

Newsweek



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

Saint Sinner?

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

BY MARTHA BRANT AND EVAN THOMAS

First Fighter

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

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

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

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

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

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



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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



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

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

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

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

CERTAINLY, HILLARY HAS felt victimized by the storm over Whitewater. "Remind me," she asked an aide when the scandal began to grow after Foster's death, "have I ever done anything right in my life?" She summed up the unfairness of it all with one of Chelsea's favorite nursery rhymes: "As I was standing in the street/As quiet as could be/A great big ugly man came up/And tied his horse to me." There is an element of denial in this self-pity. Mrs. Clinton has hardly been a

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'The Ground Keeps Shifting'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Do you see yourself as a pragmatist or an idealist?
I've always thought of myself as a pragmatist because a lot of what I believe we should do for one another is very practical. As many kids as possible [should] have as good a shot as possible, because I don't want [Chelsea] to be afraid to go to a city park with her kids when she gets older.

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



Gracious but cool, the First Lady speaks

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

Are you thinking personally of testifying at this point?

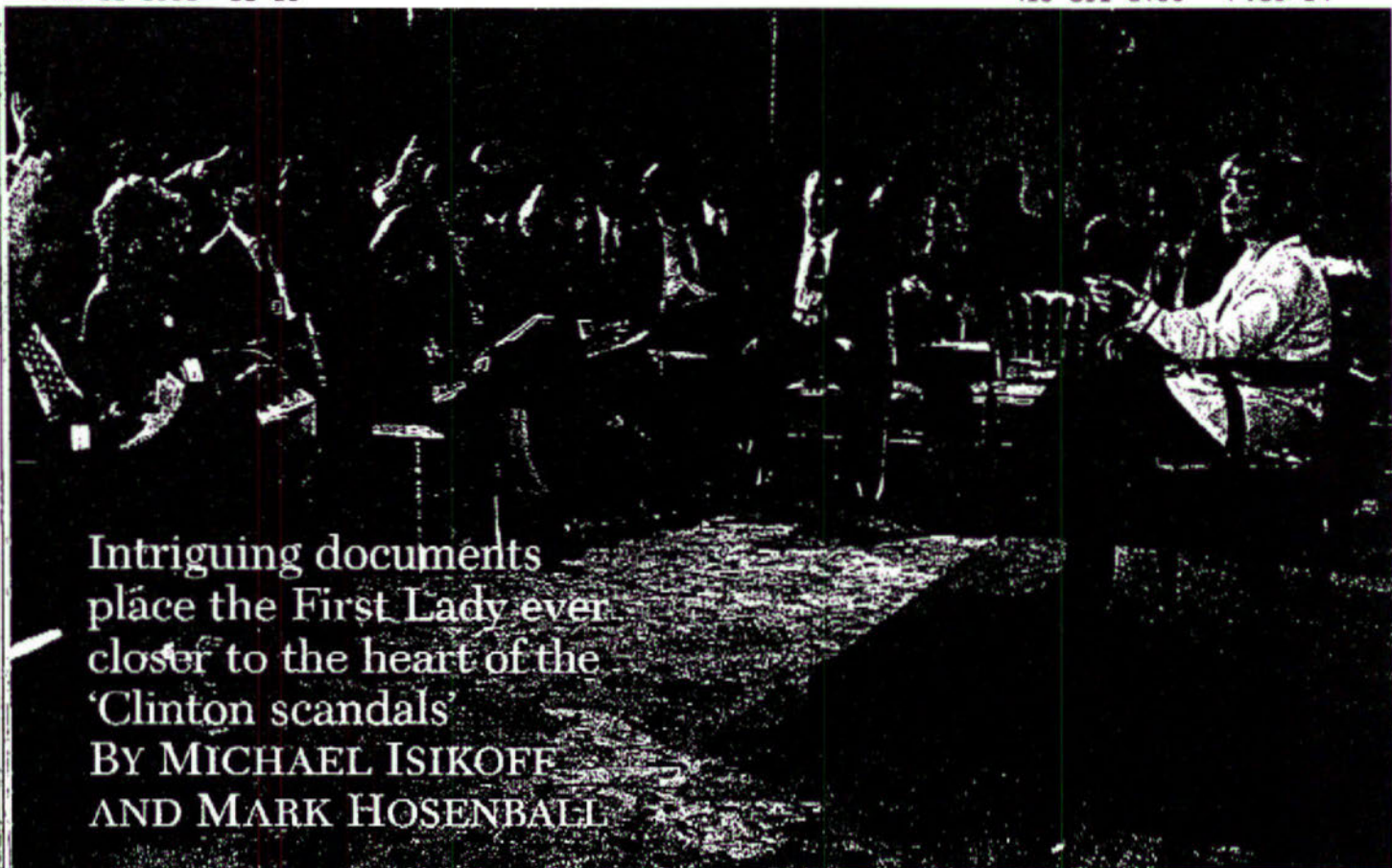
Well, I'm looking to continue to cooperate.

So you're waiting for a subpoena?

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

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

I was always grateful for what I



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

BY MICHAEL ISIKOFF
AND MARK HOSENBALL

Cracks in the Wall

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The First Family's Troubled Circle

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

THE ARKANSAS PLAYERS



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



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



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



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

TRAVELGATE



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



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

WHITewater IN WASHINGTON



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



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

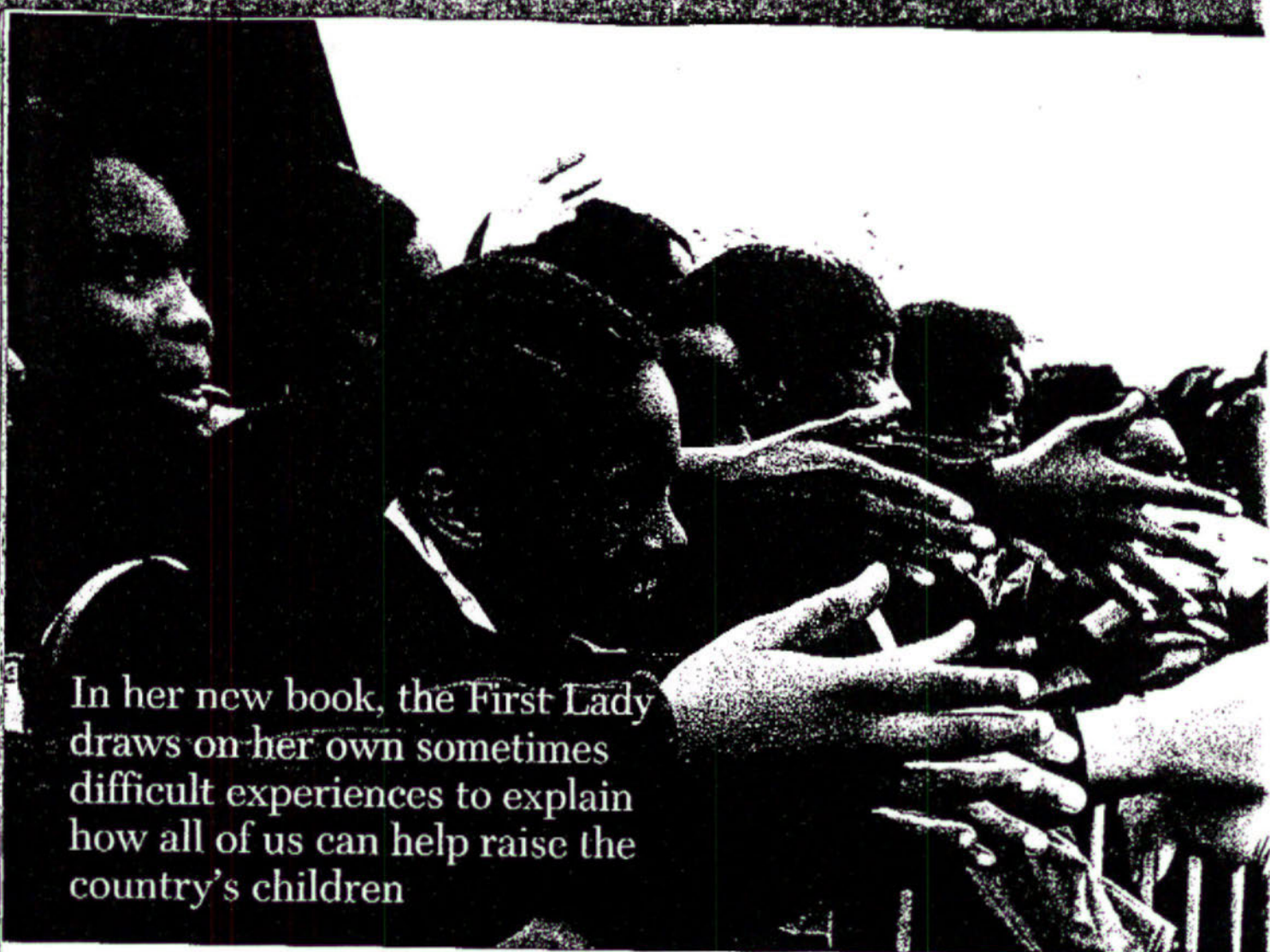


Maggie Williams Chief of staff to Mrs. Clinton, Williams's recollections about what happened to Foster's files after his death don't square with what others have testified. Investigators are pursuing the discrepancies.



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

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: (TOP) THOMASON; (MIDDLE) WATKINS; (BOTTOM) FOSTER; (BOTTOM RIGHT) KENNEDY. ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, ARKANSAS HERRING-HAZZETT, TILLEN WALLART—AP, JOHN PICARD FOR NEWSWEEK, LARRY BOWLING FOR NEWSWEEK



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

'It Takes a V

By Hillary Rodham Clinton

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Village'

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Newsweek



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

Saint Sinner?

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

BY MARTHA BRANT AND EVAN THOMAS

First Fighter

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

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

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

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

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

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

JEFF NEWMAN/REUTERS



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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



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

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

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

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

CERTAINLY, HILLARY HAS felt victimized by the storm over Whitewater. "Remind me," she asked an aide when the scandal began to grow after Foster's death, "have I ever done anything right in my life?" She summed up the unfairness of it all with one of Chelsea's favorite nursery rhymes: "As I was standing in the street/As quiet as could be/A great big ugly man came up/And tied his horseshoe to me." There is an element of denial in this self-pity. Mrs. Clinton has hardly been a

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

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

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

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

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'The Ground Keeps Shifting'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Do you see yourself as a pragmatist or an idealist?

I've always thought of myself as a pragmatist be-

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

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



Gracious but cool, the First Lady speaks

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

Are you thinking personally of testifying at this point?

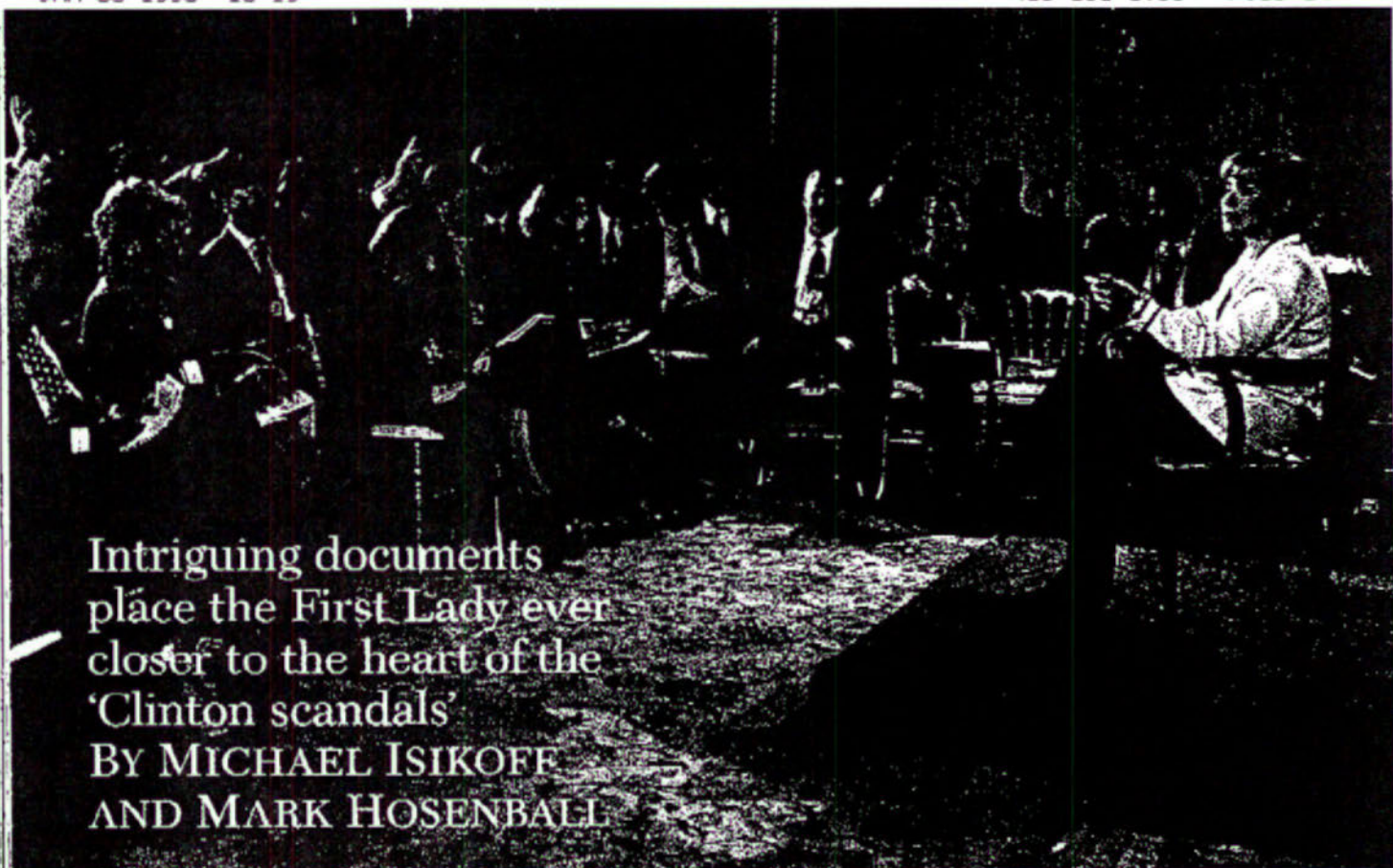
Well, I'm looking to continue to cooperate.

So you're waiting for a subpoena?

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

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

I was always grateful for what I



JERRY MARKOWITZ - YOUNG

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

BY MICHAEL ISIKOFF
AND MARK HOSENBALL

Cracks in the Wall

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

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

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

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

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

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

White House aides were unable to explain how the billing records wound up in Huber's office.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The First Family's Troubled Circle

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

THE ARKANSAS PLAYERS



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



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



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



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

TRAVELGATE



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



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

WHITewater IN WASHINGTON



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



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

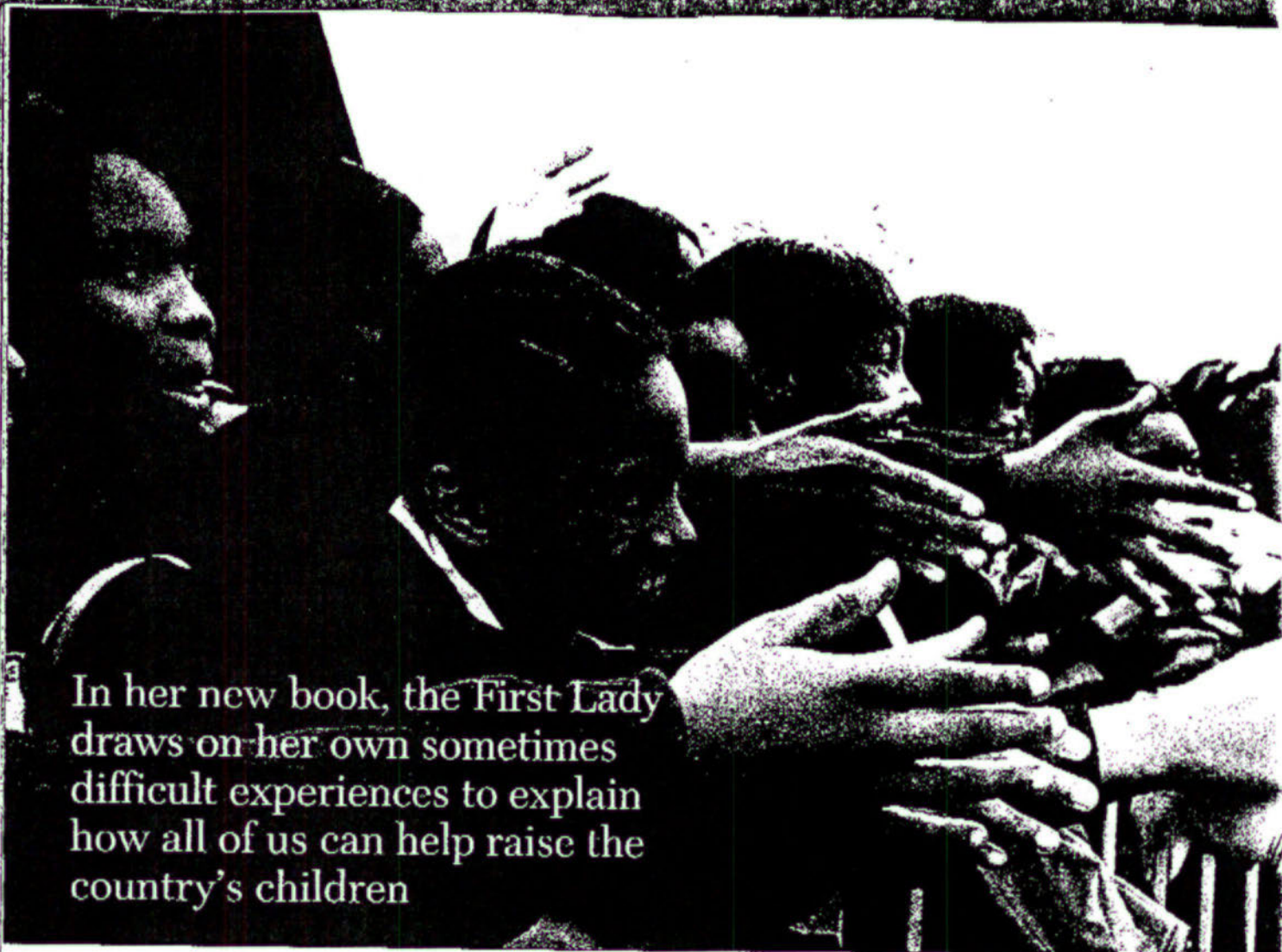


Maggie Williams Chief of staff to Mrs. Clinton, Williams's recollections about what happened to Foster's files after his death don't square with what others have testified. Investigators are pursuing the discrepancies.



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

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM: NO CREDIT, JOE MARGUETTE—AP, MIKE WINTROBATH—AP, SPENCER TERRY—GAMMA-LIAISON, STUMA, STATON BRIDGEMAN—ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, ARKANSAS INQUIRY-GAZETTE, TILER WALLACE—AP, JOHN FICARA FOR NEWSWEEK, LARRY JOWLING FOR NEWSWEEK



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

'It Takes a V

By Hillary Rodham Clinton

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

illage'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IN THE SPRING OF 1985, CHelsea and I traveled together through South Asia. As the mother of a teenager, I felt very lucky indeed that my 15-year-old was willing to spend 10 days with me. We had an unforgettable time—including a visit to Mother Tere-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

January 4, 1996

INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
BY NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE

The Map Room

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to do to change conditions for children.

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

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

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

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

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

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the employees. Help us reconcile this.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q Certainly, that absolutely seems to be the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q So you never reviewed them while --

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q Waiting for a subpoena as opposed to voluntary --

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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