons that are going to be used to kill people -- that gets them very agitated. So, anytime you really mean what you say and you stand up for it, you're going to create opposition. And if you go back and look at presidents who really made a difference -- that's what happened to

them.

MR. KING: What do you make of the anger at you?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think some of it is part of the fear and insecurity that what my husband's trying to do, and the direction he's trying to take our country, and get us all moving together again. I think some of it is because I'm kind of a transition person in the history of our country.

MR. KING: Meaning what?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that, you know, for many women, the life that I've led -- trying to balance family and work, is what we are all trying to work out in our own lives. But we've never had somebody in my position before who had done that. And I've, you know, worked most of my life, and I really believe in women having the full range of choices available to them. I don't care what choice they make, as long as they make the right choice for them. But I think some people would rather have stereotypes. It's easier that way.

MR. KING: Some items in the news today -- we'll take calls, talk about health care, but first, today, Mr. Fiske, the special prosecutor, has subpoenaed all the White House records, everything to do with Vince Foster. Does that surprise you?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I'm sure he's conducting a very thorough investigation and we will, of course, fully cooperate.

MR. KING: I've never had a chance to hear you on that. We were there that night at the White House --

MRS. CLINTON: I know.

MR. KING: -- that tragedy happened, interviewing your husband. In fact, he and I were the only two that didn't know it had happened.

-END-OF-AUTOBREAK(1)-

-AUTOBREAK(2)-FOLLOWS

\*\*\*\* filed by:RB--(--) on 05/06/94 at 00:51EDT \*\*\*\*  
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MRS. CLINTON: That's right.

MR. KING: You knew it had happened while he was on.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I was in Arkansas, and while he was on with you, as you remember, because you were there, Mack McLarty

called to tell me what had happened. And I think everyone just was in shock. I mean, you were there. You saw the faces. People were traumatized. I mean, I was told they were crying in the hall and just collapsed on the floor. It was a terrible, terrible experience.

MR. KING: Were you shocked? Did you know there was something the matter?

MRS. CLINTON: No. I hadn't ever thought anything like that would happen to someone that I knew and someone who'd been such a good friend of ours for so long. And I hadn't seen nor talked to him in several weeks before it did happen. And I've talked with many people who had who also said, gee, you know, he was working hard and concerned about all the work he had to do -- but nothing that really waved any flags in anybody's face.

MR. KING: And no note leaves you with a kind of helpless feeling, doesn't it?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. You know, I don't know if you've had friends or acquaintances who have committed suicide, but --

MR. KING: One acquaintance.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes.

MR. KING: Not -- I wouldn't say friend.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I have known a number of people -- nobody as well as we knew Vince, of course. But lots of times there is no warning. Sometimes people make attempts and they want attention so that maybe they can be helped. But all too often, especially with men between about 40 and 60, as I have now learned, it is something they keep deep inside, often struggling with depression that -- I've had a friend now come to me and tell me, I never knew before, that he had contemplated suicide because of a deep depression.

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He told me that it was like being overwhelmed with blackness. Everywhere he looked, he saw no way out. And through a combination of circumstances, that didn't happen to him. But his efforts to try to explain to us what it must be like to be overcome by a deep, serious, profound depression -- I hope everybody in America learns something from this, and maybe we can pick up the signals better.

MR. KING: Were you angry when people started -- there were rumors, you, Vince, Bill, and all this.

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, no.

MR. KING: Didn't you get angry?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I found it profoundly sad. You know, it's so sad that when something tragic happens, that people -- maybe out of a desperate attempt to make sense of the world -- try to create conspiracies and, you know, act paranoid and all that, but some of it is not explainable except for people who just want to cause trouble.

MR. KING: You let it rub off you?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, you have to.

MR. KING: But the subpoenas today, any, do you --

MRS. CLINTON: No, no, no. I mean, I think that, you know, the White House will fully cooperate, as it has been.

MR. KING: Was he involved in the Whitewater at all, in the legal office?

MRS. CLINTON: No, there were some files that were there, which were turned over to our lawyers after his death, which I think he had there -- I didn't know he had -- having to do with the blind trust that he was kind of coordinating the activities of the outside lawyers and accountants.

MR. KING: But you had nothing to do with sealing that office off or anything.

MRS. CLINTON: No, no.

MR. KING: Things are happening on the health care front. We're going to talk about that. We're going to take your calls. We're going to devote a lot of this program to your calls. Our guest is the first lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton. Don't go away.

(Announcements.)

MRS. CLINTON: (From video.) There are many people who are talking about what we need to do. There are many analysts who are analyzing all the different approaches. But there isn't anything as important as taking care of our children -- and that means every child. And as you can tell, for me, this

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is an issue that goes way beyond politics. And it's an issue that I think we should not rest as a country until we deal with.

MR. KING: What caused you to show that which we had not seen in you  
re?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, this was such an extraordinary experience yesterday morning, I think, for everyone who was there. I've had many conversations and have gotten teared up lots of times as I've traveled around the country talking with individual parents about their children or some other health care problem. But yesterday, to be in a room with parents, mothers and fathers from all 50 states and their children who had very serious medical problems, and to listen to their stories -- the courage, the love that they showed in talking about the sacrifices they have to make because of our health care system to be able to keep their children at home and to be able to love them just like any child deserves to be loved, was just so overwhelming to me.

I was just so struck by how, in our country, we talk a lot about family values and how we, you know, want parents to take care of their children. And here I was surrounded by people who -- by the grace of God and their own love -- were taking care of children in ways that I think all of us would be proud of. And yet, all they did was talk about their frustrations and how they were forced onto welfare because they couldn't get insurance, and men who were unable to change jobs, men who can't take raises, because if they take raises, they lose the Medicaid eligibility for their children, mothers who stood there and talked about how they'd be better off if they divorced their husbands, because then they could get government assistance. That is just wrong.

MR. KING: Senators Boren and Kerrey, yesterday, Democrats, signed up as first Democratic sponsors of the Chafee plan, the moderate Republican  
ator. Senator Boren, yesterday, told me on my radio show, that he thinks that the Chafee plan could pass, and that you ought to sit down and talk to him about it, and it does include total coverage.

MRS. CLINTON: And, that's right.

MR. KING: First, what are your thoughts on Kerrey and Boren doing that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I'm pleased that they are supporting a plan that has a mandate -- because there's no way to get everybody

covered unless we have some kind of requirement -- and that it is one that will reach universal coverage. I have spent a lot of time talking with Senator Chafee and have visited Rhode Island and been on a program with him, and I know that he is committed to making sure we get real health care reform.

MR. KING: So, you were happy that Boren and Kerrey signed on with him?

MRS. CLINTON: I thought it was a positive step. And I think that if the debate in the Congress is between our approach, which has an employer-employee shared responsibility, but recognized you've got to have that, and Senator Chafee's approach, which has an individual responsibility, but, as Senator Boren said yesterday, probably mixed with some employer responsibility as well, I think that's the right debate.

MR. KING: So, in other words, you can live with that --

MRS. CLINTON: Well --

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MR. KING: -- as opposed to, "We don't need change."

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. "We don't need change," or some of the false claims for change that bills have put forward and said, "Well, this is really going to change," and then you analyze the fine print and there is no change.

MR. KING: Are you going to get a health care bill?

MRS. CLINTON: We are going to get a health care bill. We're going to get it because we cannot do any less than to keep faith with people.

MR. KING: Is it going to be a combination, like Chafee- Clinton?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know exactly what it's going to be yet. I think that's what going on in the Congress right now -- a lot of activity, a lot of very hard work. But I'm confident we're going to have a bill.

MR. KING: Today's Wall Street Journal says that you have been talking to the Canadians about their health care system, asking how the United States could put a government run plan in place similar to Canada's.

MRS. CLINTON: Which Canadians and when did that happen?

MR. KING: Totally false?

-END-OF-AUTOBREAK(1)-  
-AUTOBREAK(2)-FOLLOWS

\*\*\*\* filed by:RB--(--) on 05/06/94 at 01:04EDT \*\*\*\*  
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MRS. CLINTON: Well, I don't know what they're talking about. I talk to people all over the country, and I'm sure that in the last year and a half, I've spoken to a Canadian, you know. (Laughing.) I'd be surprised if I hadn't.

MR. KING: No kidding.

MRS. CLINTON: No kidding. No, but I think that what we are looking at is an American solution to our American health care problem. And what the president has supported is guaranteed private insurance. But we do believe that states ought to have the right to have some flexibility about how they would implement health care reform -- including a single payer system, such as will be voted on in California this year.

MR. KING: So, you don't want a Canadian system?

MRS. CLINTON: I personally don't think that's the best solution for America right now, but I think states should have the right to vote for a single payer, Canadian-like system within the federal framework.

MR. KING: Are you a reader of the Wall Street Journal?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, occasionally, yes.

MR. KING: Do you get angry when -- because they've been pretty tough.

MRS. CLINTON: You mean, the editorial page?

MR. KING: Yes.

MRS. CLINTON: No, I think they're silly.

MR. KING: Silly?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, silly.

MR. KING: You mean for --

MRS. CLINTON: Because they are so ideologically to the right that they twist reality to try to fit their particular world view, and I think that's pretty obvious to anybody who's read it. I think the news pages are very good.

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MR. KING: Are you used to this by now?

MRS. CLINTON: Used to the silliness?

MR. KING: Well, just -- yes. No, as you see this, as you perceive it, do you ever get used to it?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think, after a while, you kind of know where it's coming from. There are certain predictable --

MR. KING: Knee-jerk --

MRS. CLINTON: -- sources of information and what people were likely to say, you can kind of see coming. So, you kind of get used to that. And what I try to do, as I've tried to do ever since my husband's been in public life is, you know, to take criticism seriously, but not personally, and to try to learn something from it, and if it's put forward in good faith, to try to figure out what I could do to change.

MR. KING: Back with more of Hillary Rodham Clinton in just a couple of minutes. We'll be including your phone calls on this hour edition of "Larry King Live." She'll be our guest for the full hour. Don't go away.

(Announcements.)

MR. KING: We're back with Hillary Clinton. Apparently, tomorrow morning -- we have to have your comment on this -- the Arkansas state worker is going to file this sex harassment suit. What do you make of it?

MRS. CLINTON: I have nothing to add to what's already been said by the White House.

MR. KING: Are you happy with the choice of Bob Bennett?

MRS. CLINTON: I'm getting to know him. He seems like a very fine man.

MR. KING: Does it upset you at all?

MRS. CLINTON: No.

MR. KING: It doesn't bother you?

MRS. CLINTON: No.

MR. KING: Onward to calls. Rapid City, South Dakota with Hillary Rodham Clinton. Hello?

CALLER: Hi. I'm going to be -- I'm a medical student, going to be graduating in less than two weeks. And my question is, why don't we get rid of the waste in the current governmental medical system rather than trying to revamp everything -- (coughs) -- excuse me. As an example, I used to work in emergency medicine in a busy inner-city emergency department. We'd have

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people come into the emergency department by ambulance because their child had a cold or diaper rash, not because they didn't have a physician and not because they didn't want to wait or whatever, but because there was no transportation to the clinic. The taxicab didn't take the Medicaid card, and ambulance could only come to the hospital.

MR. KING: What's the question?

CALLER: Why don't we get rid of the waste in the current system rather than revamping everything?

MRS. CLINTON: That's a good question, and we are trying to do that. I mean, one of the goals of the president's approach is to solve the kinds of problems you just talked about. People show up in emergency rooms because they don't have a doctor, they don't have any management of their care, so they don't know where they're supposed to go, and they show up, and they wait there, and then they're eventually taken care of in the most expensive way we possibly can give them.

What we are trying to do is to provide incentives for people to get care from primary and preventive care physicians, nurses and other health care professionals, and use the expensive parts of our system, like emergency rooms for true emergencies. But in order to do that, we have to make some changes.

MR. KING: Yardley, Pennsylvania with Hillary Clinton on "Larry King Live." Dan Quayle tomorrow night. Only in America, right? (Laughter.)

Yardley, Pennsylvania, hello?

CALLER: Hi, how are you doing?

MR. KING: Hi.

CALLER: Mrs. Clinton, I had a question about health care reform also. Presently, in the Philadelphia metropolitan area, about 30 percent of the health care workers have lost their jobs over the past year in anticipation of the health care reform bill. This results sometimes in, well, less services to patients. I'm a registered nurse, so I've seen this. I'm wondering how your health care reform will address this issue.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, thanks for asking that, and thanks for being a registered nurse, too. We really need you and we're trying

to support and expand the role of nurses in health care reform. What you've just mentioned has nothing to do with health care reform. You're right that there have been lots of changes in the last several years. There have been lay-offs and there have been changes in the way we allocate resources, driven by the existing system. And often times, that is not making a decision in the best interests of patients, doctors, and nurses, but instead, trying to keep costs down in a system that is out of control.

What we anticipate happening is that if everybody is in the system, if everybody has guaranteed private insurance with a good set of benefits, if we eliminate the insurance practices -- like, keeping people away from insurance because of pre-existing conditions or lifetime limits, if we guarantee your choice of doctor or health plan, and if we preserve and strengthen Medicare by providing these benefits through the workplace, then a lot of the problems that we have seen in the last few years where insurance companies tell doctors what to do -- I don't want an insurance company telling a doctor; I want the doctor making a decision -- where we spend billions of dollars on unnecessary

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
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Monday, January 15, 1996

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY  
CONDUCTED BY DIANE REHM  
THE DIANE REHM SHOW  
WAMU RADIO  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Q From WAMU in Washington, I'm Diane Rehm.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is embarking on a tour to talk about the book she has written on children's issues, called It Takes a Village, and Other Lessons Children Teach. Ms. Clinton has been an advocate for children all her life. In her book she speaks her mind about child-rearing topics from early education to teen pregnancy, and she also writes forcefully about what children need from the family and the broader community.

Mrs. Clinton herself has become the center of controversy in recent days with the release of documents related to her role in the matter of the White House Travel Office and her legal work for a failed Arkansas savings-and-loan.

She joins me in the studio to talk about It Takes a Village, and other issues on her mind and yours. Throughout the hour you can join us: (800) 433-8850, if you're calling from around the country; here in the Washington area or from abroad, (202) 885-8850.

Mrs. Clinton, thanks for joining us.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you, Diane. Thank you for having me back. I'm delighted to be here.

Q Always a pleasure.

I wondered, considering all the controversy that's been going on, whether at any point you considered canceling your tour.

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MRS. CLINTON: Oh, not at all. You know, this book is about what I believe America should do for its children, and the idea of It Takes a Village is that each of us has a responsibility for the raising of our children. You know, that means maybe mentoring or tutoring a child, or trying to shield children from the violence and destructive information in our media, or, you know, maybe the importance of imparting values and standards in the home, in the school, in the church. I think there is something for each of us to do, and in my book I try to talk about some of the lessons that I have learned, over about 25 years, that I see working in people's lives to help our children.

Q And, of course, all the while you were planning this tour. Then emerge all these new details, and people -- some people -- actually speculated, "Well, of course she'll cancel her tour, because she doesn't want to be asked these other questions."

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, of course not. You know, I expect to be asked questions. I must say, it's a little bit bewildering to me that these things would occur at the time when I want to start my book tour, but that's all part of it. It sort of goes with the territory, and, in an odd sort of way, maybe because of the interest and all of the storm over Whitewater, more people will pay attention to what I'm saying, and, when they work through what people are saying back and forth about Whitewater, they might say to themselves, "Well, you know, that'll be done and gone. It doesn't affect my life. Let's think about what we can do for our children, and let's maybe think about this book and some of the ideas it promotes."

Q You take on some of the -- really, the most difficult issues -- regarding children, right from prenatal care, on through their intellectual development and the care for children, into the teenage years. Your policies sound -- I mean, when you talk about Head Start for all children, you talk about health care for all children -- those are really liberal visions, are they not, when you yourself describe yourself as really rather conservative?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, this book really tries to focus on what each of us can do in our various roles, starting with the home and the family. I think there's been a false debate pitting the family against the government, and rarely do we stand back and say, "There are many institutions

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that actually have more of an impact on our children than the government does." Certainly the family is the most important, but every parent I know needs some help. I certainly do and did.

You know, I tell the story about, you know, trying to breast-feed Chelsea in the hospital in those first days of life, and I had read the books; I had had people show me what I was supposed to do; but I really didn't know what I was doing, and I needed some hands-on help.

So I think there are ways in which, if we kind of cut through the political and ideological rhetoric and honestly ask what is best for children, yes, there's a role for government, but in my view it's a relatively minor role. There is a much bigger role not only for the family, but for business, which affects so dramatically how people live their lives and whether working parents are able to be both good parents and good workers. I think the media, more than any other single institution in our society, has affected how children are raised and how they see themselves and what they think of their futures. I think churches and synagogues and mosques and every other religious institution affect our children. And certainly, those child-oriented institutions, like schools and child-care centers, have a big role to play.

So, yes, there is a role -- and I think we should define it carefully -- for government, but I believe there is a role for the rest of us, too.

Q I was interested in what you wrote about your mother: that, in fact, her mother had had her when she was just 15.

MRS. CLINTON: That's right. One of the other debates we've had, which I don't think is very useful, is, you know, who is a proper family; who has the right to raise children. I say very forthrightly in the book, I would wish that every family were stable and dependable under stress and that a mother and a father raised every child, and I think we should do some things, like making it more difficult to get divorced for families with children, in order to create a better situation, so that could occur. But --

Q Does that -- excuse me -- does that mean that you would favor Michigan's doing away with no-fault divorce?

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MRS. CLINTON: Not at this point. What I would favor is what I call braking mechanisms and required education and counseling for couples with children. I know that divorce will continue. I do believe that we're starting to see it level off, as the results of divorce on children are honestly evaluated, but I believe that we could do more to encourage couples to weather some of the difficulties in marriage that are inevitable in any marriage that I'm aware of, with more information about what divorce does for kids.

There was a myth in the '70s and '80s that, you know, a bad marriage was, you know, worse than a good divorce. Well, we now know that most divorces are not good for children.

But what I was saying about my mother -- and I write about this in the book, and it was one of the things that I really had to think carefully about and ask her permission, because she is also a very private person -- but I wanted to make the point that -- she had a very difficult childhood: a 15-year-old mother, a 17-year-old father. They were married, but that was a mere formality. They were immature, not ready for parenthood, very neglectful of her. When she was 5, she had a little sister. Her little sister was mistreated.

And finally, her father, who then was about 25, did make a good decision on her behalf, which was to get her out of the family environment, but he sent her and her little sister to California from Chicago, on a train, alone, and when I first heard that story I could not believe it. To think about, you know, my child, at 8, taking care of a three-year-old little sister, being alone on a train -- unfortunately, the destination was not what one would hope. Her grandparents were very severe, very rigid and arbitrary -- again, I think any fair reading would be "mistreated," both my mother and her sister.

So when my mother was, I think, 14, she left her grandparents' home and went to work taking care of someone else's children. She was able to finish high school, but it was a very difficult childhood.

So I think any one of us, if we look honestly at our own families, knows there's no picture-perfect family. What's important is that the adults know what it takes to raise healthy, resilient children, and we do the best we can.

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Q First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is with me, and we do invite your calls: (800) 433-8850, or here in the Washington area, (202) 885-8850.

In a chapter you call "The Best Tool You Can Give a Child is a Shovel," you talk about how you've equipped Chelsea for dealing with criticism of her parents. Talk about that and how hard that has been for her.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, it has been hard, and I'm very grateful to my parents, because people ask me, sometimes, how I get through what I get through on a daily basis, and I give my parents enormous credit for really giving me the tools that I needed.

And in that chapter, "It Takes a Shovel," I tell the story of how, when Chelsea was about 6, it was the first time she was really old enough, beginning to read, to follow politics, although her father had been in politics since her birth. And Bill and I decided that it would be unfair to her not to bring her in as much of a participant as a child could be, so that she wouldn't hear things or pick up things from someone else.

So we started at the dinner table to say to her that an election was happening, explained it to her in terms a 6-year-old could understand, and then tell her that, in elections, people say things about each other that are not very nice, sometimes, even mean, and I remember her eyes just getting wide and welling up with tears, like "Why would anybody do that," because, of course, we had always told her that, you know, she should tell the truth and all that we thought was important. And it was very difficult, but I am so grateful we did it.

We actually staged little mock debates, where I would say, "Chelsea, I want you to pretend to be your daddy and say why you should be governor again," and, you know, she didn't know what to say. She'd say, "I'm Bill Clinton, and I'm trying to help people, so please vote for me." Then I'd say, "Well, now your daddy's going to be one of his opponents," and Bill would say, "Bill Clinton's a terrible person. He is mean to people," and Chelsea would say, "That's not true," and I said, "Well, honey, that's what's going to happen."

So during the, you know, last nearly ten years, she

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has been part of every, you know, experience we've had. We ask her, if she has any questions, to come to us. So that's one of the shovels we've tried to give her.

Q In the last week or so, there have been some questions raised about whether you actually wrote the book. Yesterday, Maureen Dowd commented that Barbara Feinman, who Simon & Schuster apparently paid a certain amount of money, felt bad that somehow she had not been acknowledged. To what extent did she help you on this book?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, she was one of a number of people who helped me. As I say in the acknowledgements, it took a village to write this book. She helped me in the early stages to -- she conducted conversations with me so that I could get my ideas out, and then they were transcribed. She offered suggestions. I appreciated her help. She really didn't help much beyond August, and the bulk of the book was really written from August forward -- from September forward.

But I am grateful for her help, as I am for the superb editor I had at Simon & Schuster, Becky Salitan. I started a list of everybody I wanted to acknowledge, and in my life I have contact with so many people. I sent drafts of chapters to friends to read and comment and criticize. I, you know, stopped people. I called people. I remember, when Daniel Goldman's book, Emotional Intelligence, came out, it was right down the alley of what I was thinking. In fact, he sent me an early galley of it. I called and had conversations with him.

There were so many people who contributed to this book that, when the list got to be about 60 people and was still growing, I thought, "I'm sure to leave somebody out," and there were people who helped me a great deal, but there were also people, like those who helped me in the past 25 years, who in many ways were even more influential in this book. I thought the safest thing to do was not acknowledge anyone by name, but to acknowledge, in general and by categories, everyone who helped me, because I could never have done this book without the help I was able to receive.

Q And now, if we can, let's turn to Whitewater. A number of people have wondered in the last several days whether you might actually offer to go before Senator D'Amato's committee and talk about Whitewater. Will you do

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that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, Diane, I have said repeatedly that I will cooperate in any way at all, and if there were an opportunity, when I thought that the partisanship was not there, when the questions were ones that you could predict -- they weren't, you know, just coming out of left field -- certainly I would consider that. I would consider anything to bring this matter to a close.

But I also believe that what we have here is a repeat of what has gone on for the last four years, because the fundamental facts have not changed. We said we lost money. It took four years and an independent study by the RTC -- that cost, I think, \$4 million -- to say, "Yes, the Clintons did not lose money." That committee won't release that study.

Then there was an allegation that we somehow were channeled money, either to us personally or through the President's gubernatorial campaigns, from Madison Savings and Loan. We said, "Absolutely not." Now, we did not have any documents in our possession to prove that. All we could say was the truth. It did not happen.

Now, after four years and \$4 million, that independent study says, indeed, we were telling the truth. The committee won't release that, either. So we're in a very difficult position, because we are asked questions that are not wholly within our knowledge. We try to answer them the best way we can, then the ground shifts, the questions change, and we're asked new questions.

Nobody wants this over with more than I do. I was delighted when those documents showed up. I want everybody to know everything, because, frankly, there's a lot about this I don't remember. It happened 10, 11 years ago. I've done the best I can. I will continue to do that.

Q And on that line of thinking, couldn't you in fact put a great many of these questions to rest if you were to volunteer to go up to Senator D'Amato's committee and tell your story?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, it may come to that. I don't know. But I think that it would be very helpful if we had an atmosphere where what the committee knows was better available to the public. Where are the RTC reports that verify what the President and I have said for four years?

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It would be very helpful if we could have a very honest attempt to get to the real truth, not the gamesmanship, not the gotcha stuff that, you know, somebody says the word, "is," and somebody says the word, "are," and there's a conflict, when the bottom line is there is no conflict. So I will do whatever it takes to continue to try to get this matter resolved.

Q With all due respect, it would seem to me that listeners hearing that comment might say, "Well, there's Hillary Clinton being a lawyer again."

MRS. CLINTON: That's one of my problems, Diane. You know, I was a lawyer for 20 years. I think like a lawyer. That is not often the best thing for somebody in my position. I recognize that.

But I also know that there are many things at stake here, and if everything could come out -- you know, if this were a fair inquiry instead of a partisan inquiry, as I think it has now unfortunately taken that direction, there would have been a press conference holding up those reports which said we had told the truth. I find it -- I mean I want the truth to come out.

Now, if I have made mistakes in the way we have handled this, as opposed to, you know, what I've done, but in how it has been handled, I am the first to admit that. You know, I did not understand a lot of what would be expected, and I have paid a price for that, but what I have said repeatedly has been truthful. And so, part of my dilemma is, how do I get a fair chance?

You know, when this first started four years ago, and they said to us, "You did not lose money in that real estate deal," and we said, "Yes, we did." They said, "Prove it." We said, "Well, based on the documents we have, here's what we can prove," and in fact we showed what we had.

And then we were told, "Well, that's not good enough. You have to, you know, prove that you didn't take money from somebody else." Well, we couldn't disprove it other than by saying truthfully, "We did not do that." So this has been a tragedy, if not a comedy, of back and forth all the time.

Q In the last few days, it has been reported a

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number of times that, early on in the administration, David Gergen, advisor to President Clinton, advised you both to go to the Washington Post, lay out all the documents, and just put it all out on the table. Number one, did he advise you that? And number two, do you now think maybe that would have been a good idea?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, David did, and I certainly understood why he gave us that advice, and I have a very high regard for him. David was not with us in the '92 campaign. We actually did that with the New York Times. We took every document we had -- which, again I have to say, were not many. We laid them all out.

But the New York Times was getting documents; they were getting stories; they were getting, you know, accusations from other people. So when they would ask us a follow-up question, we would have to say, "We don't know anything about that," and then they would say, "Well, then, maybe you can't answer our questions." And of course we later were able to prove that what we said was truth, but at the time, all we could do was to say what we knew.

We were concerned about the same problem. We only have what we know. We have no responsibility for the Madison Savings and Loan's conduct during the years in question. We have no responsibility for what Mr. McDougall when we were passive investors. We could not answer questions. So I don't think it would have put the matter to rest.

That's why we have a special counsel. They have subpoena power. They can get documents we could not get. They can put people under oath. We thought this whole matter would be left to the special counsel, and instead we now have congressional inquiries that are kind of doing the same thing that we hoped to avoid, you know, telling half the story, not telling the whole story.

So this has not been an easy matter for us to respond to, and maybe we, you know, have missed some chances. But, looking back on it, I think there were reasons why people kept asking questions even when we couldn't answer them. That's why I think this matter should be left to the special counsel to resolve.

Q What chances do you think you missed that could have made the difference in people's perception of Whitewater

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and the Travel Office affair?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, with respect to Whitewater, I think that -- I'm not sure we could have done this, but we were always answering questions on the fly, especially during the '92 Presidential campaign, and we answered them the best we could, but then something else would come up.

We originally, for example, thought we had lost \$60,000. That was just our best guess. We didn't have the time to stop and go through everything. When we finally went through everything, and when the RTC went through everything, we lost a little over \$40,000. So someone could say, "Oh, she said 60 first, and then it turned out to be 40," when we were acting in good faith both times.

But we didn't stop everything in the middle of a Presidential campaign to prove how much we lost. We knew we had lost money. That was the fundamental fact, and that has never changed. So maybe if we could have figured out how to stop things and take more time to answer questions, we might have avoided some things.

I also believe that I sometimes -- again, this may be my lawyerly training -- I always tried to answer the question I was asked. Then people later come back and say, "Well, but she should have answered an additional question, or she should have known we would have asked that, even though we didn't ask it." That has been something that, if I could have maybe foreseen everything everybody wanted to know, even if they didn't ask it, that might have helped, as well.

Q Which is why it comes back once again to the idea of voluntary testimony before that Senate committee.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, as I have said and will say again, if that is the kind of cooperation that is needed to end this matter, I am more than willing to do whatever it takes.

Q So are you saying, as you sit here, that you are considering volunteering to go up to Capitol Hill and speak before Senator D'Amato's committee?

MRS. CLINTON: I'm considering everything, including going to the South Pole. (Laughter.) I mean

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everything is on my plate to be considered.

Q And at 29-1/2 past the hour, you're listening to the Diane Rehm Show. We've got a lot of callers, Mrs. Clinton. Let's open the phones. 800-433-8850, or here in the Washington area, 202-885-8850.

In Arlington, Virginia, Oliver, you're on the air.

CALLER: Mrs. Clinton.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, sir.

CALLER: I believe you are perfectly capable of standing on your own two feet and defending yourself, but President Clinton and the national media are seeking to hide you behind Eleanor Roosevelt and make you Eleanor the Second. I think this strategy is not complimentary to you, and it is not a strategy of truth.

As a 21-year-old youngster, I cast my first vote for Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, and by chance, I knew Eleanor Roosevelt, and Hillary Clinton, you are no Eleanor Roosevelt.

Q All right, Oliver. Thanks.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, Oliver, I've never said I was, and I cannot imagine anyone for whom I have higher regard than Mrs. Roosevelt, but I do think it's fair to say that she engendered quite a lot of controversy and criticism. Her husband gave her a job during the war, and congressional opposition drove her from that job. So, although I make absolutely no claim to in any way approach the model and the work that she did, I do believe that there are some similarities that historians have pointed out.

Q And to Amy in D.C., you're on the air.

CALLER: Mrs. Clinton, I applaud your new book, and I'm looking forward to the good that will come from it. I certainly appreciate you and your husband's compassion for children and families. Our country's tendency to elect and then tear down our leaders truly distresses me.

I'm concerned, though, about the effect that the constant visualizations of sex and violence have on our

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youth, the visualizations that are constantly pushed on us by today's movies, videos, records, soap operas, and television programs. It seems so hypocritical to me that certain politicians and do-gooders rail against violence and babies having babies as though they and today's climate have nothing to do with it, and I just wonder what you would say we can do to prevent some of the garbage from bombarding our children.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, Amy, thank you for asking that question. I write about this in the book, in a chapter called, "Seeing Is Believing," because I believe that our children are being damaged by what they see, particularly on television, starting at a very early age. I recommend there that parents start turning off the television sets, and by that I mean start with an evening and think of other things to do with your children. Put some restrictions on what children can see.

I also think parents and groups representing parents need to band together to issue ratings about what programs are appropriate for children, in anticipation of what I hope will be a V chip that will allow parents to control what their children can actually watch on television.

I am not at all opposed to parents and other groups, on their own, exercising their First Amendment rights to boycott certain advertisers and programming which they believe is harmful to children. I cannot stress too much that, if I could do one thing to help children in our country, it would be to change what they see in the media, day in and day out.

Q We are going to take just a short break, and when we come back, we'll take more of your calls for First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, so stay with us.

(Interruption to interview.)

Q Welcome back. I'm Diane Rehm, along with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. We'll try to take just as many calls as we can through the hour. Join us on 800-433-8850 or 202-885-8850.

Mrs. Clinton, we talked earlier about those shovels that you provided to Chelsea early on as to handle the kind of comments and questions that might come her way. How about you? What are you using for inner strength? What kind of

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be, a great big ugly man came up and tied his horse to me." You know, things happen to you no matter how hard you're trying and no matter how, you know, you're trying to treat people and the like.

So the shovels that I have, in addition to a very positive upbringing with good discipline and a lot of love and expectations, are my religious faith, which has really helped me enormously throughout my life, but particularly in the last several years. I also read a lot of literature and history. I start the shovel chapter talking about Nelson Mandela. I will never face what he faced, but each of us, in our own way, faces challenges.

One thing that really did help me, that I also write about, was a phrase in a book about the parable of the prodigal son, written by Honore Nouin (phonetic), a Jesuit priest, and there was this one phrase that leapt out at me. It's called the "discipline of gratitude." You know, no matter how hard times get for me or for anyone, there is so much to be grateful for, and that may be the greatest gift you can give a child.

Q 800-433-8850. Peter in Dallas, Texas, you're on the air.

CALLER: Good morning. I'm so glad you took my call.

Q Sure.

CALLER: It's an honor to speak with the First Lady. I think that if folks will just watch what is being said by D'Amato and his allies and listen to how it is said, I think it's easy to see an orchestrated effort to demonize the Clintons and to score political points.

And I just wanted to say that I also think that you may not be Eleanor Roosevelt, but you are a revolutionary First Lady, and I hope you'll be the First Lady for four more years, and thanks so much, on Martin Luther King Day, for all that you've done for civil rights for all Americans, and we do appreciate it. I'm 26, and the 20-something crowd really likes the Clintons, and we're going to help reelect the Clintons.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much, Peter.

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CALLER: Thanks.

Q Peter, thanks for calling. And to Beara in Baltimore, you're on the air.

CALLER: Good morning.

Q Hi.

CALLER: Mrs. Clinton, I would just like to say how gratifying it is to have an honest, intelligent, strong advocate for children in the White House. I think it's very, very necessary.

I would like to speak to early childhood education. I believe so strongly that, before kids get to school, their lives and their emotions and their intelligence levels are pretty much determined, and a lot of that is ignored by our educational establishment and parents in general. I wonder if you could speak to how we could rectify that, maybe through parent education or any other thing that we could possibly come up with. Thank you again.

Q Thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Beara, I think that's the most important question my book addresses, because I agree with you that so much of what happens in a child's life happens in the first three years, and there are many things I think can be done.

I write in the book about what we have learned about brain development that I was surprised by, and I think a lot of parents would be, and how important it is to talk to your baby from the moment that baby is born. Many parents don't know that, but it is building that vocabulary that really helps prepare a child for learning. Reading to a child, even if a parent is not a good reader. The child doesn't know. It's the experience of reading that is so important.

I also believe parents often need help in educating their own children. Although a parent is a child's first teacher, I believe there are program -- and again, I write about them -- that I've been involved in that can help parents know how to teach their children. There isn't any better investment we could make as a nation in helping

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parents become their child's first teachers.

Q In Kensington, Maryland, Russell, you're on the air.

CALLER: Thank you, Diane.

Q Sure.

CALLER: I love your show. I only get to call in when it's a federal holiday, though.

Q Well, I'm glad to have you.

CALLER: I have a question and a comment for the First Lady. The question, about her new book, I tried to find it in the bookstores on Saturday and couldn't find it.

Q Probably all sold out already, but it will be there. Check back.

CALLER: I hope so. But my question was, what sort of public policy would the First Lady advocate to make it easier for men to be more involved in rearing their children, especially in the very early years from birth to two or three years of age, when it seems to me that women get to spend most of the quality time with children.

MRS. CLINTON: Russell, I love that question, and I actually write about it in the book, in a chapter called, "Kids Are an Equal Employment Opportunity," because I firmly believe fathers need to be more involved in the raising of their children, especially during the early years. I think there are two big obstacles.

The first is that society doesn't really support that. You know, there's a state trooper in Maryland who, under the Family and Medical Leave Act, took leave to try to take care of his newborn because his wife had had a very difficult pregnancy, and he was only given 10 days, even though, under the law, he was entitled to much more time, because the attitude was, you know, "That's not men's work, and so get back to your real work."

So, under leave laws, particularly the one that the President signed, where at least some employees are eligible, we can begin to change the attitude about our society's

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feelings concerning fathers.

But I think there are less tangible obstacles. I would have to admit that many women are not encouraging of their husbands' to be involved in child rearing, and I had to really learn this, because, you know, men don't always do it the way that you want it done, and, you know, the diaper may fall off, or, you know, there may be a stomach ache the next day because junk food was fed instead of what you think should have been eaten.

So I think women -- us, we, mothers -- have to lighten up a little, because helping to create that relationship between a father and his children is one of the greatest gifts a mother can give a child.

Q Thanks for calling. And you know as well as I that one in four children now born out of wedlock. You recommend abstinence for young people until age 21. Nevertheless, you do recommend sex education. What's the line there? What's the balance, and how do we encourage kids to think about sex as something for adults, as opposed to children?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think if we leave the media in the role of teaching our children, then we're not going to reverse these statistics, because sex is presented in an unrealistic and often totally irresponsible way. You don't see the follow-up to jumping into bed with the baby crying at 2:00 a.m. in the morning, and so there's a lot of really unfortunate messages our children get.

Most parents, I believe, support the idea of sex education, but feel a little bit squeamish about it, and I think it needs to be both in the home and in the school and in other institutions, including religious institutions, community institutions, so that we kind of demystify sex and make it part of the life cycle at an appropriate, responsible stage.

That can only happen if, when children are very young, their questions are answered; they're given, you know, straight talk; they're taught how to say no; they're given the feeling that parenting is a gift that they need to exercise responsibly.

And then, when they get older, peers have to be

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given tools to support each other in saying no to early sexual activity, and adults have to give young teenagers other things to do under adult supervision than just wander the malls or the video arcades.

Q In Newport News, Jay, you're on the air.

CALLER: Good morning.

Q Hi.

CALLER: How are you doing, Mrs. Clinton?

MRS. CLINTON: I'm fine.

CALLER: Let me say, first of all, that that D'Amato character, he is a nasty individual, and I do hope that you get through this. Being in public office must be awful, having to, so to speak, air all your dirty linen in public, and I have a lot of sympathy for both you and your husband. I think that you've both done a very good job. I wish you well for your book.

However, one thing that really is not on this subject, one thing that I am really concerned with that's happening in this country, is what the corporations in this country are doing. Specifically, I'm talking about the 40,000 people who were laid off just recently at AT&T. It seems in this country what we come down to is the corporate bottom line. There is no compassion in this country anymore for the workers of this country. How can you raise children in this country when you can't have a job?

MRS. CLINTON: Jay, I think you've asked what will be the most important issue, politically and economically, in the next couple of years, and again, I've written about it in a chapter in my book called, "Every Business Is a Family Business."

And in each of my chapters, I have a little aphorism, and here's the one for this chapter. "The Golden Rule does not mean that gold shall rule." I believe that if business leaders do not understand that they have a responsibility to the social stability of our country and, particularly, working families, I fear for our future.

You know, much of the talk in the last few years

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has been all of the problems government has caused, and I am not an apologist for government. I think that government has done a lot of things right, but it has also done things wrong, and those need to be corrected. I want a conversation about what business has done right and wrong and what business could do better to help families, and I have some specific suggestions about that in this chapter.

But I agree with you that if we do not have our business leaders understanding that workers are also consumers, and if workers don't have stable jobs and rising incomes, then all of our goods and services will not be bought, and the entire economy will not grow, and we will have a two-tier society, which is not good for children or a democracy.

Q I'd be interested in your own outlook financially, Mrs. Clinton. Money magazine has reported you and your husband are going to be bankrupt because of all the legal bills you're facing.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, that is apparently true, Diane. You know, one of sort of the undercurrents of this series of questions about us is that I somehow must have used my law practice inappropriately, to make money for my family. Well, as I have said, if I intended to do that, which I certainly did not, I didn't do a very good job of it. We do not have many financial resources, but we don't care about that. I mean, we feel lucky to have our health, and we, despite all the slings and arrows of public life, enjoy and appreciate this opportunity.

But given the legal bills that we are running up, we certainly, on paper, are bankrupt.

Q How will you address that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, we have a legal expense fund, and many Americans have contributed to that, for which I'm very grateful, but ultimately, you know, I was raised to believe you pay your debts. We've paid every loan we've ever had. We've paid every credit obligation we've ever had. And when we're able to make money again, we will pay off every penny that we owe. I, you know, couldn't live with myself if I didn't. But I do think it's kind of a sad commentary about what's going on today.

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Q And it could mean -- sort of signal -- the future for other incumbents of the White House.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, if anyone is in public life today, they are certainly more of a target than any time in our history for legal cases being brought, for accusations being made. And if you stop and think about what that does to the capacity of the people to perform their jobs, you know, it is kind of discouraging. I want to see a return to, you know, more of a sense of trust in our society, giving each other the benefit of the doubt. Everybody makes mistakes, but that doesn't mean people intentionally do wrong. We ought to just lighten up a little and let people live their lives, and then, together, I think we can build a better society.

Q And at 10 minutes before the hour, you're listening to The Diane Rehm Show.

Patricia is on a car phone. Are you still there, Patricia?

CALLER: Yes, I'm here. Thank you.

Q Thanks for waiting.

CALLER: Thank you very much, and good morning.

Q Good morning.

CALLER: First of all, I really want to applaud Mrs. Clinton for your work, your courage, and your strong leadership as a woman, an intelligent, independent thinker. And I hope my two daughters are able to lead in the same way you do.

My question -- I'm a mental-health professional, and my question, Mrs. Clinton -- I haven't read your book yet, but my question is, what do you propose as a solution to violent marriages, where children are victims, and spouses are victims, and parents are unable or unwilling to get help, and social services are unable to protect the children? And how can you discourage divorce in those situations?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, Patricia, in the book I talk a lot about my own mother-in-law's marriage, which was very violent. And she did divorce her husband and then remarried

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him, out of pity, and I don't think that was a very good decision. I certainly understand situations, particularly where there is abuse and violence, where divorce is absolutely necessary, and probably should be taken sooner instead of later, to remove both the children and the spouse from a very violent environment.

So I think that that's one approach: that, yes, where there's violence, let's move on divorce. But I think there's a bigger problem, and that is, we still don't take abuse seriously enough in our country. I think that we have overburdened our social-welfare system in trying to make difficult decisions about abuse, trying to reunify families when, actually, there's not a family to reunify. So when abuse occurs with respect to children, I believe that you should move quickly to remove the children, criminally prosecute every adult involved, both the perpetrators and those who were accessories. I believe that we have to move more quickly to make a decision whether children should be returned to a home or freed for adoption, and I advocate that we should literally view the numbers of children -- about 100,000 -- in our foster-care system, who are eligible to be adopted but are left in limbo, as a national emergency, and do everything it takes to find new homes for those children.

As a mental-health professional, I know you know that we do not have enough services for families who need counseling, and that often can make a huge difference in someone's life. So, again, I would urge that we try to provide help for people who are trying to help themselves.

Q And Randy, in Dallas, quick question, please.

CALLER: Yes. Ms. Clinton, I really respect you. Both my wife and I are student-ministers in the United Methodist Church. We wanted to know how John Wesley's teachings and Methodism itself has informed your life and your approach to policy.

Thanks. I'll hang up and listen on the radio.

Q Thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Randy, they've had a very big effect on me. You know, trying to do all the good that I can do was drummed into me at a very early age. And, you know, I wrote about religion in my book. Some people urged me not to; they

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said, you know, "That's not an issue that has broad public appeal," or, you know, "You'll say something that will alienate somebody." But I don't think we can talk about what's happening in America today without talking about our spiritual challenges.

And so, in my chapter about religion, I talk about how I was raised in my church, the experiences I had, and how important it was as a basis, both for dealing with life's challenges, but also understanding where I stood in the world, and not to feel any sense of superiority because I was lucky enough to be born a privileged white girl in America in the middle 20th century, but to realize that, you know, part of what God's mission for all of us is to relate more to one another, to love each other.

And that's a real challenge for me, many days, but I try to practice what I was taught.

Q Mrs. Clinton, you and your husband will be moving into high gear as the campaign heats up. On that point, have your actions in the past three years, do you believe, helped or hindered your husband's chances for reelection?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I hope that they have not hindered my husband's chances, because, not only do I love my husband, but I think he's been a very good president in a difficult time for our country. And I believe, if what I have done is truthfully and factually conveyed to the American public, the American public is fundamentally fair, and they will judge me on what I have done, and they will judge my husband on what he has done, and that's all anyone can ask for.

Q But the questions remain, and, as you say, the questions keep coming, and I'm sure, in the campaign, his political opponents will make a large issue of you.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, they may, but in a political campaign, unlike in the sort of daily back-and-forth of public service, you can focus people's attention, and, if worst comes to worst, you can pay to advertise what the facts are. I don't think 10 percent of the American public know that an independent investigation, run by an independent law firm, headed by a Republican former U.S. attorney, found that we were telling the truth. Well, if people want to accuse us

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of things that are not true, then we will make sure that the truth gets out.

Q What about David Watkins and his testimony, expected this week?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, as I have said repeatedly, I expressed concern about the stories of financial mismanagement in the White House Travel Office.

Q What form did that concern take?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, the best that I remember, it was "I have heard these stories. What is happening?"

Q And to whom did you say that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I had two conversations with Mack McLarty. I had a few conversations with Vince Foster. And I did not seek out Mr. Watkins. He called me, at Mr. Foster's suggestion, to tell me that an accounting firm had been engaged to investigate these reports that I and others had expressed concern about. And I said, "That sounds like a good idea."

But I in no way directed any particular action to be taken.

Q Why do you think that he has said what he has said, somehow casting doubt on your version of things?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think, if you read his memo -- and I will, you know, obviously listen to what he says -- he doesn't say I directly told him anything. He says that, you know, the fact that I expressed concern had an impact on him.

You know, Diane, one of the things I have learned is that, before I came to the White House, I dealt with people in a very direct way. If something was on my mind, I said it. That is an entirely different environment, and the mere expression of concern could be, I guess, taken to mean something more than it was meant to.

Q First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton -- her new book is called It Takes a Village. Thank you so much for joining us. It was a pleasure.

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MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much, Diane.

Q Dorsey Bacon and Carol Beach, Sandra Pinkard and Dorothy Buckhagen, produced the program. Jada White's been on the phones for us. Bruce Youngblood and Toby Shriner are the engineers.

Thanks for listening. I'm Diane Rehm.

Cassettes of this program are available. For information, call (202) 885-1200.

If you'd like to write us with your comments, our e-mail address is [drehm@wamu.brandywine.american.edu](mailto:drehm@wamu.brandywine.american.edu).

ANNOUNCER: From Washington, D.C., this is The Diane Rehm Show.

Q Tuesday on The Diane Rehm Show, we examine a new approach to solve the shortage of human organs for transplants, using pigs. Then we begin a regular feature on the media, with Howard Kurtz, of the Washington Post. And Colleen McCullough, author of The Thorn Birds, talks about her latest novel on the women in the life of Julius Caesar. That's all coming up Tuesday on The Diane Rehm Show.

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<b>DATE</b>	January 19, 1996	<b>ACCOUNT NUMBER</b>	N/A
<b>TIME</b>	7:00-9:00 AM	<b>NIELSEN AUDIENCE</b>	3,201,440
<b>NETWORK</b>	CBS		
<b>PROGRAM</b>	CBS This Morning		

**PAULA ZAHN, co-host:**

Not since Eleanor Roosevelt has the wife of a president made as much news as the current residence of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

**HARRY SMITH, co-host:**

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a wife, a lawyer, a mother and now a published author. The American public continues to watch her with great interest and they know the story is far from over.

The newly elected president was proud to say it, "Two for the price of one." In fact, Hillary Rodham Clinton would take on one of the grandest of the Clinton campaign promises: health-care reform.

**President BILL CLINTON:** (From January 25, 1993) Today I am announcing the formation of the president's task force on national health reform. This task force will be chaired by the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

**SMITH:** Health-care reform failed and the blame for it was laid squarely at Mrs. Clinton's feet. Her bold and unprecedented role as a policymaker kept the focus on other already-existing controversies: profits from a 1978 commodities deal; her role in a failed Arkansas savings and loan; the White House travel office firings; and events following the death of White House counsel and longtime friend Vincent Foster.

In what became known as "the pink press conference," Mrs. Clinton answered all questions. This was a new breed of first lady, but one that was still learning.

**Mrs. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON:** (From April 22, 1994) I'm trying to find my way through it and trying to figure out how best to be true to myself and how to fulfill my responsibilities to my husband and my daughter and—and the country.

**SMITH:** Hillary Clinton is not the first first lady the country has found fault with.

**Mr. CARL S. ANTHONY (Historian):** Mrs. Bush was criticized for not giving us her opinion on—on abortion and other public issues. Betty Ford was criticized for giving us too much information on her public opinion. Rosalynn Carter was criticized for being too overtly politically powerful. Nancy Reagan criticized for being too covertly politically powerful. So there's always something to find wrong with these women.

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Nielsen Audience Source: Nielsen Media Research, Oct/Dec 1994, Persons 2+, NTI Quarterly Averages  
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**SMITH:** Ironically, after the politically charged health-care debate, the woman who had participated in Cabinet meetings was now concentrating on subjects traditionally associated with the role of first lady: women's and children's issues. Tipper Gore has traveled the small-town roads with Hillary Clinton that led them both to the nation's capital. She knows from experience how important the first lady will be when it comes to keeping the Clinton-Gore team in Washington next year.

**Mrs. TIPPER GORE (Wife of Vice President):** She's probably got to get around the country to as many places as she can. People are very excited to meet her, to touch her for two reasons: because she's the first lady and then, of course, because there's a campaign. But she has that--that aura of--and that mantle of responsibility because she is the first lady.

**SMITH:** Hillary Rodham Clinton describes herself as a private person in a public life. Her role continues to evolve and so does the job description of the first lady. What remains constant is Mrs. Clinton's relationship to the president. No one is closer.

Please welcome the first lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

**ZAHN:** Good to see you again.

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Glad to see you, also.

**ZAHN:** Thanks.

**Mrs. CLINTON:** How are you?

**SMITH:** Good morning. Thanks for coming in.

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Oh, thanks for having me again.

**SMITH:** You have some friends here this morning.

**Mrs. CLINTON:** I'm glad to be back, and I'm glad to see both of you again.

**ZAHN:** Thank you.

**SMITH:** You--it looks like you could use a couple this week. We got a lot of stuff to talk about. Carolyn Huber...

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Yes.

**SMITH:** ...your old friend...

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Right.

**SMITH:** ...old office manager from the Rose Law Firm, now works for you in the residence...

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Mm-hmm. Mm-hmm.

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SMITH: ...testified in front of the Whitewater Committee yesterday. And she said back in August, in a room right next to your office, she found this bundle of documents.

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

SMITH: How on earth did these subpoenaed records end up there?

Mrs. CLINTON: I don't know. And I wish that they'd come out in August. I didn't know that she'd found them. And I'm not sure she knew what she found, based on what she said yesterday. This has been, for me, kind of a difficult time because I can't answer these questions. I don't know where they've been. I wished they'd come out sooner.

SMITH: This is a room, though, that has limited access. This isn't a place...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mmm.

SMITH: ...that's trafficked by a bunch of people. Some--whoever put them there knew what they were.

Mrs. CLINTON: I don't know that we know that, Harry. I don't know how they got there. All I do know is that that room is on the third floor of the residence, and there are numbers of people--I can't tell you how many--who have access to it. But the important thing is those papers were found and eventually were turned over, and they support what I've been saying. There would be no reason for anyone I know, including myself, not to have wanted them to come out years ago. So I can't explain where they've been, but I'm glad that they're out there.

ZAHN: Did you put those records there?

Mrs. CLINTON: Of course not.

ZAHN: Did your husband put them there?

Mrs. CLINTON: Of course not.

ZAHN: Who had access to those records who also might have had access to this--this highly secured area of the White House?

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, it--let's--you know, let's not characterize this, because I think it's important for the investigation that is going on about who had access and where they might have been and all that; that will come to its own conclusion. I don't want to enter into that right now because I want it to be conducted as fully as it can; I want everybody asked about it. And I am absolutely confident that this is one of those other dry holes that will be dug.

ZAHN: That's...

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Mrs. CLINTON: Nobody will be able to say, with all of the boxes and the files and the papers that flow through that area, where they might have been, where they were. We don't know the answer to that. There...

SMITH: Here's--here's what looks so bad.

Mrs. CLINTON: Yeah.

SMITH: These are records that have Vince Foster's notes all over them, and a lot of people are saying that means they came right out of Vince Foster's office.

Mrs. CLINTON: I can't help what people say. People have been saying things about this for four years, which have been proven, time and again, to be untrue. There is nobody who wishes those documents had been found earlier than I. We've had literally thousands and thousands of boxes in Arkansas and in Washington searched for now more than two years, looking for everything that might be relevant. The law firm did not have copies of those documents. The savings and loan did not have copies of those documents. I don't know where they've been. I don't know who's had them. I don't know what has got to happen to make them appear.

But let's back up a minute because I guess I have to say that we will get to the bottom of this. That's what the special counsel is for. They will ask everybody. There was construction going on up there. People were moving things. They were getting into crawl spaces. They were pounding on the walls. And guys had to, you know, clear rooms out and move stuff around. We'll figure all that out.

At the end of the day, I'm not sure anybody's going to be able to say what box that was in, where it came from. I guess I would ask, though--those documents help me. They support what I have been saying. Why on earth would I not want them out? I would have published them in the paper if I'd known. You remember, a month ago people were saying, 'Those documents--they must have been destroyed.' Well, I've been saying the same thing about them for four years.

ZAHN: But now you have Senator Faircloth saying this could be a very serious case of obstruction of justice.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well...

ZAHN: Is that a possibility, based on what you know?

Mrs. CLINTON: Absolutely not. But don't forget, there have been so many accusations made against us, it's hard to keep track of them. I mean, I've been accused of, I guess, nearly everything, although I'm sure there'll be some new accusations. So we will continue to cooperate. We will do everything we can.

But let's remember, again, where this started. We were originally accused of

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having had a sweetheart land deal. We said we lost money. We couldn't prove it because we didn't have all the documents. It was not something we had planned. In retrospect, if we could have been as farsighted to have imagined all of this, maybe we could have done something differently. But when the questions arose in 1992, we said, "We lost money. We were passive investors."

Four years later, after spending \$4 million, an independent study says, "They were telling the truth." Then the accusations shifted. "Well, if we can't get them on that, maybe they took money from this savings and loan. Maybe it was secretly channeled to the president's campaign." We said, "Absolutely did not happen." People said, "Prove it." We said, "Well, how do we prove a negative? How do we prove to you we did not take money?" Four years later, after subpoena power and being able to look at records, again, what we said was true. And this will be the same way.

SMITH: The question people ask, though, j--if we want to go all the way to the rub of the Whitewater issue--is, McDougal comes to you, says, "We got a great land deal. We can make some money. It doesn't cost you a dime. You don't have to put any money down; don't even have to offer up any collateral." Somebody comes to you--you're--you're the first lady of Arkansas. The governor is sit--sitting in--in the governor's mansion. If you can make money with no risk, which most Americans never really get a chance to do, didn't some radar go off, didn't some--something go off in you that said, "This is too good to be true?" And, "What might I owe this guy if it pays off?"

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, Harry, let me tell you what happened instead of what you've characterized as having happened. This happened before the president was governor. This was a land deal that we had 100 percent risk on...

SMITH: Mm.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...because we signed the loan papers. So we were 100 percent liable--we and our partners: they as a couple, we as a couple couple but also we as individuals. We kept putting up money every time we were asked. That's how we ended up losing more than \$40,000. So it was not a sweetheart deal. We were on the papers. The bank looked to us to make good if there was any default. We had to, over the years, put in money every time our partners asked, even though we were passive investors. And at the end of the day, we lost money.

Now--so it's something that I know has been characterized differently than that, but those are not the facts. And the facts are as I have just said them and as an independent study--not what partisan people charge when they're trying to make these accusations, but an independent study led by a former Republican US attorney has said, "Look, they were passive investors and they lost money." And we paid--we have paid every debt we've ever had. And so I take debts very seriously. I would have felt totally responsible for that if it had not been paid off.

ZAHN: Can we talk about the conclusions drawn from this independent \$3.6 million study that was done? Representative Jim Leach says that's not the conclusion that can be drawn by this report; that it doesn't exonerate you, and

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the president; and it is clear that this--this investigation was done before they had access to all these legal records that are surfacing now. How can the two of you come up with such different interpretations of--of what this study says?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, he is the Republican head of another one of the committees that has made many charges against us over the years, including the charge that we took money, which was absolutely untrue, from the savings and loan. It's--this is why this is a political issue. It is not a legal issue. And it doesn't have, in my view, a lot to do with the way it's being portrayed. It is, at bottom, a partisan issue. It started during the presidential campaign in '92; it will continue through the presidential campaign in '96.

And all I can say is that I don't think most Americans have had a chance to even look at that report because the Republicans sat on it for so long. The president had to publicly call on them to release it. The way it is explained to me, the way it seems to be read, is that what we said was true; we were passive investors. We lost money and we did not take money from the savings and loan. The only new thing are these billing records, which has very little, if anything, to do with these other sets of charges.

SMITH: We have to take a break. It's 17 minutes after the hour. Stay with us. We have lots more ahead with Hillary Rodham Clinton. Stay right there.

(Commercial break)

SMITH: It's an education revolution. See what makes some schools work. Monday on CBS THIS MORNING.

ZAHN: And we're back at just about 20 minutes after the hour. And we are just getting started in our special hour with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Welcome back.

Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you.

ZAHN: I wanted to move on to the controversy surrounding Travelgate.

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

ZAHN: You had a White House aide, David Watkins, testifying under oath that while he did the firing, he did so under pressure from you directed through Vince Foster and Harry Thomason. Did he perjure himself?

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, of course not. I mean, the way that I understood his testimony is that I expressed concern, which I have said many times, about reports of financial mismanagement in the travel office.

ZAHN: Who did you get those reports from first? Was it from Harry Thomason? Was he the first person...

Mrs. CLINTON: No.

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ZAHN: ...to mention them to you?

Mrs. CLINTON: No. I think it was from Vince Foster. I believe that's how that happened. And I said, "My goodness, what's going on?" And they said, "Well, we're going to investigate." So they started an investigation. My whole involvement in this consisted of a couple of conversations with Vince Foster and Mack McLarty and one conversation with David Watkins. And I did express concern, and I was very concerned that anybody would think there was financial mismanagement connected with the White House, even though it predated the president being inaugurated.

ZAHN: There was no tax money involved. There were very, very few complaints involved in this. People had the FBI sicced on them—Billy Dale. And it cost him a—\$500,000 to—to defend himself.

Mrs. CLINTON: Now, Harry, there's no doubt there was financial mismanagement. There is...

SMITH: Well, it—there—some say it was bad book—bookkeeping.

Mrs. CLINTON: There is no doubt there was financial irregularities. That was proven by an accounting firm...

SMITH: Mm-hmm, Fear Marwick.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...independent of the White House.

SMITH: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: There were—there was petty cash left lying around. Cash ended up in the personal account of one of the workers. Now that may not seem like something to people who spend lots of money, but coming from Arkansas, that sounded serious. And so from my perspective, it was something worthy of being concerned about. Even if it was just the press' money, that money belongs to people and it should be handled appropriately if it is in any way connected with the White House.

So I was concerned, but as I have said from the very beginning, it was not my decision; I did not say or do anything that indicated what should be done. And I believe people acted as they thought best once they had the information. So it's—you know, it's one of these situations where I find it a little bit surprising that...

SMITH: In 10 seconds.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...proven financial mismanagement is something that other people would not be concerned about. And I just don't share that view.

ZAHN: It's 23 minutes after the hour. We're going to shake—take a short break here and continue in our next hour with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

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(Commercial break)

SMITH: So we're spending the second hour of the broadcast with Hillary Rodham Clinton this morning. And, Mrs. Clinton, you know—you've done this before. Some places of the country this is covered by local news. Some really lucky people get to see this part. It's a little less—little less formal. I said the question I was going to ask you today that everybody wants to know the answer to is: What do you think inner-league play? But I'll let you—I'll let you...

Mrs. CLINTON: I've got to—what is inner-league play?

ZAHN: You don't have to answer it. Don't worry. Don't worry.

SMITH: That's the—that's the National League...

Mrs. CLINTON: That's the only thing...

SMITH: That's the National League playing American League teams in baseball. So as a Chicagoan...

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, inter-league play. Oh.

SMITH: Yeah. So as a Chicagoan, you would get to see the Cubs and the White Sox play.

Mrs. CLINTON: Good. OK.

SMITH: We have one person right here, real, real quick...

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, OK.

SMITH: ...who just wants to say something.

Unidentified Woman #1: I just want to tell you I think you're a great role model for women, and I wish you a lot of success. I think your job is tough enough. And I support you tremendously...

Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you.

Woman #1: ...in your work.

Mrs. CLINTON: Thanks.

ZAHN: You should—you should clone her and take her on the road with you. Got another question for you here.

Unidentified Woman #2: I'd also like to say, first, that as a law student, you are an inspiration to see you in—in that sort of position. But what I'm wondering is if you think that the intense scrutiny that you're being subjected to right now—is it at all indicative of the fact that Washington is still uncomfortable with a woman holding such a visible and influential role

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**Mrs. CLINTON:** Oh, I don't know. That may be some of it. But I think this has more to do with politics and the way our politics has become so personal and partisan. And, clearly, the fact that I got out from on health care and—and advocated trying to do something about our insurance system did cause some controversy. But I really think that what's going now is—is mostly because of the political season we happen to be in.

**ZAHN:** Well, I'll tell you, earlier this morning Bob Beckel accused sexism for—inflicting all this pain on you. And he actually said at one point that you threatened Fred Barnes' manhood, and that's why the Republicans were reacting the way they were to all of these controversies.

**SMITH:** Let me—let me ask you a question with regard to that.

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Amazing.

**SMITH:** If you had health care to do over again...

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Mm-hmm.

**SMITH:** ...would you have done it differently?

**Mrs. CLINTON:** Oh, you know, I think about that all the time, Harry, because I'm giving the proceeds from this book to children's hospitals, because I just can't bear the—the way some children don't get the health care they need. But I think there are many things I could have done differently and many things that perhaps would have been presented better. But I also believe that it is the most controversial subject in our political life. You know, if you look at Harry Truman, it just was very hard for him and it's hard for anybody who tries to approach it. So, yes, I know I made mistakes and I know there are better ways I could have done things. And if I were to do it over again, I would try to present it better. I don't know if we'd have a different outcome, but I certainly would try.

**ZAHN:** All right. Got another question for you.

**Unidentified Man:** Do you think with Elizabeth Dole as another professional woman, that the upcoming election—assuming that the opponent is Mr. Dole—will help this country understand that women have a much more varied and much more choice-filled position?

**Mrs. CLINTON:** I think it could, and I would welcome that because, you know, most women I know lead a life of many different parts. You know, just by being a woman, a—a wife, a mother, a worker, maybe a daughter taking care of older parents, maybe a volunteer who cares about her community—you—you just look at the range that women's lives are today. And I'd like all of us to recognize that.

**SMITH:** Twenty-nine minutes after the hour. Half-hour to go with Hillary Rodham Clinton. We'll be right back.

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DATE	January 19, 1996	ACCOUNT NUMBER	N/A
TIME	7:00-9:00 AM	NIELSEN AUDIENCE	3,201,440
NETWORK	CBS		
PROGRAM	CBS This Morning		

HARRY SMITH, co-host:

We know Hillary Rodham Clinton as the first lady, a mom, a powerful political ally in her husband's campaign and the center of her share of controversies.

PAULA ZAHN, co-host:

Now we know her as an author. Her first book for children, "It Takes a Village," is in bookstores now. And we want to welcome back first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mrs. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you.

ZAHN: Before we get to the book, can I just ask you one more Travelgate question?

Mrs. CLINTON: Sure.

ZAHN: At the time that all of this was going on and you were made aware of financial irregularities i—in the travel office, it was quite clear that—that your good buddy, Harry Thomason, a Hollywood producer, was interested in getting a chunk of federal aviation business. Did he make his intent clear to you? Do you—did you have discussions about exactly what he was after and whether there was a quid pro quo for doing all this work at—during the convention and—and during the election for you?

Mrs. CLINTON: No. I—I don't know at all what these allegations are based on. And I've asked people; and they've told me that that was not what was going on. It was nothing that I knew about at the time or was involved in at the time. You know, I spent most of the last of March and beginning of April with my father, who was dying in Little Rock, and then he died. And when I got back to Washington after the funeral in about the second week of April, I was very far behind on health-care work, because we were supposed to have been done by May 1st. And so just between dealing with my own personal feelings about what I had been through and my family, that's what was on my mind. And I—I—literally, as I've told you, I had a few conversations about this I think about m—sometime in mid-May, and that was—that was it. That's what I knew about it and that's what I know about it today, except for what I've read.

ZAHN: So Harry—so Harry never sat down and said, "This is what I'm after. Can you help me do this?"

Mrs. CLINTON: Absolutely not. Absolutely not.

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Nielsen Audience Source: Nielsen Media Research, Oct/Dec 1994, Persons 2+, NTH Quarterly Averages  
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ZAHN: All right. We got a question for you now about your book. Please stand up. Oh, sorry. We didn't mean to trip you there with all those bags.

Unidentified Woman #1: Well, I'm interested in your book, the research process and what your conclusions and recommendations are for the children of this country.

Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you for asking that. I really appreciate it. I will go on answering questions about other matters, but I r--I can only hope that the Whitewater questions don't totally overwhelm what I think we ought to be talking about concerning our children. And the idea behind this book is that each of us has more responsibility for our children and their being raised than I think we're exercising now, and that starts with parents, but it does not end there. There are things each of us can do, whether it is mentoring or tutoring a child, or trying to shield children from what I consider to be the destructive impact of the media or from employers being more sensitive to the needs of working parents, especially single working parents.

There is a role for the government, but it is not the most important role in the raising of our children. If you look at, as I try to do in this book, every other institution, starting with the family but including religious institutions, our schools, our day-care centers, our businesses, everything, I believe we need to say, "What is best for our children?" I don't think we spend enough time with our children. I don't think we give them the love and the attention and the discipline they need. And then we have particularly vulnerable and disadvantaged children who we are neglecting and will pay dearly because of what they will grow up being able to do to us. So I have a number of recommendations that any one of us could do, starting today, to try to do more for our own children.

SMITH: Let's talk about those disadvantaged children for a couple of seconds, because we live in an age now where there's these huge trends to take government out of a lot of different kinds of businesses. Distill your basic philosophy for me, for a second, about what government role you think should be played, especially in the--in the lives of disda--disadvantaged kids.

Mrs. CLINTON: I think government has to remain a social safety net for the poor, and the vulnerable, those who do need help taking care of themselves or need some temporary help, being able to get over a rough spot. I believe that government should be a partner with other institutions in trying to create better atmospheres for children. I think it's wholly appropriate, for example, for the government to require broadcasters to do something about the broadcasting of children's programming. I think it's entirely appropriate for the government to support public broadcasting for children. And there are many instances, but the role of government has become the whipping boy, and it takes the rest of us off the hook. More families will be affected by downsizing of American corporations that is going on right now and the insecurity that breeds in families than many government programs. So I think that we need to say, "Each one of us has a responsibility." And the government is the helper of last resort, but it starts with us.

SMITH: Twenty-two minutes before the hour. We'll be right back with Hillary

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Rodham Clinton and questions from our audience, so stay right there.

(Commercial break)

ZAHN: And we are back at 20 minutes before the hour. And we have much more to discuss with Hillary Rodham Clinton and our audience. Fire away.

Unidentified Woman #2: I was just wondering how you were handling this intense criticism--scrutiny--personally and as far as Chelsea's concerned.

Mrs. CLINTON: Thanks for being concerned about that, particularly Chelsea. You know, I--I write in the book in a chapter called *The Best Tool You Can Give Your Child* is a Shovel about how I think trying to prepare our children for what life does is one of the biggest responsibilities parents have. And I got the title because my father used to look at me and say, "Well, how are you going to dig yourself out of this one?" And so I carried around, like, these little mental shovels, and now, you know, it's backhoes and bulldozers and lots bigger equipment.

But, you know, when Chelsea was about six--and I tell this story--Bill and I really thought that she would start to be able to read and--and hear things about his being in political life and that we had to prepare her that denial is not always the right thing to do, because children have antenna that, I think, stick up and pick up nearly everything. So starting around the dinner table, we would say, "Chelsea, your daddy's running for re-election, and in politics, sometimes people say mean things about each other." And I remember her eyes just getting really wide, like, "Why would they do that?" And I said, "Well, that's just part of what happens."

So we actually did little mock debates where she pretended to be her daddy and I'd say, "Well, OK, Mr. Clinton, why should you be re-elected?" And she'd say, "I'd try to help people," and, you know, sit down back in her chair. And then her father would pretend to be an opponent and say terrible things like, "Bill Clinton's mean," and all that.

So over the years--the last 10 years, we've tried to keep her involved in this. And up until this week, you know, we'd talk to her. And, you know, usually it's me going in and saying, you know, "Well, do you have any questions about what they're saying about your dad?" And now it's my husband going in and saying, "Do you have any questions about what they're saying about your mom?" Yeah.

ZAHN: What is--what is your sense of reality? Because--do you read all this stuff that's written about you?

Mrs. CLINTON: No.

ZAHN: Do you read the op-ed pieces? Does someone clip them out and...

Mrs. CLINTON: No.

ZAHN: ...force-feed them to you so you can have a really bad day?

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Mrs. CLINTON: No, I—you know, that's another great lesson my mother taught me, which I'd put in that chapter as well. I don't know how old I was, but she said, you know, "You have a choice in your life. You can be an actor on your own behalf and make your own life what you want it to be as best as possible, or you could constantly react to what other people think of you and other people say." Now I have tried to follow that advice. Some days are better than other days. But I cannot possibly keep up with all the stuff people say about me. And frankly, a lot of it strikes me as being a—about a fictional Hillary, because some of what's said is too good to be true and some of it is just so terrible that it's also equally unbelievable. And so I just have to keep my own moorings and try to do what I believe is right. And I have a lot of faith in myself and my husband, and particularly in the American people, that it'll all come out OK, but...

SMITH: A lot of people with a lot of questions. Go ahead.

Mrs. CLINTON: Yeah.

Unidentified Woman #3: I was—I admire you very much. And I was just wondering if you would consider the presidency in another, oh, you know, several years.

Mrs. CLINTON: In another lifetime.

SMITH: Go ahead.

Unidentified Man #1: Mrs. Clinton, as the father of five children, including four daughters, I—I think you're an excellent role model. But there's been a lot of criticism of the press and the Senate a—about being so mean to you. But don't you think, as two for one, and you being so out front, do you—what is your opinion of the criticism?

Mrs. CLINTON: I think that's fair. I think that—I—I know that earlier there was an expert on the role of first ladies who was talking about what happens. I think that every person in this position does get criticized for something, at least that's been the experience. But many of the women who've been here before, with the exception of a few, have really been behind the scenes. I think history has shown that they were very interested and cared about a lot of things, but they did it behind the scenes.

I came to the White House with a very different experience. You know, I was used to being in meetings with people who were my peers and colleagues. And if I were to say, "I'm concerned about something," have it taken as that, not magnified into something bigger than that. So it has taken me some time to get used to the role and its expectations. And I do think that I bear some of the responsibility for maybe not quite understanding, you know, how I would be perceived and doing better—not to change myself but to communicate better.

SMITH: Hillary Rodham Clinton. Sixteen before the hour. We'll be right back.

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(Commercial break)

MARK McEWEN (Meteorologist): It's "The Boss" like you've never seen him. Bruce Springsteen Monday on CBS THIS MORNING.

ZAHN: Boy, he sounds great. Thirteen minutes before the hour. That gives us just a few more minutes with the first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, so let's quickly get a question for her.

Unidentified Man #2: In spite of the recent controversy, do you think you'll change your role as first lady when President Clinton gets re-elected?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well...

ZAHN: Whoa! Making some assumptions here this morning.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I hope that's what happens. And I'm going to continue doing what I've tried to do. I think much of what I've tried to do, whether it's health care or working on adoption and foster care or education issues or writing this book about ideas that I've seen work around the country to help our children, is all part of what I said I wanted to do when my husband ran. I said I wanted to be a voice for children. I don't think children's issues are soft issues. I think they're the hardest issues we face, and that's what I'm going to keep working on and, hopefully, can make a contribution.

SMITH: Here we go.

Unidentified Woman #4: Good morning, Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. CLINTON: Good morning.

Woman #4: It's pretty clear from some of your comments that the health-care debate is near and dear to your heart. If the president is re-elected again in November, will you be--will you be revitalizing that debate? What are your plans?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I think the president has said that he would like to try to make at least some of the changes he tried last time, like insurance coverage. He really believes that insurance should be portable, people should not be written out of insurance if they have a precondition--a pre-existing condition. And so those kinds of things I think we ought to try to move on. Now my dream is I would like to see every American have insurance, and I hope someday we'll see that, because right now, we're seeing more and more without.

ZAHN: OK.

Unidentified Woman #5: Mrs. Clinton, as an artist and musician myself, I'm very concerned about all the cutbacks in the arts. And I'm wondering: If we have another four years of Clinton administration, how will the arts be addressed?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, we will continue to do everything we can to promote the

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arts. I've tried to do that with a sculpture garden at the White House and the crafts collection for the White House, which is on exhibit here in New York. And--and we will also support the National Endowment for the Arts, because I think it's very important. The arts speak to us; they tell us who we are. And I think that, as a nation, we need that today because we're going through such a changing time.

SMITH: Question.

Unidentified Woman #6: Mrs. Clinton, we represent the Shriners Hospitals for Children, and we wanted to say thank you for your support and applaud you for what you're doing. I--if the health care is something that you're going to be looking at in the future, we offer our assistance in any way that we can and w--and welcome any questions that you might have and we can help you.

Mrs. CLINTON: You know, I'm so grateful to the Shriners because I've been to the hospitals in several parts of the country. You take every child and you don't take any pay. And it just really makes me feel so good because of your dedication. And the proceeds from this book are all going to children's hospitals, because I wish that every child could get the care that they get when they go to one of your hospitals, and that's what I'm going to try to work for.

ZAHN: We're going to try to squeeze in a couple more questions here.

Unidentified Woman #7: Living in the public spotlight like you do, I was just wondering how many times you thought of packing it all up and moving to a remote island.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, you know, I said the other day maybe the South Pole was looking more and more attractive. That does cross my mind from time to time, but it doesn't stay long, because I really--I really think what my husband's doing is important. And right now, this budget battle that he's engaged in tells us very clearly what the priorities of the other side is and what they would do if they were totally in control, as compared to what my husband believes we ought to be doing as a nation to support our community and take care of each other. So I--I feel like the hits that we take are minor compared to what goes on in so many people's lives today. And I think there are so many people who need to know that they have a president who understands that it's not easy out there. And so when I think about that, then I don't think about packing my bags.

SMITH: The name of the book is "It Takes a Village." As always, we thank you so much for coming here.

Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you. It's gone by too fast. Thank you very much.

ZAHN: Well, it was a lot of fun.

SMITH: All right. We hope you'll come back again sometime. Thank you very, very much.

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Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you.

SMITH: Hillary Rodham Clinton.

ZAHN: Thank you for your time.

Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you very much.