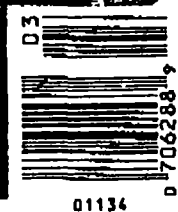
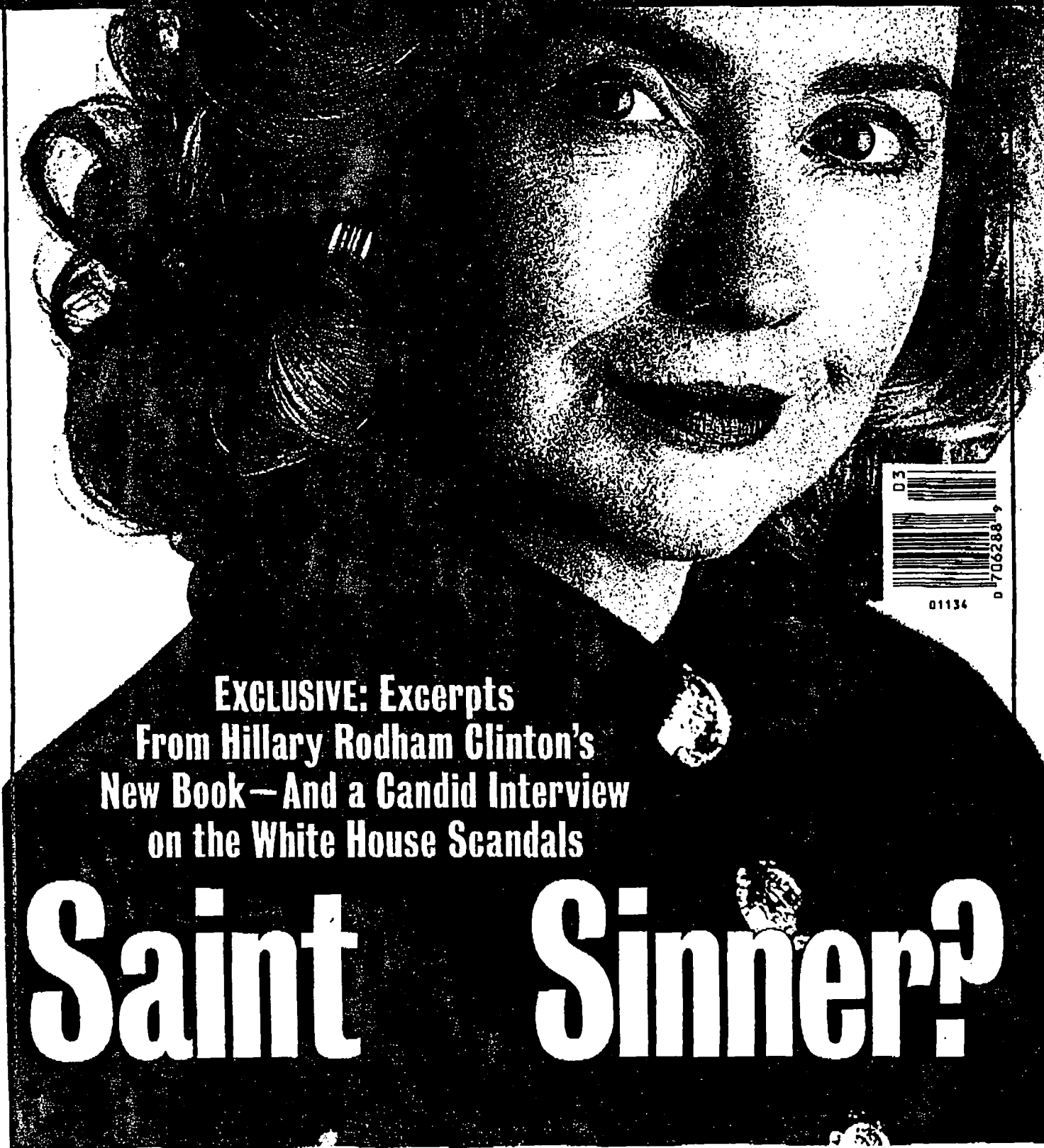


Newsweek



**EXCLUSIVE: Excerpts
From Hillary Rodham Clinton's
New Book—And a Candid Interview
on the White House Scandals**

Saint Sinner?

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Long infused with missionary zeal, Hillary Clinton is determined to do good as she sees it—at virtually any cost. But will her campaign for children be overshadowed by scandal?

BY MARTHA BRANT AND EVAN THOMAS

First Fighter

HILLARY CLINTON SPENT NEW YEAR'S EVE IN A SAFE place, a hotel ballroom in Hilton Head, S.C., surrounded by a thousand soulmates sworn to secrecy. She had come with her husband, for the 12th straight year, to Renaissance Weekend to share and care with people who believe in social uplift and the power of ideas. For nearly an hour, she went on about her deepest concerns: providing economic opportunity for women throughout the world, protecting New Deal and Great Society programs from rapacious Republicans,

saving children everywhere. She got so involved that she seemed to almost forget to introduce her husband, whose speaking time had been cut back to about half an hour before the toasts and hugs at midnight.

A few days later, the First Lady was back in more forbidding territory: her home in Washington, where news of ongoing White House scandals—Travelgate and Whitewater—dominated. Sitting in the third-floor solarium of the White House Residence, she was pleasant and gracious with a couple of reporters from NEWSWEEK who had ostensibly come to talk to her about her new book, "It Takes a Village," but who were predict-

ably asking about the latest revelations. Gracefully, if not always completely, she answered, denying any wrongdoing. She bridled only once, at the word "subpoena," as in: Will it take a subpoena to get her to testify before Sen. Al D'Amato's Whitewater committee? "I'm not going to predict," she coolly demurred. Her smile returning, she changed the subject back to saving children.

Hillary Clinton has enormous self-control. She will need it. Last week D'Amato was brandishing Rose Law Firm billing records—long under subpoena, but long

A tireless advocate, Mrs. Clinton has never been a traditional First Lady

JEFF MERRILL/STEIN



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Be doers of the word and not hearers only' was the familiar Methodist refrain of her childhood

missing—that detailed Mrs. Clinton's controversial work for Madison Guaranty, a failed Arkansas savings and loan connected to Whitewater. This came just a day after a self-described "soul cleansing" memo from a former White House staffer surfaced that made it appear that the First Lady had played a far more central role in Travelgate than she had earlier acknowledged. "I just don't have any memory of that," she told NEWSWEEK (page 26).

This week, as she kicks off her book tour, Americans will once again be trying to figure out who Hillary Clinton really is. After the collapse of her campaign to remake the nation's health-care system, she was thought to have retreated into the role

sweet and homey how-to guide to child rearing, and partly a policy-work discussion of seemingly every child-development program of the past three decades. Republicans will scoff at it: Supermom vying to outdo the GOP as chief defender of family values. Actually, the book is a fair reflection of who Mrs. Clinton is and what she stands for. It is closer to the "real Hillary" than all the familiar press cartoons.

The First Lady's social activism is not a pose; she is dead serious. Her code is simple: "We are all here to help someone else," says Melanne Verveer, one of her top aides. "She believes that to the core of her being." If Mrs. Clinton had lived in the 19th century, she might have saved souls in Afri-

Mrs. Clinton's immediate world is a mix of fluff and hardball. To hear her aides talk, life in what they call "Hillaryland" is like one big pajama party, albeit in the girls' dorm of a progressive religious college in the 1950s. The First Lady loves decorating and dressing up, sometimes goofily. This Christmas, she was seen wandering around wearing a necklace of flashing holiday lights. She enjoyed hanging a wreath with hyper-homemaker Martha Stewart. "I wish I could tell you she doesn't like that stuff, but she does," says Verveer. To her staffers, she is corny and a "bit of a prude," says one. Dressed in blue jeans and a ponytail after hours at the White House, wearing her thick Coke-bottle glasses, she will use expressions like "Okey-dokey, artichokey," and ask, "What's up, buttercup?" She loves to sing, though she can't carry a tune.

HE IS THE "BIG GIRL" IN THE "Big House" in the affectionate jargon of her aides (almost all of whom are female). Her staff is the most faithful in Washington. She fusses over them, asking about their children and their love lives and enjoying their jokes with a loud horsy laugh. But she reveals less of herself. "I was raised not to talk about myself," she has told aides. And she is incredibly demanding. A perfectionist—but a computer illiterate—she will call a staffer late at night to ask how to operate a fax machine. She expects absolute loyalty, and she gets it. Although her husband's staff is notorious for its turnover, only two of Mrs. Clinton's 16 staffers have left, one because her mother was sick. Her more going friends sometimes wonder how Hillary could be so close to Susan Thomases, a tough-talking, take-no-prisoners New York litigator. The short answer, they understand, is that Thomases would do "anything" for Hillary.

But loyalty to Hillary Clinton can be costly. The Clintons built a bunker when they arrived in Washington, and the atmosphere of suspicion and fear—of the press, of Congress, and occasionally of Mrs. Clinton self—wore down their closest aides. When Hillary's best friend, deputy White House counsel Vincent Foster, shot himself six months into the new administration, he was agonizing over what he felt was his personal failure to ward off scandal. Since then, several of Mrs. Clinton's aides, including chief of staff Maggie Williams, have run up hefty legal fees testifying before various investigators. They are uncomplaining, but



of a more traditional First Lady, visiting hospitals and worrying about her hairdo. In truth, her hairstyles changed more than her agenda. She is, and always has been, a missionary. Her all-consuming task is to do good as she sees it, especially for children. She has been called everything from "Saint Hillary" by her fans to the worst kind of sinner by her enemies, but in fact the two are not mutually exclusive. The same zeal that is so impressive in her fight for worthy causes can also lead her (at best) to be politically insensitive and (at worst) to be ruthless about getting her way.

Mrs. Clinton's latest vehicle is her book, which she will be flogging on an 11-city media swing. "It Takes a Village" (the title is taken from an African proverb) is partly a

ca. It is not a coincidence that she relishes traveling through the developing world, proselytizing about children's rights and basking in the adoration of women.

Understanding her sense of mission is critical to resolving the apparent paradoxes of her character and behavior. Hillary's dog-good energy can make her warm, open and generous. It can also make her fierce, protective and suspicious to the point of paranoia. Above all, it makes her a fighter—"an advocate," she calls herself—who will let nothing stop her, particularly not D'Amato or vocal critics like the editorial writers of The Wall Street Journal.

After health care, she became more circumspect—but has never lacked a mission



not a few of their friends wonder why Mrs. Clinton is allowing her aides to slowly twist. Why didn't she just throw open her records and make herself available to investigators long ago if she has done nothing wrong (page 28)?

But the First Lady remains dismissive. She thinks the persistent questions over Whitewater and Travelgate are a nuisance, to be ignored if at all possible. In the late fall of 1993, when the then White House counselor David Cergen suggested turning over all Whitewater documents to The Washington Post to show that the White House had nothing to cover up, it was Mrs. Clinton who said no. Some press accounts have speculated that she had something personal to hide, but her intransigence may be more basic: she truly believes she has more important things to do. If it is necessary to stonewall to protect her larger purposes, then so be it.

Mrs. Clinton's rightcouances may be softened by her girlish good humor, but its roots run deep. Her zeal was shaped in large part by two institutions: the Method-

ist Church and Yale Law School. It is hard, in a more selfish and secular time, to appreciate the fervent strain of social activism that ran through the midcentury, mid-American Methodist Church. "Be doers of the word and not hearers only" was a familiar refrain in her parents' church in Park Ridge, Ill. For a nice suburban Chicago girl in the early '60s, that meant volunteering in the inner city and baby-sitting for migrant workers. At Yale, her missionary impulse turned grandiose. Ivy League grade grubbers who wanted to practice corporate law on Wall Street went to Harvard; idealists went to Yale, where they learned to use the law as a tool of social reform. This spirit was particularly intense in the Yale of the early 1970s—Hillary's Yale. It was liberal, high-minded and suffused with we-know-best paternalism: only courts, not state legislatures, could be trusted to guarantee social justice.

Throughout her political and legal career Mrs. Clinton has lobbied for children's rights. "There is no such thing as other people's children," she likes to say. With fam-

ilies breaking down and children increasingly consigned to poverty, it is up to society to step in. That is a central message of

her new book. She is sensitive that conservatives will translate the word "Village" in her title to mean "Big Government." She talks instead of a "partnership" between government, churches and charities. But she has a program for every problem. "The village can do its part to help [with child nutrition]. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has started Team Nutrition," she writes. "The village can do much to give parents the time they need to establish their children's well-being in the first weeks and months of life. The Family and Medical Leave Act..."

While her policies are classically liberal, her personal code is quite conservative. She thinks everyone should wait until the age of 21 before having sex. She believes divorce has been made too easy and that couples should stay together for the sake of the kids.

'There is no such thing as other people's children,' she is fond of saying.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'You can't accomplish anything in government unless you win,' Hillary used to say at Wellesley



Her views on divorce were tested in a personal way. To stay married, she relates in her book, she sometimes had to "bite my tongue." She does not say about what, but both she and her husband have acknowledged rocky times in their marriage, apparently caused by reports of his philandering. Still, Hillary stuck it out. In true Protestant fashion, she says, she learned to will herself to be grateful for the blessings she did have.

And to make certain compromises. "You can't accomplish anything in government unless you win," Mrs. Clinton would say at Wellesley, her undergraduate college. Politics are distasteful, but necessary. During her husband's 1986 re-election campaign, Mrs. Clinton writes that she told her daughter, Chelsea: "You know, Daddy is going to run for governor again. If he wins we would keep living in this house, and he would keep trying to help people. But first we have to have an election."

One compromise she won't make is to expose Chelsea to the limelight, despite the obvious political benefits of showing off her family. In the White House, the rule is "don't even bring it up," says an aide. Mrs. Clinton's fierceness, as well as her pragmatism, shows when it comes to protecting her family. It has fallen mostly to Hillary to finance the Clintons' public service. (As governor, her husband never earned more

than \$35,000 a year.) To the outside world, her commodities trading—a \$1,000 investment to make \$100,000—looks suspiciously cozy. And the family's lost investment in the failed Whitewater land development has the smell of a sweet deal turned sour. The Whitewater independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, may still uncover shady doings by the First Lady. But Mrs. Clinton seems unrepentant. Although she would never admit it, she may feel that she was relatively restrained in Little Rock, given the temptations of her position and the culture of the place. For a governor's wife who was also a senior partner in a politically connected law firm, the opportunity for lucrative deals must have been huge.

CERTAINLY, HILLARY HAS felt victimized by the storm over Whitewater. "Remind me," she asked an aide when the scandal began to grow after Foster's death, "have I ever done anything right in my life?" She summed up the unfairness of it all with one of Chelsea's favorite nursery rhymes: "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." There is an element of denial in this self-pity. Mrs. Clinton has hardly been a

quiet First Lady. In many of the published accounts about Clinton's presidency, Hillary emerges as the one who wants to strike back while her husband dithers. She agrees that she is generally the one in her family to "cut to the chase." "I think that's true for all women," she told *Newsweek*.

Still, in the past year, she has become somewhat more circumspect. Michael Lerner, the editor of *Tikkun Magazine*, whose "politics of meaning" she embraced, thinks she has "backed away" from preaching values. Feminists watch Mrs. Clinton hanging wreaths with Martha Stewart and wonder what happened to the woman who wanted to work and not be a ceremonial First Lady. "I miss her," says Gloria Steinem.

Sen. Jay Rockefeller, a close friend of Hillary's, says her book "may be one of her ways of saying 'I'm still here,' but more quietly. I think it's a decision on her part to be lower key." But it doesn't mean that her internal sense of mission has dimmed. When she was handed the page proofs of her book after struggling for many late nights to get it right, her eyes welled up. She was overwhelmed with pride and determination. The Promised Land was in sight, if only the rest of us could see it clearly.

A dutiful campaigner, she finds politics distasteful, but a means to an end

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'The Ground Keeps Shifting'

Mrs. Clinton on ethics troubles, Vince Foster—and how she sees herself

LAST WEEK, HILLARY Clinton sat down with *NEWSWEEK* to talk about her new book. It was also her first extensive interview about Whitewater and Travelgate in more than a year. The night before, the White House had released a 1993 memo suggesting that Mrs. Clinton had ordered aides to fire the White House Travel Office—despite her longstanding position that she had played an insignificant role in the flap.

NEWSWEEK: The memo says, "Foster regularly informed me that the First Lady was concerned and desired action—the action desired was the firing of the Travel Office staff."

Mrs. Clinton: I just don't have any memory of that. What I do remember is having a conversation with David Watkins, at Vince Foster's suggestion, in which Watkins told me that [the accounting firm] Peat Marwick had begun its investigation into the financial management of the Travel Office. And I said, it looks like that's what should be done.

Do you feel that the Whitewater investigation has become targeted at you?

I don't know. It's been going on a long time. We've tried to cooperate in every way we can because nobody would like this matter over with more than I would. But the ground keeps shifting about what it supposedly is about.

In 1992 you said you had done "minimal" work for Madison. But recently, notes taken by Susan Thomases say you had "numerous conferences" on the subject. How do you reconcile that?

Based on the evidence that we've seen, the Rose Law Firm represented Madison for about 15 months. And over those 15 months I did about an hour a

week worth of work. There is no way that I think of an hour a week over 15 months as being a significant amount of work.

One area of confusion is the documents in Foster's office after his death. Were you concerned about law enforcement having unfettered access to them?

No. No documents were taken out of Vince Foster's office the night he died. And I did not direct anyone to interfere with any investigation into his death. I don't know how best to convey the level of grief and shock and distress that I and other people felt at the news. There was no discussion of documents, or Whitewater, or anything like that. That was not what any of us were thinking about.

But there were documents here in the residence for five days. Why were they here if not to review them?

Because when I was in Arkansas [at the time of Foster's suicide] I was called [and told] that [White House counsel] Bernie Nussbaum was distributing the documents out of Vince's office. There were personal documents of mine which I didn't even know Vince had. I was asked what should be done with them and I said, "Well, send them to our lawyers." And the decision was made that they couldn't get sent over that day. I was asked if there were a place that they could be stored, and I said, "I don't know, talk to some of the people in the residence." And so they were locked up there. It's difficult to keep track of all the spider webs that are spun and the theories and the innuendoes. Then they were picked up by our lawyer and examined and then an index was made of them. And the index

was sent to me and that was the first time I knew it was there.

You never reviewed them at all? No. Because it wasn't important to us. Maybe if we had been here for a couple of years, maybe if we knew a little bit more about what the possible conspiracies that could be spun might look like, everybody would have

had and always felt bad for kids I went to school with who seemed like really good kids who never had any luck, never had any breaks at all. [They] needed just a little bit of help from somebody—a teacher, a coach, a minister. When I got to college and law school, I began to study child development.

That was a rough year [in 1993]: health care went down, Foster died. Was this book a way to come out of that?

I didn't think about it that way, but it gave me a lot of time alone. A lot of times I'd be staring at the blank page trying to figure out how I was going to put what I was feeling into readable English. Nineteen ninety-three was a personally very challenging and difficult year, with [the deaths of] my father and Vince and my mother-in-law. So I really did have to summon up a lot of my own resources, and work through many of the feelings that I had.

Do you see yourself as a pragmatist or an idealist? I've always thought of myself as a pragmatist be-

cause a lot of what I believe we should do for one another is very practical. As many kids as possible [should] have as good a shot as possible, because I don't want [Chelsea] to be afraid to go to a city park with her kids when she gets older.

There aren't any simple answers. You can't say, "Oh, it's the government's fault," and you can't say, "Oh, it's just these irresponsible parents living in the inner city." The responsibility is spread all the way across society. But the good news is there are things we can do right now that could make a difference if we would start having that kind of conversation. ■



Gracious but cool, the First Lady speaks

tried to be more thoughtful or dispassionate in the heat of that moment.

Are you thinking personally of testifying at this point?

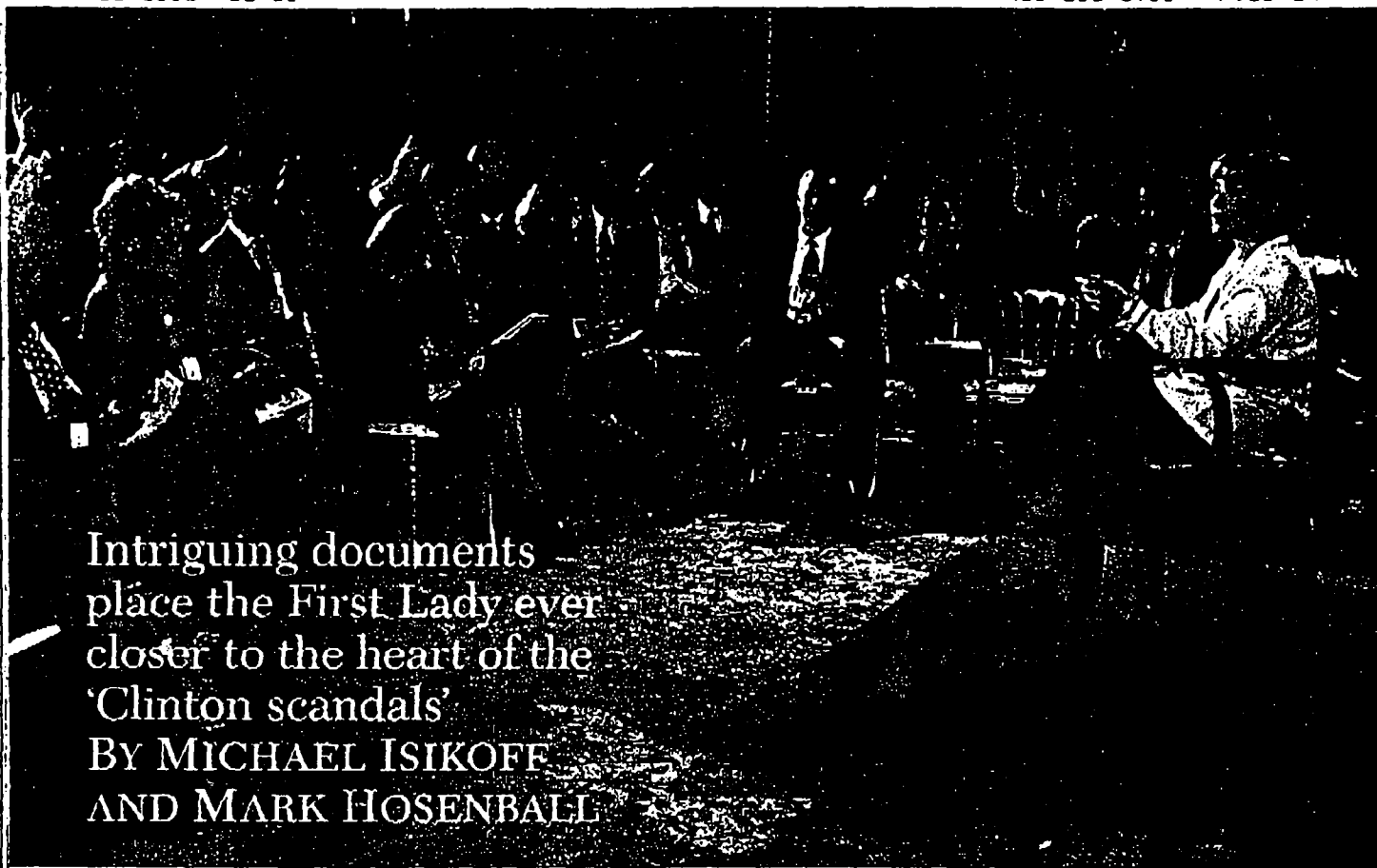
Well, I'm looking to continue to cooperate.

So you're waiting for a subpoena?

I'm not going to predict what might or might not happen.

Your friends talk about your Methodism and Yale Law School as important influences on you. How would you explain what motivates you?

I was always grateful for what I



Intriguing documents place the First Lady ever closer to the heart of the 'Clinton scandals'

BY MICHAEL ISIKOFF
AND MARK HOSENBALL

Cracks in the Wall

THE WAY WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS TOLD IT, Carolyn Huber was rummaging through some old boxes under a table in her East Wing office when she spotted something odd—for stashed among the letters and memorabilia was a bundle of computer printouts. Huber's job at the White House is handling Bill and Hillary Clinton's personal correspondence; before that, in Little Rock, she was office

manager at the Rose Law Firm when Hillary was a partner there. She realized instantly the printouts were billing records from the firm—and that this batch itemized Mrs. Clinton's legal work for Madison Guaranty savings and loan, the failed thrift

that was central to Whitewater. Investigators searched for these records for nearly two years. Worse, the printouts were covered with the late Vince Foster's handwriting: it is Foster's suicide that lends Whitewater its aura of menace.

The billing records raise new questions about whether Mrs. Clinton misled investigators about her legal work for James McDougal, the Clinton ally and business partner who ran Madison into the ground. The thrift's collapse cost the taxpayers \$60 million; McDougal goes on trial in March on related fraud charges. One big issue is a Madison land deal with Arkansas businessman Seth Ward, father-in-law of Webster Hubbell, the former Rose Law Firm partner who was convicted last year of billing clients. Federal investigators say the land deal, part of a project called Castle Grande, was a "sham" that contributed to Madison's demise. The billing records show that Mrs. Clinton talked to Ward 14 times while the deal was being put together. Last year Mrs. Clinton, under oath, told federal regulators she couldn't recall anything about the project. The notes in Foster's handwriting are suggestive, too: congressional investigators speculate that the printouts may have been among papers they believe were removed from Foster's office shortly after his death. White House aides were unable to explain how the billing records wound up in Huber's office.

To the obvious delight of congressional Republicans, the strange discovery of the Rose Law Firm records was not the only

In April '94, Hillary took Whitewater questions—but new ones are surfacing in '96

embarrassment to the First Lady last week. A day earlier White House officials released a memo written by David Watkins, a former Little Rock adman who until 1994 served as the White House's administrative chief. The memo was devastating. It charged that Mrs. Clinton was the driving force in Travelgate, the abrupt firing of seven career employees in the White House Travel Office in 1993. Watkins wrote that he and Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty, the former White House chief of staff, "both knew there would be hell to pay if... we failed to take swift and decisive action in conformity with the First Lady's wishes." What were those wishes? Notes taken by another aide show that Susan Thomas, Hillary Clinton's friend and lawyer, bluntly warned that "Hillary wants these people fired." As the news media reported at the time, a Clinton friend named Harry Thomason was part owner of an air-charter company that coveted the White House travel business. "Once this made it onto the First Lady's agenda, Vince Foster became involved, and he and Harry Thomason regularly informed me of her attention to the Travel Office situation," Watkins wrote.

McDougal, Ward, Watkins, Thomason—and, tragically, Vince Foster. The ever-expanding cast of characters in what Republicans now call "the Clinton scan-

dals" may be hard to follow, but the theme is increasingly obvious: year after year, her friends seem to have been working overtime to protect the First Lady. Watkins's memo suggests that White House staffers were less than accurate when they told Congress Mrs. Clinton played "no role" in Travelgate. The Rose Law Firm records reopen the issue of whether Mrs. Clinton was entirely candid when she said, in a sworn response to federal regulators, that her work for Madison had been "minimal."

Though no one accuses Mrs. Clinton of wrongdoing—and while White House officials still insist there are no credible charges against her staff—the legal morass is getting deeper. The Senate Whitewater committee is considering asking for perjury charges against Susan Thomas and Maggie Williams, Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff, in connection with their testimony about the removal of documents from Foster's office. A House committee has subpoenaed Watkins. NEWSWEEK has learned that Watkins told the FBI in 1993 about a phone call concerning the Travel Office in which Mrs. Clinton said "action needed to be taken immediately to be certain that those not friendly to the administration were removed and replaced with trustworthy individuals."

And White House lawyers failed to mention Mrs. Clinton's peripheral involvement

even when, in the panicky attempt at damage control after Foster's suicide, she seemed to do the proper thing. That happened when his torn-up suicide note was belatedly discovered by former White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum and two aides. Nussbaum tried to show Mrs. Clinton the note—but according to sworn testimony, she responded that "she did not understand why she had been brought into the room" and left without looking at it. Nussbaum and the others omitted that fact in subsequent interviews with the FBI.

In her NEWSWEEK interview, Mrs. Clinton denied directing any cover-up after Foster's death. She insisted the White House has cooperated fully with Whitewater investigators and again said her work for Madison Guaranty was not "significant." The newly discovered billing records broadly support her statements about the amount of time she spent—though not necessarily the implication that the results were minor. David Kendall, the Clintons' lawyer, was asked by NEWSWEEK whether Mrs. Clinton needed to supplement her previous testimony about her work for Madison. Kendall said he was reviewing her sworn statements and would amend them if necessary. The odds are he will have to do so—and that Hillary Clinton faces tougher questions ahead.

The First Family's Troubled Circle

Though Mrs. Clinton has long said she was only a peripheral figure in Whitewater and the Travel Office firings, new evidence undermines her claims. Congress and the special prosecutor are investigating. A guide to the cast of characters.

THE ARKANSAS PLAYERS



James McDougal Madison's owner and Clinton Whitewater partner has said he gave Hillary legal work at Bill's request. Newly released records cast doubt on her claim that the work was "minimal."



Susan McDougal An indicted ex-Arkansas judge, David Hale, claims Bill Clinton pressured him to make a small-business loan to McDougal's wife. A portion of this money ended up in the Whitewater account.



Beverly Bassett Schaffer Investigators are interested in just how much contact Mrs. Clinton had with this Arkansas regulator—and appointee of Governor Clinton. Both women say it was insignificant.



James Blair Hillary's adviser in her cattle-futures killing. Blair also loaned McDougal \$1,000 to buy the Clintons' share of Whitewater after the 1992 election—and told him to shut up about the land deal.

TRAVELGATE AND THE WHITEHOUSE



Harry Thomason This old Arkansas friend urged Hillary to clean out the office that handled presidential press travel—and his air-charter firm then bid for the travel business.



David Watkins The former Clinton aide took the fall for Travelgate but wrote a memo, discovered last week, claiming the firings conformed with "the First Lady's wishes."



Vincent Foster Hillary's closest friend at Rose and a White House lawyer, Foster helped tidy up Whitewater for the Clintons. His suicide note suggests he was agonizing over Travelgate on the day of his death.



William Kennedy His note at a meeting of Clinton lawyers—"Vacuum Rose law files"—is intriguing investigators. The former White House attorney says he was referring to a gap in the files, not a pending cover-up.



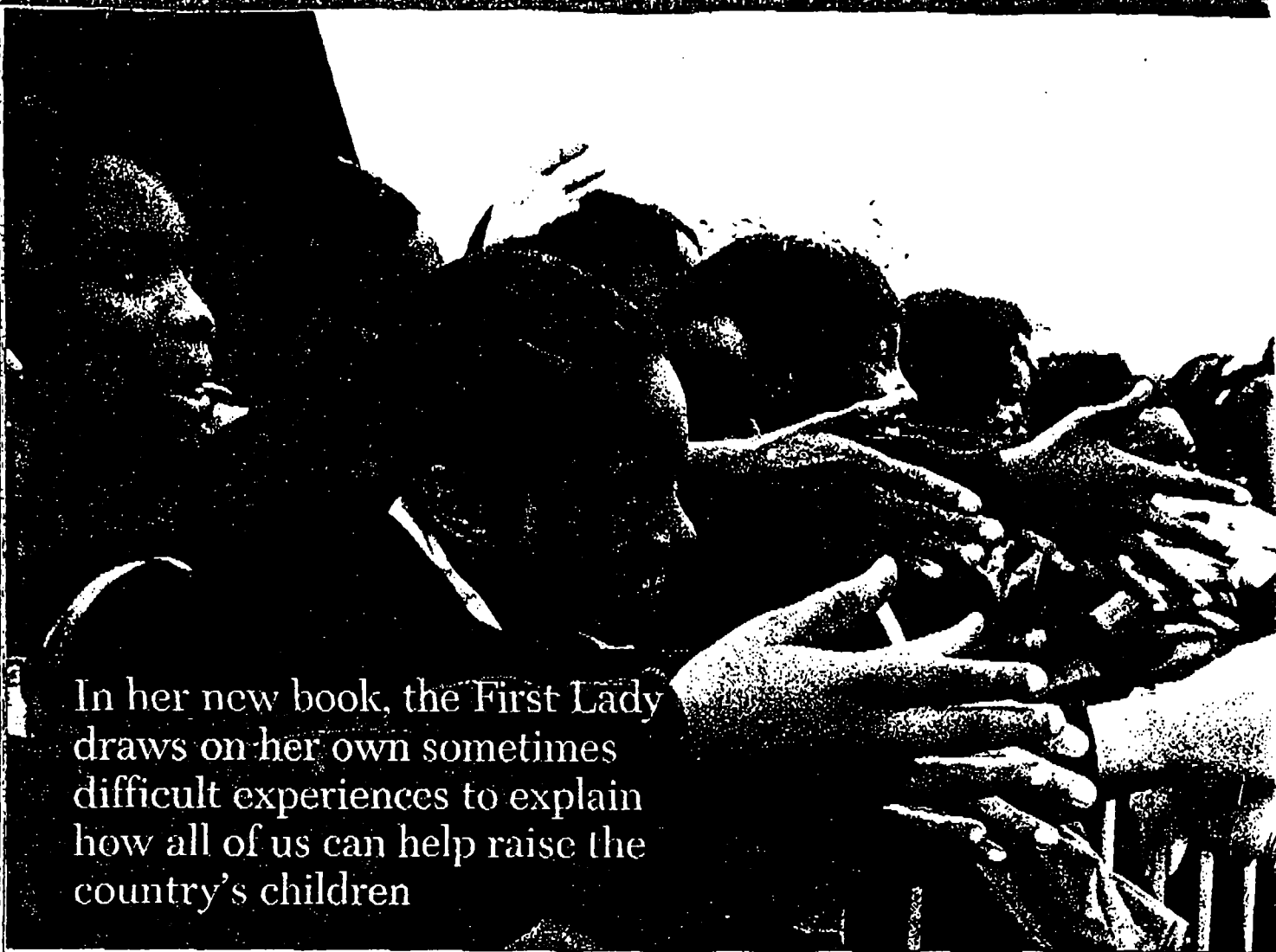
Maggie Williams Chief of staff to Mrs. Clinton, Williams's recollections about what happened to Foster's files after his death don't square with what others have testified. Investigators are pursuing the discrepancies.



Susan Thomas Hillary's pal helped prepare the response to the first reports about Whitewater in '92. Her notes show that Mrs. Clinton's connections to McDougal were played down from the start.

WHITewater IN WASHINGTON

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM: ROBERT H. JOHNSON/AP; MARY MCKINNEY/AP; SPENCER Platt/GAMMA-LIAISON; STEPHEN BRIDGEMAN/AP; ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE; ARKANSAS JOURNAL; TERRY L. HALL/AP; JOHN F. HARRIS FOR NEWSWEEK; LARRY MCKINNEY FOR NEWSWEEK



In her new book, the First Lady draws on her own sometimes difficult experiences to explain how all of us can help raise the country's children

'It Takes a V

By Hillary Rodham Clinton

CHILDREN ARE NOT RUGGED individualists. They depend on the adults they know and on thousands more who make decisions every day that affect their well-being. All of us, whether we acknowledge it or not, are responsible for deciding whether our children are raised in a nation that doesn't just espouse family values but values families.

Yet everywhere we look, children are under assault: from violence and neglect, from the breakup of families, from the temptations of alcohol, tobacco, sex, and drug abuse, from greed, materialism, and spiritual emptiness. These problems are not new, but in our time they have skyrocketed. Against this bleak backdrop, the struggle to raise strong children and to support families, emotionally as well as practically, has become more fierce.

I have spent much of the past 25 years working to improve the lives of children. My work has taught me that they need more of our time, energy, and resources. But no experience brought home the lesson as vividly as becoming a mother myself. When Chelsea Victoria Clinton lay in my arms for the first time, I was overwhelmed by the love and responsibility I felt for her.

Bill and I had wanted to start a family immediately after we married, in 1975, but we were not having much luck. In 1979, we scheduled an appointment to visit a fertility clinic right after a long-awaited vacation. Lo and behold, I got pregnant during that vacation. (I have often remarked to my husband that we might have had more children if we had taken more vacations!)



In Newark, N.J., reaching out to a favorite constituency—schoolchildren

our daily lives and fed us with her devotion, imagination, and great spirit. My parents also had a lot of help from the village in raising my brothers and me. Grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins all pitched in if illness or some other misfortune strained the family.

And plenty of other adults—from librarians to crossing guards to Scout leaders—looked out for us.

Those who urge a return to the values of the 1950s are yearning for the kind of family and neighborhood I grew up in and for the feelings of togetherness they engendered. I understand that nostalgia. I feel it myself when the world seems too much to take. There were many good things about our way of life back then. But our past was not so picture-perfect. Ask African-American children who grew up in a segregated society, or immigrants who struggled to survive in sweatshops and tenements, or women whose life choices were circumscribed and whose work was underpaid. Ask those who grew up in the picture-perfect houses about the secrets and desperation they sometimes concealed.

The longing for "the way things used to be" also obscures the larger settings in which the family finds itself today, as it struggles with broken homes, discrimination, economic downturns, urbanization, consumerism, and technology. Here are some of the challenges we face—and a few ways to overcome them.

On Divorce: The instability of American households today poses great risks to the healthy development of children. The divorce rate has been falling slowly, but for a high proportion of marriages, "till death do us part" means "until the going gets rough." My strong feelings about divorce have caused me to bite my tongue more than a few times during my own marriage and to think instead about what I could do to be a better wife and partner. My husband has done the same.

I am not saying that there are not reasons for divorce. The abuse and violence Bill's mother, Virginia Kelley, experienced is something no parent or child should endure. But people with children need to ask what more they can do before they call it quits. When children are involved, we should consider returning to mandatory "cooling off" periods, with education and counseling.

On Pre-Natal Care: There I was, lying in my hospital bed, trying desperately to figure out how to breast-feed. I had been trained to study everything forward, backward, and upside down before reaching a conclusion. It seemed to me I ought to be able to figure this out. As I looked on in horror, Chelsea started to foam at the nose. I thought she was strangling or having convulsions. Frantically, I pushed every buzzer there was to push.

A nurse appeared promptly. She assessed the situation calmly, then, suppressing a smile, said, "It would help if you held her head up a bit, like this." Chelsea was taking in my milk, but because of the awkward way I held her, she was breathing it out of her nose!

Like many women, I had read books when I was pregnant—wonderful books filled with dos and don'ts about what babies need in the first months and years to ensure the proper development of their bodies, brains, and characters. But as every parent soon discovers, grasping concepts in the abstract and knowing what to do with the baby in your hands are two radically different things. And as a nation, we are not paying enough attention to what ought to be our highest priority: educating and empowering people to be the best parents possible. Education and empowerment start with giving them the means and encouragement to plan pregnancy itself, so that they have the physical, financial, and emotional resources to support their children.

Openness about sexuality and availability of contraception in most Western European countries are credited with lowering rates of unintended pregnancy and abortion. By contrast, more than 100 million women around the world still cannot obtain or are not

illage'

Parents bear the first and primary responsibility for their sons and daughters—to feed them, to sing them to sleep, to make countless daily decisions that determine whom they have the potential to become. But children exist in the world as well. From the moment they are born, they depend on a host of other "grown-ups"—grandparents, neighbors, teachers, ministers, employers, political leaders, and untold others who touch their lives. Each of us plays a part in every child's life. As an old African proverb says: It takes a village to raise a child.

I grew up in a family that looked like it was straight out of the 1950s television sitcom "Father Knows Best." Hugh Ellsworth Rodham, my father, was a self-sufficient, tough-minded small-businessman who ran a plant that screen-printed and sold drapery fabrics. He worked hard and never encountered a serious financial setback. But like many who came of age during the Great Depression, he constantly worried that he might.

My mother assumed an equally traditional role, providing the unlimited affection and encouragement that smoothed our path and balanced the pressures my father imposed. She organized

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

I understand the nostalgia for the America of the 1950s. I feel it myself. But our past was not so picture-perfect



using family planning services because they are poor, uneducated, or lack access to care. Twenty million women seek unsafe abortions each year.

We may think our country is far from this end of the spectrum, but statistics tell a different story. Two in five American teenage girls become pregnant by age 20, and 1.5 million abortions are performed in America each year. It is a national shame that many Americans are more thoughtful about planning their weekend entertainment than about planning their families.

We also know that women who receive pre-natal care, especially in the first trimester, are more likely to deliver healthy, full-term babies, while women who do not receive adequate pre-natal care are more than twice as likely to give birth to babies weighing less than five and a half pounds, the definition of "low birth weight."

On Health Care and Day Care: There's probably no area of our lives that better illustrates the connection between the village and the individual and between mutual and personal responsibility than health care. Today there are more than 10 million children, most with working parents, who do not have health insurance. The rate will accelerate even more if Congress enacts proposed cut-backs in Medicaid.

Some families who can afford to pay for private insurance are unable to find coverage. In Cleveland, Ohio, I met a couple who have two daughters with cystic fibrosis. The family could afford private insurance, but no one was willing to sell them a policy because of the girls' conditions. They repeated to me the words of one insurance agent—words I will never forget. "What you don't understand," the agent told them, "is that we don't insure burning houses."

I find this attitude deplorable. And if we are willing to write off these children, whose will be next? Scientists will soon be able to tell us which of our genes predispose us to cancer or diabetes or other serious diseases. Will those who carry such genes and the children we pass them on to eventually be denied insurance, too?

If you want to open the floodgates of guilt and dissension anywhere in America, start talking about child care. It is an issue that brings out all of our conflicted feelings about what parenthood should be and about who should care for children when parents are

unable to. The sad fact is Americans have never sufficiently valued the work of caring for children. This is due in part to our nation's long ambivalence about whether surrogate child care is acceptable. And Americans continue to be divided over what role, if any, the federal government should play in helping working parents pay for it.

At home in the Chicago suburbs, 1955: Hillary (far left), her parents and brother Tony

On Intelligence and Education: Recent discoveries in neuroscience, molecular biology, and psychology have given researchers a whole new understanding of when and how the human brain develops. Above all, this new information makes clear that a child's character and potential are not already determined at birth. Dr. Frederick Goodwin, former director of the National Institute of Mental Health, cites studies in which children "at risk" for developmental problems were exposed at an early age to stimulating environments. The children's IQ scores increased by as much as 20 points. Bear this research in mind when you listen to those who argue that our nation cannot afford to implement comprehensive early education programs for disadvantaged children and their families. If we as a village decide not to help families develop their children's brains, then at least let us admit that we are acting not on the evidence but according to a different agenda.

After a dozen years of involvement in education reform, I'm convinced that the biggest obstacles many students face are the low expectations we have of them and their schools. And nowhere is the partnership of parents and the rest of the village more crucial to the schools than in the expectation that discipline and order are necessary for learning. I agree with those who advocate dress codes and even uniforms in some districts because they appear to diminish the frictions caused by brand-name consumerism and gang identification.

And after so many years of working with and listening to American adolescents, I also don't believe they are ready for sex or its potential consequences—parenthood, abortion, sexually transmitted diseases—and I think we need to do everything in our power to discourage sexual activity and encourage abstinence. This means adult support, including the time it takes to organize gatherings for kids, instead of turning them loose in malls, video arcades, or the streets. Homes, schools, churches, and communities should provide havens for kids who want an alternative.

These same entities have to pitch in when it comes to educating

From "IT TAKES A VILLAGE And Other Lessons Children Teach Us," by Hillary Rodham Clinton. To be published by Simon & Schuster, Inc. Copyright © 1996 by Hillary Rodham Clinton.

For the sake of our children, let us use government, as we have in the past, to further the common good

kids about sex. The available evidence does not support fears that direct discussion of sexual behavior increases sexual activity; rather, it suggests many adolescents become sexually active without having had any formal sex education at all. And no matter how great an effort adults make to convince young people to abstain, there will be some who are determined to embark on sexual experience. They need straight talk about contraception and sexually transmitted diseases to help them deal responsibly with the consequences of their actions.

I do wish we would all take a deep breath and remember that sex has been around for a long, long time and we are all here because of it. It is an important part of who we are and how we live, and there should be no shame in our children's curiosity about it. If we could accept that, we could begin talking to children, as soon as they could understand what we were saying, about the importance of honoring their bodies and entering into relationships responsibly.

On Gender Stereotyping: The attempt to attach labels to our lives takes us backward. Whenever we pose women's options as an "either/or" choice—most commonly between work and family—we do a disservice all around. In earlier generations, we lost artists, doctors, and engineers. My generation lost good mothers and dedicated community volunteers among women who did not see a way to combine their work life with making a home or nurturing a family.

I have had my own experiences with the power of stereotypes, most notably when the response I gave to a reporter's question during the 1992 campaign led to the infamous cookies-and-tea tempest. I had understood the question to refer to the ceremonial role of a public official's spouse, and I replied that I had chosen to pursue my law practice while my husband was governor rather than stay home as an official hostess, serving cookies and tea to guests.

Now, the fact is, I've made my share of cookies and served hundreds of cups of tea. But I never thought that made me a good, bad, or indifferent mother, or a good or bad person. So it never occurred to me that my comment would be taken as insulting mothers (I guess including my own!) who choose to stay home with their children full-time. Nor did it occur to me that the next day's headlines would reduce me to an anti-family "career woman."

I learned from the episode that when I am asked a question that relates to me personally, my answer may be measured by how people feel about the choices they've made in their own lives. But the incident also highlighted the energy that is wasted on sniping over women's and men's choices and on stereotyping.

IN THE SPRING OF 1995, Chelsea and I traveled together through South Asia. As the mother of a teenager, I felt very lucky indeed that my 15-year-old was willing to spend 10 days with me. We had an unforgettable time—including a visit to Mother Tere-

sa's orphanage in New Delhi—and were presented with frequent opportunities to reflect on what it means to be an American. Many of the people we met told us how much they admired our country. When Americans are reminded of the bounty and protection we enjoy, most of us are grateful. Our gratitude has its roots in a view of government that dates back to the Pilgrims. In this view, government is an instrument both to promote the common good and to protect the individual's rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

By the 1980s, however, faced with mounting economic and social problems, Americans began to question the ability of government to solve them. Many began to believe government itself was the problem. Even those of us who are mindful of the progress we have made through government recognize that there are limits to what it can do.

At present, the extreme anti-government position is the noisiest one—or at least the one that gets the most attention from the media. Anti-government rhetoric appears to offer a vision of greater efficiency, self-reliance, and personal freedom. (For obvious reasons, it also usually enjoys greater financial backing and better-organized support.) Unfortunately, this rhetoric argues against the excesses of government but not against those of the marketplace, where there is great power to disrupt the lives of workers, families, and communities. It even argues against the basic protections government extends to the well-being of individuals, families, and communities, without offering an alternative way of safeguarding them. In fact, its extreme case against government, often including intense personal attacks on government officials and political leaders, is designed to advance narrow religious, political, and economic agendas.

For the sake of our children, we ought to call an end to false debates between values and policies. Both personal and mutual responsibility are essential, and we should work to strengthen them at all levels of society. Let us admit that some government programs and personnel are efficient and effective, and others are not.

Let us acknowledge that when it comes to the treatment of children, some individuals are evil, neglectful, or incompetent, but others are trying to do the best they can against daunting odds and deserve the help only we—through our government—can provide. Let us use government, as we have in the past, to further the common good.

Nothing is more important to our shared future than the well-being of children. For children are at our core—not only as vulnerable beings in need of love and care but as a moral touchstone amidst the complexity and contentiousness of modern life. Just as it takes a village to raise a child, it takes children to raise up a village to become all it should be. The village we build with them in mind will be a better place for us all.

The first time she held Chelsea in her arms, Hillary recalls, "I was overwhelmed"



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

January 9, 1996

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

The Green Room

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

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

Q Are you distressed?

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

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

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

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

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

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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

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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.

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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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q -- that you took.

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

Q And people think you have changed your image.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What was this Secret Service incident?

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

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

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

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

MRS. CLINTON: No. I wanted the situation

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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 say, yes. Well, how much? Gee, I don't remember. And then we scramble around and try to figure out how much money we lost. Did you do work for Madison? Yes. Well, how much? Gosh, I don't remember, but it wasn't very much.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

January 9, 1996

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

The Green Room

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

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

Q Are you distressed?

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

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

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

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

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

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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

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.

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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

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

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

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely.

Q -- about sex?

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

Q At what age?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q -- that you took.

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

Q And people think you have changed your image.

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

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

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

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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 say, yes. Well, how much? Gee, I don't remember. And then we scramble around and try to figure out how much money we lost. Did you do work for Madison? Yes. Well, how much? Gosh, I don't remember, but it wasn't very much.

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.

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

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

BOOK Q & A

PUBLICATION OF IT TAKES A VILLAGE

Q: When will the book be available?

A: The book will be on the shelves in most book stores by January 10th and 11th.

Q: How long is the book and how much does it cost?

A: The book is 320 pages, and costs \$20.

Q: How many books are being printed? Does Simon & Schuster anticipate a second printing?

A: Simon & Schuster is planning an initial printing of 350,000 copies of *It Takes a Village*. Simon & Schuster will print more copies according to demand.

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Q. Why did Mrs. Clinton write this book?

A: Over the past 25 years, Mrs. Clinton has spent a great deal of time working on issues affecting children and families. She has met numerous people and learned a tremendous amount from them. She realized that she has a unique window into the lives of many Americans because of her position as First Lady and she wanted to share her experiences with the American people. This book is really the culmination of 25 years of advocacy on behalf of children and families.

Q: Why did Mrs. Clinton do this project with Simon and Schuster?

A: Mrs. Clinton originally met members of the Simon & Schuster staff in conjunction with the publication of *Leading With My Heart*, the autobiography of Virginia Kelley. Carolyn Reidy and Becky Saletan at Simon & Schuster came to her with an idea for a book, and following discussions among the Simon & Schuster officials and the First Lady, the project was born. Mrs. Clinton was impressed by Simon & Schuster's early and continued interest in having her write a book, coupled with their high degree of professionalism.

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A: Mrs. Clinton is a first-time author and not the first author to miss a deadline. With each draft, the book became more of what Mrs. Clinton wanted it to be. She and her editor at Simon & Schuster decided to give the book more time so it could be the product that both Mrs. Clinton and Simon & Schuster wanted it to be. And everyone seems to be quite pleased with the results.

Q. Did Mrs. Clinton have help writing this book?

A: Mrs. Clinton credits Barbara Feinman with getting her started on the book. Barbara produced notes from a series of conversations with Mrs. Clinton and did most of the initial research. She was a great help to Mrs. Clinton in terms of organizing her thoughts and working through an initial draft.

As Mrs. Clinton worked on each chapter, she talked to experts, advocates, family members and personal friends -- many of whom volunteered help and others whom she asked to read and comment as her drafts progressed.

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Q: Is Barbara Feinman indicated on the book cover as a co-author?

A: No.

Q: What is Barbara's background?

A: Feinman is a Washington-based writer who teaches journalism at Georgetown University.

Q: Can we interview her for our stories?

A: You are free to do so.

Q: Did the President read the book before it was published?

A: Yes.

Q: Did he work on it?

A: This book has been part of Mrs. Clinton's life for eight months, so obviously it has been an experience that the President has shared in. After reading a draft of the book, the President offered his editorial comments and advice.

Q: What does he think of the book?

A: He is very pleased with the book and the important message it contains about the importance of supporting America's children and families. He is proud of Mrs. Clinton for all of her work on this project.

MAJOR THEMES OF *IT TAKES A VILLAGE*

Q: What does Mrs. Clinton say in *It Takes a Village*? What is the central thesis of the book?

A: In *It Takes A Village*, Mrs. Clinton shares some of the convictions she has developed over a lifetime as an advocate for children -- and as a mother, daughter, sister and wife -- about the lives and needs of children. The underlying theme of the book is that America's future depends on the way we raise our children, and all of us -- parents, grandparents, neighbors, teachers, religious figures, employers, political leaders and others -- have a responsibility for promoting their well-being.

Q: What recommendations or solutions does Mrs. Clinton offer?

A: In the book, Mrs. Clinton shares her own convictions about the needs of children, highlights important new research about children's emotional and cognitive development, and shares personal experiences from her own life and the stories of people she has met around the country. She highlights a number of successful efforts -- by parents, schools, community organizations, churches, governments and businesses -- to protect and nurture our children. She also offers some new ideas about things that we can all do to make life better for children.

Q: After working on behalf of children and families for more than 25 years, what is Mrs. Clinton's major observation on these issues?

A: Same as above.

PROMOTION OF IT TAKES A VILLAGE

Q. Is Mrs. Clinton planning a book tour? What cities will she visit?

A: Simon & Schuster is planning a book tour for Mrs. Clinton. Between January 16th and January 20th, Mrs. Clinton will travel to Little Rock and Blytheville, Arkansas; Ann Arbor, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; New York, New York; and Boston, Massachusetts. A second swing is being planned for February 7th - 9th, when Mrs. Clinton will visit Dallas, Texas; Denver, Colorado; and Los Angeles and San Francisco, California.

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Q. How much does Simon & Schuster expect to spend promoting the book?

A: We do not know (refer to Simon & Schuster).

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January.

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Q: Didn't the book's publication date conveniently coincide with a new round of Whitewater information? Isn't Mrs. Clinton using this book to distract attention from that?

A: Mrs. Clinton is using this book to focus attention on America's most important resource -- it's children. Mrs. Clinton has been talking and thinking about the issues addressed in the book for more than 25 years.

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A: (See first Q & A in section entitled "Thematic Suggestions for Interview Questions.")

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A: The issues Mrs. Clinton addresses in her book are of a more personal and observational nature. In the book, she draws on her experiences as a daughter, mother, public servant, and longtime child advocate -- and on the observations of children and families across the country and around the world. She reflects on the needs of children and the possibilities they suggest for rekindling a better quality of family and community life in today's fast-paced fragmented world.

Q. By writing this book, is Mrs. Clinton trying to emulate Barbara Bush and soften her image for the campaign?

A: Mrs. Clinton's book is a direct outgrowth of her twenty-five years of work on issues related to children and families. She has made these issues part and parcel of both her life's work and her career. As she says in the book, what she has written is really a "continuing meditation" on the needs and lives of children. The book is not about the campaign. It is about children.

Q. What does Mrs. Clinton think of Speaker Gingrich's book deal and other recent book deals of political figures like Colin Powell?

A: We don't know about their arrangements. We can only tell you about Mrs. Clinton's arrangement.

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PROCEEDS FROM IT TAKES A VILLAGE

Q. Will Mrs. Clinton receive royalties from *It Takes A Village*?

A: Yes. After expenses are recouped, Mrs. Clinton will receive 15 percent of the suggested retail value of each book that is sold; she will donate all of the after-tax proceeds to charity. Mrs. Clinton did not receive an advance to write *It Takes A Village*.

Q. Will Mrs. Clinton keep any of the royalties she earns?

A: No. Mrs. Clinton plans to donate all net proceeds after taxes to charities which support children and their families, specifically children's hospitals. In making these donations, Mrs. Clinton will be advised by the National Association of Children's Hospitals and Related Institutions (NACHRI).

Q: Any estimate of how much we're talking about?

A: We don't know.

Q: How long until the children's hospitals actually receive the money?

A: Based on the book contract, Simon & Schuster should provide the first installment of book proceeds this summer. After receiving the installment from Simon & Schuster, the First Lady will disburse the net proceeds to the children's hospitals.

Q. Will you tell the public how much money goes to charity from this enterprise and how much the First Lady keeps?

A: Yes. The First Lady will retain a sufficient amount to pay the taxes on the book proceeds she receives; the remaining funds will be distributed to charity. Since the President's and Mrs. Clinton's tax returns are publicly disclosed, all information pertaining to taxes will be disclosed.

Q. What happens to the royalties on a discounted book?

A: On special sales, Mrs. Clinton will earn 5% of the net amount received for each book. There is no prearrangement on bulk sales. Any bulk sale arrangements will be left to the discretion of Simon & Schuster.

Q. Once the President leaves office, will the First Lady keep any money arising from the book?

A: It is the First Lady's intention to continue to give the proceeds to charities.

Q. Will Mrs. Clinton still pay federal taxes on the royalties she donates to charity?

A: Yes.

Q. How much does Simon & Schuster expect this book to make?

A: It is our understanding that Simon & Schuster does not like to speculate on the potential earnings of its books. Mrs. Clinton hopes, however, that the book will be well received so the selected charities can be helped as much as possible.

PUBLIC OFFICE FOR PRIVATE GAIN QUESTIONS

Q. How can the First Lady use her public office for private gain in this way; don't the ethics rules prohibit this type of activity?

A: Because the First Lady's book activities are a private endeavor which are being paid for by Simon & Schuster, her activities are consistent with the ethics rules.

Q. Is the First Lady allowed to publicize her book at official events?

A: The First Lady will not do book signings or make any effort to sell the book beyond the promotional tour. Of course, Mrs. Clinton will continue to talk about themes raised in and her experience writing *It Takes a Village*, which is the culmination of 25 years of advocacy on behalf of children and families.

Q. The First Lady did not receive an advance for her book -- how much up-front costs did Simon & Schuster have to pay and is this considered a gift to the First Lady?

A: Simon & Schuster will recoup those costs it has expended in producing the book from sales; thus, there is no gift to the First Lady. The White House does not know the total of these costs.

Q: If the proceeds from *It Takes a Village* are going to charity, why is Mrs. Clinton doing a book tour?

A: Obviously, Simon & Schuster and Mrs. Clinton want to sell the book. Simon & Schuster wants to make a legitimate profit, and Mrs. Clinton wants to reach as many people as possible in discussing the importance of supporting America's children and families.

SIMON & SCHUSTER RESOURCE QUESTIONS

Q. Why is Simon & Schuster, and not the First Lady, paying for the costs of her travel to promote the book?

A. Publishers traditionally pay those costs associated with promoting one of their books.

Q: Will the First Lady use the book to campaign?

A: No.

Q. If Simon & Schuster pays for her travel to campaign events, is that a reportable or in-kind contribution to the campaign? Wouldn't that constitute an illegal use of campaign funds for personal use?

A: The First Lady will not attend campaign and book events in the same city.

Q. Has the White House done an analysis to ensure that there are no conflicts of interests with Simon & Schuster paying for the First Lady's travel?

A: The Counsel's Office has advised the First Lady's staff and the First Lady about their actions as they potentially could affect Simon & Schuster's financial interests, despite the fact that the First Lady and her staff do not traditionally address matters that affect the financial interests of Simon & Schuster.

Q. Is Simon & Schuster a supporter of the President's? Have they given any contributions to the Re-elect?

A: No. Simon & Schuster has not contributed campaign funds or any other type of political support to the President's re-election effort.

Q. Did Simon & Schuster provide any equipment for the First Lady's use in writing the book?

A: Yes. Simon & Schuster provided a computer, printer, facsimile machine, and copier.

Q. Did Simon & Schuster hire any White House staff to work on the book? Is that permissible?

A: On August 23, 1995, Simon & Schuster hired Liz Bowyer, a former White House employee, to do additional research and fact-checking for the book. Ms. Bowyer, who agreed to stay on until the book project was complete, ended her service at the White House on July 7, 1995.

TAXPAYER RESOURCE QUESTIONS

(These questions should be addressed to Cheryl Mills -- for information only)

Q. Why is the First Lady entitled to use government aircraft for her book travel?

A. Pursuant to direction from the Secret Service, the First Lady travels by government aircraft for security reasons. For political or personal travel by the First Lady on government aircraft, the government is reimbursed -- the same will be true for book-related travel.

Q. Speaker Gingrich, second in the line of Presidential succession, travelled commercially -- why isn't the First Lady also travelling commercially?

A. As Secret Service protectees, First Ladies have travelled by government aircraft. Mrs. Clinton will continue to do the same.

Q. Are the taxpayers fully reimbursed for the costs of her use of the government aircraft?

A. OMB provides guidelines for reimbursing the U.S. Treasury for unofficial use of government aircraft. These guidelines provide that each unofficial traveller must reimburse the government at the commercial coach airfare. The White House has elected to use a higher reimbursement rate than is required in this instance, first class airfare.

Q. Who is reimbursing the government for the costs of the government aircraft and how much are they paying?

A. Simon & Schuster will reimburse the Treasury for the use of government aircraft at the rate of first class airfare for the First Lady and any persons travelling with her to assist in book-related events.

Q. Who pays for the costs of the Secret Service that travels with the First Lady?

A. The Secret Service always bears its own costs without regard to the nature of the activities of its protectees.

Q. Will any of the First Lady's staff travel with her on the book tour and who will pay for their travel and other costs?

A. One staff aide, Ms. Kelly Craighead, always travels with Mrs. Clinton to assist in the conduct of the First Lady's official duties while she is away from the White House. The First Lady's press secretary also will travel to address press inquiries related to her

role as First Lady; a Simon & Schuster spokesperson will handle book questions. No other White House aides will travel with Mrs. Clinton.

Q. Who will pay for the costs of the book events? Of the persons advancing the book events?

A. Simon & Schuster will pay for all book events as well as the advance necessary to set up the event.

Q. Did any staff work on the book and if so, how were they permitted to do so under the ethics rules?

A. One White House staff member, Maggie Williams, took a one-week leave of absence without pay to review and comment on the First Lady's draft of the book. Ms. Williams, formerly of the Children's Defense Fund, has a long-standing interest in children. Federal employees are permitted to engage in non-conflicting outside activities provided they do so on their own time and at their own expense. Therefore, Ms. Williams' participation was permissible under government regulations.

Q. Did the Counsel's Office, or any other government office review the First Lady's book contract?

A. Yes, the Counsel's Office reviewed the contract.

Q. Is the First Lady permitted to earn income, and if so how?

A. The ethics laws and regulations do not prohibit the spouse of the President from earning income.

Q. Does the publishing company have any business in front of the White House and if so, has the White House taken any steps to avoid conflicts of interests?

A. White House staff members whose duties would likely intersect with book-related activities have been counselled as to those activities that are and are not permissible with respect to Simon & Schuster and book events. In addition, the First Lady has been counselled not to participate in any matter in which Simon & Schuster has financial interests.

Q. Did the First Lady use any government equipment to produce her book; did she use her office when writing the book?

A. Simon & Schuster provided the First Lady with equipment, which she used to draft the book in the Residence and in Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

- Q. Was any research for the book conducted at government expense, using staff time or government materials?**
- A. Mrs. Clinton has OEOB library privileges and used the library while drafting her book. Mrs. Clinton's researcher from Simon & Schuster used publicly available government reports and other materials.
- Q. Is the White House permitted to handle press inquiries about the book -- if so, why?**
- A. The White House will respond to inquiries related to the First Lady's official duties; Simon & Schuster, in particular Sue Vogelsinger, will handle most of the questions related to the book.
- Q. Is the First Lady allowed to talk about her book when she travels on official travel?; isn't that a misuse of government funds problem?**
- A. The First Lady will continue to advocate on behalf of children and address many of the same issues as she has for more than 25 years, most of which are discussed in the book.
- Q. How will the White House deal with letters about the book -- can you use official stationary to respond to inquiries?**
- A. Requests for information about the First Lady's books will be handled by Simon & Schuster; to the extent that persons writing letters to the White House seek information about the First Lady's official duties, the White House will respond to those inquiries.

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Q: Aren't all of the First Lady's new endeavors -- a column and now the book tour -- really for political gain or political purposes?

A: The issues Mrs. Clinton addresses in her book are of a more personal and observational nature. In the book, she draws on her experiences as a daughter, mother, public servant, and longtime child advocate -- and on the observations of children and families across the country and around the world. She reflects on the needs of children and the possibilities they suggest for rekindling a better quality of family and community life in today's fast-paced fragmented world.

Q: By writing this book, is Mrs. Clinton trying to emulate Barbara Bush and soften her image for the campaign?

A: Mrs. Clinton's book is a direct outgrowth of her twenty-five years of work on issues related to children and families. She has made these issues part and parcel of both her life's work and her career. As she says in the book, what she has written is really a "continuing meditation" on the needs and lives of children. The book is not about the campaign. It is about children.

Q. What does Mrs. Clinton think of Speaker Gingrich's book deal and other recent book deals of political figures like Colin Powell?

A: We don't know about their arrangements. We can only tell you about Mrs. Clinton's arrangement.

THEMATIC SUGGESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

General theme

I hope that, throughout my life , in whatever place I have been, I have tried to meet my responsibilities and to make a difference. That was what I tried to do in Arkansas; it was what I tried to do during the debate on health care; and it is what I am doing now.

Q: What did you learn/what went wrong during health care?

A: That debate about health care made me realize how much more we need to do to explain what life is like for too many children and their families . (Families who wake up worried every day about what would happen if one of their children were sick. Families who struggle so hard every day to make a better life for their children. And children who don't have a family to grow up in.) I realized that if we are going to do better by our children -- if we are going to make a difference in their lives -- we need to understand what their lives are like.

So I began writing a book because I recognize that to make a difference for children -- all our children -- we have to talk with one another, honestly and openly - about what is at stake.

So often, when we talk with our friends, our neighbors or coworkers, we talk about our children, what they're doing, what we hope for them. We would never write off the lives of children we know or tell one another we did not care if they didn't have health care, or any hope for the future. I hope that we can have that kind of conversation about all our children, and I hope this book can be part of that conversation.

Q: Are you being marginalized/sidelined/relegated to the "soft" issues ?

A: I think the issues I discuss in my book are at the heart of what is important. To any who think that issues like these are less important or less in the mainstream, I have to ask: If we don't take seriously the lives of women and children, what do we think is important? I can't think of many issues more important to our well-being as a society, to the strengthening of families, or our future.

Q: Was taking on health care a mistake?

A: I am so proud of my husband because he does take on the tough issues. Because he believes he was elected President to make a difference, and to do what's right. When I look back on those first two years of his Presidency, I have to point out how much he had going on, and how much we was able to get done. (Like his economic policies.)

We have talked about the health care debate and I know we both wish we had been successful, but we feel that we did everything we could. I am also gratified that the issue of health care reform is being discussed and I believe that the issue will not disappear until serious efforts at reform take place.

Q: If asked again, are you sorry you took it on/would you do it again?

A: I told you how proud I am of my husband because he takes on the tough fights. And I am glad to think that he knows, when he has a tough fight, that he can count on me to help (in whatever way I am asked).

The President talks about common ground, and how important it is that we find common ground around our values. I think the village is on common ground. Doing well for our children and strengthening families-those are common values that bring us together.

Q: You've recently started writing a column, and now book. Isn't there anything for you to do at the White House?

A: I think of these projects -- the book and the column -- as extensions of my other work. We have so many important /wonderful projects going on at the White House at any one time -- from holiday celebrations to working with veterans to address the problem of Gulf War Syndrome. These are all important -- they all touch the lives of people, and I think they are all ways in which we reach out to Americans about what is important to us as a people. I hope the book - and the columns - are also examples of reaching out.

Q: Isn't this just another way to campaign at the expense of Simon and Schuster ?

A: I want to be very clear; this book is not about the campaign. It is about children, and I hope that people who read it will come away thinking about what we can do for children. That's my bottom line.

And I should tell you -- those of you who have covered campaigns with us will appreciate this -- I have always found the best way to campaign is to spend time talking with people, not locked up in my room writing.

Now that the book is done I want to tell everyone about it, and I look forward to the chance to do that. But speaking as someone who has written one book and done quite a few campaigns -- writing a book is not an easy way to campaign!

Q: But what about the role of Simon and Schuster?

A: Simon and Schuster told me they think they are going to be able to sell a lot of books. And as I understand the publishing business, that's their bottom line.

OTHER QUESTIONS

Q: Who handled the contract for this project?

A: The contract for *It Takes a Village* has been handled by Mrs. Clinton's private attorney, David Kendall at Williams and Connolly in Washington, DC. Because all of Mrs. Clinton's proceeds from this project will be donated to charity, Williams and Connolly is not charging a fee for the legal work done on this project, consistent with its pro bono policies.

Q: Will Simon & Schuster use royalty money to pay for Mrs. Clinton's book tour travel?

A: No.

Q: Where is the First Lady's book bank account? Will there be annual or more frequent disclosure of the account's activity?

A: The "It Takes A Village" account is at Riggs Bank; Simon & Schuster will make quarterly disclosures of the account's activity.

Q: Who owns the rights to the book?

A: The First Lady holds the copyright. She did not transfer these rights because she is liable for the taxes owed on book proceeds.

Q: Why didn't the First Lady have the money go straight to a charity -- why is she receiving the money and then distributing it to charity?

A: The IRS taxes proceeds received from a book to the author, even if the author has assigned those proceeds to a charity. To avoid any potential tax liability issues, the First Lady will pay taxes on the income and then donate the net proceeds to charity.

Q: Will the President's disclosure report reflect the income the First Lady earns from the book? How will it show up on the report?

A: Yes. The income from the book will be disclosed and the book will be disclosed as an asset held for the production of income.

Q: Did Mrs. Clinton bill Simon & Schuster for expenses while writing the book? How much?

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A: No. Mrs. Clinton did not have the need to bill Simon & Schuster for expenses, although the company did pay for additional clerical and research assistance to help get the book out.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

January 4, 1996

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
BY NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE

The Map Room

Q Just, if we could, why did you write the book? What are you trying to accomplish?

MRS. CLINTON: I wrote it because I want people to talk about what's best for children, and to think of ways all of us in our own lives can begin to act together so that we can make life better for kids. I'm very concerned about what's happening to children not only in our country, although that's my primary concern, but really everywhere. And I've worked on this for more than 25 years now. And a lot of the problems are ones that are getting worse, yet we know so much more about what children need to be healthy and happy and develop well.

And I know so many people who are doing great work with children, but somehow that information either doesn't get out or doesn't get out to the people who could put it to good use. So I thought I would take some time out and just share some of my thoughts about kids from the perspective not only of somebody who's worked on and studied kids, but as a mother myself and as somebody who really cares about them.

Q In talking to some of your staffers and friends to do the companion piece we asked them kind of why you're out there and what drives you to keep doing these things you've been doing for 25 years. And some talk about your Methodism, some talked about your time at Yale Law School. How would you explain what motivates you and what keeps you going and drives you?

MRS. CLINTON: I've thought about that writing this book. I guess I hadn't really considered it before. Ever since I can remember, as a little girl, I have been drawn to children. And I think some of that probably comes from my mother and her feelings about children and what children need, in part because of her own life. And also the encouragement that I got to work with children starting when I was in junior high school and high school. I always was grateful for what I had and I always felt bad for kids that I went to school with who seemed like really good kids and never had any luck, never had any breaks at all, and needed just a little bit of help maybe from somebody -- a teacher, a coach, a minister.

And then when I got to college and law school and began to study child development, so much of this is really common sense about what makes for strong families and resilient children. And there are so many forces at work in our society and in our culture that seemed to be undermining what we know is best for children. So I've just always been drawn to kids and then I became more and more interested in trying to learn about kids and then work on what would help kids.

Q One thing that struck me reading the book that's going to be interesting to readers is you are routinely pictured as a traditional liberal, maybe a '90s version, but the word "liberal"

often gets attached to your name. Yet your own social values in the book would seem to most Americans as being pretty conservative. I mean, you mentioned things like dress codes, very down on easy divorce, no sex until you're 21 -- it would be better at least if people didn't have sex -- I mean, a fairly conservative personal social code.

Talk to us a little bit about that, of reconciling this perception of your political liberalism with what at least appears to be a more conservative personal code.

MRS. CLINTON: One of the reasons I think I wrote this book, although I didn't really frame it in my own mind this way, is because I really do have a lot of opinions and beliefs that I think most people have that don't fall easily into any category of politics or ideology. And as I -- I quote in the book from one of my favorite documents about children and families, what the Catholic bishops wrote about putting families first, that there isn't any liberal or conservative answer for helping kids and families.

I was raised and have tried to live m for my child,

for the people that are close to me, what my responsibility as a citizen is and the rest. But also, how do we accept responsibility for each other. So I think some of that is rooted in my religious upbringing and faith. I think some of it is rooted in the kind of community I grew up in that really did have these invisible webs of support for children and families. And I think some of it is out of the American tradition of practical approaches to problems.

When I look at what's happening to children in lots of parts of the country, it strikes me that political partisan rhetoric is not going to solve the problems these kids face. So we ought to put that to one side and really ask as our basic premise what is best for kids. And if the answer falls into one category or the other, that to me is not as important as then trying to decide what we're going

to do to change conditions for children.

Q Some of this stuff in the latest budget rankling doesn't always seem to be in the best interest of children. Are some of the compromises that the President has to make, are they just necessary for the pragmatism of politics, or are you pushing for certain things? I mean, what's your role in kind of the latest budget rankling?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't have any role in the rankling, I have a very keen interest in following what's going on and have a strong feeling about the kind of investments we need to make on behalf of families and children.

This whole set of issues that I think are being debated right now are really proxies for a lot of other debates. Yes, they are about balancing the budget and trying to bring fiscal responsibility into our governance, which I am all for and believe strongly in. But they're more about what is it we all believe should be part of our mutual responsibility and in what way should that mutual responsibility be enacted through the government as our mutual instrument. And I think that when one looks at what's happening to families and children in a time of such great change in the economy and in the culture, it strikes me as a very conservative position to say, we want to do what we can to strengthen families, not just through government policy, but through employment, through rebuilding community structures, through religious outreach, all the other institutions.

So I think that a lot of the feelings people have right now in the country that are being kind of focused on Washington really stand -- Washington stands for a lot of the debates that are taking place around kitchen tables and water coolers and in every other setting in America about who are we and how are we going to do the best job we can moving into this next century.

Q I want to come back to the book and specifically your writing of it, but I've got to veer off for a second into some week's news. We got this document I guess it was either leaked or released last night about the Travel Office, where this memo from Watkins which seems to have, according to Watkins, have you being pretty insistent with both him and Foster about firing the Travel Office staff, as I read the first couple pages. But then when the GAO sends you written questions and asks, "How would you describe and to whom would you attribute the origin of the decision to remove the Travel Office employees, and how would you characterize your role in that decision" the written answers say that you don't know the origin of the decision to remove the White House Travel Office employees, had no role in the decision to terminate

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the employees. Help us reconcile this.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, it's no surprise because I have said it in the past that I was concerned about reports of financial mismanagement in the Travel Office and I expressed that concern because I thought that it needed to be looked into. And it was looked into, and indeed, there was financial mismanagement. And changes were made that led to the Travel Office being cleaned up and now operating under appropriate accounting principles. But those decisions about who should do what and when they should be done, those were made by other people.

Q Well, in the memo, it reports a direct conversation.

MRS. CLINTON: I had one conversation with David, which has also been reported in the past. That's in at least one of the seven reports that have been done about this Travel Office matter.

Q And it said, "Foster regularly informed me of the First Lady's concern and desired action. The action desired was the firing of the Travel Office staff." Did --

MRS. CLINTON: You know, I just don't have any memory of that. What I do remember is having a conversation with David Watkins at Vince Foster's suggestion in which David Watkins told me that Peat Marwick had begun an investigation into the financial management of the Travel Office, and I said, it sounded like that's what should be done.

Q Nineteen ninety-four was a particularly politically vitriolic year, it seems to a lot of people, and one of the things that's come up is obviously Whitewater, and we're wondering if you feel that Whitewater has become targeted at you specifically? Is that now what's going on?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I don't know. It's been going on a long time. We've tried to cooperate in every way we can, because nobody would like this matter over with more than I would. But it's been difficult because the issues keep changing, the ground keep shifting about what it supposedly is about. The RTC report comes out and says that -- what we had said four years ago, that we had been in this failed land investment and lost money is indeed what happened. That doesn't end it; it keeps a life of its own. And I do think that at least some of the reason for that is because it's the political season again and has been ever since the '92 campaign. So we'll continue to just try to cooperate and try to help get this matter resolved.

Q Certainly, that absolutely seems to be the

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case, but there is also some confusion that even people who aren't kind of out to get you or who would be for you think, you know, it is kind of confusing -- had spin, including mine, when we look at some of this stuff. One thing that's come up recently that we are hoping you might just come out and clear the air on is this thing about Madison. In '92, during the campaign, you said that Madison Guaranty you worked for kind of minimally. But then in recent weeks, through Susan Thomases' notes, I think it said something like "several conferences," or something along those lines. Again, how do we kind of reconcile that? How would you describe your role?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I would describe it as I've always described it. Based on the evidence that we've seen, the Rose Law Firm represented Madison for about 15 months, and over those 15 months I did about an hour a week worth of work. And I don't know, really, what the direction of some of the questions are because there is no way that I can, in my own mind, think of an hour a week over 15 months as being a significant amount of work.

So I'll just have to wait and see what the questions are, because certainly, the records that have been made available are the ones that tell us how much work was done and how much was paid and that money was returned to Madison because there was no more work to be done for them, and the documents pertaining to the work that had been turned over demonstrate what the work is. We've given everything we have, and we'll continue to try to answer the questions. I can't really add anything to that.

Q One area of confusion that keeps coming up again is about the documents in Foster's office after his death. Were you concerned about law enforcement having unfettered access to them?

MRS. CLINTON: No, and, you know, let me be really clear about this. No documents were taken out of Vince Foster's office the night he died, and I did not direct anyone to interfere with any investigation into his death.

I don't know how best to convey, after two and a half years, the level of grief and shock and just distraughtness that I and other people felt at the news and, really, the refusal to believe that it could be true. But that certainly was what was most paramount to me about those days was the way we were all feeling, our worries about his family, and there was no discussion of documents or Whitewater or anything like that. That was not what any of us were thinking about or concerned about.

Q So there's no way possibly somebody could have construed what you've said as a concern about keeping

-- either keeping the Justice Department out or getting these documents to you for you to review?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't see how. I can only tell you that for months and even, I guess now, for a couple of years, I didn't even remember who I had talked to until I saw phone records. I had very little memory about the specifics. I could just remember the overwhelming emotional reality of what had happened, and that's what has stayed with me during all of these months.

Q I guess there's just one last point along those lines. But there were documents here in the Residence for five days, and people kind of go, you know, even if they want to say I can understand, a close friend dies, certainly there's a lot of emotional stuff going around at that time, why weren't the documents here for five days, if not to review them?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, because when I was in Arkansas and I was called that Bernie Nussbaum was distributing the documents out of Vince's office and there were personal documents of mine which I didn't even know Vince had files that were personal to us in his office, I was asked what should be done with them, and I said, well, send them to our lawyers. And through a variety of phone calls back and forth and the convenience of people and people getting ready to go to Arkansas for the funeral, the decision was made that they couldn't get sent over that day, and I was asked if there were a place that they could be stored, and I said, I don't know, talk to some of the people in the Residence. And so they were locked up there.

I mean, it's difficult to keep track of all of the spider webs that are spun and the theories and the innuendoes. It was something that seemed natural to do. And so they were locked in a closet and then they were picked up by our lawyer and they were then examined, and then an index was made of them, and the index was sent to me, and that was the first time I knew what was in there.

Q So you never reviewed them while --

MRS. CLINTON: No, no. Because -- it wasn't important to us. I keep going back -- with two and a half years, people can try to take a cold, dispassionate view of what was going on. And I'm not saying that there weren't mistakes made and that people didn't act out of grief and they didn't rush around trying to keep busy to deal with the emotion that they were unable to cope with. I imagine that people were bumping into each other just all of the time. But nobody -- nobody was trying to destroy or secrete documents. Nobody was trying to interfere with any investigation. They were dealing with something that had never happened before. And maybe if we had been here for a

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couple of years, maybe if we knew a little bit more about what the possible conspiracies that could be spun might look like in retrospect, I'm sure everybody would have tried to be more thoughtful or dispassionate in the heat of that moment. But, honest to goodness, the shock of even talking about it now just really -- it's very difficult to do.

Q It's understandably a really emotional thing, and it must be hard, I assume, to kind of see close friends now kind of being put through that D'Amato wringer. Is that hard to deal with, and has that been a struggle?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, it does make me sad and it also makes me angry from time to time. My husband chose to be in public life, and although I wish it weren't quite as brutal as it has become in recent years, that's a choice he made and it's a choice I support. So to a great extent, we are here by our own choosing. But that's not true of many of our friends and colleagues and family members -- people who get thrust into this situation and harassed. And that does make me feel badly because I don't think it's fair.

But it's something that you can't spend a lot of time worrying about or being consumed by because there's too much to do. And certainly the President gets up every day thinking about what he's going to do for the country, and so do I.

I mean, that's one of the reasons that I wrote this book because when I traveled around during '93 and '94, particularly about health care, I kept running into people who just didn't understand what was going on in the lives of so many kids. They didn't really -- they had never met an uninsured child or they'd never met a child with a chronic disease.

And so part of the reason that I took the time to write this was that I thought I have a l

That's definitely in your own words. I was saying to Becky, so what do you think. I said it sounds like the little I've gotten a feel for you -- really, it's -- Ivan is going to kill me because he wants to go back to the book. But I just have one quick question which was going back to watching people up there go through the wringer, and does it ever make you feel and are you thinking about going up there yourself, and, also, personally giving testimony at this point on Whitewater to say finally and clear the air and get up there yourself at some point?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, we're going to continue to cooperate. I'm not going to predict, you know, what turn this takes. I'd be out of business if I tried to predict

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it four years ago because it's been totally unpredictable.

Q Do you have any plans about doing it -- I mean, there's been this sort of parade of witnesses all fall. Are you going to go up yourself?

MRS. CLINTON: I'm just going to wait and see what happens with all of these various things that are in the air and will continue to cooperate.

Q Waiting for a subpoena as opposed to voluntary --

MRS. CLINTON: I'm not going to predict what might or might not happen because I can't possibly do that.

Q Let me go back to the book for a second and do it in terms of being a First Lady and how other First Ladies have carried out there role. I mean, the comparison has been made to Eleanor Roosevelt. Talk to us a little bit about your perception of your role as a First Lady and how this book fits into that.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, I think that one of the things that I've learned in the last couple of years is how good an opportunity people have in this position to highlight problems that they're concerned about. You know, Mrs. Bush did it with literacy, and Mrs. Reagan did it with drugs. And Mrs. Carter did it with mental illness, and Mrs. Ford did it with drug abuse and breast cancer. And, certainly, nobody did it like Mrs. Roosevelt because she had so many interests and she had so many years to be a spokesperson for them.

And I think it's an important part of the role. And it's something that comes naturally to me because I care deeply about what's happening to children. And so I was struck, mostly during the health care travels that I did, how I kept hearing a lot of the same things from around the country that people were not connecting one to the other. They weren't saying, well, here's a program that's happening in Seattle that we ought to know about in Miami.

And I thought maybe if I used this position to highlight some of the programs and people and ideas that I've worked on for all these years, I could really help people get organized around doing what they could in their own families and then rippling out from there on behalf of kids.

Q Has the press gotten in the way of that? I mean, they're the natural megaphone. Have they helped or hurt this cause?

MRS. CLINTON: You know, I think it's been both.

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But I think it's very difficult in the way that the press has available to it to report on issues to be able to stay with something over time. You know, by the very nature of your business, you really can't do that.

So much of the good information has been reported somewhere, but it's not been a steady drumbeat that people have been able to latch onto.

Q What about in terms of your role. We always here, oh, now all of a sudden you are nontraditional, and all of a sudden you're traditional. You talked about this a little bit in Paraguay. Have we in the media just misunderstood? I mean, what -- I know we've been culprits to some extent, but I'm curious how you see it in terms of how we've treated you.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I don't think I've made it very easy for you. I have to confess. You know, I've said in the past that I've had to learn to rezone my zone of privacy and kind

that I've worked all these years would come as a surprise: some people because I haven't talked about them in a large forum or I haven't let people know that it's something I've worked on a long time. So I take a lot of the responsibility for not being perhaps as clear as I could be.

You know, during the '92 campaign I said I wanted to be a voice for children, and that's what I've always wanted to be. But then I immediately got into the health care debate. And that's all I did for nearly two years -- a year and a half, I guess. So that's all anybody knew about what I was doing.

And because of the nature of that debate -- I mean, you go back and you look at what happened to Harry Truman when he tried to do health care reform, and even the moderate reforms of Eisenhower and certainly Medicare and Medicaid with Johnson all through what Kennedy tried to do and Nixon's plan and the like -- I mean, it is inherently such a controversial issue that I don't think it really gave people a chance to know much about all the other things that I care about and why health care to me was a natural extension of my long-term interest in children's health.

So I don't fault anybody. I think it's been largely my responsibility that I haven't quite conveyed as fully as I should what I'm about and what I care about.

Q Was this unavoidable? I mean, you were going to do health care. Health care was something that was going to happen one way or the other, right? Was there another way to bake this pie?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I'm sure there are many ways to bake the pie, but I think that from the President's perspective, he believed strongly then, believes strongly now that health care will continue to be a problem. And certainly the evidence is that it's getting worse. We have more uninsured people today than we did just a few years ago.

So it was going to be addressed. And I'm grateful I got a chance to be involved in it because I learned a lot and I cared a lot about it. And things didn't work out. It didn't create the kind of mood for back and forth and compromise and negotiation and hammering out a good reasonable solution that we had hoped it would. But I don't regret being involved in it. I just feel a little bit sad that that's all I got to do in a way.

Q People say both as a criticism and a compliment that you are very focused, directed, that when you have a mission or a purpose, you're going down this road and you are going down it. And I've heard that -- again, it's pejorative and it's praise. How would you -- how do you react to that?

MRS. CLINTON: I think there's some truth in that. And I think it's probably both good and bad. I mean, it's true that when I was working on health care, that's really what I was working on. And that's why a lot of these things that now come up about what was happening during health care were things that were not on my radar screen particularly.

I might have asked a question or made a comment, but I was really focused on doing what the President asked me to do. And particularly during those first months of the administration because, remember, we were going to try to have it done by May 1st. I mean, it was just an unbelievable task. And, of course, we didn't make May 1st, and then we were going to try to have it done by June 1st. So I do take seriously assignments I'm given and that was the biggest thing I've ever been asked to do.

But I also feel that maybe because I've had a lucky life compared to so many people, that I have an obligation. And everywhere I've ever lived or every place I've ever been, I've always felt that I had to do something to give back. And it's been a joy for me. It's not a burden to me. And I also get very wrapped up in the lives of the people that I try to help.

So I'm sure that somebody looking from the outside could say, gee, you know, on the one hand that's -- it's good, and I'm glad she's doing it. On the other hand, you know, lighten up a little.

Q -- that burden, but at least in the books that get written, which I take for a grain of salt, but you often emerge as a fighter. One of the themes, one of the pictures of Hillary Clinton that comes out is a battler, a fighter. There will be a lot of talk, typically in the scene -- one side will be arguing one way, one will be arguing the other. Your husband will be judiciously listening to both and sort of enjoying the debate. And then you will enter, saying, okay, let's cut to the chase; this is what we got to do; we have to fight for it. I mean, that is a familiar scene in books that are written about the White House. How do you react to that?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that that's true for a lot of women. I don't view that necessarily as just a personal trait that -- that at some point you sort of say, well, gee, what is it we're going to do now, that all of the talk has gone on and the debate's been held. And I do think that in my life I've tried to be an advocate on behalf of causes and people that I believe in. S2HCLINTON: I don't think I'm a perf

I think I work very hard, but I don't believe in perfection, at least not in this life. I may appear to people to be someone who is willing to put in a lot of hours and to work on behalf of things that I care about, but I enjoy that. That's something that gives me pleasure, because it's like a simple thing -- like there's a story in this book about one of these children. And I'm now trying to do things on adoption and foster care. And there's a gathering I had before the holidays where I brought kids from all over the country who had been adopted. And unfortunately, we have the event on a day when the budget was blowing up or something was happening, so we didn't get a lot of attention here about this issue. But we did get attention out in the country because people came from all over and their local newspapers covered it. There's a little girl who read a poem, and over Christmas she got adopted. And, I mean, that's the kind of effort that I really think is worth making. And if it takes intensity to try to bring that to somebody's attention and to try to help solve a problem for somebody, I think that's worth doing.

Q Was this book a way -- obviously, the health care -- there's a rough year there -- health care went down, Foster died, family members -- I mean, just a tough year. Was this book a way to in part to come out of that and --

MRS. CLINTON: No. I didn't think about it that way, but it gave me a lot of time alone, as you have written a lot books, you know. And a lot of time when I would be

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staring at the blank page trying to figure out how I was going to put into readable English what I was feeling. So I had a lot of time to think. And there's a chapter in there that -- and it came to me, I remembered my father talking about how are you going to shovel your way out of this. And I realized that 1993 was a personally very challenging and difficult year with my father and Vince and my mother-in-law. Just kind of moving to Washington, all the things you do to get settled in and doing it all on the world stage. And so I really did have to kind of sum it up a lot of my own resources and work through many of the feelings that I had, not only on my own behalf, but for my daughter, my husband and family members, and then friends and colleagues who were likewise suffering because of their own friendship with Vince, as one example.

And so I do think that it was a very helpful experience for me to really spend time alone, which I hadn't, because I'd been pretty much on the road traveling and doing official duties and the like. And just kind of take some time to reflect and to write about something that I've cared about a long time, which helped to sort of focus me.

Q Do you think of yourself as more of a pragmatist or an idealist?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I've always thought about myself as a pragmatist, because I think a lot of what I believe we should do for one another is very practical. Some may claim it's idealistic, but I think in both medium- and long-term, it's the most practical kind of approach to living. I believe that it makes good sense if I'm trying to be very self-interested about the future my daughter has to try to make sure as many kids as possible have as good a shot be

afraid to walk down a street or go to a city park with her kids when she gets older.

So I believe a lot of what I think of as pragmatic approaches to solving people's problems as ones that go beyond ideology or certainly politics. And I regret that our country has kind of gotten caught up in this label game that we've played for the last couple of years where if somebody presents an idea it's immediately labeled, and that means only one-half or one-third of the people will even listen to it, instead of trying to come together, find some common ground, build a village, to use my metaphor, with ideas in mind about what is in our best interest for everybody.

Now, there will always be people on the extremes who will not want to engage in that exercise. They have a world view that is not mainstream or centered about

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trying to do with this book, and then certainly with the talking about it that I'll be doing, is to summon people out of their preexisting stereotypes and labels so that we can begin to talk sensibly about what works and what doesn't work.

I view that as one of our real challenges right now in our country. And I really regret the polarization that has taken place because it has most dramatically affected young people. I was looking at some research that a political scientist has done showing that young people are by far, in her words, more misanthropic than people our age and older. They don't trust anybody. They don't -- they have more emotional stress in their lives.

And the explanations for that have to do with everything from the breakdown of the family and divorce, to the steady diet of what they see on television, to the way that they're treated by adults in their lives. And I just think we've got to take a step back here and say what are we creating? What are we doing to our children? And if we do that, then -- there aren't any simple answers. You can't say, oh, it's the government's fault. Or you can't say, oh, it's just these irresponsible parents living in the inner city. The responsibility is spread all the way across society.

But the good news is there are things we could do right now that are not big macro changes that could make a difference -- if we would start having that kind of conversation.

Q What should the government's role be in this stuff?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that the government should be a partner to all the other institutions in society. The government should be a safety net of last resort for the vulnerable and the poor. The government should be actively engaged in research and development, of new ways of solving problems, whether they're medical problems of any others that we're confronting. The government should have an active posture with respect to asserting the common American interest, both here at home and abroad. It's the only institution that we have. And, my goodness, we've invested more than 200 years in our ideals and our values. And they should be articulated. And there should be a consensus that hopefully could be nonpartisan about what the United States stands for. There's much for government to do.

But there's also a lot for business to do. There's a lot for the media to do. Religious institutions,

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I think, could have a bigger social role -- civic groups. I mean, you could go down the list. So any time one talks about the government and the government's role, I want to marry that with everybody else's role, too, because it's too easy just to either blame the government and say we have to take our futures back into our own lives and we have to be compassionate and caring, and that's what we should do. And it's too easy to just say the government should do it. Neither of those is, to me, an adequate answer.

Q I think we're done, right? Well, peer into the silver ball and tell us whether we're going to get a budget deal. (Laughter.)

Q Are we on the record or off the record? (Laughter.)

MRS. CLINTON: I think we'll eventually get a budget deal. I think there's too much at stake not to.

Q As the noise level is getting higher again today -- I mean, my reporters were saying, oh -- the public, I'm not talking about the private, but the public noise -- the House is talking about going away for three weeks, yaddah, yaddah, yaddah, yaddah.

MRS. CLINTON: I hope we do. I think we need to.
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