

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. paper	Interview Conducted by Dotson Rader; RE: personal info [partial] (3 pages)	02/20/1993	P6/b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Lissa Muscatine (First Lady's Press Office)
OA/Box Number: 20111

FOLDER TITLE:

FLOTUS Press Office Interview Transcripts Volume 1 01/29/93--09/30/93 [Binder] :
[02/10/93 Rader, Dotson Parade Magazine]

2011-0415-S

ms91

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- 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]

- 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]
- 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]

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.

02/10/93
RADER, DATSON
PARADE MAGAZINE

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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February, 20 1993

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
CONDUCTED BY DOTSON RADER, PARADE MAGAZINE
THE WHITE HOUSE

Q Nora, said, "Would you please ask her when she is going to invite us to the White House?"

MRS. CLINTON: Soon, soon, soon.

Q Excuse me. I heard yesterday, because I haven't talked -- I've been traveling and I haven't talked to him since the other night and I was told -- one of the people with (inaudible) told me he had gone back to Russia.

MRS. CLINTON: What is he doing there?

Q He has gotten contacts -- he's in Minsk, which is where Oswald lived before the assassination. I don't know how he has done it, but he has gotten some deal with the KGB where they are opening files to him. Oswald stayed in Minsk.

MRS. CLINTON: Is there someone he can trust who can read Russian?

Q Well, he's got friends over there. You know, people that know him. Because he very much believes in the whole conspiracy thing. So that's a second volume of -- I guess he's going to focus on the Kennedy killing.

MRS. CLINTON: Did you have a book called something like, "Leaves of Autumn"? I can't remember the exact title. I record all the names of all the books I read, and I can't find the book yet, but I recall it in, so I can't even go find it. But there's this incredible and persuasive argument about the connection between President Kennedy's assassination and the events in Vietnam and involving Cuba and North Vietnam and Russia and Mexico. You know, the never-ending conspiracy story.

Q What's frightening about it is that after 30 years we still haven't been able to get to the bottom of it. That's what's frightening about it. It's the not knowing. I don't think people would be just terribly upset if they found that the CIA was behind it or the KGB or whatever. In fact,

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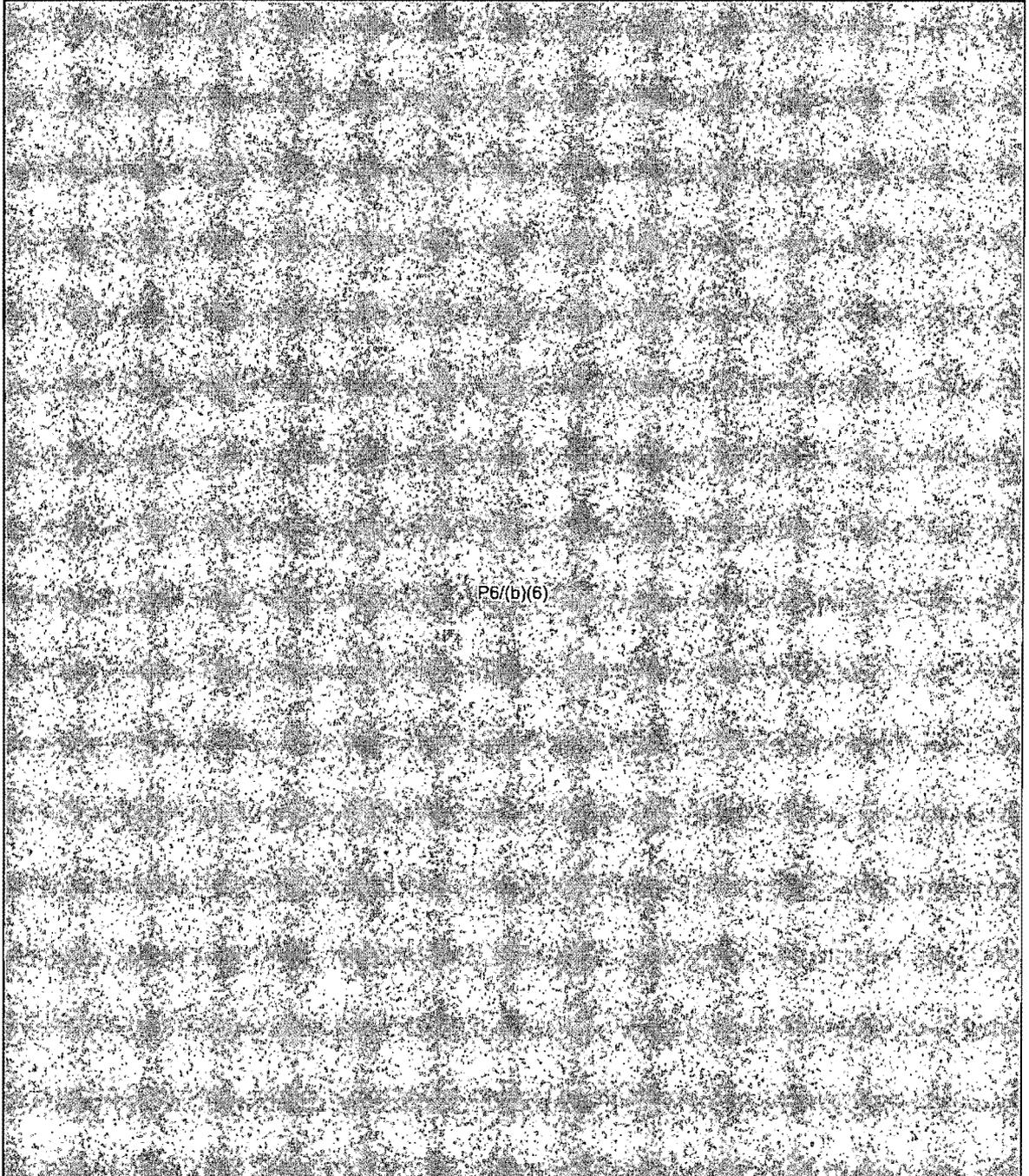
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nobody knows, so everybody is distrusted. I think your husband was talking about the senators of our government, and I think that's where it began, you know.



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MRS. CLINTON: She was a terrific person.

Q That one man's ambition, from my point of view, as someone who knew them all, destroyed that family. I look at Joe Kennedy and his ambition and the tragedy of his family. Then I think of you and your daughter, and I know it's too early to say, but do you ever have second thoughts in terms of what your family is going to have to pay? Because you're going to have to pay.

MRS. CLINTON: No, I don't. Because I think for my husband doing this has a lot to do with ambition but it also had more to do with what he believes about this country and what he thinks needs to be done, and that's who he is.

It would be like saying to a great artist, "Don't paint," you know, "because people might not like what you paint and then you'd be crushed." Or saying to any person who has a vision for his life in which some of the parts are no where near equal to the whole because the whole is tied to something bigger than himself that he should be afraid to do it or should back off from doing it.

Maybe because I for so many years shared his view about what was happening in the country and believed that, both historically and generationally, we had a responsibility that we weren't living up to, I think he is doing not only what he wants he do, but in many ways what many of us need him to do. So I don't have any second thoughts.

Q Well, then on a personal level. I don't think the Carters were at all -- I mean, they were kind of shell-shocked when they got here, particularly the intrusiveness of the press and the intrusiveness on Amy's life and the pressure on them to put her in public school, which she hated, and had no friends.

Politicians and movie stars are very much alike, in my opinion, and I've known so many whose children went to wreck and ruin because of the effect of public notoriety on their lives. Have you thought about how you're going to protect Chelsea from this kind of intrusive --

MRS. CLINTON: Well, we think about it all the time. We're doing the best we can to limit it and to make decisions that we think are right for her -- regardless of what anybody else things -- because that's our first

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obligation as her parents. We're blessed because we have a daughter who is sensible and has strong character and who understands as well as any child can the kind of constraints that her father's position imposes on all of us. But we are just determined that we're going to give her every opportunity to be who she is.

We are as oblivious as people can be in our position of public opinion and press opinion about how we live and who we are. Because at the end of the day what counts is what we feel about ourselves and each other. We're just going to continue to emphasize that, and do it, you know, in the best way we can.

Sure, there will be consequences and costs to pay, but people who are never in public life have consequences and costs in their lives because things have happened to them or decisions that they make or fail to make. So you just have to do the best you can with whatever challenges life sends your way. I've believed that ever since I was a little girl, so this is not a new feeling for me. It is certainly in a wholly different and much larger context.

I've always believed, you know, you play the hand you're dealt and you play it as well as you can. You take every precaution you possibly can to make sure that at the end of the day you're glad that you lived that day, and you think you did the best job you could.

Q There's a new book, which I have with me, about you.

MRS. CLINTON: T.D. Warner's (phonetic)?

Q Yeah, T.D. Warner -- which I read last week. In it there is a quote that you make on when you met Mr. Clinton that you had to make the decision when you both finally decided to marry about whether you would give up your life in the east and go back to Arkansas, where he very much wanted to be. The quote is kind of a paraphrase that you play the card you're given. In reading about it -- another place reading about your mother and your father, I was wondering if you would tell me a little bit about them?

I'm very interested in the evolution of your values. You come from a Republican, conservative, upper-class area and you like I think the rest of us did, you moved

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more and more left because of the social issues of the time -- but very, very early on with your concern for children. Now, I would like to know what that comes from?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I would characterize the way I was raised and the way I still am as being conservative in the true sense of that word, not in the kind of radical, ideological destructive way that the term is now used. Because I was raised to be self-reliant and to be responsible, but to know that I was part of a larger community to which I also have responsibility.

I am really grateful that both of my parents in different ways gave me the support and the structure that I needed in order to develop a sense of personal self-worth and security, but also gave me a sense of reality about what the world was like.

Part of what I've always believed, which goes back to their teaching and also what I did through my church, is that because I was blessed enough to be healthy and have a strong supportive family that loved me and gave me good values and discipline, I had an obligation to care for other people and to try to do something to help others as well. It wasn't something that you did as an afterthought, it was how you lived.

You know, my dear friend Marian Edelman, who was on your cover last week, has that wonderful phrase that, you know, "Service is the rent we pay for living." I mean, I just believe that just as strongly as I can.

Q It's very social gospel.

MRS. CLINTON: It is social gospel which I believe in. I don't see how you can read the gospel and not believe that you have some ongoing responsibility of service. You know, and so that was the way I was raised.

Q I think it was yesterday or the day before your husband was at the town meeting and he was asked the question about abortion, and I was kind of surprised by his answer. Because he put his answer -- and I thought, "Oh, God, the flack he's going to take." So far he hasn't taken it. He put his answer in the -- he structured it as a theological reply, that various christian leaders see the issue

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differently and that the whole issue is a moral one based on when the soul enters a child, which I thought was a nice answer because he was very honest.

In terms of what drives a lot of conservatives nuts is not that one has an impulse to christian charity, an obligation to help the less fortunate, which certainly is basic to the gospel, it's the idea that you take that moral compulsion and you harness government to it.

In other words, you force people through taxation and punitive penalties and so on to act in a christian way to support things, for example, like abortion that they don't believe in and they don't want to support it -- or free drug needles or, you know, the whole list of issues. How do you justify that? How do you justify taking what, essentially, is a religious position and give it a secular state and applying it to the actions of state? Because I think that's what you're saying.

MRS. CLINTON: No, but I don't think it's just the religious tradition that talks about community effort and some sense of social contract. I mean, that's also part of a long tradition that created what we know of as civil society and is really at the heart of democracy. So I don't think that it is just a religious impulse. Although, much of the successful perfecting of democracy has coincided with christianity and its value on the individual, not exclusively, certainly, but historically over time there has been a relationship.

I think it's more common sense than either ideological or theological when you get right down to it. What kind of community do you want to live in? If there are problems in your community that cannot be addressed solely by individual actions, then how does one go about solving those.

Now, I never heard much complaining when I was growing up in the fifties when a decision was made that we needed an interstate highway system. One could argue that it carried the radical ideological right wing to its extreme. People should have just paved their roads and then if they wanted it, they would have stretched from Boston to LA; but that's absurd and they knew it.

So it's only in the context of so-called "social

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programs" that they raise the issue about compulsion through tax money. I think that it's important to be very careful about how one spends tax money, and it is certainly something that I believe in growing up in a family that was very fiscally conservative and watching my husband balance 12 budgets over the years as the governor of a very fiscally conservative state.

But I also believe that when there are problems in your midst that cannot be addressed adequately or even satisfactorily by individual actions, then people have to make a decision. Are they going to band together, and how do they band together? They can band together at the local, the state, or the national level; and they can band together to change attitudes and behaviors; they can band together to exhort or they can band together with their funds to try to do something that they think is in their personal self-interest.

See, I happen to think that stopping the spread of AIDs through a more aggressive education and medical and other intervention is not just a nice thing to do. I think it is essential to our national well-being. I happen to think that doing what we can to reverse the decline of families and the dependency of people in the inner cities is not just a nice thing that is dreamed up by some do-gooder somewhere. I think it is critical to saving our cities and to keeping the life-blood of commerce and growth and the economy going throughout the entire country.

So for many of these issues which others try to isolate out and point at as being somebody else's problem, I think you have to take a more discriminating view: Some of them are and some of them are not susceptible to any kind of community effort, but some of them impact on what kinds of lives we're going to have.

You know, the last time we talked you raised the point that, you know, there was a time in this country in even our larger cities that you could walk out at night and you could, you know, be with your friends in a park and you wouldn't have to worry about being mugged or attacked or killed.

It is not too simplistic, in my view, to say that through a combination of attention and discipline we need to do everything we can to reestablish safety in our cities.

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That is not something that can be done by each individual, and it has to be part of community decisions. Unfortunately, it's going to cost some money, but the payoff is tremendous for all of us.

So I view the merging of my, you know, personal values and my personal religious faith into my view of pragmatic politics as being all part of a whole.

Q I didn't want to go into length on this, but what I find astonishing as I go about the country is an increasing tribalization of the country. I mean, we're a country but we've never quite achieved being a nation. What I've noted in the last 10 years, certainly, is the incredibly walling off of the rich.

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely.

Q You go to Florida --

MRS. CLINTON: That's right.

Q and now they're doing it with the whole city of Chicago.

MRS. CLINTON: That's right.

Q I don't know how you can have a community, unless there is some flow of people as different classes intermingle. That's the only reason I support the public schools, but the problem with the public schools is it's become a one-class system: the poor.

I wanted to ask you about your husband, if I may? He comes from -- let me make a characterization -- he comes from the second poorest state. He comes from a family that in many ways was dysfunctional. His brother was in trouble. He comes from, my point of view, what is a poor family in a rather deprived area of the country. You come from an upper-middle class family with a terrific school system. The two of you meet. Now, I read that the first thing you heard him say is, "We have the biggest watermelons"; is that right?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely right.

Q I think what intrigues a lot of people -- what intrigues me -- is what attracted you? I mean was it the

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very "otherness" of the man?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, he's a very attractive man.

Q Well, I know that.

MRS. CLINTON: In those days he was very attractive, and I knew nothing about him. And as I got to know him I still didn't know very much about him. What I learned quickly is that he was unlike anybody I'd ever met -- and he still is -- because he combined an absolutely extraordinary mind with a huge heart. It is just not usual to find people with both those great gifts in such abundance as he has. We just started talking and we just never stopped, I guess, is the best way to say it.

Q You're still talking?

MRS. CLINTON: We're still talking.

Q You know, in a lot of marriages it's the lack of certain qualities but the other person has that attracts you. Someone is very organized; you're very disorganized. I mean, the sum of the parts -- I mean, the sum of the whole is more than the parts. That's what I meant, is what there was about him that -- because, obviously, he seem so absolutely "other" from your background that it would attract you almost immediately and hold this thing going for 18 years.

MRS. CLINTON: Yeah, but, you know, here we were at Yale Law School, which is certainly one of the great goals of Ameritocracy, right, if you're interested in the law. So even though people came from very different backgrounds, they did have a lot in common. We had intellectual interests, ambition. At that time certainly concern about our country and the world. It was a lot that cut across all different kinds of family, class, ethnic, racial differences. It was an exciting wonderful time to be going to school.

Q Oh, yes.

MRS. CLINTON: Because we all spent days upon end worrying and talking and carrying on about what was happening.

Q It was exciting.

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MRS. CLINTON: Oh, it was wonderful. It also felt very real in a way that the last decade hasn't. I mean, I think we've been living in such a state of denial of our problems.

Q You know, we were all asleep.

MRS. CLINTON: We were, we were asleep. But, you know, in any event, he had a way of talking about problems even then and a way of relating to people that cut through a lot of the abstraction that sometimes infected the rest of us. You know, we could talk about theories and we could talk about problems, but he could make them live for us.

It wasn't just his extraordinary storytelling skill; it was that he paid closer attention to what was going on in real people's lives so he always brought that sense of reality to any discussion that we had. He was also very concerned about people's personal well-being, even then. You know, he would be the first to ask how somebody's ill parent was, or did they recover from that recent accident that they had. He just always was attuned to what was going on in people's personal life.

Q Is he fun?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, enormous fun. He's always fun.

Q Does he make you laugh?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, yeah, yeah, we laugh a lot. We have an enormously time laughing. He was always fun. He is very serious and he will, you know, delve into difficult issues with great enthusiasm, but he also loves to have fun. I mean, we used to go -- some days we would go to four movies in a row because we were just incredible movie freaks. There used to be, I don't know if there still is in New Haven, this little, tiny theater. I think it was called the Lincoln Theater, which was hidden in a residential neighborhood. Like, it was in an old garage, as I recall.

Q Yet, you found it?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, other people found it. But we found it -- once there was this huge snowfall in New Haven and everything stopped. You couldn't drive. Bill decided it would be great fun to go to the movie. Since it was a kind

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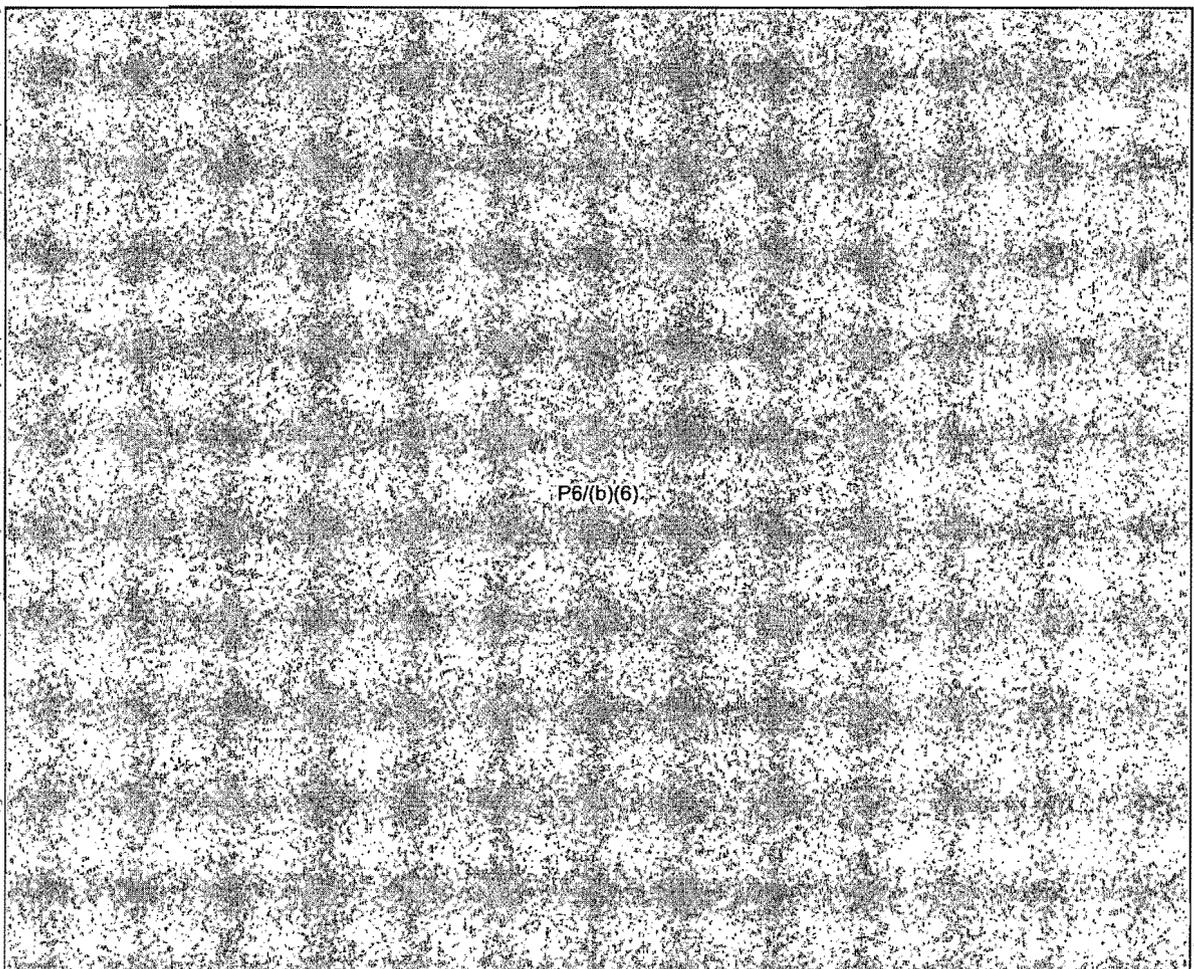
of converted garage, as I remember, the person who ran the movie theater either lived in it or nearby. You know, it was always running kind of old, foreign films and all that. So we called up.

"Yeah," he said, "if you get here, I'll put the film on."

I mean, we must have walked through knee-deep snow for two and a half hours to get there and just laughing. I mean, you know, we had just so much fun. We just had a great time. In the midst all the seriousness about the world and everything that wasn't going right.

Q Can I tell you a little anecdote and see if you have anything like that in your life?

MRS. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.



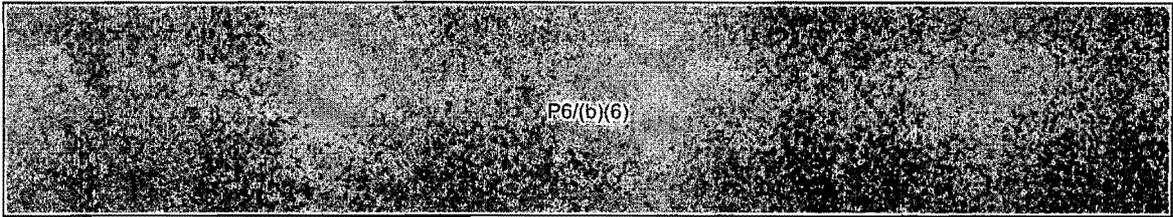
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I was wondering if with your husband if there is ever such a moment where you suddenly sense his vulnerability and his need for comfort for protection?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think that's true with any person you really love. I mean, I think it's hard to get to the point of loving someone wholly until you have some sense of that vulnerability and that it's mutual, as well. It's not just a service you perform, but a connection on a deeper level in which you are willing to display that.

You know, my husband has one of the most extraordinary strength of character of anyone I have ever met or even read about, but he also has vulnerability. That is part of what, I think, makes him such a great man is that the reason he can look into the eyes of people and see their pain and really feel it and be committed to dealing with it, if he can, is because he recognizes his own vulnerability.

You know, I suppose everyone who is married to someone whom they love thinks that person is unique, but I'm here to tell you he is.

Q I was talking the other day to some friends of mine out in LA about you and about the President. Frankly, I was absolutely astonished at how quickly the press turned, I mean, with the appointments thing and then the gays. I mean, I've never seen anything like it in my life. Did that take you by surprise?

MRS. CLINTON: No. I don't expect anything and so I'm not disappointed.

Q You weren't surprised at how quickly it --

MRS. CLINTON: Uh-uh.

Q We were talking about -- now, this public perception, and I don't know if it's true, the public's perception seen to be that the President is a garrulous,

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back-slapping, warm, funny man who would really rather be out -- who likes getting around with a lot of people and telling stories and staying out late at night.

MRS. CLINTON: That is true, yes.

Q The perception I think of you, generally, is that you are -- and this is what we were talking about the other day, and one I try to cut against, is that you are cold, removed, and that you're sort of an intellectual machine, just don't have real feelings and that you're sort of the (inaudible) you have this overweening ambition. Well, you know this. You sort of run the thing behind the scene.

We were talking about this in LA, and I'd like you to comment on it. We were talking about the differences in your personalities as perceived. One of my friends, these are both screenwriters, said, "Well, she came from a very secure background, from what I understand, a very loving mother, a strong father. She had no real financial insecurities. She was never in positions of being threatened by violence, being threatened with eviction, and the rest of it. Therefore, her family was enough to anchor her."

Whereas, the President came from a family, and I just want you to speak to this point, comes from a family that was, to be nice about it, dysfunctional. He had a lot of difficulty and pain, as I understand, growing up. He didn't have the best childhood in the world. Therefore, he was, in a very funny way, on his own. Therefore, the regard of other people became terribly important to his own security.

It was necessary in terms of protecting himself, advancing himself for other people to like him, and that his garrulousness and his -- because he is likeable -- comes out of insecurity, out of a fear of -- I'm not talking about now -- but waking up tomorrow morning and it will all be taken away from him and he needs his friends to protect him. Is that all accurate in terms of the personality description or is that too involved?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think that, you know, it's always interesting but hardly ever explanatory to try to trace what makes somebody the way they are. My husband loves people. I mean, I can't --

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Q That's clear.

MRS. CLINTON: I mean, I can't tell, you know, what the motivation is or the reason behind all that might be because I only can surmise. The net result is he loves them, and he loves being around them. He learns something from them. He likes to have a good time. He has the most extraordinary stamina of any human being that I've ever seen.

Yet, he also has his quiet moments and his moments of wanting to be alone and needing time to think and to collect himself. He is a complicated mixture of a lot of different needs and feelings, just like most of us are. So I'm sure his background influenced who he is, but I'm sure that there were other factors as well.

I mean, where that old nature and nurture line gets drawn, I don't have any idea. He was very well-loved and he was very supported. I think that the fact that whatever difficulties he may have had growing up didn't break his spirit, didn't make him bitter, didn't drive him into self-destructive kinds of attitudes either towards himself or toward other people is a real tribute to how well-loved he was.

You know, I think that it would be very difficult to come up with some easy psychic description of why my husband is the way he is because he is a man of many parts, with many strong feelings that are rooted in all different kinds of experiences.

Q Well, I was fortunate to spend a couple of evenings with him, and I had an absolute ball.

MRS. CLINTON: Yeah.

Q Because he is interesting because he has this enormous curiosity.

MRS. CLINTON: That's right.

Q He wants to know and he just picks your brain.

MRS. CLINTON: That's right.

Q Is immensely flattered because he --

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MRS. CLINTON: But he's genuinely interested.

Q Oh, yeah, I know.

MRS. CLINTON: I mean, that's why all during the campaign, you know, the worst that the press or the problems seemed to be, the more his friends rallied around him. I think, again, one could look cynically at that and say, you know, "Who are these people? What does all that mean?" But he was sustained by his friends who knew him and knew the kind of person that he is and who knew how genuine he was. He is. You know, he cares about people; he thinks about their problems; he relates to them; and he is somebody who values whatever time he has with those people.

Q Now, can I ask you something. It's indelicate but I have to ask it.

MRS. CLINTON: I don't have to answer it.

Q You don't have to answer anything you don't want to answer.

During the campaign, there was a lot of talk going around, a lot of gossip going around. I think I told Lisa about the rumor the Republicans were spreading around about your husband's romantic life, which I thought was -- I told Lisa of all the presidential campaigns I've been in that's about the worse I've heard. I'm not interested in the truth or the falsity or anything. What I'm interested in is particularly in New York I thought it was heartbreaking, and I don't know how you put up with the press attacks -- the rumors, the constant. I mean, didn't you ever feel like saying, "Oh, hell, we're going home"?

MRS. CLINTON: No. Because why should I let other people who don't know anything about me or my life or my marriage make up whatever they wish to say for whatever purpose they are doing it affect me? I mean, you know, I just can't stress too much how important it is to have your own sense of self and who you are, whether you're in public life or not.

Because what happened on the public scale in terms of attacks or unfair and untrue stories is matched every day by gossip that these people up in beauty salons or workplaces or across backyard fences. You know, you just can't live

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your life by what kind of mean motives other people might bring to trying to affect you. So it didn't really bother me or affect me in that regard at all.

Q But it used to?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, unfortunately, it is never something you should accept because it's said. But it goes way back in recorded history; it's nothing particularly new. It's just that we now have 24-hour global communication, so it's more pervasive. People are always speculating about or trying to come up with their theories about people who are in public life. It's something that, I guess, goes with the territory.

I was watching my husband with the Children's Town Meeting upstairs. A young man from Chicago, who had had an obviously very difficult time to go to a violence-ridden, gang-controlled school asked what could be done to make his school safer. My husband talked about the things he would like to do -- with more police on the street and better protection in the schools, including metal detectors and things like that -- so kids could feel safe again.

I watched Bill. He looked at that boy and he said, "But I want you to know that if you get your education nobody can take that away from you. Don't let anybody else take that away from you."

I think that's the way you have to feel about your life with whatever challenges that are out there trying to trip you up or cause you pain or difficulty, whether it's a young man trying to get educated in a terrible school who is going to be taunted, as he said he was in this broadcast, because he was coming to be with the President, or whether it's some mean-spirited, you know, person who wants to make up stories about somebody running for office.

Years ago, my mother had me read a little article in "Reader's Digest," which we faithfully read every month at our house. I will never forget it. It was a little article which said -- which posed this question: "Are you an actor or a reactor?"

Then it was, you know, two and a half pages of "Reader's Digest" wisdom about how you every day can determine how you feel. You cannot control what happens to

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you, but you can determine how you feel about what happens to you, and that there are two kinds of people: There are people who act in that way to try to do the best they can to deal with whatever life does to them. Then there are reactors, who are constantly like, you know, a ball in a pinball machine, just knocked around whichever way, by whatever force is active at the moment.

You know, I've thought about that for years, and I suppose it's something that has been in the back of my mind not just when I was growing up, but, you know, even during the political campaign. I said to my husband, "Are you an actor or a reactor?"

Q What did he say?

MRS. CLINTON: He worked real hard about being an actor. I thought he did an awful good job.

Q She said she read that in "Parade"?

MRS. CLINTON: It might have been. That's right it might have been. Actually, I used to read, you know, personalities --

Q In "Parade"?

MRS. CLINTON: -- in "Parade." I remember that.

Q Well, it's amazing. It's the single most widely read thing in the country.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, Skip Shear is a great friend of ours.

Q Oh, really?

MRS. CLINTON: Uh-huh.

Q He does a good job.

MRS. CLINTON: Years ago, we would go out to visit him and sit in his backyard and he would be reading his mail and dictating his answers. Occasionally, he would say, "Well, look here, do you or do you not think that Elvis is dead?"

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Q Because of the First Ladyship -- well, before we do that, when you look on your life, what do the people, women I'm speaking of now, in your formative who were influential in terms of role models? Because you grew up in a very -- well, we both grew up in the same time.

You grew up in a very peculiar period when you went from a deeply benign kind of conservatism and conformity under Eisenhower, which I think was largely exterior, because of Communism into probably the greatest rebellion, social rebellion, the country has known since the Civil War, during the sixties, very contradictory periods, very schizophrenic.

During that period, I remember the people I admired -- I admired David Dalenzer (phonetic); I admired Camus (phonetic); Assad (phonetic); and I admired Huey Newton because they were liberating. They had ideas about participatory democracy and restructuring society. A window opened and all this fresh air came in.

In your formative years, when your political philosophy was forming and your social views, who were the influences on you?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, I don't know that I had any particular people when I was very young. At the time I left high school, I had probably been more influenced by in addition to my parents my youth minister who exposed me to Camus (inaudible) and opened my horizons enormously, and my teachers. I had superb teachers.

I had a sixth grade teacher, Elizabeth King, who went on with me to junior high school as an English teacher, who was so encouraging to us, especially to girls, was so supportive and had us writing our own plays and performing and reading endlessly and writing very long reports. Because she just insisted that we had to learn to express ourselves. Then I went on to both junior high and high school and had great literature teachers, and they just exposed me to all kinds of people that I had never thought about before.

Frankly, if it hadn't been for my English teacher, starting with Mrs. King, all the way through high school, I don't know if I would be a very well-educated person. Because college was so filled with experimentation, and, you know, learning about this subject or that subject, there was this rebellion against the classics and the like. So if I

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hadn't read so much in junior high or high school, I might not have by the time I gotten out of college known very much.

The combination of people like Mrs. King and Rev. Jones and my parents exposed me to a lot of people. I don't think I was smart enough at that point to have any particular focused interest. I remember, though, I was fascinated by Orwell because I was -- actually, Aldous Huxley fascinated me because both "Brave New World" and "Nineteen Eight-Four" were just scary to me.

I mean, I find it so amusing when people think that I'm in favor of big anything, because I'm not. I'm in favor of, you know, as much decentralized, local, individual responsibility as we can figure out how to get in a complicated world like the one we're living in, because I just can't bear the idea of that kind of overwhelming control invested in anything, government or big business or big anything.

I was interested in women a lot. There weren't very many role models or biographies even in those days, but I remember being fascinated by Margaret Chase Smith because she was in the United States Senate.

Q Oh, yes.

MRS. CLINTON: Do you remember her?

Q Yeah, sure.

MRS. CLINTON: And Golda Meir, who was beginning to, you know, make a real mark and I knew had been an American who had immigrated to Israel. Then other women in history like Marie Curie. But what used to really be the highlight of my week was "Life Magazine" on Friday. It was -

Q Here we go with another goddamned magazine.

MRS. CLINTON: Sorry. But, you know, it was always there on Friday. I know you can't put this in.

Q No, I won't put it in.

MRS. CLINTON: And it was filled with these wonderful pictures. If you go back and look at old "Life

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Magazines," it wasn't that they trumpeted women or anything, but I remember that they had one wonderful series on Margaret Burke White.

Q Oh, right.

MRS. CLINTON: I remember reading that in "Life Magazine." Because they were so big on pictures, you know, any woman who was a photojournalist or a foreign correspondent, which when I was in eighth grade is what I thought I wanted to be, would get some space in "Life Magazine" because it was kind of sexy and unusual if you have a woman doing this stuff. Oh, and of course I went through my period of reading, you know, Ayn Rand.

Q Oh, yeah, we all went through that.

MRS. CLINTON: All of that, right. So, you know, I read voraciously and I read lots of things, but there wasn't any one person or particular movement that captured me so much as just the explosion of knowledge I was exposed to.

Q You're First Lady now. I was told you don't like the term; is that true?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't have an opinion about it. I don't know where that came from.

Q Well, I read it?

MRS. CLINTON: So it must be true?

Q Yeah.

MRS. CLINTON: You know, what I'm doing, I'm going to compile -- we're in the processing of compiling my manufactured biography. I mean, actually most of it has been benign, you know. But when something gets printed, even if we say it's not printed, once it's printed other journalists say, "Well, it has to be true." So I'm a championship diver and I'm on the Wellesley College Quiz Bowl Team and I'm first in my class at Yale Law School and I don't like the term First Lady. You know, I mean, you know, you sit there and, "Oh, okay."

Q Where the stuff really gets bad is in the London tabloids, because I mean they are so off. You know, because

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they don't know how Washington works, they don't know how the White House works. I mean, they have a tendency to (inaudible) the White House and so some of the stuff they write about you is so funny because it's so completely --

MRS. CLINTON: It's so totally un-American.

Q It's totally and absolutely off base. They will quote you. They will make up a quote, only they will use a very British term, like they will say, "Well, I told my husband not to invite those chaps here. I don't like the bloody White House."

MRS. CLINTON: The only one I saw was somebody, a friend of mine -- I still don't know how this happened. She ended up in one of the London tabloids with just what you're saying, sort of these long, very British quotes about me. She was just like hysterical. She said, "Hillary, have you ever heard me say something like this?"

Q When I came across that one, I think it was funny.

MRS. CLINTON: We're doing the bio, though. Well, I don't know what to call it. There really needs to be a term of art for a kind of embroidered bio or something. See, I always got to worrying, though, that people are going to think that I've been saying this thing. I got into these arguments during the campaign where -- I think it was a radio interview. This was my favorite. I was on a radio interview in New Haven, Connecticut. The woman that interviewed me said, "Well, you're coming back to Yale where you spent several years earlier and where we understand you were first in your law school class at Yale."

I said, "No, I wasn't."

"Oh, but you were."

I said, "No, excuse me, I wasn't."

"Well, I'm sorry. I read it."

I said, "Oh, I know but I wasn't." I mean, I just kind of went, "Ugh."

Q What kind of First Lady do you want to be?

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MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I just want to make my contribution to what my husband has tried to do which is to undo the damage that has been done to this country over the past years, and get it back on a sounder social, cultural, and financial footing so that it can be the country that we all thought we were going to grow up and inherit.

Q Of all the First Lady's which one if you could be one of them, model yourself after one of them, or a combination, which one?

MRS. CLINTON: I didn't know very much about a lot of them until the campaign started, and then because people were so fascinated about the First Lady, I began to read about some of them. They are a remarkable group of women, I mean.

I mean, obviously the one whom I'm going to New York to honor tomorrow night, Eleanor Roosevelt is maybe in a class all by herself in terms of the influence she had not only in this country, but around the world, and the grace with which she dealt with controversy and took on issues that at the time were much more difficult than anything that has recently been part of our national scene.

One of my favorite stories about her is to go into some segregated community and the meeting was in a church, and all the blacks were sitting on one side and all the whites were sitting on the other side. She went to sit with the blacks and was told she couldn't; it would be against the law. She said she intended to anyway.

They said, "Well, we're sorry, you can't do that. It's against the law."

So she got a chair and sat in the middle of the aisle. I mean, I just loved that spirit and her willingness to take on injustice and stand up for people who otherwise wouldn't have a voice.

Then I read, you know, Abigail Adams' letters to her husband, and here was a woman who basically ran the entire family enterprise while her husband was off politicking and running for office, and who was not only skilled at what she was doing at home, but very aware of social conditions, particularly as they affected women.

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Then I think of Dolly Madison who not only saved a lot of the treasures we take for granted in this house, which I thought was an extraordinarily courageous thing to do. I mean, they are burning the White House, and she will not leave until she gets the Gilbert Stewart painting of Washington out and a lot of the other things that were saved. I don't know that there is any more single courageous act that's ever happened, in terms of personal bravery, in this house. She also had a very strong interest in national affairs and was very insistent that women had a role to play. You can go all down the line of history and see how women --

(Tape ends at this point.)

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