

**IT TAKES A VILLAGE
And Other Lessons
Children Teach Us**

By Hillary Rodham Clinton
(Simon & Schuster: \$30; 318 pp.)

Reviewed by Phyllis Burke

Hillary Clinton did not become a children's advocate after she became first lady. Her work, particularly with the Children's Defense Fund, has been nonstop for 20 years. The book's title, "It Takes A Village To Raise A Child," comes from an African proverb, and its primary theme is that we are all interconnected. "No family is immune to the influences of the larger society. No matter what my husband and I do to protect and prepare Chelsea, her future will be affected by how other children are being raised."

It was not so long ago that President Reagan had to be convinced that there was no such thing as a limited nuclear war. What Hillary Clinton is attempting to accomplish with this book is on the same scale. She argues forcefully what ought to be self-evident: That we cannot allow the wholesale abandonment of children in unfortunate circumstances.

"I write these words looking out through the windows in the White House at the city of Washington in all its beauty and squalor, promise and despair. In the shadow of great power, so many

Please see Page 12

Phyllis Burke's latest book, "Gender Shock: Exploding the Myths of Male and Female," will be published in July by Anchor-Doubleday. Her previous book, "Family Values: A Lesbian Mother's Fight For Her Son," was published by Random House.



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'It Takes a Village'

Continued from Page 1

feel powerless." At the height of power, Clinton has never stopped seeing these children. She is clearly on a mission, and she champions them from every perspective.

The book is written for a variety of readers—politicians, mothers, social workers, teachers and just about anyone who comes in contact with children. In practical terms, Clinton offers advice on what to look for in a child-care situation, the types of foods that help children grow and techniques for preparing your child to cope with adversity.

On the policy level, she advocates programs for pregnant women such as one she sponsored in Arkansas, with the help of local merchants. "After every month's pre- or postnatal exam, the attending health care provider validates a coupon, which can be redeemed for free or reduced-priced goods such as milk or diapers." She cites companies such as Haggard Apparel in Dallas and Levi Strauss in San Francisco, which "provide incentives to encourage their employees to seek prenatal care."

In political terms, she argues forcefully for guaranteed medical care for children. "Today there are more than 10 million children, most with working parents, who do not have health insurance. That number has been rising by about a half-million a year. The rate will accelerate even more if Congress' proposed cutbacks in Medicaid,



Hillary Rodham-Clinton with President Clinton on a visit to Ireland.

which provides government insurance for poor children, are enacted." She wants all children to have health coverage and all hospitals to have to treat them.

When you step back from the book, the most shocking thing is that the first lady of the United States has to argue for this at all. She writes: "Hospitals do not turn away older Americans (at least not as of this writing) because their coverage is guaranteed by Medicare. Why can't we guarantee care for children?" She recounts night-

mare stories of families unable to find coverage for disabled children and of children dying when they were not promptly admitted to hospitals in emergency situations.

Clinton tells of her Methodist upbringing and of the infusion of social justice with spiritual values: "My church took seriously its responsibility to build a connection between religious faith and the greater good of a society full of all kinds of people." She has a Kennedy-era New Frontier mentality, which is quintessentially Ameri-

can: Anything can be done if you've got enough energy and determination. She writes of "the struggle to live up to the spiritual values we profess," warning that "groups of people, even nations, can suffer from an absence or misuse of spirituality" and that "preaching is a distant second to practicing when it comes to instilling values" such as compassion, peace and hope.

Clinton's anger at the treatment of the working-class or disadvantaged child is palpable in chapters such as "The Bell Curve Is a Curve Ball," a reference to the theory that intelligence is fixed at birth, part of a genetic makeup that cannot be changed. "This view is politically convenient," she writes. "If nothing can alter intellectual potential, nothing need be offered to those who begin life with fewer resources or in least favorable environments." She cites the recent work of psychologist Daniel Goleman, who advocates the need for understanding and developing emotional intelligence as a balance to the purely rational. Emotional intelligence, as Goleman describes it, is the seat of empathy, and it is only through empathy that we can come to make decisions that benefit not only ourselves but our society.

"It Takes a Village" demonstrates intellectual vitality and openness to new ideas. This is a woman who is helping to shape the national dialogue, whether she is arguing for flexibility in traditional gender roles (what might be thought of as gen-

der independence) or for some soul-searching on the boards of profitable American companies that vote to lay off lifelong workers in the name of efficiency or impose part-time work to avoid paying employee benefits.

The book closes with a gratitude list for the programs that have added to the quality of American life, such as Title IX (which, in effect, opened collegiate athletics to women), the Clean Air Act, Social Security and Medicare. While some might see these programs as big-government excess, Clinton sees them as the last line of defense for the average person.

She writes, "We must ask ourselves: Who benefits from the elimination of federal regulations that protect us from outbreaks of contaminated drinking water or cases of tainted meat? Who benefits from a decrease in federal pollution standards, or from the kind of massive deregulation that could allow companies to dump toxins into our nations' oceans, rivers and lakes? Certainly not our families or our children."

Throughout this book, there is the sound of tempered frustration and unshakable determination, a missionary's zeal and a mother's vulnerability. "It Takes a Village" is an honest book. It is not a book for cynics, but it will be welcomed by those who want to understand just who Hillary Rodham Clinton is and what we can do to help the children in our village. ■

BOOK-FIRSLADY-REVIEW:DA book, lifestyle:R
TAKES A VILLAGE, by Hillary Rodham Clinton; Simon and Schuster (318 pages,
\$20)

(ARCHIVE PHOTO) (AT-RISK)

By Celine Garcia

Dallas Morning News

(KRT)

She's the first first lady to be called before a grand jury, and we're not likely to learn what she said for some time.

But there's nothing secret about Hillary Rodham Clinton's book, which just hit the best-sellers list. For those who are curious, ``It Takes A Village''; Simon and Schuster (\$20) is like a caramel latte strong and sweet.

The first lady's book, her first, is intelligent and firm in its assertions no surprise there. But the 318-page volume also weaves together tradition, sentiment and spiritual values.

Mrs. Clinton borrowed the title from an old African proverb: It takes a village to raise a child. And she opens with a quote from American author Herman Melville: ``We cannot live for ourselves alone ... our actions run as causes and return to us as results.''

The quote sets the lofty and idealistic tone for a book that also includes many personal stories from her life as a mother, a daughter, a sister and a wife.

She writes in the opening paragraphs of her 25 years' experience as a children's advocate, years that, she says, taught her the need for each individual to accept responsibility for every young person's upbringing.

Many of her stories put the soft, vulnerable and caring Hillary on display. She seems comfortable recounting her and Bill's initial problems starting a family, her troubles with breast-feeding, and her decision to bite her lip from time to time for the sake of her marriage.

Many pages are dedicated to stories of her mother-in-law, Virginia Kelley, a woman she admires for her strength and continuing commitment to the family, and of Chelsea Clinton, her daughter.

She recalls Chelsea's early dislike of hot dogs and hamburgers, and preference for Chicken McNuggets, and she remembers the day she and her daughter spent hurling a coconut against the pavement in the parking lot of the Arkansas governor's mansion until it cracked.

But she also mixes the warm and personal with harsh statistics: Today, for example, one in four children is born out of wedlock; in 1960, it was one out of 20.

Overall, this isn't a deeply philosophical or even controversial book, but one simply filled with truths that are worth a read, and a re-read.

She advocates family meals and reading with your children, and she encourages spirituality and communication as the keys to a promising future. She also urges parents to take time out, to be childish and not to give up the things they enjoy.

Throughout, the message of responsibility and accountability for all people, not just parents, shines through. She praises organizations such as the Children's Defense Fund and Columbia University's Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse, as well as individuals and government programs that protect and aid children.

The writing is straightforward, casual, gentle and not intimidating. Parents and non-parents should read it to remind them of the simple but essential point: Children must have caring, nurturing and informed adults around them.

It's a textbook for caring.

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(EDITORS: Archive photo is available from the KRT Photo Archive through PressLink dialup via Macintosh computer. For information, call (800) 435-7578 or (202) 383-6099.)

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Book Notes | Mary B. W. Tabor

■ Doing things backward ■ Music to read by

■ A newcomer on the best-seller list.

Reversal of Tradition

Agents who want to sell a book abroad traditionally try to sell it at home first. Strong American sales have increasingly translated into success with foreign publishers.

But David Chalfont, head of I.M.G.'s literary division, is trying the reverse with "The Saskiad," a second novel by Brian Hall, a writer based in Ithaca, N.Y. His reasoning: The book is a literary novel, and European publishers are more likely than Americans to view such a work as potential best-seller material.

"In Europe, the literary is commercial," Mr. Chalfont said. "I wanted U.S. publishers to see this title as commercially viable, and the foreign sales give credence to that."

According to Mr. Chalfont, the plan is working, at least so far. Since December, he has sold publishing rights to "The Saskiad" — the story of a missing father and a 13-year-old obsessed with Greek classics (hence the title, which plays off "The Iliad,") — to 10 foreign publishers for a total of \$750,000. He said that he planned to auction the book in the United States by next week.

The Sound of Fiction

If Bill Gates can do it, why not Laura Esquivel?

For her latest work, "The Law of Love," the Mexican novelist insisted that a compact disk accompany the book. Her recording, however, will not feature her opinions about future computing technology, as the one with Mr. Gates's book "The Road Ahead" does. Instead, it will play Puccini arias and other music that go with her story, which will also be told through 48 color illustrations in the book.

Nice idea. But it's a costly publishing proposition.

Consequently, when Ms. Esquivel took her idea to Doubleday, which published her best-selling novel, "Like Water For Chocolate," the house said it couldn't produce the package at a reasonable price, said some publishing executives and Thomas Colchie, one of her agents.

"We came to a standstill about what to do," Mr. Colchie said. "But in the end, Laura did not want to compromise her esthetic vision for production matters."

Not to worry. Best-selling authors are rarely without eager suitors in the wings, no matter the price.

So Crown Publishers, possessing only a reader's report on the Spanish-language book and 80 pages in English, has jumped at the novel, which Mr. Colchie describes as a "Mexican 'Midsummer Night's Dream' set in the 23d century."

Whether Crown will have to forgo

some profit is unclear. Production costs have not yet been set, said Andrew Martin, a Crown spokesman. But the publisher expects to give the book a first printing of 500,000 copies and a price between \$25 and \$27.

The book, which was recently published in Mexico, Spain and Latin America is already a best seller.

A statement issued by Ms. Esquivel said, "I am just delighted to come to a publishing house that is so clearly excited by and receptive to my efforts to extend the artistic boundaries of the novel in ways which, I believe, will enhance the pleasure of my readers."

First Lady, No. 1 Book

Despite press reports that focused more on her possible involvement in the Whitewater affair and the dismissals at the White House travel office than on her new book, "It Takes a Village," Hillary Rodham Clinton's recent author tour has proven, again, that well-oiled publicity machines, ambitious marketing plans, a cosmic topic and a famous face can sell a book after all.

Though the author has taken a break from her tour and is now to face a Federal grand jury looking into possible obstruction of justice in the handling of records from her former law firm, "It Takes a Village" continues to sell swiftly.

On Feb. 4, it will appear as the No. 1 nonfiction title on the New York Times best-seller list, with Daniel Goleman's "Emotional Intelligence," a book Mrs. Clinton refers to in hers, ranking as No. 2.

Rushdie Takes 2d Prize

"Behind the Scenes at the Museum," a first novel by Kate Atkinson, has been named the Whitbread Book of the Year, beating out Salman Rushdie's "Moor's Last Sigh," which was favored to win the prestigious British literary prize.

Ms. Atkinson's book, a tragicomedy about a British working-class family, "was chosen after passionate debate by the final judging panel," according to a statement from the Whitbread committee. Ms. Atkinson, 45, lives in Edinburgh. Her second novel is to be published this year.

Mr. Rushdie, who has been condemned in Iran as a blasphemer of Islam for his earlier novel "The Satanic Verses," was awarded the less noteworthy Whitbread Novel Prize earlier this month for "The Moor's Last Sigh," which so far has not won any top prizes. Late last year, the Booker Prize for fiction, which was expected to go to the Rushdie novel, was awarded to "The Ghost Road" by Pat Barker.

How Military Contractors Increase Profit

To the Editor:

"A 90's Military-Industrial Complex" (Week in Review, Jan. 21), while noting that the Federal Government has long been reluctant to let military contractors deal with the marketplace, does not detail how taxpayers have borne the burden of subsidizing these industry behemoths.

The development of most United States weapons systems is conducted using public funds. Companies are even reimbursed for independent research and development not performed under contract with the Government and for costs in preparing bids to compete for Government business.

Furthermore, when a contractor sells a weapon system overseas, his profits increase, as taxpayers have picked up the research and development cost. Thus a 25 percent share for foreign sales can translate into 35 percent to 50 percent of profits.

The Government has required recoupment of research and development subsidies for Government-negotiated foreign military sales. The fees also applied to commercial sales until President Bush ended that requirement in 1992.

Last year the military-industrial sector made repeal of the recoupment fee for government-negotiated

sales a priority. Turned back in the House, it remains in the defense authorization bill and will likely be approved.

DAVID ISENBERG
Senior Research Analyst
Center for Defense Information
Washington, Jan. 22, 1996

To the Editor:

Re "The Defense Anomaly" (column, Jan. 22): Anthony Lewis is right to ask why Pentagon spending is off-limits in the drive to balance the Federal budget. But the desire to protect jobs is not the root cause, as Mr. Lewis believes.

The real reason is that Republicans and Democrats alike are being influenced by campaign contributions they are receiving from corporations that are doing everything possible to keep military contracts flowing their way.

The sorry result is that Congress and the white House are far more concerned about doing the bidding of the special interests that finance their campaigns than they are motivated to act in the public interest.

Not until we eliminate the corrosive effect of special-interest money will we have a political system that works for the long-term good of all.

RUTH G. HENNIG
Brookline, Mass., Jan. 23, 1996

Mrs. Clinton's Power

To the Editor:

A Jan. 22 letter claims that Eleanor Roosevelt "had already established an independent social and political network of women 'friends' unrelated to her husband's career by the time Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President, but that by contrast, Hillary Rodham Clinton's prominence 'is derivative of her husband's power as President.'"

Mrs. Clinton graduated from a leading law school and within two decades was listed as one of America's 100 top lawyers. She has been involved with the Children's Defense Fund, whose board has many prominent women. All because of her husband? Be serious.

TOM BYRNE
Chairman, New Jersey
Democratic State Committee
Trenton, Jan. 22, 1996

Advice to Under-35's

To the Editor:

Michele Mitchell's "New Kind of Party Animal" (Op-Ed, Jan. 20) reports that a large percentage of under-35 voters will stay home or vote for an alternative-party candidate this year because they want "political change."

However, a vote for a third party is almost always an investment in more of the same.

In my 70 years' experience of American politics, the only investment in change is participation at the local, state and national levels. And voting is the least of it.

Selection of good candidates, campaigning and guiding them when elected is the only way to get change. As a nation we get the government we deserve.

OWEN C. THOMAS
Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 20, 1996

Agency Tackled Complaints on Lack of Heat

To the Editor:

Martin A. Farber's Jan. 2 letter implied that he and other tenants in his midtown Manhattan apartment building had called the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development repeatedly about lack of heat for years and had received no significant response.

The building has had serious problems. But our department took the owner to court several times be-

tween 1990 and 1994 for failure to provide heat and hot water. As a result, the owner paid \$12,000 in civil penalties. The litigation also helped persuade the landlord to provide adequate heat. Inspectors visited the building in response to complaints four times between Nov. 29 and Dec. 30, 1995, and each time found adequate heat.

DEBORAH C. WRIGHT
Commissioner of Housing
Preservation and Development
New York, Jan. 10, 1996

Guatemala Killing

To the Editor:

Re your Jan. 15 news article on the return of Guatemalan refugees from exile in Mexico: The shooting death of 9-year-old Magdalena Caal Coc was caused by unprovoked firing into the temporary camp of the Santa Maria Dolores returnee group near Cantabal. The Guatemalan Army's explanation that the child was caught in crossfire between army tanks and guerrillas of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity is not credible. That encounter took place two kilometers away.

ROMA FOLDY
Coordinator, Interreligious
Task Force on Central America
Cleveland Hts., Ohio, Jan. 16, 1996

Peru Applied Law In Case of American

To the Editor:

Re "Peru Mocks Due Process" (editorial, Jan. 16):

The critical situation faced by Peru in recent years as a result of terrorist attacks has led to the adoption of a special jurisdiction that complies with international due process standards.

It is inaccurate to state that because the American Lori Helene Berenson is a foreigner, she could not or should not be tried for treason, as the crime of aggravated terrorism is defined in Peru's emergency legislation.

So-called "faceless courts" guarantee security and anonymity for judges exposed to terrorist attacks and reprisals.

Ms. Berenson never made a secret of her involvement with the Túpac Amaru revolutionary movement, a group with a record of assassinations, bombings, kidnappings, robberies and attacks, including against the United States Embassy in Lima.

Judgments about Peru's economic and political stability or about the character of its democracy cannot be based on Ms. Berenson's case, in which Peru has only applied the law.

RICARDO V. LUNA
Ambassador of Peru
Washington, Jan. 17, 1996

Share Genetic Secrets

To the Editor:

You report (news article, Jan. 19) on the unlocking of the genetic code for *Staphylococcus aureus*, a common cause of hospital infections. You say the discovery will not be made available to scientists until a patent is secured, at least 18 months from now.

The death rate from infectious disease in the United States increased almost 60 percent between 1980 and 1992. How many preventable deaths and illnesses may be occurring during delays necessitated only to protect a dubious area of private property?

DAVID H. WEGMAN, M.D.
MYRON E. WEGMAN, M.D.
Lowell, Mass., Jan. 22, 1996

The writers are, respectively, a professor at the University of Massachusetts and dean emeritus, U. of Michigan School of Public Health;

The Poor Don't Wield Charity Market Clout

To the Editor:

Re "Charity Marketplace Can Fill Federal Gap" (letter, Jan. 19):

I take issue with Terrence M. Scanlon's argument that competition in a charity marketplace will benefit the needy. Markets rewards those who participate in it, and the more the participation, the greater the reward.

The charity recipient doesn't have any market power to favor a more efficient charity over another. The private donor does not receive the goods or services of the charity.

What the philanthropic public does receive is satisfaction, public recognition and status. So the marketplace will favor high-profile charities, maybe ones that spend more on promotion and public relations, rather than those that benefit the needy.

Mr. Scanlon cites as positive philanthropy the Richard King Mellon Foundation's decision to pay for keeping the National Gallery of Art open during the Government shutdown. The gallery is not a charity but a 'Government-run' institution. Since when is private financing for Government responsibilities called "public-spirited generosity"?

DOUGLAS J. CUOMO
New York, Jan. 19, 1996



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Hillary's Book: It Takes Memory Loss

Hillary Rodham Clinton says she wants to talk less about her credibility and more about her new book. But after reading her book, I wonder if that's possible. The book is her biggest fib yet.

"It Takes a Village" is about children, though only in the sense that Huck Finn is about a rafting trip. Her book is in fact one of the slyest re-election manifestos ever written. It's a political platform wrapped in Dr. Seuss, T. Berry Brazelton and Julie Andrews. Mrs. Clinton is on a crusade to preserve the welfare state as we know it, and children are her shock troops.

This is not to say there aren't many things to like in her book. One of its striking features is how much could have been written by Bill Bennett. It reads like her own personal "Book of Virtues." She rebukes "nostalgia merchants" who talk about "family values" even as she steals most of their arguments.

The first lady deplores divorce, praises two-parent families, extols religion, denounces TV sex and violence, endorses sexual abstinence through age 21 and hails personal responsibility. Joycelyn Elders was not invited to contribute a chapter, needless to say. She even has nice words for Promise Keepers, the group that unnerves many feminists because it stresses male obligations to wives and kids. A flap has erupted over whether Mrs. Clinton

In fact, VFC has been a parody of liberal reform from the start. It was sold to solve a problem that didn't exist, because U.S. childhood immunization rates were already near 90%. Poor kids could qualify for shots through Medicaid and the "317" program. The problem for the rest wasn't the cost of vaccines but parental neglect or oversight.

Yet VFC eliminated the private market for vaccines and handed federal control to an agency that had never managed anything like it before. Robert Goldberg of Brandeis estimates that by 1998 the program will have wasted \$7 billion. Dale Bumpers, the Senate Democrat from Arkansas, calls VFC a disaster that "will not immunize one additional kid."

"It Takes a Village" somehow overlooks Dale Bumpers. It never even hints that the program is controversial. Instead Mrs. Clinton praises Betty Bumpers, the senator's wife, for her work in the private sector on childhood immunization! The first lady doesn't lack for brass.

All of this makes it hard to believe Mrs. Clinton when she now says, on her book tour, that government should play just a "relatively minor role." It's more likely she's following the counsel of her friend and mentor, Marian Wright Edelman, who invented the children's gambit.

As Mickey Kaus reported in *The New Republic*, Ms. Edelman says she founded the Children's Defense Fund in the 1970s because, "When you talked about poor people or black people, you faced a shrinking audience. . . . I got the idea that children might be a very effective way to broaden the base for change."

The strategy has always worked, adding federal entitlements in the name of children even in the Reagan years. The childhood vaccines idea—which also came from Ms. Edelman—was supposed to have eased the political path for HillaryCare.

Now Ms. Edelman is playing the kids card again, this time to stop Republican reforms, which she says are "really quite evil." She and her allies spread the word that somehow the 50 states would do worse by children than the current federally run welfare system. Not long after her blistering public letter of complaint, Bill Clinton changed his mind and decided to veto welfare reform, notwithstanding his promise of 1992. In her book, Mrs. Clinton manages to deplore out-of-wedlock births without even mentioning welfare policy.

More and more the Clintons' re-election strategy seems based on the assumption that Americans have memories that are as poor as theirs. So much of this administration seems to have happened so long ago that a major duty of journalists this year will be to remind people what it was really like. Judging by Mrs. Clinton's book, this is going to be a full-time job.



Hillary Clinton

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

should have acknowledged the ghostwriting aid of Barbara Feinman for this book. But that's nothing compared with how much Mrs. Clinton owes intellectually to Dan and Marilyn Quayle.

It's always possible the first lady has come to believe all of this. She has long had her spiritual side. But it might be more credible if this traditionalist rhetoric didn't look like a gauzy cover for the expansion of state power she tried to pursue when she really had clout—that is, during the Clinton Presidency B.G. (Before Gingrich).

Just reading her book, you wouldn't know there was such a time. Her pal Ira Magaziner doesn't rate a mention. Health reform appears only as the general, and dubious, lament that the U.S. trails much of the world in "affordable health care." Her account of all of this is about as complete as it was on cattle futures and Castle Grande.

Take one of her ideas that did pass in 1993: the Vaccines for Children (VFC) entitlement. Her book gives it credit for providing "free vaccines to needy children through private doctors as well as clinics." And, of course, "these advances are already under grave threat from budget cuts."



Marian Edelman

A Presidential Budget Message

By HERBERT STEIN

To the speaker of the House of Representatives and president of the Senate:

Today I ask the Congress to join with me in a new and urgently needed approach to the federal budget problem.

In recent months we, the leaders of the Congress and I, have agreed that the budget should be brought into balance by the year 2002. We have, however, been unable to agree on how that should be done and as a consequence have been unable to enact a program for achieving the goal.

If we were to look only at the prospects for the country in the years between now and 2002, that failure, while unfortunate, would not seem to be a catastrophe. Despite our disagreements, the budget deficit in those years will be only about 2½% of gross domestic product and the ratio of the federal debt to GDP would be approximately constant.

The continuing deficits would have a negative effect, probably small, on the rate of economic growth, but we could go on living with them for a long time—as we have been living with larger deficits in the past 15 years. In these circumstances it was understandable that the various parties to the decision-making process should all say that although balancing the budget was important it was not more important than avoiding some of the steps that would have been necessary to do it.

Beyond 2002

But when we look beyond 2002 the situation is drastically different. There we see the prospect of deficits rising to 15% or 20% of GDP, as a result of the increase in the proportion of the population entitled to Social Security and Medicare benefits and the rising per-capita costs of health care. That this prospect is real has been affirmed by the Kerrey-Danforth Commission, the General Accounting Office and many private experts.

Although we can live with deficits equal to 2 1/2% of GDP, we cannot live for long with deficits of 15% to 20% of GDP. Such deficits would absorb not only all of our net private saving but also most of the saving that goes into replacing the stock of capital. This would threaten to go beyond slowing down the growth of incomes and actually reduce incomes. Moreover, the ratio of the debt to GDP would rise rapidly, thus raising the ratio of federal interest obligations to GDP and so raising the deficit, explosively.

This situation could not go on. As an economist has said, if something cannot go on forever it will stop. I think it can be safely said that we will not have deficits of 15% to 20% of GDP and rising. Measures will be taken to prevent that. But if the measures are not taken until deficits of that size are upon us, the measures will have to be extremely painful. There will have to be very large tax increases and large, sudden cuts in the benefits that people have come to expect.

We can, if we begin now, avert this catastrophe. We cannot do that painlessly, even today. Commitments made in past decades, under the leadership of both parties, have brought us to a situation from

which there is no painless exit. But the steps that we would have to take today would be much less painful than those that will otherwise be necessary in the next generation.

So the question is whether we should act now or leave the problem for the future. Indeed, in my opinion there is no question. We have a responsibility to the future and we should act now.

I am sure some will say that we should not take difficult steps now on the basis of predictions that may turn out to be incorrect. Perhaps economic growth will turn out to be much faster than we now expect. Perhaps there will be discoveries that will radically reduce the costs of medical care. But we have to act now on what seems the most probable expectations. If conditions turn out to be more favorable, there will be opportunities for welcome adjustments later.

So my main proposal today is that we—Congress and I—should commit ourselves to a course of action that will avert the bud-

Board of Contributors

We can, if we begin now, avert catastrophe. We cannot do that painlessly, even today. But the steps that we would have to take today would be much less painful than those that will otherwise be necessary in the next generation.

get crisis of the next generation. Specifically, we should commit ourselves to a fiscal path that has three phases:

a: Balance the budget by the year 2000, so that we may end this century as we entered it, with a balanced budget.

b: Run budget surpluses between 2000 and 2010, to reduce the absolute size of the deficit and therefore the future interest burdens.

c: After 2010, when the main effects of the aging of the population hit the budget, keep the ratio of the debt to GDP constant, which would probably permit deficits of 2% to 3% of GDP.

I ask the congressional leadership to join me in commitment to such a path. I would accept the judgment of the Congressional Budget Office in estimating whether the policies proposed would move us along that path.

We cannot adhere to such a course unless Congress and the administration can agree on the ways to do that. And we cannot agree unless each party accepts the goal as imperative, not merely desirable, and is prepared to subordinate all but its most critical requirements to the achievement of the goal.

I shall not submit here a statement of

what I believe would be the ideal way to achieve the goal. Recent experience has demonstrated that ideal proposals obstruct action or, as has been said, the best is the enemy of the good. I recognize that on some points the congressional majority and I have disagreements. I believe, however, that when we face realistically the larger task outlined here we will find that the feasible options are limited and so is the room for disagreement.

Instead of describing my ideal policy, I will outline what seem to me to be the possible main ingredients of an agreement that would take into account my highest priorities as well as the preferences of Congress as I have learned them in recent negotiations:

1. Premiums for Medicare Part B (doctors' bills) would be raised to cover 50% of the cost, rather than the 25% called for in present law.

2. Social Security benefits, and retirement benefits of federal workers, would be indexed to a 2% annual increase or one percentage point less than the increase of the consumer price index calculated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, whichever is higher. The schedule for raising the age at which workers become entitled to benefits would be accelerated.

3. The present individual and corporate income tax would be converted in gradual steps into a more comprehensive tax, with few if any of the present deductions and a flat or flatter rate, the rates of the tax being set at a level that would yield revenue 10% above the yield of the present taxes. Broadening the base of the tax will make it possible to achieve that revenue objective with tax rates below the highest marginal rates now applied to individual and corporate income.

Specific proposals for limiting expenditures for other programs, including defense, are carried in the budget document that accompanies this message. But the three areas I have listed here are at the heart of our fiscal problem.

The Rising Generation

If these steps are taken, it will be possible to follow my proposed path for reducing the deficit while at the same time preserving and strengthening the federal programs that are addressed to helping the most disadvantaged children in our society. I regard that as of the utmost importance and hope that Congress will agree with me on that. To neglect the rising generation when they are children in order to protect them against economic hardship when they are adults would be irresponsible, if not hypocritical.

I invite discussion of these proposals with the leadership of Congress. My main point is the imperative need to act now to forestall the fiscal crisis that impends for the next century. If this need is accepted, our differences will be seen in their true, limited proportions and I believe we shall be able to come into agreement.

A former chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, 1972-74, Mr. Stein is an American Enterprise Institute fellow.

bc-books-village - a0928

(ATTN: Book editors)

``IT TAKES A VILLAGE: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us,'' by Hillary Rodham Clinton (Simon & Schuster, \$20, 318 pp.)

Campbell is a Hartford Courant staff writer.

Revised by Susan Campbell= (c) 1996, The Hartford Courant=

If a first lady especially one as embattled as Hillary Rodham Clinton writes a book, can we judge it on its own merits? Even if the first lady has distinguished herself as a woman in her own right, a top-notch attorney and policy-maker who doesn't stay home to serve tea and cookies?

It's hard, let me tell you.

You have Whitewater and the mysterious memos. You have the White House travel office firings, for which Clinton says she is prepared to testify before Congress, and you have carping over Clinton's not acknowledging the contributions of Barbara Feinman, who spent seven months researching and writing early drafts of the book.

Still, ``It Takes a Village: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us'' has substance. The book borrows its title from an African proverb, ``It takes a whole village to raise a child.''

Clinton borrows the stories of programs from Arkansas to South Bronx, draws inspiration from Nelson Mandela and Margaret Mead, and writes of workable approaches to child-rearing that absolutely put children first. For childhood diseases, there's Every Child by Two, a nonprofit immunization education program. For bad nutrition there's Shape Up America!, former surgeon general Dr. C. Everett Koop's program. For low parent involvement in schools, there's Educational Excellence for Children with Environmental Limitations, a California home-school liaison program.

Every problem facing children today drugs, sex, violence, lousy upbringings has been solved somewhere, but in Clinton's cataloging of the solutions, she often bites off more than she has time to chew. She is borrowing from all over the place, and the book sometimes threatens to veer off course into an overlong campaign speech particularly when she quotes citizens who have approached her or her husband with their heart-rending stories. There's the Greek waiter whose son cannot walk across the street to play in the neighborhood park because it is unsafe.

``If I do what my boy asks and vote for you, will you make him free?'' the waiter asked the future president. That stuff plays in campaigns. If an author wants a serious reputation, it should be left there.

Clinton also writes about hurried parents, religion, child care, education and citizenship. There are entire books out there on small components of each of these topics, and yet you have to give her credit for trying. It can't possibly hurt to have this very public woman throw her support toward raising healthy children.

``Children are not rugged individualists,'' she writes. ``They depend on the adults they know and on thousands more who make decisions every day that affect their well-being.''

The policy wonk stuff is sprinkled with anecdotes from Clinton's Chicago upbringing and glimpses upstairs at the White House and the Governor's Mansion in Arkansas.

She writes of husband Bill's singing for hours to new daughter Chelsea, with a brief mention of their daughter's being conceived while they were on vacation. (This was more detail than I wanted, but then, I don't like reading everything about England's royal family either.) The book is strongest when Clinton shows as she does in one story about her child care falling through when she was due in court in Arkansas that she is one of us. When she writes that she has had to bite her tongue and her husband has had to bite his tongue during marital conflicts, you just want to cheer. Thank God the Clintons fight, too!

That's refreshing, as is Clinton's concern for children. I don't doubt her

sincerity one bit when she writes of feeling hopeful that children's lives can be changed and the course of a nation altered if grown-ups put their minds and hearts to the task.

But will any of this stuff happen? Will America embrace the notion that each child is everyone's child? Clinton answers that, in a chapter about education:

"We cannot expect to reverse decades of declining standards in a few years ... But the whole point of goals is to encourage a process in states, school districts and individual schools that will set standards and offer real guidance as to what should be taught and how student performance should be measured. Why should we accept goals, standards and performance measures in business or sports but not in our schools?"

It's an election year, and both Clintons are in the middle of ugly public-relations firestorms. I don't want to think that this book is a mere attempt to rehabilitate their image. This is an important subject. Who can argue with the healthy upbringing of happy children? Let's just hope we can hear the first lady's point over the rabble.

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**** printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 01/19/96 at 08:56EST ****



BY JERRY TELFER/THE CHRONICLE

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BOOKS

Patricia Holt

First Lady's Prescription For Society

Chatty 'Village' is political and amusing

We expect the usual first lady homilies about home and hearth in Hillary Rodham Clinton's book about children — and she does deliver them — but perhaps the big surprise in this combination autobiography and state-of-the-children address is how controversial, unabashedly political and amusing she can be without ever threatening a soul.

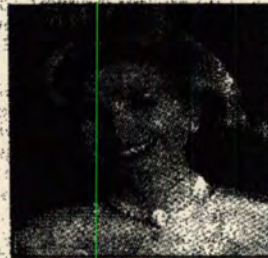
Take the time that Clinton, a successful lawyer and children's advocate, was lying in her hospital bed after the cesarean birth of her daughter, Chelsea, and, she confesses, "trying desperately to figure out how to breast-feed."

"I had been trained to study every thing 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."

Clinton recalls hitting "every buzzer there was to push" until a nurse appeared who "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!"

The anecdote both sets a chatty and comfortable tone and perfectly represents Clinton's message — that no one can raise a child alone, even for a short period — in "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us." The title refers to the African proverb that "it takes a whole village to raise a child," which means to

CLINTON: Page E2 Col. 1



Hillary Clinton is now a book author

Charms Palo Alto

CLINTON: Children First

From Page E1

Clinton that even and especially in our fast-paced, high-tech, fragmented society, we have to stop thinking of children's needs as "soft" issues and start pitching in to help kids grow up in a healthy environment.

So far, she says, that environment is pretty unhealthy: "... one in five children in America live in poverty; 10 million children do not have private or public health care coverage; homicide and suicide kill almost 7,000 children every year; one in four of all children are born to unmarried mothers, many of whom are children themselves; and 135,000 children bring guns to school each day."

Other Problems

And that's just the most obvious of the problems. Clinton talks about the "disappearance of fathers"; of a decreasing but still high divorce rate; of the country's tragically high infant mortality rate; of unnecessarily expensive and risky adoption procedures; of separated families — even of the disastrous effect of fast-food restaurants and television on family dinner-table conversation.

All we need to do is shift our attention back to the needs of children, an obvious and simple move that is, she admits, seemingly unreachable in the modern adult world of corporate mergers and job insecurity. "Before I had Chelsea," she writes, "I noticed that in all the offices where I worked, most of the female workers began whispering into their phones every afternoon at around 3 o'clock. Finally, it dawned on me that they were making sure their children arrived home from school safely. ... They whispered because they felt they might be penalized for carrying out their family obligations."

Today, studies show that working mothers see a clear connection among family, company and societal obligations and that the error we make in "pitting stay-at-home moms against work-outside-of-the-home moms makes everyone a loser." Clinton should know: Still smarting over her "anti-cookie" gaff (having told a reporter that she'd rather practice law than stay at home baking cookies), she is critical of "the amount of energy that is wasted on public and private sniping over women's and men's choices and on stereotyping their values, abilities and predilections. Whatever our differences of opinion on these matters, they pale beside the needs of children. ..."

Look to the needs of all the children, she repeatedly suggests, and the right priorities will fall into place. Take the nostalgia in some quarters for "family values" that emerged from what she calls a "Norman Rockwell-like picture of American life half a century ago, one in which every household was made up of stable parents, two kids, a dog and a cat who all lived in a house with a manicured lawn and station wagon in the driveway." Since she grew up in a "Father Knows Best" family that she

IT TAKES A VILLAGE AND OTHER LESSONS CHILDREN TEACH US

By Hillary Rodham Clinton
Simon & Schuster, 318 pages; \$20

believes fit that image, Clinton writes, "I understand that nostalgia. I feel it myself when the world seems too much to take."

But, she says, it's incumbent on Americans living in the '90s to know that few children lived in such families. "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."

What Clinton would clearly like to retain from the notion of "family values" is a more caring America, a child-oriented America of neighborhoods and families (extended, single-parent and otherwise) that bring compassion and common sense to the tough decisions of modern life. She soundly knocks the idea proposed in the "The Bell Curve" — that "intelligence is fixed at birth" — as not only "unscientific" but "politically convenient" because it allows society to abandon disadvantaged children. "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."

Clinton turns time and again to both the metaphor and practical reality of "the village of work," tackling issues from discipline in an environment of love to the long-term effects of corporate support for employees with children.

Health Care

Perhaps most fascinating is to watch Clinton, the much maligned advocate of a national health care system she was forced to abandon early in her husband's administration, refocus her vision for the "guarantee (of) health care to all" through the lens of children's needs and 21st century economic realities. Provide prenatal care to every pregnant mother now, she says, and save on medical care for premature births later; offer sensible sex education now and lower the rate of abortions and teen births later; offer preventive and on-site health care to children and reduce emergency room and medical costs; assist employees with children and watch the bottom line increase; create "school-to-work" opportunities for failing students and reduce crime and welfare costs later.

Such ideas, couched in her affable, conversational style, make "It Takes a Village" an entertaining book of unseen power — but the impact of Hillary Clinton's genuine belief in a children-loving society remains in mind long after book's end.

Don't Judge a Book By Its Author's Controversy

By Jim Bencivenga

DISPUTES encircle Hillary Rodham Clinton like eddies at low tide off Hilton Head, N.C. What should not be overlooked amid the political fray, though, is her new book. It deserves to be read, whatever might be said by pundit or critic.

"It Takes a Village: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us," conveys the personal views and experiences of the first lady about what matters in the rearing of children.

Certainly, there is disquietude about how we raise our children. When William Bennett's "Book of Virtues" (Simon & Schuster, approaching 3 million sold) burst upon the national psyche two years ago, its overt moralizing struck a chord. Calvinist and individualistic in tack, Bennett's book addressed widespread concern about the felt absence of moral instruction in the contemporary lives of children.

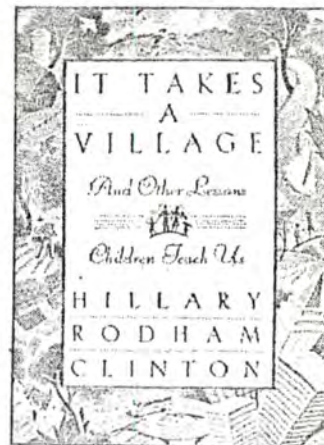
"It Takes a Village" offers a different approach. From its opening sentence, Clinton travels a more collective road: "Children are not rugged individualists." She stresses the importance of communal effort in raising a child and develops the idea of a child within a community.

Does politics enter this book? Certainly. But here, Clinton is more interested in telling the country about herself and the causes and policies she champions than scoring political points.

Conservatives will cringe at the praise she heaps on nationalized day care in France. Many will reject her support for the early childhood development model in Hawaii. Both smack of bureaucratic intrusiveness in family matters and will recall her failed national health-care plan.

But only the most partisan will object to her call for simplification of adoption laws, sexual abstinence for teenagers, and vigilant parental scrutiny of television programming. She encourages parental choice in education and champions charter schools. Church and organized religion play a central role in the life of her daughter and should in the lives of all children, she says.

BOOKS



**IT TAKES A VILLAGE:
AND OTHER LESSONS
CHILDREN TEACH US**

By Hillary Rodham Clinton
Simon & Schuster
319 pp., \$20

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

1/2

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The book's relative freedom from jargon easily communicates the complex social issues she explores. Most telling are her experiences as a wife, mother, and professional woman in a period when the roles for each are in transition. She slips into the idiom of social science occasionally, however, when she looks at schooling and medical theories of child development.

The presentation of Clinton as the sole author of the tome is the subject of debate. Her publisher said last June at the American Booksellers Association convention in Chicago that it was to be co-authored.

The many personal vignettes (my favorite, how as a child in a Christmas pageant, bedecked in angel wings, she fainted in an overheated Methodist sanctuary), are worth the purchase price. She also recounts how the 10-year-old Bill Clinton bumped into a school chum on Thanksgiving morning, as the boy sat at a counter with a cup of coffee, a doughnut, and no turkey to look forward to. Immediately, the future president's arm was around the friend, urging him home for turkey dinner with his family.

Clinton's account of raising a child while running an election campaign in today's media-saturated culture is also touching.

Comprehensive and topical, if not original; breezy and conversational in a didactic way; autobiographical, yet clearly the work of a policy wonk shaping national policy, "It takes a Village" concerns a subject that should have no rival for our attention. However much one might differ with Clinton's politics, it would be a loss if the nation missed this opportunity to address the issues she raises.

■ *Jim Bencivenga is the Monitor's book editor.*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The First Lady's 'Village'

Not that it matters much, but the fact is that Hillary Clinton has written a good book about the plight of children in America. "It Takes a Village" is a rational and sometimes engaging argument that if parents have the prime responsibility, the community and the government have to do their part in bringing up healthy and happy children.

We Americans like to think of ourselves as a nation of child-lovers who toil and sacrifice to make life better for the next generation. The truth is, as the first lady gently points out, our policies toward children are often punitive and oriented abominably toward their parents. There's ample evidence: What other civilized country kicks day-old babies out of the maternity ward to please insurance company auditors? Why do we tolerate the Family Reunification Act, which authorizes judges to send children back to homes where they have been grossly abused? Why do we put up with obtuse juvenile court judges?

These and similar matters deserve to be called to public attention, and the first lady is the ideal person to do it. She has been a member of the Children's Defense Fund. She has dealt with these problems as a lawyer and as a compassionate observer. She obviously was wanting to get a few things off her chest—and plug some of her husband's programs like family leave and AmeriCorps. It certainly seemed like a good and relatively unobtrusive way of reintroducing herself to an electorate that might be ready to forgive her for the health care reform disaster.

Alas, the modest venture has been swept up in a whirlwind of new Whitewater and travel office allegations, and the press hype is in a class with the hullabaloo of the start of the Persian Gulf War, which happened five years ago. "Meet the Press" invited columnist William Safire to take a bow for his churlish "congenital liar" charges, and Sam Donaldson interviewed Barbara Walters because she had interviewed Mrs. Clinton.

Clinton's hope of appearing as a kind of Mary Poppins for the masses has been exploded into an image of Eliza on the ice cakes, with yelping hounds in hot pursuit.

Who knows what effect the uproar will have on book sales, or even the election. Some women may see a trip to the bookstore as a vote of confidence in their beleaguered heroine. Others, listening to overheated rhetoric about obstruction of justice, might feel they were abetting criminal behavior. The latest polls show a falloff in her female following, just as they show her husband's failure to win back her worst enemies, angry white males. Mrs.

AWM, however, is planning to vote Clinton.

It's probably too much to ask that readers would look upon her as an author—a similar book by a less conspicuous woman might never have been published. But people would be rewarded, because "It Takes a Village" is not just illuminating, it is at times beguiling. Clinton gives us glimpses of her own life, as a daughter, a wife and a mother. She conveys the wonderment and bewilderment of a new baby and portrays her husband as an eager partner in the adventure. She grew up in a "Life with Father" household in idyllic Park Ridge, Ill., surrounded by sustaining neighbors. It was the kind of "village" she would like for every child.

She may strike some as more moderate in her attitudes than expected. She wants a "cooling off" period for those who would divorce, thinks divorce is a bad solution for families with young children. She disapproves of abortion. She is for universal medical care for children, for subsidized day care as in France, which truly babies its children. She favors uniforms for children in schools where cool duds can lead to death. She preaches a soft feminism here, urging a breakdown of gender stereotypes.

She mounts her soapbox to have her say about the current quarrel over the role of government. In response to the current Republican jeremiads against the debilitating effects of Washington intervention, she writes: "Are the children sustained by government-subsidized day care or fed by government-supported school breakfasts and lunches a 'threat to our economic freedom' or guilty of 'waste, fraud and abuse'? Do programs to immunize or educate them 'sap their initiative'?" Republicans may dismiss this as standard liberal rant, but it is the stuff of the campaign debate.

Some chapters are dull and didactic, but for the most part Clinton sprinkles her findings with information gathered from her wide travels. Small-town America, and some Third World countries, have concentrated on problems and come up with solutions that some of our more jaded sociologists and educators could learn from.

Some people who don't know anything about her could read this book and be convinced that she is a nice woman who doesn't think she has all the answers. In short, read on its own merits, "It Takes a Village" could help our children. The author, too.

Fed Up?

My friend Anton Holden lives in West Hollywood and therefore doesn't understand the first thing about how his government works. He told me that he is confused about block grants to the states, which are supposed to save so much money for the taxpayer.

Instead of the federal government administering welfare, Medicare and Medicaid, the budget architects have suggested that 50 state governments carry out the same tasks as a way to save money.

Holden claims that he doesn't get it. If you create 50 bureaucracies instead of one, he asks, won't the system be 50 times larger and cost 50 times more?

Holden said, "Each of these state offices will require one administrator, who must be paid in six figures. Instead of putting one friend of the president in charge of the program, you will have to appoint 50 friends of the governors as political favors. The administrators might convince welfare recipients that they'll get their checks only if they vote for the governor."

"The last time I looked, state officials were paid the same as federal ones, so how does anyone save money when 50 staff

salaries are 50 times bigger than one salary?"

Holden continued, "To make things more complicated, the qualifications for state administrators will attract many hack politicians who might not be qualified to direct dog-catching duties in their own hometowns. So the question one has to ask is, why would the states be able to take care of the poor cheaper than the feds? Congress can keep an eye on the one fed, but who will be watching all the state politicians running the welfare programs?"

I admitted that he had a point. So I went to Capitol Hill to talk to one of the great minds working on the nation's budget.

Rep. Ball was annoyed when I quoted Holden as saying that one administrator was cheaper than 50. He said, "Everyone thinks they know how to balance the budget. We want to turn welfare and Medicaid over to the states so that we no longer get blamed when people's checks fail to arrive. By closing down another federal institution we are showing the American people that we love our flag. More importantly, if the states control social programs and they screw up, it won't affect our 1996 national elections."

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THE WASHINGTON POST

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1996

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714-631-2515

Hillary -- My mom arrived ^(tonight) with the attached book review in hand. It's by the book editor of the SF Chronicle and appeared today (Monday). Thought you'd enjoy seeing it. It's a nice send-off for the book tour!

SPORTS

COWBOYS, STEELERS IN SUPER BOWL XXX

Dallas halts Green Bay, 38-27 —
Pittsburgh edges Indianapolis, 20-16

► See Page B1



DATEBOOK

HILLARY'S 'VILLAGE'

Her book is unabashedly
political and amusing

► See Page E1



BUSINESS EXTRA

SILICON VALLEY FEELING REBO

Big demand for high-tech
products has renewed

► S

HOME DELIVERED

EAST BAY
EDITION

San Francisco Chronicle

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA'S LARGEST NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, JANUARY 15, 1996

415-777-11

Clinton's 'Village' puts children first

It Takes a Village: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us
By Hillary Rodham Clinton
Simon & Schuster
320 pp., \$20

Unless you firmly believe that government should limit itself solely to defending the borders and printing money or that all mothers should be barred from the workplace, there is little to argue with in Hillary Rodham Clinton's new book about children.

Turn off the TV and read a book together. Head Start is good. Volunteer at your kids' school. Get to know your neighbors. Teens require guidance. Working parents need support from their employers. Add a spiritual dimension to your family life.

The book's basic premise: Children — rich and poor — are the nation's future, so we need to invest in their health, education and well-being.

If any other first lady had written the book — with the exceptions of Eleanor Roosevelt and Edith Galt Wilson, two of Clinton's predecessors in controversy — a warmer welcome would have been likely. And whether Clinton wrote ev-

Book review

By Deirdre Donahue

ery word wouldn't be an issue. (Whether she had help from an uncredited ghostwriter has become the new scandal.)

In fairness, *It Takes a Village* reflects a long-term, sincere interest in children's welfare. Although obviously written with the 1996 campaign in mind, the book is too detailed and thorough to be dismissed as a political hack job.

The book describes Clinton's own childhood and that of her daughter, Chelsea. We read that the Clinton family tries to eat one meal together every day.

The strength of the book comes from Clinton's knowledge about the growing problems facing American children and possible solutions. For example, although it is no news flash that prenatal programs save money in the long run, it is worth repeating.

In covertly arguing for her husband's re-election, Clinton makes an overt plea for improving the lives of American children. No matter where you stand on the former, it is hard to argue with the latter.

SPORTS

COWBOYS, STEELERS IN SUPER BOWL XXX

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THEATER LISTINGS	PAGE E2
MOVIE LISTINGS	PAGES E5, E7
COMICS	PAGE E8

BOOKS

Patricia Holt

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CLINTON: Page E2 Col. 1



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PHOTOCOPY
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CLINTON: Children First

From Page E1

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Health Care

Perhaps most fascinating is to watch Clinton, the much maligned advocate of a national health care system she was forced to abandon early in her husband's administration, refocus her vision for the "guarantee (of) health care to all" through the lens of children's needs and 21st century economic realities. Provide prenatal care to every pregnant mother now, she says, and save on medical care for premature births later; offer sensible sex education now and lower the rate of abortions and teen births later; offer preventive and on-site health care to children and reduce emergency room and medical costs; assist employees with children and watch the bottom line increase; create "school-to-work" opportunities for failing students and reduce crime and welfare costs later.

Such ideas, couched in her affable, conversational style, make "It Takes a Village" an entertaining book of unseen power — but the impact of Hillary Clinton's genuine belief in a children-loving society remains in mind long after book's end.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

2/2

BOOK REVIEW - Jurek Martin

IT TAKES A VILLAGE: By Hillary Rodham Clinton
Simon and Schuster, \$20.

Home thoughts of a former radical

FT
1/18



Hillary Rodham Clinton is seen by many of her detractors as an emasculating feminist extremist intent on getting men out of their bars and boardrooms and into the nurseries and kitchens. But if they are prepared to take this book at face value, they would discover that she is a woman and a mother of rather conventional and traditional views.

The First Lady is troubled, for example, by the impact of divorce on children, not to the point of calling for an end to dissolution by consent but sufficiently to recommend mandatory "cooling off" periods and more counselling for couples with children. She even approvingly quotes the observation of Bill Bennett, high priest of US conservative values, that "in terms of the damage done to the children of America, you cannot compare the homosexual movement to what divorce has done".

She dislikes abortion when it is used, in effect, as a form of contraception. She has no problems with the introduction of the v-chip, which can block TV reception of violent or excessively sexual programmes, and suggests families turn off their boxes once a week and talk to each other. She sees nothing wrong in tougher school discipline, even endorsing the use of uniforms "because they appear to diminish the frictions caused by brand-name consumerism and gang identification".

So much for the radical Hillary, though these are not the main messages of her book. Its title is derived from an old African proverb - "it takes a whole village to raise a child". She interprets this as a reference not simply to parents and schools, but to every other conceivable aspect of society - extended families, friends, churches, businesses and, of course, government.

She mixes her thoughts on

the roles all might optimally play with her own personal experiences both as a long-standing advocate of the rights of children and as a parent. She is entitled to speak with authority since the product of her own sometimes troubled marriage, daughter Chelsea, appears, on available evidence, happy and well-adjusted - no mean tribute to the strength of a family living in the White-water political fishbowl.

Mrs Clinton herself comes from the sort of suburban, church-going nuclear family, with a father as the sole breadwinner, that is now often held up as a symbol of the golden age of the 1950s. She acknowledges its formative influence on her - so different from the broken home from which her husband came - but does not advocate rolling back the clock for the simple reason that no society can be static.

Particular passions come through strongly. The provision of childcare facilities, which she admires so much in France, is portrayed as a matter of practicality not ideology. She cites a long list of companies which have concluded that investment in day-care facilities for the children of their employees is "good business practice", but still worries that, in a "turbo-charged" economy, corporations too often overlook the consequences on those same children of some of their decisions, such as laying off workers.

Sometimes she finds ideology transparently false. She contrasts Richard Nixon's official reason for vetoing a federal childcare bill in 1971 - "it would commit the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child-rearing over and against the family-centred approach" - with measures he was actually prepared to support. These encompassed a whole range of tax deductions, federal subsidies and construction assistance for new day-care centres for poor children.

"Now," she concludes, "even these measures are controversial in some quarters." And this leads her into a stout defence of government "as a partner to, not a substitute for, adult leadership and good citizenship" - an argument that her husband now uses almost daily in his budget battles.

It was always suspected of Hillary Clinton that she was more radical than Bill - an impression reinforced, fairly or otherwise, by the healthcare reform she helped design but which Congress killed in 1994. Perhaps that experience tempered her passions, except in her defence of children. Or perhaps it takes a former radical like herself to know one, as she certainly thinks she knows the present crop on the right.

Whatever the truth, she now casts herself in the "middle of the road" mainstream - "liberal in some areas, conservative in others, moderate in most, neither exclusively pro nor anti-government. We respect the unique power of government to meet certain social needs and acknowledge the need to limit its powers."

If that is unexceptional, some criticism of her book is in order. Mrs Clinton writes like the lawyer she is and proves in the process that not all legal eagles, whatever their force of argument, compose words like Oliver Wendell Holmes. Because she ranges so widely and quotes extensively from so many sources, the book desperately needs an index and footnotes.

Her legion of unforgiving critics have taken to suggesting that the book is just another ploy in the reinvention of St Hillary and that it would never have been published if she were somebody else. Yet the same might be said - but never is - of any number of former first ladies who have taken to print. The position is not a disqualification for authorship, or anything else.

And Hillary Rodham Clinton does have something to say - if readers are willing to listen.

MARY McGRORY

Jitters on Both Sides of the Aisle

The Republicans, having failed to convince the country that government is dispensable, are taking a month off to show that Congress is.

There was really nothing else for them to do. The day of the State of the Union, senators tacked a long seance onto their weekly caucus lunch and went through the litany of their doubts. They had a new one: Should they just leave the scene and let the public miss them or should they continue to thrash about on such questions as the debt limit, the extension of the continuing resolution, another government shutdown, picking off government agencies one by one?

Impassioned argument was heard on both sides. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole was itching to get off to New Hampshire to bring Steve Forbes to Earth. As the hours dragged by, senators drifted off. Sen. Jim Jeffords of Vermont was asked what they were doing at such length. "Figuring out how to commit suicide," he replied jocularly.

All afternoon, unnerving rumors came back from the House, accounts of lapel buttons being planned by fractious freshmen, buttons reflecting sharply on the veracity of the Chief Executive. It was said that at portentous assemblies, party elders exacted pledges of propriety from restive juniors with promises that they were about to witness Bill Clinton's last State of the Union address.

Democrats and Republicans who had striven so long and so vainly to balance the budget had achieved an absolute balance in apprehension. On the face of it, Democrats could be jaunty: a steady economy, encouraging polls, a zestful candidate with no opposition in his own party. For Christmas they got the best gift. The country took their part in the shutdown and the Medicare fight. House Speaker Newt Gingrich turned radioactive before their eyes.

But they were nervous, too. Would Clinton talk too long? Would he be booed? These are their usual State of the Union frets. But this year they had a worse one.

Democrats are calling the White House to beg Hillary Rodham Clinton to go instantly to the Hill to testify—or frantically warning her to avoid the vipers' nest of the Senate Whitewater Committee.

The veteran Republican lobbyist Tom Korologos has been observing the current commotion with a certain wistfulness. He notices that Democrats are sticking with their president in the current crisis. "It's so different from Watergate days when nobody would

make a speech for Nixon—I used to beg them, it was like pulling teeth."

Republicans know that Whitewater is not quite the same as Watergate: There have been, as far as we know, no break-ins, bombs or bugs. But the special counsel's subpoena for the first lady has set them to dreaming and muttering about "obstruction of justice."

When the House chamber filled up with dignitaries and diplomats and members Tuesday night, the fears of both sides were gradually dispelled. The first lady's entrance—she had a protective escort of her daughter Chelsea and Holocaust chronicler Elie Wiesel—went off brilliantly, a bipartisan standing welcome. The freshmen simmered but did not boil over.

Moderate Republican senators sprinkled among them gave them cues on rising and clapping. The Democrats, even those who gaze on the first couple and regret the fact that their futures are twined around the personal lives of the pair, applauded, roared and cheered.

The president's speech was a great oratorical pie, with a Republican crust and some markdown liberal filling. In "an Age of Possibility," he embraces a wide spectrum from the end of the "era of big government" to school uniforms. Much of his material was derived from his wife's recently published book about children's needs, "It Takes a Village." This was an unspoken tribute to her, which supplemented his spoken praise to "a wonderful wife, a magnificent mother and a great first lady," which evoked thunderous applause and presumably reassured those who wonder at the state of the Clinton union.

When he left the chamber, taking the lights with him, it was time for the Republicans to tense up. Their sure standard-bearer was replying. Bob Dole looked old and sounded tired. It was as if Clinton's display of vitality and energy on the podium had drained off Dole's energy. Clinton had talked to the world; Dole addressed the New Hampshire primary, a crabbed and exacting constituency that craves conservative orthodoxy. Dole heaped their plates high with clichés as he witheringly answered a speech Clinton had not made, at least not in the House chamber. Nothing said there justified "almost the last public defender of a discredited status quo."

The Republicans looked at him and sighed. Is he the one? The Democrats' choices are foreclosed. They ask, "Will they forgive him again? Will they forgive him for her?"

Everybody went home pretty somber.

TOM SHALES

Bill Clinton's Picture-Perfect State of the Union

Reprinted from yesterday's late editions

It was blandly written, too long and heavy on gimmicks. But, fortunately for him, Bill Clinton looked very good delivering it. His third State of the Union speech, live on all the networks Tuesday night, would make dull reading but made good viewing. It seemed a strong kickoff to his reelection campaign.

Clinton appeared robust, youthful and forceful, qualities people like in a leader, and delivered the speech with virtual flawlessness. Toward the end, he seemed to become aware that he was going on too long, so he speeded up suddenly, but that didn't really hurt.

What really worked in his favor, and yet was beyond his control, were all the reaction shots of congressional Republicans sitting in their seats and, in many cases, looking sour and snotty. At one point, a shot of Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) showed him reading along with the text and apparently scoffing to himself. He thereby made himself appear rude as well as smug.

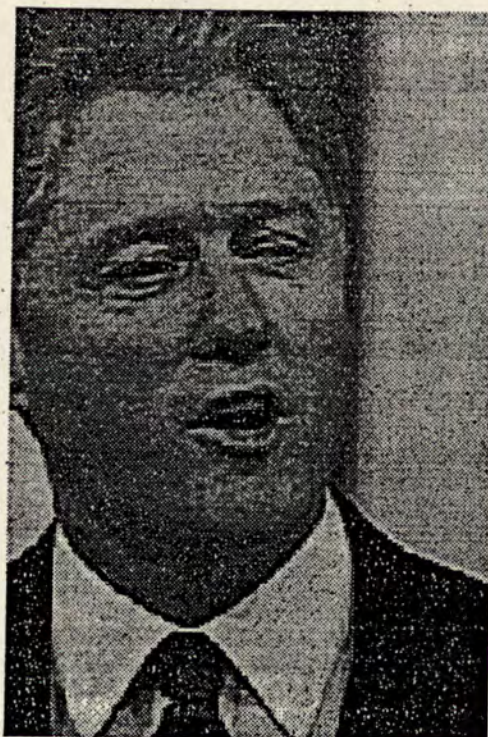
Although Clinton and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) exchanged friendly smiles and a handshake before the speech, shots of Gingrich during the speech were in striking contrast to those of the president. Gingrich looked pasty and pouty, though at times he did good-naturedly join in the applause for Clinton.

Has anyone noted, meanwhile, that when Gingrich smiles broadly he looks a lot like the late British baggy-pants comic Benny Hill?

There were some brilliant touches by Clinton. About 10 minutes into the speech he delivered what was arguably its most emotional punch, saluting his embattled wife, Hillary, who sat in the gallery. He called her "a wonderful wife, a magnificent mother and a great first lady" and said, his eyes moist, "Thank you, Hillary."

Unfortunately, she returned his beaming and loving look with a rather chilly gaze. But his gesture was gallant and touching. It had the appearance of being damn fine behavior.

Later, when offering a salute to the men and



women who fought in World War II, Clinton took pains to mention by name veteran Bob Dole, his political foe and a likely opponent in November, thereby coming off as gracious and fair-minded. Dole would be seen later in the evening delivering the Republican response to Clinton's speech.

Clinton indulged his tendency to throw in everything including the kitchen sink, and maybe the bathroom and basement sinks, too, in a speech that cried out for judicious pruning. He continued to use a device pioneered by that great speechmaker Ronald Reagan, planting a heroic American in the hall and calling for a round of applause, but then he had to ruin the effect a short time later by paying tribute to two more heroic Americans.

This guy Clinton almost never leaves well enough alone.

After the speech, Dan Rather on CBS said Clinton "certainly delivered it smoothly and

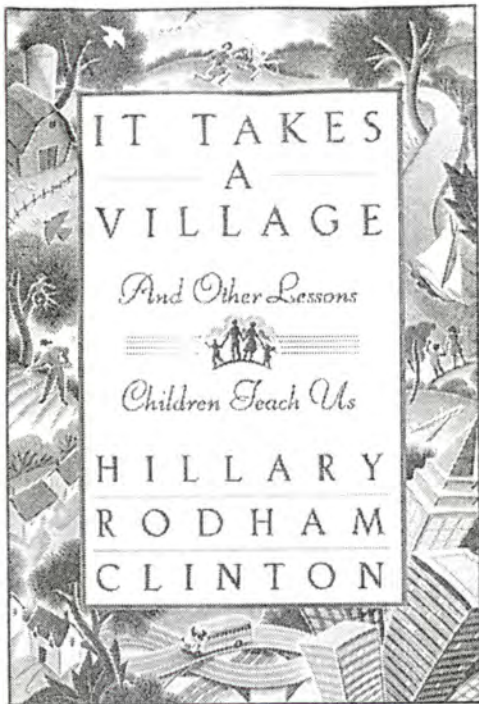
competently." Tim Russert on NBC said it looked like "politically a very good night for the president." Jeff Greenfield on ABC, one of the best analysts of these sorts of things, took note of the many "cultural conservative themes" in the speech, such as Clinton's endorsement of, get this, mandatory uniforms in public schools.

It's hard to recall a State of the Union address that contained more direct references to television and other media. Clinton called for the entertainment industry to make "movies and CDs and television shows you'd want your own children and grandchildren to enjoy." He came out in support of the controversial V-chip that some legislators want installed in all future TV sets. The chip would enable parents to block out programs they didn't want their children to see. "That is not censorship," Clinton insisted.

He also suggested that broadcasters follow the cue of movie producers, and implied they should adopt a rating system to give parents more guidance in selecting programs their kids can watch. Later, discussing education, Clinton urged parents to "turn off the TV" while at the same time urging educators to plug in to "the information superhighway." So we should turn off the TV and turn on the computer, huh? One way or another, the future appears to be on a screen.

Visually, speeches from the House keep looking better and better, largely because Gingrich opened the door to more cameras, including the hand-held kind. There was a Busby Berkeley style overhead shot of the entire chamber that was just about breathtaking. The president himself was better framed than usual so that viewers didn't constantly see Gingrich and Vice President Gore as they sat behind him.

Instead, most shots of Clinton showed him against the red and white stripes of the flag. The presentation was terrific. And with television, presentation is content, so it's hard to imagine that this Clinton speech won't go down in the record books as a winner.



First lady's book sticks to safe topics

IT TAKES A VILLAGE: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us. By Hillary Rodham Clinton. Simon & Schuster, 319 pp., \$20.

Soon after the birth of her daughter, Chelsea, Hillary Rodham Clinton found herself lying in a hospital bed, trying to figure out how to breast-feed. It was not going well, and her infant suddenly began to foam at the nose.

JANICE HARAYDA



Book Editor

As Clinton tells it in "It Takes a Village," she frantically "pushed every buzzer there was to push" until a nurse appeared at her bedside. Suppressing a smile, the woman suggested holding the baby's head at a different angle.

"Chelsea was taking in my milk, but because of the awkward way I held her, she was breathing it out of her nose!" the first lady writes.

"It Takes a Village" is a little like the nurse who rushed to Clinton's aid: On its pages, the first lady responds to the parental alarm bells that she hears ringing around the country by laying out an ambitious blueprint for enhancing the well-being of American children.

Part pep talk, part reminiscence and part defense of her husband's political agenda, "It Takes a Village" is a brisk and anecdotal book in which Clinton sticks largely to safe topics while ignoring tinderboxes such as the Whitewater affair, her performance as head of the nation's health-care task force and reports of her husband's infidelity. This approach no doubt will strike many people as a cop-out.

But, measured against other books by White House occupants, "It Takes a Village" is a brave document. Not since Eleanor Roosevelt wrote a syndicated newspaper column has a president's wife spoken out so openly in print.

Remember the last book by a first lady who had not yet left the White House? That's right: It was "Millie's Book," which consisted of 141 pages of Barbara Bush speaking in the voice of her dog, amplified by cute pictures of puppies.

So, despite the pulled punches, let's not quibble: "It Takes a Village" could have had 141 pages of Clinton speaking in the voice of Socks. Meow.

For all its omissions, "It Takes a Village" is a watershed. Here at last is a book by a first lady who doesn't just have something to say but says it without apology. Clinton writes with the assurance of a woman who takes for granted her right to speak her mind.

The title of her book comes from the African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child." By this Clinton means "that children will thrive only if their families thrive and if the whole of society cares enough to provide for them."

That premise, like much else in her book, is debatable: There are plenty of children who, against all logic, thrive in neglectful families or under totalitarian regimes.

But Clinton does not concern herself with those resilient flouters of bad luck. Instead she tries to show how ordinary Americans can improve the lot of their young: a project that, as she sees it, involves families, schools, churches and government and social service agencies.

Clinton takes as her theme the belief that, in the words of psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner: "The one most important thing kids need to help them survive in this world is someone who's crazy about them." Having a "village" crazy about them, she thinks, is even better.

Her ideas on the topic tend to be familiar. But Clinton revitalizes many of them by drawing on her personal and political experience and on the work of such experts as Margaret Mead, Henri Nouwen and William Damon (whose "Greater Expectations" makes the best recent case for holding children to higher standards of morality).

Though much of her book deals with spiritual or psychological issues, her advice frequently has a nuts-and-bolts practicality, so much so that the first lady at times sounds like a White House correspondent for Parents magazine.

First lady's book sticks to safe topics

HARAYDA FROM 9-E

Clinton believes that "baby showers with a safety theme are a great way to encourage new and expectant mothers to childproof every room in their homes." She admires the Parent Education Program in Columbus, Ohio, which "treats divorce as a public health issue." And she praises the Family section of The Plain Dealer for including such features as "a regular family finance column, with information on everything from the cost of buying a family pet to how to take a family vacation without breaking the bank."

"It Takes a Village" contains little to titillate anyone seeking to eavesdrop on White House pillow talk. But it suggests that despite his defects as a husband — which, on the basis of other accounts, are monumental — the president is a loving and attentive father. As governor of Arkansas, he regularly took Chelsea to his office, "where he kept a tiny desk stocked with paper and crayons so that she could do her 'work' while he did his."

Clinton is least effective when

A glimpse of first lady's writing

Here is an excerpt from Hillary Rodham Clinton's book, "It Takes a Village: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us":

"Television could take a cue from the several newspapers that have developed children's beats and long-term reporting projects focusing on family issues. The Cleveland Plain Dealer, for instance, has added a new 'family section' that runs every Saturday. So far, it has run stories on children's television viewing habits (along with tips on how to make TV watching a more constructive activity), on ways grandparents and grandchildren can spend time together, and on building stronger families (accompanied by personal stories about people in the region). The section also includes a regular family finance column, with information on everything from the cost of buying a family pet to how to take a family vacation without breaking the bank."

she acts as a megaphone for her husband's social and educational programs, such as Goals 2000. Though she completed the book recently enough to include the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, she does not mention that the latest federal budget crisis has erupted in part because her husband has refused to scale back such efforts (along with Medicare and environmental programs). Nor does she suggest how to reconcile her (or his) aims with the federal deficit.

None of this appears disingenu-

ous. Clinton emerges as a well-intentioned and compassionate woman who simply thinks less deeply than she feels, a first lady an intellectual notch below such razor-sharp predecessors as Eleanor Roosevelt and Jacqueline Kennedy (though "It Takes a Village" admittedly looks like "The

Origin of Species" next to "Millie's Book"). This trait at times leads to self-contradiction.

Clinton speaks approvingly of helping children survive conflict through such refrains as "sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me." But she ignores the problem this raises: Telling children that words "will never hurt" them denies the terrible pain that verbal cruelty causes. It also sends the message that it is fine for them to taunt others since words "will never hurt."

Now that Clinton has taken the admirable step of speaking out so forthrightly, it remains for her to find the added courage to think a bit harder in the memoir that she undoubtedly will write when her husband leaves office. To paraphrase the nurse who helped her with breast-feeding, she just needs to look at things from a slightly different angle.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

2/2

San Francisco Chronicle

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA'S COMPLETE LITERARY GUIDE ♦ FEBRUARY 18-24, 1996

BOOK REVIEW



65 pages total
(over 1000)
I am
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5.

San Francisco Examiner

B-10 Sunday, February 11, 1996 ★ ★

 RANDOLPH A. HEARST
President

 JIMMY K. HAN
 ARTS & IDEAS
 6/10

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Hillary Clinton fan resents attack on her in book review

As coordinator of the San Francisco Chapter of the Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club, I was extremely sad to see that *The Examiner* carried Alexander Cockburn's vicious screed attacking Hillary and her book ("Hillary Clinton calls in the therapeutic cops," Arts & Ideas, Feb. 4).

It might interest you to know that across America thousands of women and men — most of whom have never joined a "fan club" — are buying HRC T-shirts and buttons.

I am appalled at the vicious and personal attacks on the wife of our highest elected official. Cockburn's article, along with Sen. Alfonse D'Amato's witch hunt and William Safire's name-calling, are part of a calculated political campaign to discredit the president and his wife.

They care little for rules of logic and evidence, inventing and rehashing "facts" at will in a relentless effort to bully and threaten a woman who has taken on the challenge of helping our nation solve its problems of health, education and family.

We obviously admire Hillary Clinton's achievement as a professional woman, her dedication as a wife and mother and her dignity and poise as a public figure. While others may not like her personally, and may want to undermine the president and the presidency, we believe that published articles can and should address the is-

sues, state the facts and address their negative feelings in an honest and respectful manner.

Characterizing the Cockburn diatribe as a "book review" and putting it on the Arts & Ideas page is below the level of journalism one would expect of *The Examiner*.

SHARON GADBERRY
San Francisco



2.

BOOK REVIEW

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1 Francisco Chronicle. Unsolicited manuscripts can be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope for space and clarity. Send letters to Regan Mayhew, book editor, Book Review, The San Francisco Chronicle, 400 California Street, San Francisco, CA 94103-2988

SAN FRANCISCO SUNDAY EXAMINER AND CHRONICLE
CHRONICLE PUBLISHING CO. 1996

BETWEEN THE LINES *Patricia Holt*

Mrs. Clinton's Generous S.F. Visit

What a great literary triumvirate it was that brought Hillary Clinton to the Bay Area earlier this month. While it may have appeared that the first lady would naturally come to San Francisco to promote her book, **IT TAKES A VILLAGE AND OTHER LESSONS CHILDREN TEACH US** (Simon & Schuster; 318 pages; \$20), in fact her visit was the result of many months of lobbying, each in its own way, by the Northern California Children's Booksellers Association, City Arts & Lectures and Glide Memorial Church. And what class they all had in pulling it off.

The children's booksellers sold the book for no profit at both of Clinton's appearances (at Glide and at the Masonic Auditorium), donating \$15,000 to Glide's programs for children and to the NCCBA's literacy grants. For the past five years, these grants have helped teachers, librarians, nurses and social workers bring books to children throughout Northern California.

At the Masonic, City Arts & Lectures surprised its patient audience (which had arrived two hours early by order of the Secret Service) with catered

dinners and an unexpected performance by the jazzy guitar-voice duo Tuck & Patti before Clinton's appearance. That engagement raised another \$25,000, which City Arts donated to Clinton's favor-
See Page 11

T.O. SYLVESTER

IF SHAKESPEARE
WROTE FOR HOLLYWOOD

OTHELLO/
TERMINATOR 3

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S
DRIVE-BY SHOOTING

TWO SHOWGIRLS
OF VERONA

©1996 T.O. SYLVESTER

THE EDITORS RECOMMEND

Here are some noteworthy new titles our critics regard highly:

AUDREY HEPBURN'S NECK, Alan Brown (Pocket; 290 pages; \$21). The allure of the foreign as well as the isolation of an alien culture are at the heart of this fascinating first novel. Here a Tokyo man who fell in love with Audrey Hepburn when he saw "Roman Holiday" at age 9 has American friends who came to Japan with romantic visions of Yukio Mishima and Toshiro Mifune. Rarely have images of Tokyo been so fanciful, funny and spooky.

ABOVE THE LAW, David Burnham (Scribner; 448 pages; \$27.50). Investigative reporter Burnham's disturbing study of the powerful but often misguided and abusive U.S. Justice Department portrays political cronyism at the highest levels and dramatic crimes such as drug-dealing pursued instead of less-glamorous corporate and bank schemes.

BETWEEN THE LINES

Continued From Page 2

its children's cause in the Bay Area, Children's Hospital in Oakland.

"This hospital takes care of many needy children," Clinton commented in an earlier phone interview. "I have walked through its intensive care nursery, and that is a superb facility that really ministers to the community. It's at great financial risk now because the (proposed) cuts in Medicaid would close its doors, and I don't know where those children would go."

Clinton, by the way, was as warm and authoritative on the phone as she appears in person — never defensive or combative, as some news reports have characterized her. But she clearly knows how to protect herself from reporters who might take her quotes out of context or misrepresent her meaning.

For example, when asked if she thought critics disliked her because she was 1) a woman, 2) a professional woman, or 3) a first lady who wants to take on official authority, Clinton responded, "Some of it is politics... but some of it is as you describe, that there are unfortunately people who still believe women, particularly women of my generation and experience, are threatening, which I think is very sad." That was savvy indeed to say "as you describe" rather than use the more volatile words that could make the first lady sound strident or complaining.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE BEST-SELLERS

Feb. 18, 1996

This Week	Fiction Bay Area	Weeks		This Week	Nonfiction Bay Area	Weeks	
		Last Week	on List			Last Week	on List
1	THE MOOR'S LAST SIGH , Salman Rushdie (Pantheon; 435 pages; \$25). "The Satanic Verses" author's story of Bombay-born man who looks back on life and politics.	1	6	1	IT TAKES A VILLAGE ... Hillary Rodham Clinton (Simon & Schuster; 318 pages; \$20). The first lady's engaging state-of-the-children address.	2	5
2	THE HUNDRED SECRET SENSES , Amy Tan (Putnam; 358 pages; \$24.95). Enchanting tale by San Francisco author of "Joy Luck Club."	2	16	2	HOW COULD YOU DO THAT?! Laura Schlessinger (HarperCollins; 269 pages; \$22). Author of "Ten Stupid Things Women Do..." advises readers on personal responsibility.	3	3
3	AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MY MOTHER , Jamaica Kincaid (FSG; 228 pages; \$20). Eloquent story of solitary woman by author of "Annie John."	8	4	3	EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE , Daniel Goleman (Bantam; 352 pages; \$23.95). Psychologist contends that optimism is ignored in IQ tests.	1	20
4	PRIMARY COLORS , Anonymous (Random House; 320 pages; \$24). Scandal galore in this insider's exposé of one governor's (guess who?) presidential campaign.	4	3	4	RUSH LIMBAUGH IS A BIG FAT IDIOT & OTHER OBSERVATIONS , Al Franken (Delacorte; 271 pages; \$21.95). "Saturday Night Live" alumnus is tough-minded and amusing on politics and press.	13	4
5	INDEPENDENCE DAY , Richard Ford (Knopf; 451 pages; \$24). Sequel to "The Sportsman" — real estate agent seeks new life.	—	4	5	MEN ARE FROM MARS, WOMEN ARE FROM VENUS , John Gray (HarperCollins; 287 pages; \$20). Gender differences explained by the stargazing therapist from Mill Valley.	10	165
6	THE HORSE WHISPERER , Nicholas Evans (Delacorte; 402 pages; \$23). Hollywood formula doesn't keep us from caring about injured animal or troubled family.	3	20	6	IT'S EASIER THAN YOU THINK , Sylvia Boorstein (HarperSF; 145 pages; \$17). Woodacre author makes Buddhism accessible.	4	15
7	THE CELESTINE PROPHECY , James Redfield (Warner; 240 pages; \$17.95). Fable about search for ancient manuscript.	6	99	7	THE WAY OF THE WIZARD , Deepak Chopra (Harmony; 169 pages; \$15.95). "Seven Spiritual Laws" author offers 20 more spiritual lessons.	6	7
8	IN THE BEAUTY OF LILIES , John Updike (Knopf; 490 pages; \$25). Saga of American family shaped by Christianity and Hollywood.	5	5	8	MIDNIGHT IN THE GARDEN ... John Berendt (Random House; 388 pages; \$23). Account of murder among Savannah's eccentrics reads like a comic gothic novel.	—	37
9	ISLAND OF THE DAY BEFORE , Umberto Eco (Harcourt Brace; 513 pages; \$25). Seventeenth century search for date line makes for genteel novel by "The Name of the Rose" author.	—	15	9	THE SEVEN SPIRITUAL LAWS OF SUCCESS , Deepak Chopra (New World Library; 128 pages; \$14). Spiritual how-to.	5	55
10	TRYING TO SAVE PIGGY SNEAD , John Irving (Arcade; 416 pages; \$21.95). Twelve diverse but uneven short essays and stories by author of "The World According to Garp."	11	3	10	BREAKING THE NEWS , James Fallows (Pantheon; 296 pages; \$23). NPR commentator explains what's wrong with American media.	8	2
11	CAESAR'S WOMEN , Colleen McCullough (Morrow; 696 pages; \$25). Fourth and dullest volume of fictional history of Rome.	7	7	11	LONGITUDE , Dava Sobel (Walker; 184 pages; \$19). Dramatic story of 18th century clock maker who calculated global meridians.	11	6
12	PERSUASION , Jane Austen (Knopf; 260 pages; \$15). Austen's somewhat somber last novel gives love a second chance.	9	5	12	INSIDE THE TORNADO , Geoffrey Moore (HarperBusiness; 244 pages; \$25). How to find your market and your niche.	9	4
13	THE MAN OF THE HOUSE , Stephen McCauley (Simon & Schuster; 287 pages; \$22). A contemporary comedy of manners about a man's troubled relationship with his father.	10	2	13	BICHLER HOMES , Jerry Ditto & Lanning Stern (Chronicle; 120 pages; \$29.95). Photo-bio of post-WWII developer's mass produced homes.	—	4
14	ABSOLUTE POWER , David Baldacci (Warner; 469 pages; \$22.95). The president is up to no good in sleazy but fast-moving thriller.	—	1	14	HIGH TIDE IN TUCSON , Barbara Kingsolver (HarperCollins; 145 pages; \$22). Author of "The Bean Trees" writes of family, community, nature.	—	11
15	THE FINAL JUDGMENT , Richard North Patterson (Knopf; 435 pages; \$25). Dazzling legal thriller.	15	11	15	TIME PRESENT, TIME PAST , Bill Bradley (Knopf; 442 pages; \$26). From basketball to politics,	12	2