

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Interview of the First Lady by Vanity Fair Magazine; RE: personal info [partial] (6 pages)	03/24/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

FLOTUS Press Office Interview Transcripts Volume III 02/02/94--05/31/94 [Binder] :
[03/24/94 Vanity Fair Magazine]

2011-0415-S
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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]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) 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]

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

03/24/94
VANITY FAIR MAGAZINE

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

March 24, 1994

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
BY VANITY FAIR MAGAZINE

Q (in progress) -- millions of other American women have been thrilled at what you represent.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you.

Q (Inaudible)

MRS. CLINTON: I really feel that. And I am very grateful for it, because I sense it when I go out and see people --

Q Do you?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, yes. That's one of the constant support systems that's out there -- it's just this extraordinary number of women and some men -- who see in me the kind of transition roles that they are living through themselves.

Q But you are obviously under -- I mean, this has been an incredibly stressful -- I mean, I don't know what to say -- year, with the death of your father and Mrs. Kelley and Mr. Foster and the Whitewater stuff. And then I start to think, well, what happens in a stressful year for you. Does crisis become a way of life? I mean, how do you deal with this stress? All of your friends talk about how focused you are on how you focus on work. But as a person and a mother and a working woman, I look at you and I think, doesn't she ever want to crawl under the bed with a pillow over her head?

MRS. CLINTON: (Laughter.) Or actually crawl into the bed with a pillow over my head. You know, I think that to some extent it is hard to describe fully how you get accustomed to living with a lot of stress because, certainly, everybody has stressful times, and I think working women have a lot more than maybe even they recognize in their lives. And then you layer on the public aspects of my life that go back to the time when my husband first entered public service.

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You know, you have a choice. I mean, you either become overwhelmed by life and whatever your circumstances are or you continue to try and challenge yourself to grow and enjoy the days that you are given. And that has always been the way I've lived.

Q And you can do that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I'm not saying it's easy, and I'm not saying that there are not days when you wish just for it all to go away and you can have some peace and quiet for maybe a week. But this is my life. And I'm very proud of my life. I like my life.

Q You do?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, yes. I am just grateful for all of the opportunities I had. And along with the good comes a lot of hard parts. So I don't think there's anything new about this. I mean, you go back --

Q Well, it's just a matter of degree. I mean, the degree of stress that you're under is obviously -- far exceeds that.

MRS. CLINTON: I know that's what it looks like from the outside, but when I go around the country talking to people and I see women who are laboring under terminal illnesses, or who have children with really serious medical problems, or I encounter someone who has had a totally unexpected turn of terrible luck that they just had no idea would ever come into their lives, I think there are points in each person's life when you face a turning point.

If you become overwhelmed by whatever life has dealt you, you let your bad times outweigh all the good; do you give in to anger or bitterness or insecurity, or do you fight against that? I mean, we all have that choice every day. And what may look like more stress looking on the outside at me, I see people in situations that I think are extremely hard to cope with.

I mean, I think to myself all the time, would I have the internal fortitude to raise a child by myself in an inner city in our country that was plagued by violence and drugs, and have to get up every morning and go off to work and just do the very best I could? So each one of us has those challenges.

Q One of the things, obviously, that everyone in the country is watching with great interest is how you're interpreting the role of First Lady, First Ladyhood or First Ladyship, or whatever you want to call it. And, again, obviously, I think that this has been an evolutionary thing as this role has evolved. But Carl Anthony says the First Lady is a wild card in American politics. And

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it is an odd role because it's essentially undefined. Unlike that of the President, Congress, there are a lot of checks and balances on everybody else.

And some of your critics, the right-wing people, for example -- and also I hear some of this in Washington among people who are much more ideologically compatible with your views. What I hear from some people is that they feel that you have power without accountability. And people like Phyllis Schafly say all this right-wing propaganda about sort of the demonization of Hillary Clinton -- one of the things that they say is you can't have it both ways; if you're going to have the power, then you have to -- you have to go out and give press conferences or subject yourself to other kinds of scrutiny than First Ladys traditionally have.

What do you think about that general argument that at this point in time there is a certain degree of power without accountability? And what kind of scrutiny do you think is appropriate right now? Obviously, there has been a microscope lately on everything you've ever done in your whole life, which must be very uncomfortable.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think probably Carl Anthony and other historians would tell you that has always been said about -- this position. (Inaudible) -- and certainly Eleanor Roosevelt and Mrs. Carter and Nancy Reagan. I mean, there has always been that kind of charge. And I think it has a lot to do with the ambivalence that people have about women, period. And that seems to be cross-generational. It may take different historical forms depending upon whether we're the early 19th century or the late 20th century. But the bottom line on a lot of this criticism is who is this woman and why is she there.

Well, everybody who's in the White House is there because the President chose that person, starting with the Vice President going all the way down to the person who Xeroxes things. And I think that the fair question is, what does this person believe that might influence the President or public policy? And unlike a lot of my predecessors, I am very up front about what I believe. I don't think you could argue that I'm more or less influential with my husband than many of the women who've been here. I might even suggest I am less influential because my husband is someone who seeks opinions from a very broad range of sources. And much of the influence that First Ladies have exercised in the past has been extremely private and totally unaccountable; nobody had any idea what she was saying to him about anything.

Q Or that the country was being run according to astrological charts.

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MRS. CLINTON: Exactly. And so my belief is that each woman has to fashion this undefined role for herself. Maybe at some point, a man will have to do the same. And I have always been an up-front person. I mean, I have always felt that public policy was important, that I thought we could make a difference whether my husband was the governor of our state or the President. And --

Q But what degree of scrutiny and challenge do you think is --

MRS. CLINTON: I don't mind -- I think it's humorous that people would say I need to do press conferences. I've done dozens and dozens and dozens of press encounters in the last year and half. I do formal interviews like this; I do satellite feeds culled into local communities; I do live interviews with the anchors on the major television networks. I do press avails after the events that I do. I mean, I have been probably more accessible to the press than any of my predecessors with the exception of Eleanor Roosevelt who had for a period of time a weekly press conference for women reporters, which I think is kind of a neat idea. You probably couldn't get away with it today. So I think I have been out there regularly. I have subjected my views. I have made my opinions known.

Q Well, I think it's coming up right now with all the questions about how you conducted your professional life up until your time in the White House.

MRS. CLINTON: I've answered all those. We've been answering those questions for two years. They are the same questions with the same answers for two years. People ask me questions today who work for newspapers that asked me the same questions two years ago, which we answered two years ago. So I think a lot of this is a little disingenuous. I don't have personally any problem --

Q Disingenuous in what sense?

MRS. CLINTON: You know, people keep asking questions that we keep answering. They just don't like the answers. They don't want to believe that we lost money in Whitewater. That's their choice, but that doesn't change the truth. We lost money in Whitewater. So they don't want to believe that we paid back all our loans and we never did business with an S&L -- fine, they don't have to believe it. But that doesn't change the truth.

I mean, there will always be people in America, whether they're in the public citizenry or whether they're in Congress or whether they're in the press, who want to believe that something is

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contrary to the truth. I can't control those people. So they can ask me from now until doomsday, they're going to get the same answer because it's the truth. So I feel that I have been more accessible and more available than most people in elected office or in appointed office have been. And I don't mind that at all.

Q Do you feel it's unfair what is going on right now?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't think it's unfair for people to scrutinize you or to ask questions. I think it is regrettable that there seems to be both commercial reasons and political reasons why people want to undermine the presidency and the people associated with him and basically make up stories or spread rumors and innuendo for which there is no basis.

I don't mind a fair, honest give-and-take. I mean, that doesn't bother me at all. If somebody in Congress, for example, disagrees with our approach to health care on ideological reasons, that is honest; and let's just try to have a good, healthy debate about it. But if somebody in Congress wants to twist and distort the truth for political purposes, I think that's very sad.

Q -- think you get high marks from a lot of those people for being very flexible, at least that's what I've been hearing from both sides of the aisle.

Another thing that comes up is, again, in press coverage -- I think to a certain extent all along, but more recently -- is that among some people, there seems to be an impression that you're arrogant. People cite things like the closed door approach to health care; everything from that to, you know, the firing of the White House usher. And they say that they feel that you have failed to surround yourself with people who have the courage to say no to you or to disagree with you. So what do you --

MRS. CLINTON: I have never been called arrogant in my life before. I find that the most astonishing charge. And I think it's very sad. Again, I think it's being promoted for political and ideological reasons; and I regret that anybody would take it seriously. And I don't know how to respond to that. I don't think anybody who knows me or anybody who has ever worked with me would say that. I mean, I've never heard that before.

And so, I don't know -- I know that I'm fair game. I understand that. I have read enough history to know that no matter what I do, I will be fair game. If I had chosen not to do anything with respect to public policy, then people would have been hammering the doors down trying to figure out what I was really saying to somebody or what issues I was really concerned about instead of

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focusing on health care; or I would have been accused of being untrue to myself, you know, hypocritical because I wasn't taking an upfront position.

I understand completely that there is a no-win kind of zero-sum game when it comes to being First Lady. So that doesn't bother me. But I think that it is sad when people, for their own purposes, try to tear somebody else down or make charges about somebody and then pass them on without any basis to them.

Q Well, in retrospect, do you still feel that it was the best way to go with health care to do the closed door stuff to begin with?

MRS. CLINTON: There's never been a piece of legislation written in public. I mean, I don't know what these people are talking about. You know, I don't know anybody who does a study effort like we did and then come up with a piece of legislation which is going to be made public. I mean, there is no secret here. There is no decision that has been made. And what we tried to do was respond to the President's directive to work as quickly as possible to come up with a health care proposal.

And when the President presented a budget, there were no public hearings. I mean, the meetings that were held between the President and his advisors on the budget were meetings that were private meetings. I don't know what these people are talking about. And I don't know what difference it makes because it wasn't as though we were going to come up with a health care proposal and then impose it on the country. It makes no sense to me.

Q It's in a hearing process.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, the whole thing is a public process. And again, if you go back and look, the people who made that claim were right-wing operatives. And the press never wants to talk about who faxes them all this stuff. Who calls them up? Who invites them to come to their secret headquarters devoted to destroying Bill and Hillary Clinton. I don't understand why that's not as much fair game as what we do. What we do is made public. I mean, this health care proposal certainly has been the subject of an intense national debate.

Q Do you think that if were somebody other than the First Lady and other than the First Lady that you are, that the progress of this would have been different? I mean, do you think sexism is playing a part -- in the course of this process?

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MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I don't know. You mean the attitude toward me personally or health care?

Q Whichever.

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I'm delighted about where health care is. I think we have --

Q Do you think some of these criticisms would be raised if you were, you know, some guy the President had appointed to --

MRS. CLINTON: I don't think so. But that's what I meant earlier when I said this is a no-win situation because no matter what the prevailing stereotype of womanhood is at any historic moment, there are going to be people on all sides of it, and you can't please them. And I think it is such an important lesson for girls and women to be true to yourself. Do what is right for you. Too many girls and too many women are pushed into saying and doing things because other people want them to.

I was raised by two parents with unconditional love who instilled in me a very strong belief in myself. Now, that may be scary to some people. I can't help that. But that is the way I was raised. And I am grateful for it. So I can't be something other than what I am. And what I am is someone who wants to be part of helping to change this country. That's what I have done for 25 years. I have been involved in social action and am proud to have been.

Q Oh by the way, Don Johnson sends his love; Mary Steenburgen sends her love and Sarah -- said to tell you, hey.

MRS. CLINTON: She's always telling me -- (laughter).

Q (Inaudible) -- many other people send their love, but I won't go through the whole list.

Again, in terms of your public image, there have been moments when you have been presented as St. Hillary, you know, when you've talked about the politics of meaning and a lot of people have talked about the politics of virtue; and I think that with your public image, there has been this bifurcated thing where there's the demonization of Hillary Clinton and the idealization of Hillary Clinton going on simultaneously in the culture, among different segments of the population and sometimes among -- (inaudible) -- (laughter) -- simultaneously.

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And yet, also, at the moment, with the stuff coming out with this incredible scrutiny of the Rose law firm and of your professional past, I think a lot of people have developed this view of Little Rock and of Arkansas as this place where there's this very dense tangle of conflicting interests where corners were cut that cause problems when they are put under intense scrutiny. Do you feel looking back over your professional years -- and I'm also told by some people in Little Rock that a lot of them feel as though this is all a lot of fuss made by a lot of Yankees who just don't have a clue, you know, and we should all go home. Do you feel looking back over your time in Arkansas and the way that you conducted your professional life, and the way professional lives were conducted there, where there were a small number of movers and shakers whose lives were very intertwined -- do you feel as though you made compromises, ethical or otherwise, that you regret? Or do you --

MRS. CLINTON: No -

Q -- feel that this was just the way things were done there? Or how do you see it?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't believe that at all.

Q You don't believe which at all?

MRS. CLINTON: That Little Rock is some unique situation. I think if you go anywhere in this country, particularly to the small states and the state capitals in small states, but not just there -- if you go to Manhattan or Washington, D.C., people do business with people they know. I don't understand why that has come as a revelation. And I'm not about to get into the same sort of name-calling and finger pointing that people have enjoyed at our expense; but I could go chapter and verse talking about the lawyers I know in New York City or Washington, DC, and their intricate interconnections with people in businesses and in the press and in politics. And I can guarantee you that those kinds of relationships carry with them a certain informality that arises when you know people. You don't do business with strangers; you do business with people you know.

We did absolutely nothing out of the ordinary or wrong in those years in Arkansas. And I bent over backwards to be as free of any hint of wrongdoing in my law practice as I could be. And I find it interesting that based on what we are now being subjected to, I practiced law and taught law in Arkansas for 18 years, I guess. And so far as I can tell, there is very little that they can come up. It's a kind of pathetic display of accusations.

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But, you know, in hindsight, you can make anything look different than it looked at the time. So I don't think I have any reason to apologize for anything I did at the time. Now, in retrospect, do I wish that I had never invested in Whitewater? Do I wish that I had never had even a minor and insignificant role in representing Madison Savings and Loan? Sure. I mean, I wouldn't have to answer questions about me then, because there wouldn't seem to be anything else to be asked.

But I think if you took the law practice of anyone who practiced law for more than 10 years, a person of ill will, a person of a conspiratorial mindset could come up with a list of suspicious questions. That's just not the way the world works. And it is sad that some people are given free rein to conduct witch hunts for their own purposes. But I can't worry about what their motives are. I can only tell you what I did and what --

Q You don't feel -- you don't have any regrets -- you don't feel -- I mean, you said you've made mistakes --

MRS. CLINTON: Right --

Q -- (inaudible).

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, they were. If I had known that in the climate of 1994 people would be making judgments that I think are totally unfounded, if I could have seen into the future, I would have said, geez, better not do that, Hillary. But then as a friend of mine from New York said when he called me a few days ago, he said, well, now I've got it -- you're not supposed to make money; you're not supposed to lose money. I mean, I don't know how you live in the world these people want to impose upon you.

Q That leads me to my next question. Much has been made of your commodities futures trading.

MRS. CLINTON: Not very much, frankly -- actually. Much less --

Q -- seven weeks from now this is all going to be ancient history. And people have always made note of the fact that you made more money than your husband did, but -- (inaudible) -- role of major breadwinner. And one of the things that I've been wondering is, how did it affect you to be the major breadwinner in your family and to have that responsibility?

MRS. CLINTON: I think it was something that we knew was inevitable if people are going to be in public life in Arkansas, because the salaries are the lowest in the country; and then if we

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wanted to have children, which we did, and wanted to send them to college which we did; we wanted to have a house someday, which we did; that I would have to work full-time. And because I tried very hard not to be compensated at all through my law firm for any representation my firm did that could in any way be related to the state, I voluntarily suppressed my income for years and years. But I did make more than my husband. And I also came from a family where we believed in saving everything we could and we believed in making investments.

Q But how did it affect you having that responsibility? I mean, it weighs heavily. I know it weighs heavily on me.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, it does weigh heavily. And I think from time to time it was a pretty substantial burden on me personally. But in the balance of our marriage it was something that I was glad to do. For all those years we lived in the Governor's Mansion, that was a wonderful place to live. So there are all kind of compensating --

Q People now are raising small questions like why way back then did you say that you got the money for the downpayment for your house from savings and a gift from your parents, when it was really trading.

MRS. CLINTON: But that went into my savings. I mean, where do they think --

Q So that's a semantic.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, I mean, where do they think my savings came from? They came from the money I made. I find this absolutely amazing that these people are moving to the level of exegesis. I mean, when I made money I put it in my savings account. Now, I suppose I could have said savings and checking -- maybe that would have been better. But, you know, by the time I bought that house I had closed my commodities trade account. That money was in my savings account.

Q Do you think that it's -- you said recently that you had had to be dragged kicking and screaming into relinquishing or at least partially relinquishing the zone of privacy. Again, do you think this stuff is not an appropriate subject for scrutiny?

MRS. CLINTON: I think --

Q Do you or --

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MRS. CLINTON: I personally do not.

Q You don't?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I don't. I don't --

Q You do not what?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I do not believe that this level of paranoid, conspiracy-driven investigation is appropriate.

Q Of the First Lady?

MRS. CLINTON: Of anybody in public life. Not just me. I mean, I'm not -- I mean this is a matter that goes way beyond me. I mean, it is just absurd. And if you take the historic precedent, no president has ever had any of his activities before he became president investigated like this. And a lot of people came into office having made a lot of money and with people knowing that they made money through friends. We come in having lost money. We come in with very little in the way of resources, and we are subjected to a whole new set of standards.

We don't have a vacation house in Maine. We don't have a ranch in California. We don't have a cottage on the shore of Maryland. I mean, we don't have any of those things. So how many times do we have to say over and over again -- look, we spent our lives primarily in public service. Even my law practice was subordinated to our public service. I took leaves of absence to work in my husband's campaign, to head our education reform effort. I did huge pro bono projects. I'm not asking for any credit from that; I'm just asking that if you're going to go after, whether -- when I said savings I was thinking ahead to what some 25-year-old reporter behind a computer could spit out in his lexicon of questions, no, I wasn't. I was doing the best I could to live my life. And I think we've done a pretty darn good job of it.

So I don't think half of what is going on now is appropriate or necessary or relevant. I have reluctantly concluded that, given the mind-set and given the business pressures at work on the media, that this is a new world we live in. It is not Harry Truman and his friends in Kansas City. It is totally different with new standards that nobody understands.

So I have no reason to fear people knowing the truth. I get infuriated when people print lies and uncorroborated accusations against either me or my husband. We deserve better than that. It is not appropriate. So --

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MRS. CLINTON: No, I haven't. That is just such a myth.

Q I mean, this was his goal in life and --

MRS. CLINTON: He never said that to me, ever, ever, ever. He wanted to be in public life and he wanted to be in public life in Arkansas. If you think leaving Yale Law School and going to Arkansas to be in public life is a root to the presidency, I mean -- he had to do what he thought was right --

Q What is the myth? When you said that what did you mean?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, people have this idea that somehow he sat around from the age of 16 thinking, oh, okay, I'll go home to Arkansas -- Arkansas, a state that most people have never heard of, let alone been to -- and I will teach law. Then I will run unsuccessfully for Congress. And then I will be elected governor; then I will lose; then I will have to fight my way back and I'll end up being president. That's absurd. I mean, that is just --

Q Okay, then I phrased it wrong. But in any case, being in public life was his goal.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, that is certainly true.

Q And at a certain point he developed a goal of running for president, and you have been an integral part of that process. Is it what you expected?

MRS. CLINTON: The public life part of it is. The doing the work part of it is. I mean, I was in public life separate from my husband, before I ever married my husband. I cared about issues affecting children and families since I was in high school. So I really believe in service. It is what I think is the way you fully round out a life and that you learn about yourself, and that you enter fully into the human condition. That comes from my religious beliefs and it comes from my own personal experience.

So being able to help people in small ways, as well as trying to make changes that will, you believe, help large numbers of people is very important to me. And being involved in health care

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reform, which I believe in passionately, is one of the most important things I could dream of having any role in.

So that part has been very gratifying. And I am now appreciative that at each point in our nation's history, there comes a certain level of criticisms and questioning that you have to accept, that you cannot blow off, which has been my inclination in the past. And I admit that, because I find it hard to take seriously -- coming from the private sector with one foot in the public sector gives me a somewhat different take on all of this. I mean, the idea of it is hard to accept.

But I now accept it. So what I'm trying to do is figure out how to perform effectively in the role that my husband has asked me to fulfill, particularly with respect to health care. And that means I have to better appreciate what the kind of environment expects. And I'm trying to do that.

Q I've been watching you the last two nights when you received -- (inaudible) -- series on your husband's religious views. And again, back to -- (inaudible) -- and also your religious -- in terms of your religious views. Do you feel that you've been guilty of the sin of pride in the way that you handled some of this?

MRS. CLINTON: You know, I think that is probably something I need to think about, because it's very hard when people lie about you and attack you not to feel anger. And I have struggled with this because there is no human being who, if he were walking down the street and someone shouted an insult at him, or got in his face and said terrible things about him -- (inaudible) -- would not respond.

And Bill and I are in this position where it's apparently fair for people to say anything they want about us, but we have to rise above it. That if we act human, which is to say we resent it, we get angry about it, our friends share our outrage, that that somehow diminishes us. I find that very difficult to understand.

So I am trying to hard to come to grips with that, and I do think -- pride is both the greatest sin, but it's also a necessary ingredient for a person to present themselves to the world. And getting the right combination is always a challenge. And I do think that pride is something that I have to contend with. I don't like people impugning my motives and saying bad things about me.

And what I have tried to do in the last couple of weeks, is I've realized this is not going to go away and, absurd as it is, is to put myself in other people's position and to sort of break down

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- 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.

my own personal reactions so that I can say to myself, why are they saying this? I mean, how does it look from the outside? What do I have to do to be more effective and helpful to these people so that I can correct their misimpressions? I don't want people having the wrong impressions of me.

If someone wants to dislike me, some right-wing operative or somebody wants to dislike me for their own reasons, there's nothing I can do about that. But I want other people to reach their judgments about me based on the best available information, and not be influenced by the sort of slight of hand that goes on about what is being portrayed to them. So that's what I'm trying to understand and work through on my own.

Q What lies do you feel have been told about you? You've made references a couple of times.

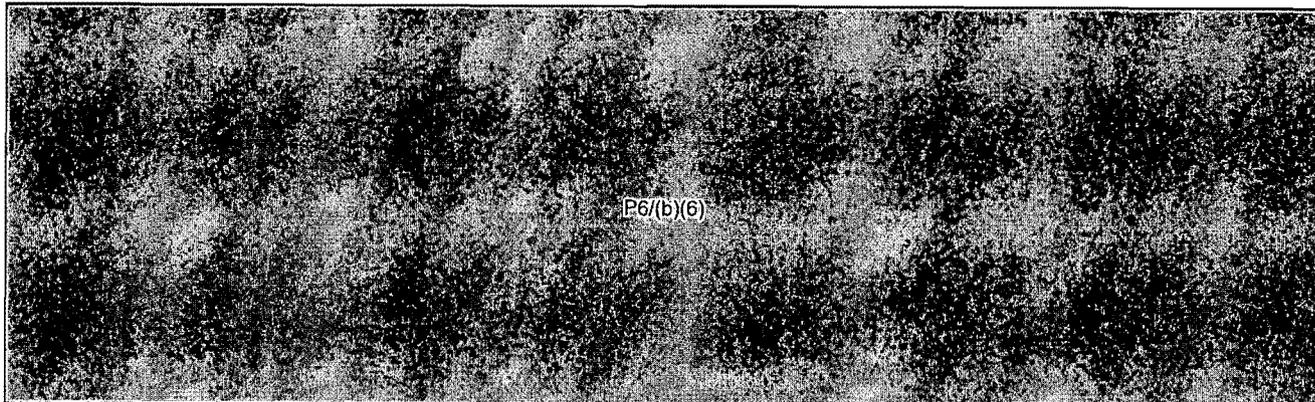
MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I don't want to get into it, but there are just -- if you read the right-wing stuff that's put out --

Q I'm reading some of it.

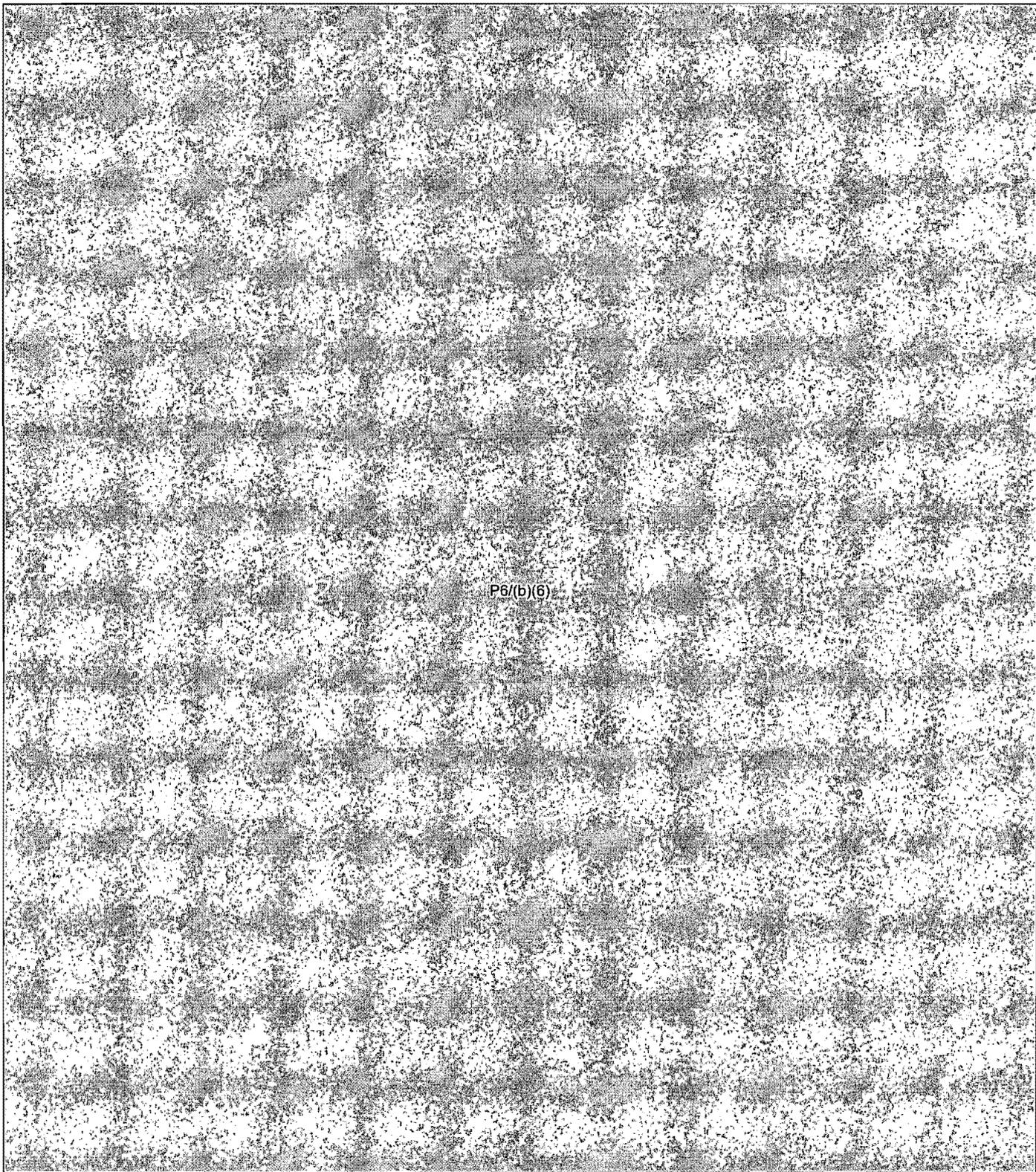
MRS. CLINTON: -- and if you read some of the attack pieces that are written about me, it is just amazing. I find it impossible to believe that people who call themselves Christians could engage in such behavior. And as my husband has said on several occasions -- I think in his TV interview the other night -- we take bearing false witness against people very seriously. It's one of the commandments. And we try consciously not to pass on stories or say things that we can't prove. Now I'm not saying we always meet that, and the reason is -- commandments because we all fall short.

Q Right.

MRS. CLINTON: But the people who say and do things that they have to know are untrue, or if they took the time to inquire would know are untrue, it's very sad.

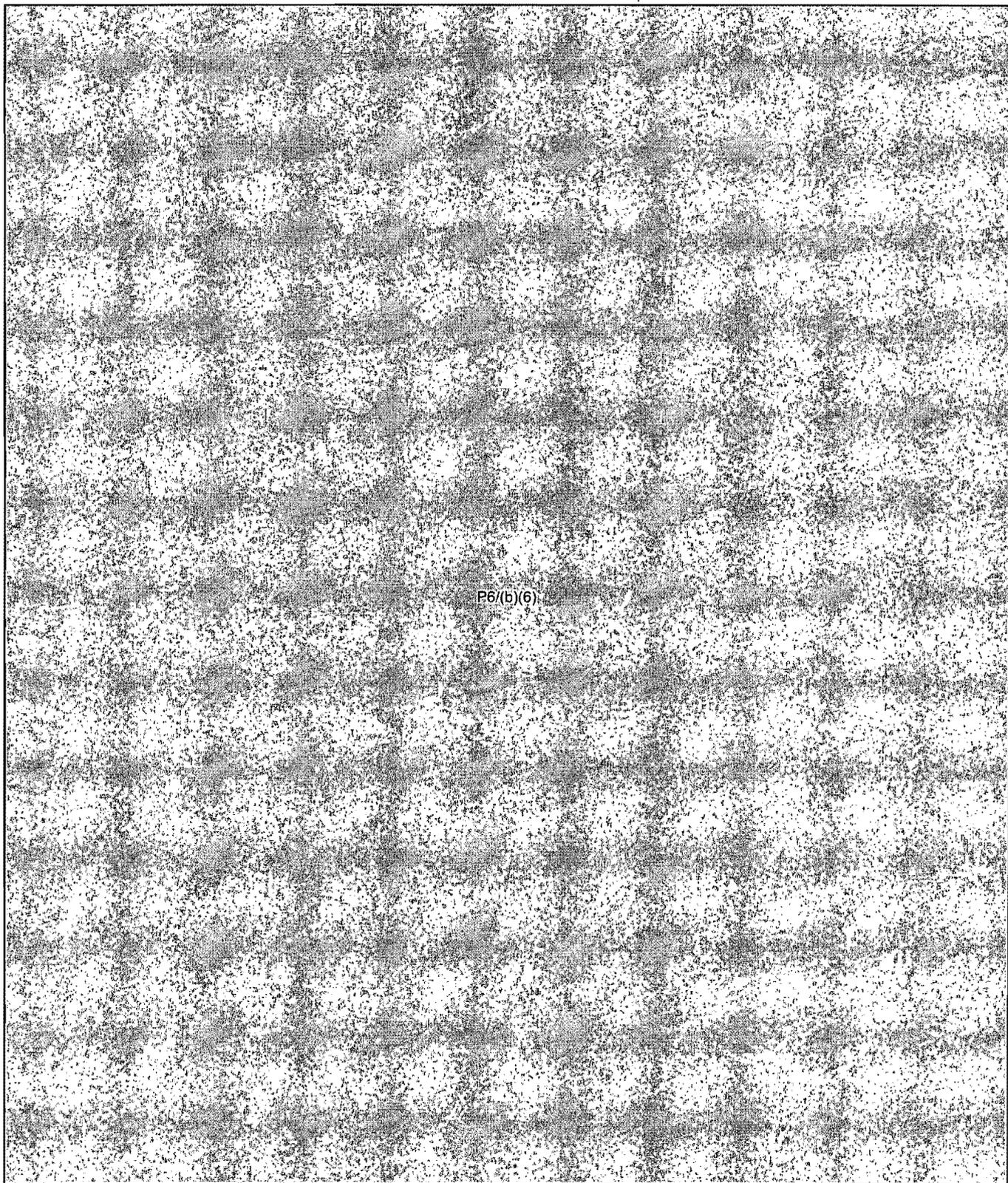


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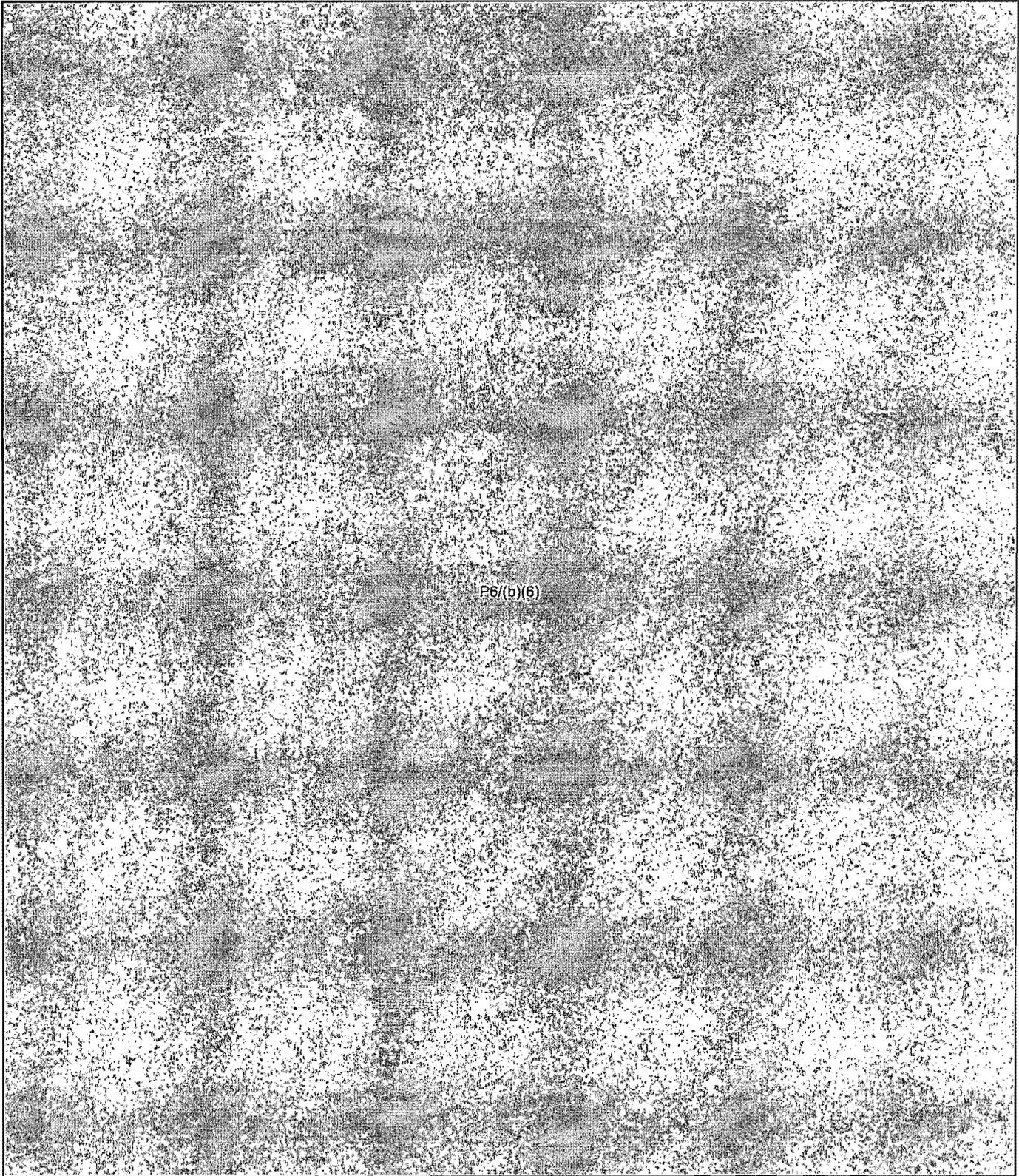
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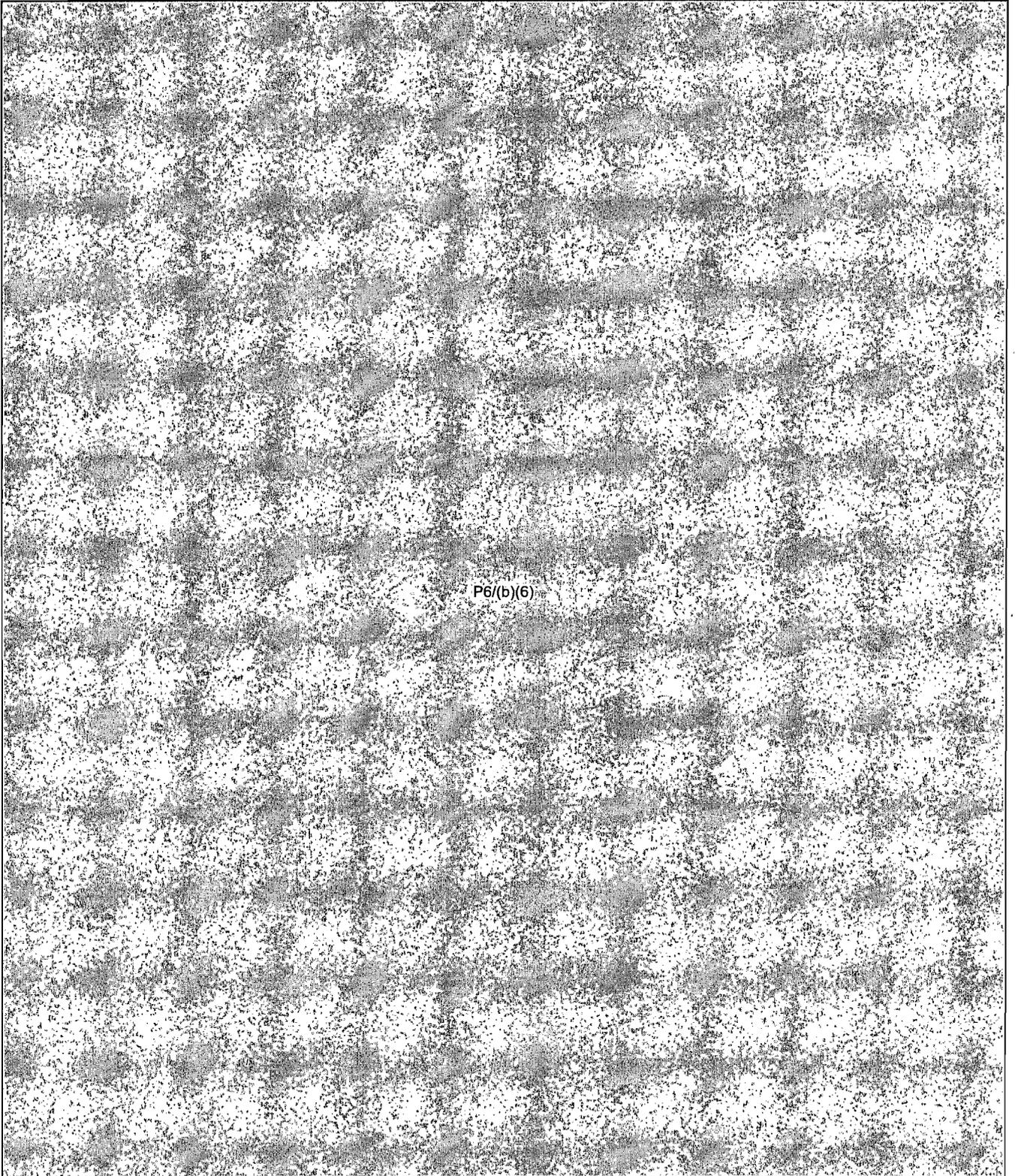
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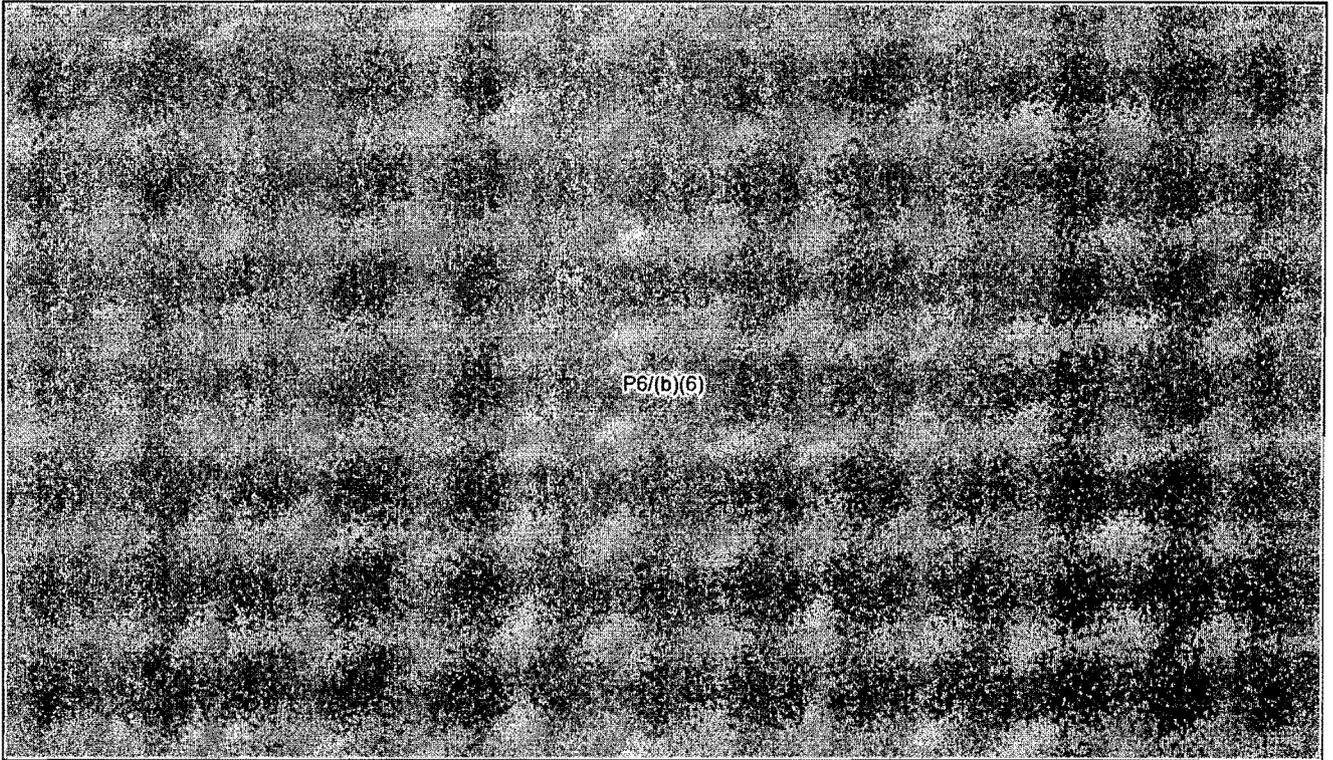
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