EXCLUSIVE C-SPAN INTERVIEW WITH

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

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STEVE SCULLY: Mrs. Clinton, is the Hillary Rodham Clinton who will be standing next to her husband on the west front of the Capitol different? Has she changed from the one that was there four years ago?

MRS. CLINTON: I don't think so, but I'll ask her the next time I see her, Steve. I don't think so. I think it's the same person that I've been my entire life. I've learned a lot of things in the last four years. I've certainly had experiences I could have never dreamed of before 1992. But I feel like I'm just pretty much the same person I was when I got here.

MR. SCULLY: Has the job changed you?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I'm sure it has. I mean, any experience that you have for four years, especially such an intense one as this, has to change you. But, you know, I think mostly I would say I've learned a lot. I've learned a lot about life in Washington, life in the White House. But I don't think it's changed me in any way that I can count.

MR. SCULLY: Give us a sneak preview. What will the president be speaking about?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I can't do that. He is working very hard on his speech and he will be talking from his heart about what he wants for the country. And it's such an incredibly important inaugural, because it really is, as he said often during the campaign, the last of the 20th century. And what a century it's been. And I think he'll want to reflect back and think about where America has come from on the American journey that he picked as the scene for this inauguration and where we are today and where he hopes we will be as a people in the new millennium, the new century that awaits.

MR. SCULLY: Do you think there's as much interest in a second inauguration as there is for a first?

MRS. CLINTON: I think it's a different kind of interest. I think that in a first inaugural, especially the inaugural of a Democratic president after 12 years, there was so much excitement, and people who felt that they hadn't really been able to celebrate before were here, both in person and by spirit. But I think that what I see this time around is a lot of interest but maybe not the euphoria of the last four years, which is fine with me. I think the kind of more thoughtful approach to our problems, efforts to create new partnerships and cooperation with people, less partisanship, I think all of that is to the good.

MR. SCULLY: Looking back, taking a number of different articles that were written about you when you first became first lady, David Broder in November of 1992 said that "As the first member of the baby-boom generation to become first lady, Hillary Clinton is going to rewrite the rules of the office." Do you think you've done that?

MRS. CLINTON: No, because there are no rules. And I know what David Broder means, and many people have said something like that over the past four or five years. This is not a job. This is a position that a person has by virtue of her husband becoming president. There are no rules. There's no guide book. If there is, nobody gave it to me when I arrived four years ago. And I don't think there should be rules.

I guess that's one of the ways I see this differently than perhaps not only commentators but the public in general. Because there is no defined position and it is not a job, I think it's really up to the individual who holds this position to try to make of it what she will, depending upon her own interests and her own talents and what her husband expects, what their partnership is like, what the country expects.

And I don't think we should have these stereotypes about women's roles, and particularly about this one. I think that I may have done some things differently, but I came with a different background. I'd worked all my life. I'd had a lot of experiences in the professional world, in the public and political world, that I brought with me.

So to withdraw from politics and public policy would have been untrue to me and would not have been reflective of the way my husband and I had worked together since we were in law school. But another person coming to this position with very different interests and a different background should not, I hope, be expected to be interested in what I've been interested in. That is not what I think is appropriate.

MR. SCULLY: In 1932, Eleanor Roosevelt reportedly had told friends that she feared becoming first lady, and she felt that this town was going to devour her. Have you ever felt that way?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think it's a struggle. And there is something about this position, if you do assert yourself in a public way, as Eleanor Roosevelt certainly did better than anyone, that creates all kinds of difficulties. And so I know exactly what she was talking about. She knew, I think, very well, and was proven to be correct in her assessment, that she would be criticized. And she was.

But every woman who's been in this position has been criticized. I go back and I look from the beginning with Martha Washington or Abigail Adams or Dolley Madison and on through the last more than 200 years. It really almost doesn't matter what you

decide to do. There will be those who will be vocal in their criticism, which, at the end of the day, I think, is why you have to be true to yourself.

You have to do what you believe in. You have to do the best you can to support your husband and protect your family and make your contribution to the country. And there may very well be a time, as Elizabeth Dole discussed when Bob Dole was in this last campaign. She said she wouldn't work in the White House, as most first ladies have tried to do, on projects or issues of concern to them, but instead would keep her job outside the White House. Now, I predict that would have caused some other difficulties, but nevertheless, it was a different way of looking at how she intended to spend the time if he were elected.

That will happen eventually. It certainly will happen if a woman is elected president and has got a spouse who has an active career of some kind. I think we ought to just take a deep sigh and let people do what is their minds, their way of making a contribution, and not be so quick to stereotype the people in these positions.

MR. SCULLY: You said it's a position without rules. How do you define the parameters, though?

MRS. CLINTON: I define it as I've always defined my private relationship with my husband and my public interests. I want to do whatever I can to support my husband, both personally and through his efforts. Therefore, I will do whatever he asks me to do to try to be helpful.

I also want to make sure that my family is protected, particularly my daughter, but my extended family as well, from the inevitable reflection of glare and scrutiny that comes to those who are related to someone in this position. And I want to continue to be active on behalf of causes and issues that I've worked on for more than 25 years and that I feel very deeply about.

I care about politics. I mean, that may not be a wise thing for a person married to a president to say, but it would be untrue if I were not to say that. I care about politics. I care about the state of life in this country. I care about our government. I care about the public policy issues that come through the door of the White House because they require the president and the administration and the country to pay attention. I've always cared about it ever since I was a little girl. I will care about it long after my husband is out of the White House.

So I'm not about to start caring about things that I've never cared about because it's not appropriate in somebody else's mind for me to continue to care about what I've always cared about. So the rules are not any different than how I've lived my life. It just

happens to be that my husband has a different job and we live in the White House. And for four more years, that's what we'll be doing.

MR. SCULLY: Do you think you've been misunderstood?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think everybody in this position has been. I don't have any bad feelings about that. I think it's inevitable. And I think to be fair to people who are confused about me or anybody in this position, we expect a lot from our president and his family. We invest so much meaning. And, you know, when I was looking from afar at the people who lived in this house, I was curious about all kinds of things; about, you know, what are they really like. And, you know, you lose track of the fact that they're just people like all the rest of us.

So the intensity of interest magnified many times over because of the constant media attention, the pervasive media attention that we have today, I think, creates all kinds of, you know, perceptions, misperceptions, questions that arise. So I understand that. I think what has been most curious to me is how people are very concerned about this position. And on the one hand, people want a wife of a president to be concerned and caring about the issues confronting the country and to work on something of public interest. On the other hand, they don't want her to do it in a public way on a policy level.

They don't want -- you know, when I worked on health care, a lot of people thought that I shouldn't be making recommendations about legislation or that I shouldn't be involved in working on behalf of what my husband asked me to work on, which was one of his primary objectives, because they thought that that was somehow inappropriate; that if you exercise influence, do it behind the scenes where nobody can see you.

I find that curious. I mean, to me, I'd like to know what goes on in front of the scenes, because I'm very much the kind of person who believes that you should say what you mean and mean what you say and take the consequences. I mean, just like anybody else who's involved in public life. So to some extent, I think that misunderstanding comes with the territory. And certainly in going back and reading about all of my predecessors in this position, it certainly seems that almost regardless of what they wanted to do or tried to do, it's an anomalous kind of situation.

And I think Americans are rightly concerned about unelected power, unaccountable power. But then if you try to become accountable by taking a public position, they're concerned about that as well and want you to retreat and go ahead and exercise power that is behind the scenes. So I don't think it'll ever get sorted out completely.

MR. SCULLY: The high point?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, just being here for all these incredible experiences that we've had here. You know, the last four years have been filled with exciting cliffhangers of all kinds with lots of people whom I have long admired that I got a chance to meet and speak with here at the White House, with travels to places I had never been before, with keeping my commitments to my family, and particularly to my daughter, the way Bill and I wanted her to have this experience. So the high points have been both personal and public ones.

MR. SCULLY: Disappointments?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think disappointments in the sense that I really thought that a lot of what the president was trying to do with health care really was putting us in the right direction, and I was disappointed that that was so misunderstood. But that comes with the territory as well.

And I think that eventually, as we've seen with, you know, the passage of the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill and some of the changes in health care that are being proposed to try to make sure that the patient-doctor privilege is not interfered with and that people get the medical care with the quality that they expect, those kinds of changes may have to be made legislatively. We'll get it all sorted out eventually.

MR. SCULLY: Take us back four years ago. What were you doing the weekend before you came to this White House, and what did you do your first full day in the White House, the day after the inauguration?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, the weekend before we were here, we left Arkansas on, I think, the 15th or 16th of January and came to Washington. Actually, we went first to Monticello. We went to Virginia, because we were going to start that Sunday in Monticello. And so we spent a lot of time before we left Arkansas doing last-minute packing and saying goodbye to people. And then when we got to the Washington area, we had an incredible day with our mini-bus tour starting at Jefferson's home, going to church in Culpeper, Virginia, making some stops along the way, and arrived in time for the wonderful event at Lincoln Memorial.

And then we walked across the Memorial Bridge over to the Lady Bird Johnson Circle there by the National Cemetery and rang the replica of the Liberty Bell. And then we just had non-stop hectic activity with all of the celebrations that were going on throughout the city, up until the time when we first came into the White House. This is something I didn't know until we were actually going to arrive here.

We boxed up and packed up all of our worldly belongings in Arkansas, put them on moving vans. They came up. They sat around up here for a while, because you're not permitted to move anything in until the president is actually sworn in. So we had the

swearing-in ceremony and then took our walk down Pennsylvania Avenue and then watched the parade.

And the first time we really got back into the White House after they'd moved up the trucks and they started unloading them at 12:01 or 12:02, after the oath of office, there was just chaos. There were boxes everywhere. There were pieces of furniture stuck in odd corners, rooms filled with stuff. And it literally took months and months and months to get it all sorted out. But we were too exhausted and too excited to really know.

What we were trying to do was find things like hair brushes and, you know, shoes and all of the daily requirements. So we came. We spent our first night in the White House after we went to all of the balls. We got back at 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning. And I don't think we slept much that night anyway.

MR. SCULLY: Do you remember what you were thinking those first few nights?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, just how overwhelming it was. I mean, it was just almost impossible to believe. We would walk around and just spend hours, you know, coming into a room like this, because we're here in the library on the ground floor, just looking at everything, looking at all of the art work, the furniture, the books on the shelves, and then unpacking our own stuff, trying to find space for it.

We couldn't unpack a lot because I knew that I wanted to make some changes, and so it took many months before we were even partially unpacked. But we spent most of our time just looking at the White House trying to find our way around, exploring the rooms that are here, thinking about all of the history that has happened here.

MR. SCULLY: And if I'm correct, this is the room that Franklin Roosevelt delivered many of his fireside chats. Is that correct?

MRS. CLINTON: This room and the Diplomatic Reception Room as well.

MR. SCULLY: If we were to sit here four years from now, what achievements or accomplishments would you be talking about?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I hope that I'd be saying that what the president started in the first term was continued and made even more successful in the second term. I think we can be very proud of where the country is after four years of this administration's leadership. On so many fronts we are better off. And I know it's part of the American character for people to mumble and criticize and be, you know, very skeptical about political life. I think that's probably a good characteristic of our democracy.

But by nearly every measure, whether we look at economic measures or social indicators, we are better off as a people. And I hope that at the end of four years, we will see some continuing progress that will really solidify the kind of efforts that my husband has made and that many, many of us have tried to help him with.

MR. SCULLY: As you well know, talk radio, a number of editorials, a number of publications, have been highly critical of you and the president, sometimes personal. Do you read that? Do you react to that?

MRS. CLINTON: I try not to read it. I find it very sad, I guess is the best way for me to say it. I don't really understand a lot of the tendency, not just directed toward us but toward people in public life, to engage in character assassination and personal destruction. So I don't pay a lot of attention to it.

What I do try to do, and I know Bill does as well, is that if there's a legitimate criticism, to learn from it and to try to be responsive. But so much of what passes for political commentary is either dead wrong or out of date tomorrow or personally or politically or commercially motivated. It just doesn't bear a lot of attention.

MR. SCULLY: Do you think there's a bias in the press?

MRS. CLINTON: No, I don't think there's a bias but I think there are a lot of factors at work that are very interesting and that, as an observer of the press, I find worth thinking about. There certainly is an advocacy press. There is a very effective, well-organized advocacy press that is, I think, very up front in its right-wing, conservative inclinations and makes no apologies. And I have no problem with that. That's absolutely their right.

There's not something comparable to that. If there were left in the United States something called the left wing or the liberal press, there's no balance there. I mean, you've got a conservative and/or right-wing press presence with really nothing on the other end of the political spectrum, so that most of what is left in what you might call the middle or the establishment or the mainstream tries to be objective and tries to be thoughtful.

But it is difficult sometimes to strike the right balance when you get constantly -- and I have friends in the press who tell me they get constant faxes from the, you know, right-wing think tanks and the right-wing publications, and there's a, you know, real concerted advocacy effort which is quite effective. There's nothing really to counterbalance that. So I don't know that there's a bias in the mainstream press, but I think it's difficult to get a well-argued presentation of issues that is really reflective of different points of view in the media today.

MR. SCULLY: Before you came to Washington as first lady, how much time did you spend here?

MRS. CLINTON: I spent, you know, some time over the previous 20, 25 years. I had been working in various capacities for some months. I lived in Washington during the time I was on the impeachment staff. I worked on the Children's Defense Fund staff. So I'd spent some time here. And then I had many occasions to visit Washington, to come to meetings, or I've given testimony on the Hill before; my famous health care testimony. So I'd been in Washington. I was appointed by President Carter to the Legal Services Corporation and I ended up chairing that board, and its headquarters, of course, is here. So I had many instances of coming to Washington.

MR. SCULLY: In that time, do you think the atmosphere in this town has changed?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think it's changed, yes, significantly. You know, when I first came to Washington, I was a college intern between my sophomore and -- after my junior year in college. And I was an intern for the House Republican Conference, and I worked for people like Jerry Ford and Mel Laird; had a great experience. And I was, you know, just a lowly intern but I was given a lot of access and some fascinating assignments.

And the atmosphere back in those ancient days of 1968, at the end of the Johnson administration, before the Nixon administration, were certainly fraught with great issues. I mean, we had Vietnam. We had the civil rights struggles. So people were engaged. I mean, as an intern I would listen to debates. I would have them with my friends. And there was a way in which the discussion of those issues went beyond partisanship.

And the people that I worked with and the people that I admired, they struck me as being very interested in hearing from other people, and they weren't ideological in the way that unfortunately I think some are today. And there was much more socializing.

I mean, people, I think, in the Congress didn't feel that they had to go home or really couldn't go home. It wasn't as convenient as it is now, so that they would stay in Washington and their families would socialize. And Democrats and Republicans and Supreme Court justices and people who worked in the city would play cards or have brunch.

And people I've spoken with whom I admire, like former Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, would tell me about how on a weekly basis people would get together and you would know one another. And there wasn't such a premium on the quick quip and the, you know, verbal dagger. People were much more willing to make allowances for the fact that we are all human beings.

And I really didn't see it change in the '60s or the '70s so much as once we got to the '80s and there was a real ideological edge to politics, and people began to believe that they were the only ones with the right answers, and then advocacy journalism and advocacy radio, and to some extent even advocacy television, began to oversimplify issues.

And instead of sitting around talking about issues, people would be screaming at each other and scoring points on their TV shows and all of that, which we now know has, I think, changed the way people think about, talk about politics, at least publicly. So I think that the atmosphere has changed, and it's changed in ways that I don't think are good for the individuals in the process and are not good for the country.

MR. SCULLY: In your view, is that what you think is going on now with this new Congress?

MRS. CLINTON: I hope not. I mean, we don't know what's going on with the new Congress. I think that we'll wait and see, but I hope that one of the lessons from the kind of back-and-forth of the last four years politically is, I think, a lesson that, were my father still alive, he would have said he wanted to send to everybody from the White House, the Congress and everyone involved in government, which is, you know, "Come on, guys. Deal with the problems of America and try to come to some agreement and consensus, and don't go around scoring political points or trying to get more air time on some kind of talking head show. That's not going to help me make more money or have a safer street or take care of my children or have better schools."

So I think that the message couldn't be clearer, and I think the president has tried very hard to lead by example. You know, if there ever were someone in public life who has demonstrated a largeness of spirit and a willingness to shrug off insults and turn the other cheek and continue to try to work on behalf of the people he thinks he has to be accountable to -- namely, America -- it's this president. And I wish that that example would permeate our politics today.

MR. SCULLY: Are you worried about any of the investigations now going on or the outcome of any of these investigations?

MRS. CLINTON: Not a bit. I just want them to be over. I've been obviously hoping that they will end at some time in my life, in the next four, 10 or 20 years. But I'm not worried about them.

MR. SCULLY: I want to read something that you wrote or you delivered a speech in Australia last November. Do you remember the remarks?

MRS. CLINTON: I remember all the remarks. And I'll be interested to see which ones you're going to read to me.

MR. SCULLY: What you said is that -- this is toward the end of the speech -- "Some women are just plain squeamish when the subject of power arises." You say, "It's something they believe that should be discussed quietly, behind the scenes, and exercised, if at all, by women only within the scope of their personal lives." And then you went on to ask a number of questions, and then you responded to those questions that you made.

MRS. CLINTON: Right. Right.

MR. SCULLY: Do you want to explain?

MRS. CLINTON: I think that the point I was making in that speech, and I've talked about it on other occasions, is that we often overlook the need for people to have power over themselves and their choices, in order to be able to participate as full and equal citizens in their society. And as I've traveled around the world, I've noticed in many different settings what women are asking for is what -- one of my favorite quotes that also was in that speech, Mary Wilson Craft (sp) said more than a century and a half ago, which is, "Women do not want power over men. They want power over themselves."

At least it's been my experience that if women are well-equipped with what I call the tools of opportunity -- education, health care, access to credit, political and legal and civil rights and the like -- then women, just like men, should be free to make the best decisions they can for themselves and their lives.

In many countries around the world, we're not yet at that point. Women don't have those tools of opportunity. In advanced countries, economically and politically like our own, certainly the conditions are there. But many women are still reluctant to take authority over their own lives. They are reluctant to do so for a lot of reasons. They may feel that they won't make good decisions. They want somebody else to be responsible for them. And I think that part of what one of our messages should be to young women is that you are responsible for your life and you have to make the choices about your personal life and your professional and your public life that you will live with.

So when I was talking about balance of power, I was talking about it on several levels; one, of course, being what we talk about traditionally in political science -- balance of power among nations. And that's something that I think people have a fair idea about what is meant there. I was also talking about the balance of power between men and women; you know, that there are institutional issues that have to be addressed in every society to ensure that women do have not a guarantee at all, but the right to try, to be whoever they can become.

But then there's also the balance of power within; I mean, for women to become whoever they are meant to be. And there is no formula for that, and I think it's essential that we reiterate that constantly, that, you know, a woman who makes a decision to be a full-time wife and mother, a woman who makes a decision never to marry or never to have children, or the woman who, like most of us, tries to balance family and work at least some of the time of her life, all of those are legitimate decisions if they are made because the woman herself believes that she's making an authentic choice for her life.

And you can't think about your life and you can't certainly think about your role in society if you don't acknowledge that you have to have power over who you are and who you wish to be. And I think that many women are reluctant to discuss that, because they somehow think it's illegitimate, at the very same time that they do the best they can to attain that power by educating themselves, by trying to make good decisions.

So I want to bring the discussion about women and power out of the dark recesses and put it into the bright light and let women begin to talk about what they want out of life. You know, so many successful women I know act like they ended up there by accident. You know, you can ask a CEO of a company or a successful small business person or someone who's made it in government and you say, "Well, how did this happen?" "Well, you know, I don't know. It was sort of an accident. I was in the right place at the right time."

Well, there's always coincidence in life, and luck and timing have a lot to do in any of our lives. But I would hope that more young women would say, you know, Madeleine Albright was not named secretary of state by accident. This was a woman who studied hard, worked hard, devoted herself to her chosen field of endeavor. Every job she was given, she worked hard to do the best she could. And when she was given power, whether it was in the classroom at Georgetown or at the United Nations, she tried to exercise it well. And look what happened.

I think we should say that, you know, men and women are not that different in what we want out of our lives. Individual men and individual women may make very different choices. So let's, again, end the stereotyping and support men and women in the choices that they make and equip all of our children with the tools they need to make good choices.

MR. SCULLY: When the history books are written on Hillary Clinton, first lady, what do you want them to say?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, somebody asked me not long ago what I wanted on my tombstone, which, you know, is a very daunting thought. And I said, "Well, you know, something like, 'Well, she was a pretty old girl after all.'" I mean, I have no idea what I want people to remember me by, because for me, I'm just living my life as it comes along.

I never could have predicted that I would have ended up here, married to the president of the United States, when I was growing up in Park Ridge, Illinois. I don't know that I would have been able to predict four years ago what I'd been through in the last four years.

So what I try to do is to get up every day and decide how I want to define my life and what I want to do with my day, and at the end of it, to look back and say, "Well, you know, that worked out okay, but you could have done this better," or, "Hey, that wasn't too bad. Maybe you should follow through on that." To me, life is a great adventure, and I am so grateful for all of the opportunities I've had and I feel very, very lucky, which is something that I thank God for that I've had these kinds of blessings over the course of my life.

MR. SCULLY: Before we let you go, I want to, if I could, invade -- you often refer to the zone of privacy.

MRS. CLINTON: Right, right.

MR. SCULLY: Bear with me for a moment. On a typical weekend, no official events --

MRS. CLINTON: Right.

MR. SCULLY: -- what do you do?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, what we like to do when we have no official events and can be together, the three of us, is we like to find out where our daughter is going to be, because, you know, she has her own schedule and we have to try to keep up with her so that we can try to fit into her schedule. And then what Bill and I like to do is we like to read.

We like -- well, last weekend, for example, we had no real official schedule because he was working here. He had some things to do, presidential duties and working on his inaugural speech. We took a long walk, and I just walked him into the ground, Steve. You know, he's a great jogger. I'm the worst jogger in the world. But I love to walk.

MR. SCULLY: Where'd you walk?

MRS. CLINTON: Around here on the grounds, but we walked really fast and it was cold outside, and so he was exhausted by the time it was over. I felt -- I told him -- I said, "Well, you use different muscles when you walk." We like to take walks. In good

weather we'd go swimming here at the pool. If we go up to Camp David, we walk or bicycle or go swimming. Sometimes we get off the grounds and do one of those activities.

We watch a lot of movies. In the last five days and over the weekend, and then again last night, we saw "Jerry Maguire" and "One Fine Day." We watch, you know, as many movies as we can, just Bill and me. We eat popcorn. We watch the movies. We stay all the way till the end of the credits, because we like to see where they were shot. We play cards.

We do a lot of housekeeping, which is so relaxing for us. I mean, it's partly because there's a beginning, a middle and the end, so that we'll clean out closets together. We'll decide what, you know, things we can give away to our church. We'll just do a lot of that sort of housekeeping stuff. We will watch -- like we watched both the playoff games last weekend. We'll, you know, I'm sure, see the Super Bowl together.

So I don't think it's very different than what most families do. Maybe if we're lucky, we'll go out for dinner with some friends. But mostly we just like to stay in and hang out and talk. And if he has work to do and I have work to do, we'll go off and work for a while together or separately, and then we'll come in and have a meal and just hang out together.

MR. SCULLY: What do you watch on TV?

MRS. CLINTON: We don't watch a lot of TV, but we watch mostly sports, lots and lots of sports, because he's a sports fanatic. We watch sometimes movies. He also, as I've said publicly before, has, you know, the male-linked genetic trait of the remote control frenetic action, and it drives me crazy. And he can be on -- he can flip a channel and it's like not even on for a second and he's already made up his mind whether he wants to watch it. So we do a lot of channel surfing together. So -- but it's mostly sports and movies that we watch.

MR. SCULLY: And how about your clothes? Do you go out and buy clothes at the mall? Do you order it? How does that work?

MRS. CLINTON: Mostly it's brought in; you know, things that people think I might like, they will send me. Or I've got some wonderful women here in the Washington area who are personal shoppers at some of the stores. And, you know, we'll call and we'll say, you know, "I've run out of this. Please send me some of that." And that's the way I do most of my shopping. Occasionally I do get out and go to a mall or go to a store, and I try to go incognito if I can and stay and just see what's in the shelves and kind of look around and see what it feels like again to be in a store.

MR. SCULLY: Chelsea's in college in the fall.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, that's the plan, anyway.

MR. SCULLY: Where is she going to go?

MRS. CLINTON: Don't know. Don't know.

MR. SCULLY: What will it be like here without her?

MRS. CLINTON: It will be very lonely for both her dad and me. We get an enormous amount of joy just spending time with her. Now, she's promised she's going to teach us how to do e-mail before she goes. And we will, I'm sure, spend a lot of our time staying in touch with her and worrying about her.

But it will also -- we try to look at this from a positive perspective. It will also free us up, because one of the things we have not done -- because actually we haven't wanted to take time away from our family these last four years, because we knew it was not going to be forever that she'd be here with us. So it will free us up to go out more at night, to socialize more, because we basically haven't done that in Washington. Between Bill's schedule and what I've tried to do and the time we prefer to spend with each other, we just haven't gone out much in Washington. And we'll have some chance to do that.

MR. SCULLY: And finally, at some point you will leave this White House.

MRS. CLINTON: Mmm-hmm.

MR. SCULLY: What's next?

MRS. CLINTON: I have no idea, none whatsoever. I don't even have a clue. I'm interested in maybe writing some more. I obviously will, I hope, write another book or two or more. I'd like to do more travel, which I'm interested in, and speaking on issues that I care about. But in terms of where I would do that or how I would do it, I don't know.

MR. SCULLY: No idea where you'd live?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, we certainly will live in Arkansas. But where else we might live or have temporary residences or whatever, I don't have any idea about that. Talk to me in four years. You'll be the first to know once I know.

MR. SCULLY: Is a Grammy nomination a first for a first lady?

MRS. CLINTON: (Laughs.) They tell me it is. Now, you know, this may be -- if it is the first, it's the first time I've ever done anything before Eleanor Roosevelt or that she hadn't done before me. Now, the next time I talk to her, I'll ask her for sure. But I think that this is the first Grammy nomination for anybody who's lived in this house, so far as I know.

MR. SCULLY: Hillary Clinton, thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: Thanks, Steve.

-end-

Fax émis par : 33 1 41412823

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Good evening, Mrs. Clinton.

Thank you very much for being here at 7 on 7, tonight, at the day before the swearing-in ceremony of your husband for a second term. So we are here in the Diplomatic Reception Room which was decorated - I was told - by Jacqueline Kennedy and based on a French painter of the 19th century. He had painted scenes of America at that time.

So you'll be speaking in English and there'll be interpretation. Could you say a few words in French?

Mrs. CLINTON - I am very poor in French but I am delighted to welcome you to the White House.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - You are known in France but perhaps not as well as in the United States so I have asked someone to remind us of who you are.

"The candidate from Little Rock, Arkansas, did not take America by surprise. When the couple arrived at the White House in 1992, Hillary showed her ambition. She would be the partner of her husband, the full-fledged partner.

She set up an office in the wing reserved to the President's staff, which was never done before! She started to struggle to make sure that all Americans would have medical coverage, but her reform of the system was a resounding failure and probably her greatest regret.

In addition, she made statements which were unfortunate about housewives. The media and the republicans say she is haughty, authoritarian and they call her the co-president "Billharry" but she remains impassive. But never a First Lady will have suffered as much slander, mockery and insult. She'll be saved from nothing, neither scandals, neither the obligation to justify herself in front of a jury and her judicial problems are not over.

But why so much hatred and acrimony? It is difficult to say especially since everything started so well. Hillary Rodham Clinton represents the woman of the 1990s, she is liberated, intelligent, even brilliant. Among the first 100 lawyers of the US.

With her husband Bill, in 1992, she forms a couple which is young, modern and who is able to win the hearts of the Americans. Luckily she still has a lot of supporters for which she is a real model.

Abroad, she is very well appreciated as the ambassador of the United States, she is very much in favour of the status of women and the protection of families and children.

She was born in 1946 in Chicago. Her father was a small business man, her mother was a strong woman and, with her brothers, she was raised with love but discipline also, and she got her moral values from there.

She appears well at ease as a wife and a mother and, what is most important for her is her husband and Chelsea, her daughter. And when her drop of popularity started to affect the President's re-election campaign, she started to get a lower profile and finally people thought that she had taken over the real role of a First Lady, reserved and submissive. But they were wrong. Hillary loves politics and does not give up easily.

From her very youth, she learned to take up challenges and so, now, there is a new stage starting and the second term of the Clinton couple starts tomorrow.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - What is your reaction to this portrait? This is how we see you in France. Are there things you would like to rectify, like a painter who might want to rectify a portrait?

Mrs. CLINTON - Well, the only thing that I would like to rectify is that I was born in 1947, not 1946. Very important change....

Mrs. SINCLAIR - I am sorry.

Mrs. CLINTON - But I think it is a very clear picture of the many different images that people hold of my husband and me and of our partnership and our marriage and of the work that I have done.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - In your book, which was translated in French and which is a best-seller in the United States and which is called: "It takes a village", you talk of education - first of all because this is a topic which is near to your heart - and you talk of your education and especially the way in which your father raised you and gave you a certain number of weapons, the tools to get you out of problems and difficulties.

Mrs. CLINTON - That's right! I talk about it in the book because my father believed strongly that he wanted his children, his daughter and his sons, to be equipped to solve their own problems and I tell the story of how often he would look at me when I was in some kind of a difficulty or asking questions as I was growing up and he would say: "How would you dig yourself out of this one?". So I always had this image, as a young woman, of a shovel and sometimes the problems I've had have only taken little sand shovels but sometimes they have taken bulldozers to try to dig my way out.

My parents really did do, I think, everything they could to make sure that I had the education, I had the upbringing, I had the confidence that would keep me going through life.

Mrs. CLINTON - Another of your tools, when you have a problem, is religion and you say so and it has brought you a lot of comfort. Does that come from your education or is this something that you voluntarily got involved in in order to face up difficulties?

Mrs. CLINTON - I think both of those and I think that I was raised going to church as a child. And my parents had had us say grace before meals - we've prayed at the side of our beds at night. But like many teen-agers and college students, I didn't always stay with the religion and

the discipline of a spiritual life. But as I got older and especially as Bill and I became parents, I found lots of comfort and support in my faith. And then, as we entered politics, particularly at its national level, I have found that reading theology and talking with people who have thought about the very difficult e ernal questions of life helps put political life into its proper perspective.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - And you have another way of getting out of problems, you say that "you have a sort of discipline of g atitude" in your book. You take stock of everything that is going well and you say "after all, things are not so bad". In France, that is called the Coué method to say "I am lucky, I am lucky, I am lucky" over and over again. Does that work?

Mrs. CLINTON - It has worked for me and I actually got that idea from a theologian, a man who has just died, Henry Nowen, a Jesuit, who has written a number of books about his own spiritual journey and in a book about the prodigal son story from the New Testament, he talks about the discipline of gratitude and when I read it, here in the White House, amidst all of the difficulties that happen when you are in the public eye at this level, I thought "What a way to think about my own life. Because how could I be more blessed and have a better life than my marriage, my daughter, my family, my friends". And yes, there are problems, but you know, there are problems in every life and I think it is the "lucky lucky lycky", or saying "I am going to be grateful..." - however one does it - to just keep yourself centred and not let problems overwhelm you and try to remember what is important.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Well, that is your spiritual commitment. In your book, you talk about political commitment. You say "it is necessary to get involved, people have to be involved in civil life". I'd like to ask you a question.

Where you yourself a young woman who was committed and involved before meeting Bill Clinton?

And secondly: Have you always said to yourself: "Bill will play the political role, he'll be the candidate". Couldn't it have been you?

Mrs. CLINTON - I have always been involved. Ever since I was a young girl. I have been interested in politics and interested in civic life and so I have been not only active on behalf of causes that I cared about but I have worked actively in politics before I met my husband.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - In what fields? In what fields did you become active?

Mrs. CLINTON - Well, I started off when I was quite young being an active young republican. Because I came from a very republican family and the first activity I did was when I was in junior high school, about 12-13 years old. I was involved in the elections in my own home town, you know, working for candidates. And then, in 1964, I was actually a young republican working for Barry Goldwater whom I have recently visited in Arizona...

Mrs. SINCLAIR - ... For information in French, he was very conservative.

Mrs. CLINTON - Very individualistic. But he was a true conservative. I mean he believed in individuals' right and not for the government to tell people how to behave. But then, as I got into high school and college further, my political beliefs and affiliation began to change, and by the time I met my husband in Law school, at Yale, I had already been involved in the 1968 campaign on behalf of democrats and I was involved in the 1972 presidential campaign on behalf of democrats.

I never thought of myself about being a candidate for office. I have been active in student government....

Mrs. SINCLAIR - And why not?

Mrs. CLINTON - Because I am more interested in the policy. I am more interested in working to try to achieve some end than in standing for election. And my husband has always been interested primarily in using elective office to achieve a policy but he loves the campaigning, he loves being a candidate. So we have always worked together and always supported each other in our various activities politically.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Well, we have spoken of the involved woman. Now I would like to talk about the woman as mother because obviously education is important for you and Chelsea, your daughter who is going on seventeen, is very important for you and you mention her on the very first page of the book. It is difficult to raise a teen-ager and it must not be easy to make sure that a young woman can feel good in herself when she lives in a glass house, when her father is the President of the United States, the most powerful man of the earth. What kind of education should you give your daughter?

Mrs. CLINTON - You are so right about that and what my husband and I have tried to do, is to give her as normal a life and education as possible. When he was the governor of Arkansas, she went to the public school, she led a very private life, she was like any other little girl although we lived in what was the governor's mansion...

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Yes and you say, which is still true, that you are living above the shops.

Mrs. CLINTON - Yes, that's exactly right. And then, when we moved to the White House, I knew that it would be very different for her unless we set the rules very early about how she would not be included in our public life, except on rare occasions. So that, what we have done for the last four years, is to give her the privacy that she needs to develop herself, so she has taken very hard courses in school, she does her ballet every day after school, she has her friends but she is not part of our political public life. We don't talk about her, we don't answer questions about her, and I am so grateful - to use that word again - because it has worked out well.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - But what's the family life? A day in your family, here, in the White House? Because it is hard for me to think that you don't talk about a meeting with Eltsine or a vote at the Congress... do you talk of what happens in the President's office? of Chelsea's homework?

Mrs. CLINTON - Yes, we do, we talk about all of it. We try to have dinner together every night that we can and that has turned out to be many many nights because my husband tries not to travel unnecessarily and so do I, and so we have dinner together and we have a small private kitchen that we had created just for us as a family.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - And what do you talk about?

Mrs. CLINTON - We talk about her day, and we talk about her father's day and we talk about my day and we might talk about what's in the newspaper - we talk about our families, we talk about the kind of things that I talked about around my dinner table. Now, my father wasn't the President but he certainly had a lot of opinion, so we talked about public affairs when I was growing up, too.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - But you give your advice? You say what you think? And your husband listens to you?

Mrs. CLINTON - He listens to me. He also listens to lots of people. He is very well known for seeking out advice about every different kind of subject. But we talk about everything... we have talked about everything for nearly 25 years now since we first got together.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Tomorrow, Monday, the swearing-in ceremony will take place for your husband's second term. You must remember what happened four years ago, when there was an incredible fervour. Aren't you a bit nostalgic because there is a difference.

Mrs. CLINTON - There is a difference. You know, the first investiture was so exciting. People were almost euphoric at the prospect of having a democratic president, a young president again. This time there is not that sense of overwhelming excitement but there is a real - I think solid - understanding about where we are in the country and what has happened in the last four years and where the President wants to lead the next four years and so it has a more comfortable feeling. I think that actually it is appropriate that the feeling be different this time than what it was before.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - In your book you talk of the experience you drew from the other first ladies. But you are aware of the fact that you are not following the role model, the model of a First Lady being Jaqueline Kennedy, Mrs. Bush or Mrs. Reagan, first of all because you are a woman with a career and you are a woman who has power. So what have you done?

Mrs. CLINTON - I think that there isn't any single model for this position, because it isn't a job. I mean, I have had jobs since I was 14 years old and I worked full time during the time my husband was a governor, but this is not a job.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - ... It is not a job to be the wife of the President?

Mrs. CLINTON - Not in the way that jobs are defined where "here is your job". You go, you interview, you do your work as a journalist: there is no job description for the person who is married to the President and almost every woman I have read about or whom I have known, who has filled this position, has been criticised for some decisions and has tried to do the best that she could. What I decided, when my husband was elected, is that I would continue to do what I have always done, which is to help him in whatever way he wanted me to help him, support my family and take care of them and work on issues that I care about and have worked on for a very long time.

To some people that may seem controversial but that is the way I am, that's how I have always lived my life and it would be dishonest for me to get to the White House and say: "Oh, I don't have an opinion, I don't know anything about this" when I have worked for very many years on many of these matters.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - But in the American psychology there is a certain ambivalence when it comes to the First Lady, because indeed, Americans are very proud that a brilliant woman represents them, especially abroad, but at the same time it is everything that can irritate them. And you talk about - in your book - of the tea and the cookies where you said during an interview that you weren't there to make cookies and in that sense it must be difficult because you represent everything they can be proud of and everything that can irritate them.

Mrs. CLINTON - You are right, it is. It is an ambivalent feeling that Americans have and I understand that. You know, I don't have any bad feelings about confusion or any ambivalence because I came to this position as the wife of a baby-boomer president. Our first post-world-war II generation president - he and I were formed out of the same political environment: we were involved in the civil-rights movement, the anti-war movement, against Vietnam, I was involved in a women's movement, I went to Law school when not many women went to Law school, we came with very different life experiences and so there is, I think, some understandable confusion and ambivalence about how to make the transition from a previous generation to our generation. And I am very sensitive to that I know that it is difficult for people and so...

Mrs. SINCLAIR - It is a transitional generation...

Mrs. CLINTON - Yet, it is a generational transition, it is also... It says something about the different kind of marriage that we have. You know, many of the friends of ours who are married have the same kind of partnerships: they work together if they are in the same profession, they share their professional interests together, that's very different from our parents' generation.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - In the last four years, the climate around the presidential couple in the White House was positive since, if not, President Clinton would not have been reelected as he was. But there were also negative elements, scandals, various issues.

There is the scandal involving Whitewater, then the one involving your husband such as the electoral campaign or there are private issues. Justice will decide. But what would you like to say to the French who have heard about all these scandals?

Mrs. CLINTON - Well, I would say to the French what I say to the Americans: that many of these so-called scandals have no basis in evidence or fact. That there is a lot of politics in all of these scandals and I think people should take them for what they are: nothing has ever been proven that my husband or I have ever done, but there are very strong interests in our country who are politically opposed to my husband's policy and so they continue to say things and make charges.

A friend of mine said to me the other day that the only thing I haven't been accused of yet is causing global warming, but that will probably be in the next year or two.

I take that for what it is, which is part of somebody else's agenda. And neither my husband nor I really let it bother us. We just get up every day and go on and do what we think is right.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - A last question on this issue: in the light of all of this, you were very popular at the beginning, very present and then you were very criticised and you withdrew. Could you tell me what change, why there was a problem in your opinion.

And during this second term, are you going to accept a low profile or are you going to continue to say what you want to say?

Mrs. CLINTON - I think what happened is that when my husband asked me to work on health care reform and I took a very public position advocating for significant changes in the way the American health care system works, that in itself is such a controversial and difficult subject and it was a very controversial campaign that was run on behalf of health care reform and I think that anyone associated with that was going to suffer politically and I don't have any complaints about that. I knew what I was getting into. I don't pretend otherwise that, because I was doing something controversial, I should somehow not be criticised.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Is that a lesson? And are you now going to behave as during the campaign, are you going to withdraw or is that not your personality?

Mrs. CLINTON - No. No. The lesson is that if you get involved with controversial issues that you care deeply abut, you may pay a price. Now, to me it was an honour being involved in health care reform because I think that our American health care system is the best in the world but has some serious problems that need to be redressed.

After that collapsed, I really did not withdraw so much as to take a year to write my book. Because I thought if I were going to be interpreted by other people, that I should get out and say what I believe about issues I care about with my own words and then if someone wants to attack me, they can attack what I say and not what someone says I said. But I also have continued to be involved in a lot of issues that I care about and I will continue to be involved

and I will continue to speak out and I will continue to take the consequences, good and bad, of leading my life like that.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - The American society is mentioned by you in your book and Claire Auberger has prepared a portrait of the economic and social society in the United States. No, please don't start the video.

We are going to come back to our issues: you wrote a book called "It takes a village" and in France there is a debate on the government, on the role of government. Some people feel that the government should not be fully involved in the society and the people ??? of a free-market system in France say that "In the United States, the Government is not as large as in France". Do you feel that when it comes to raising a child, it has to be all of society, including Government, which is involved in raising a child? Do you include the Government?

Mrs. CLINTON - Yes, I do. I think that all sectors of society should help support parents and families in raising children, and that includes the Government. I think there has to be a balance so that the family has the primary responsibility, as it does in France and as it does in the United States, but that all the other sectors of society should be helping the family to do the best possible job.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - And you say in your book, you give figures, you say one out of five children in the United States lives under the poverty level. Ten million people are not covered by health care which to us is incredible, and you continue in the book to plead in favour of the government's involvement in this and to try give the greatest medical coverage possible to Americans. Do you think that that would be a combat or struggle that you led too early? You said that you took on that responsibility but you think that it is that because you led that struggle too early or was it because you were not....

Mrs. CLINTON - I think it was combination of a lot of different factors. I think that, as my husband has said, it was too big a struggle for him to take on so early in his term. Neither he nor I understood how controversial the decision would be for me to work on that particular issue because I worked on complicated issues in the public and in the private sector all my life but this was so big and many people were very critical of him for asking me to do that.

I think the plan that we proposed, which was meant to be a starting point for national debate, as was any plan, had shortcomings and problems that needed to be discussed and debated. But we never got to that point so that the problems seemed larger than the solutions that were offered. And I think, finally, we have so many interests who are in the market, who make an enormous amount of money out of the health care industry, that they were able to wage a very successful public relation campaign that mis-characterised the President's efforts. There was one estimate that the insurance companies and the other private companies involved in health care spent something like 300 million dollars running an advertising campaign against the health care plan.

So, we made mistakes, we had a very big plan that was difficult to understand and we had a very tough opposition that was able to outstand and out-argue us. So there were many factors involved in the defeat of that.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Politics are difficult, right?

Mrs. CLINTON - So it is. It is difficult but it is a worthy struggle if you care about your society. I think.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - A while ago I was saying that one of the essential themes of your book is education and you are in support of fairly traditional values: discipline, authority and here you say that "before, the authority of adults gave us a structure and a target against which you rebell". Do you think you are nostalgic for traditional conservative values?

Mrs. CLINTON - I don't know if I am nostalgic but I do think that children need routine and discipline in their lives in order for them to develop their internal discipline. They have to have some structure in their life. I will give you an example from your country:

I write in the book that I visited child care programmes and nursery schools...

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Yes, you compliment France on the child care program and the education programme.

Mrs. CLINTON - Yes, and I remember visiting some of the programmes with the very young children, the 4- and 5-year old. And I remember I had lunch at one such school and these little children were all seated at their tables, the food was in the centre of the table, they served themselves, they served each other, the lunch hour was... it wasn't orderly because little children, you know, they talk and they scream and all, but they performed very well to take care of themselves.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - You saw model children!

Mrs. CLINTON - But I have been in many schools, in America, where you walk in in the cafeteria and they are not at all disciplined and there is no sense of structure and they don't have any idea of what they are supposed to do from moment to moment.

I must say that - you know, you can always overdue it - you can have either too much structure or too little structure... but I guess I come down on the side of trying to have enough structure in a child's life so that that child acquires good habits and that child understands how to discipline himself. And then he makes whatever choices he wants to make as he gets older.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - And what surprised me when I read your book was that you are the supporter... or you are very hostile to divorce: you say clearly that you are against divorce and something else: you say that "I don't think that it's a good idea that children or teen-agers have sexual relations before 21 years of age, that they should be abstinent" and for a woman who is

modern, in this century to us in France it feels that this is not in keeping with the values of modern society.

Mrs. CLINTON - Well, we have a very different set of problems facing us in our country than you do. And I think for me - I am not against divorce with children in every instance. There are many instances when families just can't manage. But when divorce is too easy, when parents don't try to stay together for their children, when they don't try to work out their differences, when they demand too much from each other, when they have ideals of marriage which are not realistic and therefore break up the marriage and the children suffer, I don't think that is good for children.

And when it comes to early sexual activity, I said that my ideal would be that - you know - young people not have sex before they are 21 and then don't tell me about it. I mean that in our country what we have is so much loose attitudes and behaviours without any responsibility. That's very different from Europe. I mean, we have a very high rate of teen-age pregnancy. We have a very high rate of sexually transmitted diseases among our teen-agers. I don't think that young people in Europe are any less interested in sex than engaging in it, but they are more responsible about it at least according to the statistics.

So what I am trying to do is to push as much off that decision making to the older teen-age years, to the early twenties, get it away from our 12- and 13- and 14-year olds and ... you know, 18, 19, 20, 21-year old people have a very different development in life. But we have some serious problems here that we have to redress.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Does Chelsea agree with you?

Mrs. CLINTON - I wouldn't tell you one way or the other, because I wouldn't invade her privacy.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Today, Thursday, there were two attacks in Atlanta, in an abortion clinic. In your opinion, is this a warning for you and your husband and we know that you are in favour of women having abortions when they need to. Do you think this is serious without really knowing what the consequences are? There have been people who have been injured - but the very idea of an attack?

Mrs. CLINTON - We have had quite a bit of violence at clinics that perform abortion around our country in the last years and there are new federal laws which my husband advocated so that we can try to track down and prosecute people who have done it. This is a fringe group, this is an extremist group and I don't think that it will change the political or social attitudes.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - The last part of your book has to do with questions which arise regarding American prosperity and the people who are not included in this prosperity and you say: "Changes in the economy have combined to produce what economists have called a 'winner-take-all society'. The middle class, the backbone of our nation is spreading with more and more falling into the anxious class of honest, hard-working Americans who go in debt every

time a child falls ill or the family car breaks down". Hardly the stock of which the American dream is made.

First of all, where is the American dream? And would you like those to be one of the goals of the second term of your husband? To remedy to these inequalities, because the American society, which is very lively and creates a lot of jobs, is a society which leaves a lot of people out.

Mrs. CLINTON - Yes, I think that I would like that the economic progress that my husband achieved in his first term with lowering the unemployment rate, creating jobs, creating a lot of prosperity, would be matched in his second term by social progress which we are beginning to see some of.

But I am particularly worried abut the American dream no longer seeming real to people, that they feel that they work very hard but they don't get ahead and I think that if we continue to stress our unity, that we try to make sure that people who have needs like health care are taking care - we can do that without undermining the capacity and the willingness of people to work. It's that balance again that we are trying to reach.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - With everything you say, everything you just said now and everything you write, one feels that you were probably very sorry when your husband signed a republican bill which cut welfare and which will probably create a lot of problems for poor children.

Mrs. CLINTON - I wasn't sorry when he signed the version he signed. I had very strong feelings about some of the provisions that the republicans wanted to put into the well fare bill, but those thankfully were taken out and what the President signed with respect to welfare, I think was the right decision. Now there were some other things about the treatment of legal immigrants that were wrong and the President is going to try to change that.

But what I believe abiut the welfare bill and what my husband is trying to explain to Americans is that we've had a welfare system that was very unfair and difficult for people who were caught in it. If you lived in New York, you got very different benefits than if you lived in Mississippi for example.

It was not a national system but it was enough of a federal system that people felt they didn't have to take any responsibility for the poor people in their own community. Now, every American has to be responsible because there is no more a system. There are people who will get a child care health and medical health and job trading health but the jobs are going to have to be created by businesses and by local governments and I think it's time that the American public, who have always criticised the welfare system, have to take responsibility for the poor people in our country and we will see how well that works.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - I would like to ask you two last questions.

The first one being that it was noted in France that there was a major debate on retiring at 55 years of age and on what we call retirement funds, and the French are very divided over this issue. In the United States, where there is no retirement age, where people fund their own retirement and sometimes they even buy shares for their retirement, do you think we are dreamers? We are incredible dreamers? And that we are having a debate of another age, or do you think that we might also serve as a model in the way we see social relations?

Mrs. CLINTON - I think that France is having a very important debate. I talked on occasion with President Chirac about it because I think whatever happens in France, will be very important, not only for France and Europe but for the rest of the world. Because it's not just France and it's not just the United States, it is all the advanced democracies who are trying to understand: how do we keep a country together? How do we create enough jobs for people to make a good living and how do we have what we call a social safety net? Now, it may mean that we have to do things differently, that there have to be some changes in what was always there in the past.

But I think if people can strike a balance and if they make some changes but don't go too far so that the social safety net is still in effect, if they stimulate the economy in the market, but not to the extent where the market controls everything that goes on, we can work this out.

So, I care very much about what is happening in France with your debate because I think it will influence how we think here and I believe that in the next five to ten years we will all determine our new social contracts and that will be very important and I am hoping that the government has a role, the market has a role, that we do this right, because a lot of people's lives are depending upon these decisions.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - I would like to come back on a subject that we have already talked about and you answered partially but I would like to ask you the question differently: you often said that you would like, in coming years, that the United States have a woman as a President. Is it excluded for you to run as a candidate to the Presidency or not?

Mrs. CLINTON - I think it is excluded because I don't think I would be interested in doing that. But I do think there will be a woman president in our country in the next ten or twenty years, I hope sooner instead of later, and there are a number of women in public and private life who are really on the brink of being able to make that case for themselves and I very much want to see a woman but like any political.....

Mrs. SINCLAIR - But you are not interested in that? With the way you are, with your political involvement, with your desire to change things, why aren't you interested?

Mrs. CLINTON - I see myself more as a citizen activist, as someone in the tradition of reformers in our country, people who spoke out about issues and maybe became too controversial to be elected to anything but helped to spur the public debate and make sure that politicians and people in government kept looking at hard issues and did not become complacent. I feel very comfortable in that role and that's how I see myself.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - No elected position? Would you like to have a more limited role? Perhaps be elected as governor, representative senator? Even if it is not president? would you like to be an elected official? It seems natural.

Mrs. CLINTON - It is not anything that I am thinking about at all in my future. I am much more interested in reading and studying issues, writing some more, I'd like to write some more, I'd like to travel some more and I do intend to stay involved. I mean, as you know, one of my role models is Eleanor Roosevelt: she was never elected to anything but I think any fair historical assessment of major figures in American history will include Eleanor Roosevelt because she used her voice on behalf of people who didn't speak for themselves and she - there is a wonderful saying we have about her - is that she comforted the afflicted and afflicted the comfortable and she made it difficult for people to ignore the problems in society and I admire her greatly and she is someone who I feel did a lot to change people's hearts and minds and I think ultimately that's what politics is about, it's not about laws or buildings or institutions or elections, it's about how we treat each other and how we take care of each other and that to me is the ultimate challenge of political involvement.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Thank you very much, Hillary Clinton for this interview. Tomorrow is a great day, isn't it, Monday?

Mrs. CLINTON - It is, I am very excited and I hope that it is not going to be too cold and I wish you well. I am so pleased you could come and be with us.

Mrs. SINCLAIR - Thank you very much.

1HILLARY/ TEICHNER/ HEALY/SKEETE SUNDAY MORNING 1/19/97

(HILLARY WALKS DOWN HALL IN WHITE HOUSE)

NARR: HOW THIS FIRST LADY WILL SPEND HER SECOND FOUR YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE IS AS TALKED-ABOUT A SUBJECT AS THE PRESIDENT'S SECOND TERM.

(NAT SOUND--GREETS MARTHA--NICE TO SEE YOU)

NARR: FOR ANYONE WHO EXPECTS HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON TO RETREAT INTO QUIET OBSCURITY, DON'T COUNT ON IT!

HILLARY SOT. I'M GOING TO DO WHAT I BELIEVE IN, AND I CANT CHARACTERIZE IT AHEAD OF TIME. I'M GOING TO WORK ON ISSUES THAT I'VE WORKED ON FOR MANY,MANY YEARS. I'M GOING TO CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT. I'M GOING TO WRITE MY COLUMN. I MAY WRITE ANOTHER BOOK.// I DON'T HAVE A JOB. I DON'T GET PAID FOR ANYTHING. I DONT HAVE A FORMAL ROLE. THAT'S NOT WHAT THIS POSITION GIVES YOU AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO. BUT DO I INTEND TO HAVE A ROLE? YES I DO. I INTEND TO SPEAK OUT WHERE I SEE THINGS I THINK ARE IMPORTANT.AND TRY TO GIVE PEOPLE SOME IDEA OF WHAT'S GOING ON, BEYOND THE PARTISAN ATMOSPHERE OF WASHINGTON. AND WHETHER IT'S WELFARE, OR EDUCATION, OR HEALTH CARE OR WOMEN'S ISSUES, OR CHILDREN'S ISSUES, I'M GOING TO CONTINUE TO BE INVOLVED IN THAT.

NARR: IT SEEMED SO STRAIGHT FORWARD THAT BRIGHT DAY FOUR YEARS AGO, WHEN THE FIRST FIRST COUPLE BORN AFTER WORLD WAR II ENTERED THE WHITE HOUSE. WHEN ONE FIRST LADY IN BLUE REPLACED ANOTHER.

INAUGURATIION SOT:I WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR....

NARRATION: BUT WITH THE FAMILAR OATH CAME AN UNFAMILIAR ERA...
CLINTON SOT: SO HELP ME GOD.
NARR:IT WOULD BE A DIFFERENT TIME WITH A DIFFERENT TEMPO..OR SO THE CLINTONS THOUGHT.

CLINTON SOT:I AM GRATEFUL THAT HILLARY HAS AGREED TO CHAIR THIS TASK FORCE AND NOT ONLY BECAUSE SHE'LL BE SHARING SOME OF THE HEAT I EXPECT IT WILL GENERATE.

NARRATION: HEAT DOESN'T BEGIN TO DESCRIBE THE FIRE STORM THAT ERUPTED WHEN THE PRESIDENT HANDED OVER HEALTH CARE REFORM TO HIS WIFE.

HILLARY SOT: CLEARLY,THAT WAS VERY CONTROVERSIAL. NEITHER MY HUSBAND NOR I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE. //SO PERHAPS WE SHOULD HAVE LAID THE GROUNDWORK BETTER.

MARTHA SOT WHERE YOU STARTLED AT THE FACT THAT IT WAS AS CONTROVERSIAL AS IT WAS, AND THAT YOU BECAME CONTROVERSIAL.

HILLARY SOT: I WAS VERY STARTLED. I MEAN TO ME, I'M SOMEBODY WHO LIKES TO WORK HARD. I LIKE TO WORK ON WHAT I CARE ABOUT.// 14 59 19 (BUT) TO FIND MYSELF IN SORT OF THIS NO PERSON'S LAND, IF YOU WILL, WHERE WHAT I HAD DONE ALL MY LIFE WAS CONSIDERED SOMEHOW ILLEGITIMATE, BECAUSE MY HUSBAND HAD MOVED JOBS AND MOVED INTO A DIFFERENT HOUSE, WAS VERY SURPRISING TO ME.

(cont'd→)

NARRATION: HEALTH CARE WAS JUST THE BEGINNING. SHE HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A NON-STOP, TIME RELEASE LITANY OF INVESTIGATIONS..THREE AT THE MOMENT...BEING CONDUCTED BY WHITEWATER SPECIAL PROSECUTOR KENNETH STARR. SPECULATION SHE MAY BE INDICTED CONTINUES.

HILLARY SOT: WELL, IT IS VERY FRUSTRATING. BECAUSE THERE'S NO BASIS TO IT. AND IT'S VERY UNFORTUNATE THAT THESE ISSUES ARE USED FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE, AND FOR PROMOTING CERTAIN AGENDAS. BUT I CAN'T THINK A LOT ABOUT IT.

MARTHA SOT: CAN YOU PREPARE, JUST IN CASE SOMETHING HAPPENS?

HILLARY SOT: I DON'T EXPECT ANYTHING TO HAPPEN. I EXPECT THIS MATTER TO DRAG OUT AS LONG AS IT IS TO ANYBODY'S ADVANTAGE TO DRAG IT OUT AND THEN IT WILL END.// 15 04 10 NO ONE LIKES TO BE ACCUSED OF HAVING DONE ANYTHING IMPROPER OR WRONG. IT BECOMES FRUSTRATING WHEN YOU KNOW THAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING THINGS THAT AREN'T TRUE. BUT YOU JUST LEARN TO LIVE WITH IT.

MARTHA SOT: HOW DO YOU DO THAT,THOUGH, IN THE CLIMATE OF A NON STOP FOUR, OR EVEN EIGHT, YEAR BASHING?

HILLARY SOT: YOU JUST DON'T PAY ANY ATTENTION TO IT,MARTHA. I MEAN, MY MOTHER GAVE ME GREAT ADVISE WHEN I WAS GROWING UP. SHE SAID:"LOOK, YOU CAN EITHER BE THE LEAD ACTOR IN YOUR OWN LIFE, OR YOU CAN BE SOMEONE WHO REACTS TO WHAT OTHER PEOPLE TRY TO DO TO YOU EVERYDAY." THAT WAS GOOD ADVISE FOR A PLAYGROUND, THAT'S GOOD ADVISE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE. //15 09 02 MY CHOICE IS TO LIVE AS AFFIRMATIVELY, AND HOPEFULLY, AND POSITIVELY AS I CAN.

NARR: HER BIGGEST GRIPE IS THAT THE 'POSITIVE" IS NEVER WHAT THE PUBLIC SEES..THAT HER MEDIA IMAGE AS A FIRST LADY UNDER FIRE--EDGY AND DEFENSIVE--BELIES THE REAL HILLARY CLINTON WHO HAS EVEN BEEN KNOWN TO LAUGH..
(NAT SOT--SHE IS GIVEN DIAPER BAG AND BABY T-SHIRT--AND LAUGHS)

NARR: SHE WOULD SAY..THIS IS WHAT I DO FOR A LIVING.

NAT SOT IN INDIA: 14:19:30/ (546276 --006) we must try to persuade mothers and fathers to invest love, attention, and resources in their girls starting with education and health care.

NARR: THIS IS A SERMON SHE IS AS LIKELY TO PREACH IN INDIANA AS INDIA.

HILLARY SOT. WOMEN HAVE ASSUMED MORE ACTIVE ROLES IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE THE HOME, BUT ARE STILL CARRYING THE BULK OF THE BURDEN OF WHAT GOES ON IN THE FAMILY.//15 18 16 (SO) I THINK IT'S A GREAT TIME TO BE A WOMAN, AN AMERICAN WOMAN, AT THE END OF THIS CENTURY. BUT I DON'T WANT TO UNDERESTIMATE THE CONTINUING DIFFICULTIES TO TRY TO LEAD AN INTEGRATED LIFE. FOR WOMEN TO FEEL THAT--THEY CAN MAKE CHOICES THAT ARE RESPECTED, RGARDLESS OF WHAT THOSE CHOICES MIGHT BE.

(HILLARY AND CHELSEA IN INDIAN ORPHANAGE)

NARR: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON HAS CONVEYED THIS MESSAGE TO HER OWN

(cont'd →)

DAUGHTER BY TAKING HER ALONG ON VISITS LIKE THIS ONE TO MOTHER'S THERESA'S ORPHANAGE IN NEW DELHI. THE BABIES ARE GIRLS..DUMPED BECAUSE THEY ARE UNWANTED.

NARR: CHELSEA CLINTON, DURING HER FOUR YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE, HAS GROWN FROM GIRL...TO YOUNG WOMAN. HER PRIVACY PROTECTED FIERCELY BY HER PARENTS. SHE IS FINISHING HER SENIOR YEAR IN HIGH SCHOOL.

HILLARY SOT: WE'RE GOING TO MISS HER A LOT. I MEAN IT'S NOT GOING TO BE EASY HAVING HER GO OFF TO COLLEGE. BUT I THINK THAT ON BALANCE THIS HAS BEEN A MORE POSITIVE THAN NEGATIVE TIME IN HER LIFE.

MARTHA SOT: HAVE YOU ANY SENSE OF WHAT IT'S GOING TO BE LIKE FOR YOU WHEN SHE'S NOT HERE?

HILLARY SOT: OH IT'S GOING TO BE LONELY AND SAD. IT'S GOING TO BE VERY HARD, YOU KNOW. YOU, WORK HARD TO RAISE AN INDEPENDENT CHILD WHO CAN MAKE GOOD DECISIONS. AND THE FIRST DECISION IS, I WANT TO GO AWAY, YOU KNOW,TO GO TO SCHOOL. WHICH IS WHAT'S SHE'S GOING TO DO. BUT WE'VE TRIED TO PREPARE HER FOR THAT. AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO, YOU KNOW, FIGURE OUT AS MANY POSSIBLE WAYS AS POSSIBLE TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH HER. BOTH, YOU KNOW, THROUGH E-MAIL, WHICH I KNOW NOTHING ABOUT, BUT WILL HAVE TO LEARN. OR THROUGH ACTUAL VISITS WITH HER.

NARR. ON THE DAY WE VISITED THE WHITE HOUSE, MRS. CLINTON CHAIRED A MEETING ON FUNDING FOR THE ARTS.

nat sot: (tape 2-christian-est. 15:53:30) i think that everyone here and literally millions of other people around the country recognize the centrality of the arts and humanities to the life of this country.

(UNVEILING TANNER--HILLFILE1/W268475--19 53 54)
NARR: ONE GUAGE OF A FIRST LADY'S STAMP ON THE WHITE HOUSE IS THE ART SHE CHOOSES TO DISPLAY THERE. "SUNSET ON THE BEAH AT ATLANTIC CITY," BY HENRY TANNER IS THE FIRST WORK ACQUIRED FOR THE PERMANENT COLLECTION BY AN AFRICAN AMERICAN ARTIST. (GRASSO REEL 2 -GREEN ROOM) IT NOW HANGS IN THE GREEN ROOM.
WHILE CAMERAS ARE RARELY ALLOWED UPSTAIRS WHERE THE FIRST FAMILY ACTUALLY LIVES,MRS. CLINTON WANTED US TO SHOW OFF SOME OF THE PIECES ON LOAN TO THE WHITE HOUSE--A KANDINSKY, A DE KOONING AND THIS GLASS BOWL BY DALE CHIHULY..ONE OF HER FAVORITE ARTISTS.

HILLARY SOT:ALTHOUGH THIS IS A HOUSE OF A CERTAIN PERIOD, AND WE LIKE IT TO MAINTAIN THAT SENSE OF HISTORY AND PERIOD, IT'S A LIVING HOUSE.//SO I WANTED IT TO REFLECT THE BEST OF MODERN ART.

ON CAMERA: TUCKED ALONG THE EAST WING OF THE WHITE HOUSE IS THE FIRST LADY'S GARDEN, NAMES BY JAQUELINE KENNEDY. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON RE-INVETED IT AS THE FIRST LADY'S SCULPTURE GARDEN. SHE, LIKE MRS.KENNEDY, BELIEVES THAT WHITE HOUSE PATRONAGE IS AN IMPORTANT WAY TO SHOWCASE AMERICAN ART.

HILLARY SOT: I LOVE THE SCULPTURE GARDEN. I'M A GREAT FAN OF MODERN SCULPTURE, PARTICULARLY AMERICAN SCULPTURE. THE FIRST DATE I EVER HAD WITH MY HUSBAND WAS IN THE SCULPTURE GARDEN AT THE GALLERY OF YALE. AND IT'S ALWAYS BEEN ONE OF OUR SPECIAL SHARED EXPERIENCES.

2HILLARY (cont'd)

MARTHA: DO YOU EVER JUST GO THERE AND SIT?
HILLARY: I GO THERE A LOT AND SIT// OR WALK AROUND THE GROUNDS AND THEN END IT WITH A WALK AROUND THE SCULPTURE GARDEN OR JUST SITTING AND READING, OR JUST YOU KNOW, CONTEMPLATING.

NARRATION: DOES HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON CONTEMPLATE HER OWN LEGACE... HER OWN PLACE IN HISTORY. SHE SAYS, NO.

HILLARY SOT: I'M ONLY INTERESTED IN LIVING MY LIFE RIGHT NOW, DAY BY DAY. I'M NOT PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT SOMEBODY SAYS ABOUT ME, AFTER I'M NO LONGER HERE. SO, IF I FEEL GOOD ABOUT WHAT I'M DOING, THAT'S ALL I CAN DO.

First Lady's Press Conference
Hotel Kalastajatorppa
Helsinki
July 10, 1996

[It was difficult to hear many of the questions, and therefore that part of the transcript is not accurate.]

Q I have three quick, non-trip questions. Have you been told whether or not you are a target of the --- investigations? And what was the extent of your knowledge, if any, ---- What can you tell us about the phone call between yourself and --- in '86.

A Gee, if I can remember those. No, to the first one. And to the second one, nothing. And to the third one, nothing.

Q You don't remember the phone call?

A I do not remember the phone call.

Q Do you agree with your attorney who says ----

A Well, --- I don't think it corresponds with the evidence as we do know it but we'll just have to wait and see how that develops.

Q Mrs Clinton, you talked at several points during your trip about the market--- game Messy Business. What is the messiest aspects was the mud stain designed in the American presidential campaign. What kind of example you think that sets for the emerging democracies that you visited this week, and your husband's campaign ran an ad accusing Senator Dole being --- and several ads run by the Dole campaign against your husband. Would you like to see less of that? What kind of an example does it set for countries that are just now becoming democracies?

A Well I hope that our elections like the elections in any democracy would be about the future direction that the country would take. So that people could make a good decision based on the information that they are given. I think we do a pretty good job of that but certainly there is room for improvement to make sure that who ever is running for whatever office really does provide people with a good, solid understanding of what they stand for and what they would do if they were elected. And I think America as - I guess now the longest surviving democracy - is looked to by people in old and new democracies alike as to how we run campaigns. So I hope that this campaign would be a good example of a vigorous discussion about the future direction of the country.

Q Less made of advertisement?

A Well I think that what's important is to get information to people so they can make a decision and that's certainly what my husband's going to try to do.

Q This morning at the discussion you had one of the women voiced an impression which I think people in the States have too, and you immediately jumped in and corrected her. What she said was that you've worked hard to change the traditional role of the First Lady. What about it?

A Well, what I said in response to her comment is that I think every person, man and woman, is an individual. And what I have worked for all my life, is the opportunity for individuals to choose what is best for them and to make the decisions that are going to give them the most satisfaction and fulfilment. And I don't think that we should be saying that there's a certain way to fill any kind of role. In your position as a commentator you should be judged as who you are, not because there is another woman who had that role before you. And I feel the same about the role that I am in now, that would argue strongly for the opportunity for any woman, or someday any man, in this position to be able to do what is best for that person, for the President, for the family, for the country. So I'm not really supporting the idea that there is one way to do the role or a way to change the role that is very different. I'm really trying very hard to get across the idea that each individual should be given the opportunity to make the choices that are best for that person.

Q Looking ahead to the campaign, what would you say to the Democrats who think you are a liability the them?

A Well I haven't encountered Democrats who say that. In fact, I've been very encouraged by the responses that I have around the country. I've traveled extensively in the last year, I will continue to do that and speak out on behalf of the President's vision for the country and what he's already accomplished. I look forward to being part of the campaign.

Q Mrs Clinton, you on this trip have mentioned a couple of times the media and in fact, I think this morning you were talking about how hard --- it sometimes is for the government to communicate through the media to its people. And yet the United States has probably the most unfettered media in the world. Would you explain a little bit about that, how you see that and that issue and how hard it is for the present administration to communicate with the United States' people?

A Well, I don't think it's hard to communicate but I think it is certainly in our country where there is so much information, it is difficult sometimes for people, including myself, to make sense out of everything we hear. We have so many channels of television, we now have so much activity on the internet, we have so many radio stations and newspapers that we are blessed with an enormous amount of information. But I think it is sometimes a little bit confusing for people to try to figure out what's important, what is going to last the test of time and what isn't. And I think that part of

what we have to do is to make sure that people are well educated and particularly our children are well educated so that they themselves can make sense out of what they hear and what they see. That's why I think everything that we can do to invest in education, make our children understand the world that they are living in, help them become technologically proficient is going to be very important for them to be able to say, well, I agree with that, I disagree with this, this makes sense, I understand that. Because in a democracy, every citizen has the responsibility to make decisions. And if we don't have good solid information, it will be more difficult for our democracy or any democracy to make the best decisions for the future of us all.

Q And speaking of the media, a speculative (?) book has come out recently about you and about the Clinton presidency etc. Do you read those books, personally, just to see what is in them and what impact do you think they will ultimately have on the election campaign?

A Well, I don't really know what impact they'll have. I don't think very much. And I don't read them. People tell me sometimes what's in them and most of the times its hard to believe some of the things people say but that's part of the free market and it's part of the First Amendment and when you are in public life, it's part of the price you pay. So I don't really pay much attention to it.

Q Coming off this trip where you are experiencing the women issues in countries -- - that are emerging democracies, and seeing yourself as a representative of the United States and as a model for what a First Lady can be and then going back to the United States to the kind of, to the wildness of the campaign season, have you given any thought to the role of First Lady and how you've seen it evolve in your own mind in the time that you've been First Lady, --- has given some multiple dimensions of what your job really is when you look at it from the domestic point of view and from foreign trip point of view?

A Well, I don't know, Mark, because I don't think about it that way. You know I lived about 45 years before I was living in the White House and I had certain interest that I had developed over those years. I had been engaged in certain activities that I cared about, principally, on behalf of children and women and family issues. And I've continued to work on them. So to me, it is just a great opportunity to meet people and to work about issues that I've long been concerned with. So I don't really think about it as necessarily setting any particular model for anybody else because other women and men have different interests, have different desires in their life. They might not share my concern about some of the issues that I've worked on or my past history on behalf of children and family advocacy. But I would not say that what they chose to do would be any less valid than what I chose to do. So I really don't think about it like that.

Q Tomorrow you'll be back in Washington and you head straight into the campaign --- from now until November. What are your thoughts, what are your feelings leaping back into the joys of that environment?

A I love campaigning. I have always loved campaigning. I find it rewarding, educational, exciting and so when I go out on behalf of my husband and talk about the issues that he cares about I'm also talking about issues I care about. When I talk about the choices that the country faces between his vision for the future and the alternatives I'm talking about what I care about for the future. So I consider it a real privilege as well as a lot of fun to go out there. I don't mind the back and forth and the criticism and all that, that's part of American politics. I think these are really important issues. I'd rather have people engaged than be apathetic. I'd rather have people arguing about what direction the country should go in than just throwing up their hands and saying they don't really care. We have seen on this trip what happens when people get so beat down that they are afraid to express an opinion, they're worried about whether they are going to say something that might get them into trouble. I don't know that maybe Americans don't appreciate the blessings that we have. I mean I always feel that way whenever I come back from any of these trips. And part of those blessings is our elections, our democracy, the give and take of the political debate. So I'm anxious to get back into it. I've been doing it, I've been married now for more than 20 years, I've been involved in politics for longer than that and I think that this is a very important election for America. I think that this election is going to set the tone and the direction for our country into the 21st century and I want to do everything I can to talk to as many people and work on behalf of what my husband's agenda is.

Q Speaking of campaigning, Bob Dole has already to some extent made you an issue in this campaign. He said on more than one occasion, if he is elected, his wife won't be in charge of health care or anything else. What do you think about that? What do you think that says to women, what's your personal opinion?

A I don't really think about it. I think the election is between my husband and his opponents and each person in this race is free to express himself and present himself as he chooses to the American public. And my husband is talking about issues like rising the minimum wage and dealing with economic and social and other problems that the country faces. And I think that is what people are interested in.

Q You said today, you talked a little bit about the idea what it would be like if some of the men who are in power in our country were women.

A Right! (Laughter)

Q What do you think it would be like (laughter from Mrs C) if --- were a woman, or --- were a woman?

A Well what was so interesting about being here in Finland is, as you point out, is that the positions that Secretary Perry and Secretary Christopher and Speaker Gingrich and the head of the Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, hold in our country, the comparable positions are all held by women in Finland. And so far the sky has not fallen, it looks like they are trying to deal with their problems as any society that faces

problems today is. So I just think that it would be kind of fun for Americans to imagine what it would be like to have those major positions held by women. I know there is a lot of possibility for just all kinds of thoughts that flow from that (laughs).

(more laughter)

Q Is that the end of your sentence?

A That's the end of my sentence, right, exactly. I leave the rest to your imagination.

Q Something that has puzzled me, since going back to Arkansas, when I see the way that you are portrayed in the media --- in the way I see you --- in books or whatever. There is a disconnect between the kind of person you could convey or are in private and amongst us on these trips, so much sense of humor --- very warm and engaging in what we see on television or in the new or in --- It's something that is, you've not --- despite the trips where, you know, you put on an effort to show another side the hundreds of --- appearances you've made, you've gotten very good coverage in local markets --- and despite all this you still have 47 percent disapproval ratings. A majority of people on a recent poll said they --- Is there anything you or your staff can or --- try to amend it?

A Well I don't know what really explains it. I'm not an expert on the media or really perhaps myself fully understanding that. So I don't really have any thoughts. I mean I just have to continue to be who I am. And I think that over time, people will either make their own decisions about me or accept what other people say about me. But it is very hard to personally meet over 250 million people so I can't really do anything other than what I do which is just try to make my contribution and be who I am and go from there.

Q You said earlier that---

A It can't. I mean there is no way. Because it is something that doesn't reflect how I view the world or what I think I'm trying to do. So I can't really take too much time worrying about it.

Q You said earlier that you enjoy campaigning--- and you talked about getting up and speaking on behalf of the President. Can you give us an idea of what you do behind the scenes as far as providing advise to the President, political advice to the President, in his political ---. And do you see yourself as --- ---

A Well, I don't know. I'm really hoping to meet Anonymous someday because he certainly knows a lot about me, whoever Anonymous might be. I don't think there is any way to respond to the constant anonymous quotes about people in public life and where they come from and what's the motivation behind them and what their real agenda might be. So I don't really, you know...

Q --- As far as behind the scenes advise to the President?

A I have given my husband advise whenever he has asked for it ever since we've been married and I will keep doing that. That's part of our marriage and part of our partnership.

Q Harold and George and ...

A They're wonderful people. They are just the best people and they are doing a good job.

Q I'd like to come back to the trip that you've just completed. There was a lot of hope and optimism about the future but each of the countries that we were in , over history, has been rolled over time and again by the major powers in Europe, by Russia, by Germany, by France. Why do you think it's going to be different this time?

A Well, I don't know, Gene, that anybody can predict the future but I think part of what American interests are is to do all that we can to help create conditions that make it different. There is no way that we are going to be able to determine or control events from afar. But we know what has happened in our own history when circumstances in Europe forced us to intervene on behalf of freedom and democracy. So it is in America's interests to be as engaged in Europe as possible, to support democracy. We believe strongly in our country that free people are unlikely to a wage war against their neighbors and are more likely to live peacefully with each other. And we have a real personal stake in doing everything we can to make this region of the world as free and democratic and prosperous as possible. So I don't know that any of us can predict what will happen in 10, 20 or 50 years but I know that what my husband is trying to do by staying engaged here is absolutely the right strategy for us to follow.

Q But there seems to be superficiality in American politics when it comes to discussing these kinds of issues. Senator Dole, for example, has been criticizing your husband for not extending --- a sizeable segment of his party believes in Fortress America. They --- Does a trip like this, how is it played back home, you think, in terms of educating the American people ---

A Well I don't know but I hope it plays some role. You know, based on the mail and the contacts that I have people after the trips that I take it seems to affect some groups of Americans. They seem to get an idea of what's going on in other countries because we don't cover a lot of foreign affairs on our television and in our newspapers in the same depth that some other societies do and so it give people a chance to see these places through my experience and I think that's good. I know that coming back from places like South Asia or South America there was a tremendous outpouring of interest that I received personally from people. And I would expect the same from this trip. I don't think it's going to have any affect on our policy and politics at the national level but I think these personal contacts and connections and insights into what goes on in

other countries over time could affect how people see what America's interests are and what we should be doing to make sure that we have a safe and stable future.

Q A lot of Americans, as you mentioned repeatedly, come from the countries that you've visited.

A That's right.

Q Was that taken into account in planning the trip? These people vote and they live in states like Michigan,___ New Jersey and Pennsylvania and ---

A Well I don't think that that was so much a factor although I'm sure that played in some peoples' minds as - during the time this trip was first discussed some months ago, it was thought that we needed to something around the time of the Russian election to visit these countries. And I was lucky enough to be asked to go. And I think it is important for people in America who trace their roots to these countries to know that America is not going to forget about them. But it is equally important for the people living there now who are worried about their own economic futures and what's going to happen in the future with their neighbors, to know that America is not forgetting about them, either. So it's a combination, I think, of both domestic interests and concerns as well as what needs to be done to encourage the people who are in Central Europe and the Baltic region.

Q You seem to have been very warmly received where ever you've gone. They've given you flowers, they've kissed your hand. In the States, though, it seems that you spend a lot of time at war with your critics. By your own estimation, what do you think it is that people in Europe see, that some Americans don't?

A Well Joe, none of you, that I know of, has ever traveled with me domestically, so you don't see what I experience. The national press does not cover me when I go to make a speech or visit a school. It is not of interest at the national level. And I have to say that I get the same response and it's as much to do with the position as the person just as it is here in Europe. It has as much to do with the position. But I wish I could interest the national press in, you know, seeing what I see in America. I mean it's very important for me to do the kind of work encouraging people in our own country so that if I go to an inner city school in Philadelphia or Corpus Christi or the San Fernando Valley or up to a small school outside of Duluth, Minnesota. I sense and feel the same kind of positive energy that you have seen here in Europe from people who are not involved in their own minds, with national politics, but are deeply involved in making their schools better, in keeping their streets safe. I had a children's forum in Denver that was co-hosted with Governor Romer and we sat and talked for about three hours with a group of children ranging in age from like 8 to 18 about what was happening in their lives. We talked with experts who work with them every day. We talked with people in the audience and the same kind of concern and energy that you saw in the forums here was exhibited there at home but it is not considered newsworthy at home.

At it gets local coverage. I mean people in the local communities are very interested in it because they like knowing that people in their communities are trying to solve problems. And somehow, what I've been trying to do for the last three years, and particularly the last year and a half is to point out solutions to problems in America. So that just as we tried on this trip to encourage people dealing with difficult problems in their own countries I want to encourage people dealing with difficult problems in my own country. And it is a little frustrating, I think, for the people who are involved in these programs and issues because they want more people to know what they are trying to achieve and yet it does not get that much attention. So I will continue going around and supporting what I see as very important efforts and hope that through my visits and the attention more people will take heart and do more on behalf of themselves.

Q I need to follow up on a --- question. When did you first meet --- when did you become aware that you ---

A Gee, I don't have any idea. I don't recall meeting him for the first couple of years we were in the White House. I just don't know him. I have met him since then but my best memory is sometime within the last year is the first time I ever put a face and a name together.

Q What surprised you on this trip, what do you know now that---

A I am not surprised but I am very heartened at how people look to the United States and how what we do really does matter and how the kinds of investments that we've made in this region in the last several years both through our Government and through private business and our own not to profit sector are really making a big difference and helping people in these countries. And I guess the help I have is that these relationships that have been built up both between governments but even more importantly between people are going to really stand the test of time. And that a lot of the people we met on this trip are going to continue to commit themselves to their own countries' future and to their democratic institutions. And you know, I'm always amazed when I come from places like these, how much we take for granted at home. You know we met people who were imprisoned, we've met people who were exiled, we've met people who were physically mistreated and intimidated and a lot of them are real optimists. Not that they are not realists, also. They understand how hard life is and cruel history can be and how difficult it is for people to really have the opportunity to live their own lives. But they get up every day and they believe that and they work for that. And I think that is what we need to be doing at home as well because we certainly have so much to be grateful for.

Q In that same vein, you have met ... and the context is different but being in the position that you are in, has taken a certain toll. People died, people have been indicted, some people from Arkansas who came with you, you have had difficulties (inaudible). Do you think that ... What kind of price do you think you had to pay, you

know, being in the position that you are in right now?

A Oh, I think life is filled with costs and benefits and you know, you just do the best you can. I don't think about my life that way. I am just, I feel so lucky to be doing what I am doing and meeting the people that I am meeting and learning what I am learning that I consider it to be a very positive experience for me despite, you know, the obvious ups and downs that come with any one in public life these days.

Q When you, a little on the same vein, you have talked a lot about admiring Eleanor Roosevelt. Eleanor Roosevelt has had a legacy. That was not necessarily clear at the time. There were people who absolutely loathed her when she was alive even though she did remarkable things that people look to now. And likewise, in some ways, regardless of what you have tried to do, you have become a lightning rod for all the divisions, ideological divisions that people in this country, in the United States, seem to feel at this time. What would you like your legacy as First Lady to be? What would you like 25 years from now that people say about you when the dust has cleared?

A I don't know yet because I don't ... I hope we are not done. I hope my husband will be re-elected and that there will be, you know, additional time for him to work on what he is doing and for me to help. So I don't know, I don't, I don't have a real good idea about that. I can only tell you that what I have done for more than 25 years is what I care about. And if it has helped people or if it has raised issues or if it has provoked people to think more about the rights and responsibilities of women and children and what we need to do for families, then maybe that is a good contribution. But I don't have anything beyond that to really say to that.

Q Lets go back a little bit. Omar Palo (?) as you know expressed concerned about the safety about her husband and family, talked about the letters she had had, about the angry bitterness there. As a result thereof she was afraid for her husband's safety. As a wife and a mother is that something that has worried you?

A Well, you think about it but I don't let it worry me. There is nothing I can do about it. I mean that is what the Secret Service is for. That is what the people who are supposed to look out for all of those concerns do all day. You would be paralyzed, you would not do anything, if that is what you thought about day in and day out and so I don't.

Q I really don't want to belabor this, but did I understand you on the Livingston question, that you really don't have a memory of knowing him until this all happened?

A Ron. I did not know his mother. I did not know him. I did not have anything to do with his being hired. And I do not remember even meeting him until some time in the last year. So it does not mean I did not run into him. It does not mean that I didn't shake his hand in a receiving line. All of that could have happened. But in terms of

any connection with this young man or any kind of relationship with him there was none.

Q You talked yesterday at the maternity hospital in Tallinn about the health care reform. Do you still believe there is a place for sensible government regulation. If your husband is re-elected do you see that issue being revisited.

A Well, I think that, you know, Bill has already said that he would the Kassenbaum-Kennedy bill passed which would be good, sensible regulation. He has already proposed some efficiency measures for Medicare and Medicaid. So I think there are definitely steps that he has already talked about that can and should be taken in the next four years to make sure that our health care system remains of the quality that it has been. And I believe that we also have to make sure that people can afford to use it in the future.

Q But that quality is declining as the country moves towards (inaudible). Do you see a role for yourself again in getting into this thing trying to reform the system in a way that (inaudible)

A Well, I am going to continue to speak out. I mean I happen to have very strong feelings about what we need to do in our health care system to make sure it is there for all of us with the quality and accessibility that Americans have come to take for granted. So any role that I can play in advocating any changes that would benefit Americans I am going to continue to do that.

Thank you.

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The

NEWSHOUR

with Jim Lehrer

Tuesday, May 28, 1996

Arlington, Virginia

ANCHOR: JIM LEHRER

NEWSMAKER: HILLARY CLINTON

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MR. LEHRER: Mrs. Clinton, welcome.

HILLARY CLINTON: Welcome.

MR. LEHRER: The jury on the Whitewater trial in Little Rock, the deliberations, what do you and the President have at stake?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, we shouldn't have anything at stake, if people were actually looking at the tape and what it's about. There has been no indication that my husband--the only allegation that was ever made about him in the last four years was made by David Hale, who everyone, the prosecution and the defense and the people following the trial--so I don't think there is anything at stake. Obviously, we know the people involved. We are concerned about our fate and anything affecting either of us, it doesn't really matter which way it comes out with regard to us.

MR. LEHRER: Well, the conventional wisdom, as you know, is if there is an acquittal, the people say there isn't anything to this, wrap it up. If there's a conviction, people will say, well, there is something to it, the case should go on. Do you agree with that conventional wisdom? Forget about the specifics of the case.

HILLARY CLINTON: Listen, the conventional wisdom about Whitewater always is take any straw you can to go on, so I don't have any doubt that there are those who will say it should go on. I just would like to tell them, go on where, we've been going on four years, every time there's been an official investigation. That proved out to be the case. So I don't have any doubt that since so much of this is politically inspired it will go on almost regardless of what happens anywhere. It has a life of its own.

MR. LEHRER: Politically inspired by whom, what political group is this doing all of this? An awful lot of people involved in the U.S. Senate, the prosecutors, FBI agents, and all that, I mean, who is behind this conspiracy?

HILLARY CLINTON: Oh, Jim, I don't know. As someone watching it and someone who's been caught up in it, certainly there are many people who for a number of years have been opposed to my husband and his policies, have been deeply involved in, uh, stirring all this up. And I hope that it comes to an end. It should be. It should be wrapping up since there's no there there, it ought to finally be put to rest as we have now seen David Hale's accusations against my husband put to rest. They are discredited; they should be off the radar screen. But every time I think that's the case, it seems to get a new burst of energy from somewhere.

MR. LEHRER: What about the campaign, do you think it'll come up in the campaign?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, I hope not. It doesn't have anything to do with anything that the American people--we're in a presidential campaign, uh, there's no factual basis for the charges, so it should not be in the campaign, but do I think it will be in the campaign? Of course, it will be in the campaign. I think everything, including the kitchen sink, will be in the campaign. So I don't have any doubt that, uh, people who are opposed to my husband will say or do anything in this campaign which I regret, but nevertheless it will happen.

MR. LEHRER: You said this before, that you think this is going to be a nasty campaign. Why? Why do you think this one is going to be particularly nastier than others?

HILLARY CLINTON: I think that unfortunately a lot of our campaigns have gotten nasty and mean-spirited in the past years. I think it's because when people do not have their own vision for what this country should do, don't have a positive program to help people get and keep jobs or provide health care, better education, or keep the environment clean, then you're more likely to see a campaign based on personality. And I don't think that that's good news, but I hope that the American people will see it for what it is. We have a lot of confidence in the American public and

expect that will be what they'll do.

MR. LEHRER: Well, what about your husband's own campaign put out a commercial in the last couple of days which accuses Sen. Dole of being a quitter, uh, because he quit, he quit because of the gridlock in the Senate, running from his responsibilities as Senate Majority Leader in order to run for President, is that, is that clean campaigning?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, I think if you'll remember the President has been the subject of relentless attacks by everyone, including the other side, raising all kinds of questions about him that often have no basis in fact, and this President knows that he wants to run a campaign based on the issues but at the same time, the issues have to move through the Congress. And we've had months where this President has said, come, let's work this out, you know, I'll move toward you, I'll try to figure out a way to get a balanced budget that I can live with. Here's one that works in seven years, and instead of working on that, we find that there's no real response on the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, so I think it's a fair statement of the facts. And it is something that, you know, the President didn't do. He's just commenting to his own position that this is something he wishes had happened, that we could still be trying to do America's business, instead of be out campaigning.

MR. LEHRER: To my point, the point that's been made in the "New York Times" and the "Washington Post" in the last couple of days, that that's a personal attack on Sen. Dole. You don't--

HILLARY CLINTON: It's a statement of fact. I don't think it's a personal attack. I mean, he quit the Senate. That is something that people will have to judge on their own.

MR. LEHRER: So it shouldn't be interpreted as an attack on his integrity or his character and that sort of thing, as it has been?

HILLARY CLINTON: I don't think so. I don't see it that way.

MR. LEHRER: Not in the category with these attacks that have been made against your husband?

HILLARY CLINTON: It has been relentless four years. I don't think it comes close.

MR. LEHRER: Yeah. Well, who stops it? Because everybody always says the other guy started it, the other guys are always worse, and everybody complaints about it. The people who do it complain about it and then turn right around and do it. Whose responsibility is it to stop nasty campaigns?

HILLARY CLINTON: I don't think, I don't think that we're talking about nasty campaigns, and I don't see that you're talking about that ad as nasty campaigning. I think it's everyone's responsibility to try to talk about the issues, and that's what my husband has done, as a candidate, as President, he talked about what he wanted to do when he ran in '92. He's been doing it. He's talked about what he wants to do in this campaign and beyond. Uh, it's hard to have a one-way conversation. He, you know, has said over and over again, uh, here's what I want to do on crime, here's what I've done, here's what I will do, here's how I want to move on welfare, uh, here's how I would balance the budget without hurting Medicare or Medicaid, or undermining education or the environment. Uh, it's difficult for the people's business to be done when there's not much of a response on the other side. So I don't see that as a comment on negative campaigning. I think it's just a description of the situation we find ourselves in right now.

MR. LEHRER: How involved are you going to be in making decisions like run that advertisement, don't run that one, this one is fair, this one is unfair? Is that something you're going to do on a regular basis?

HILLARY CLINTON: I haven't even seen the advertisement. I've only read about it. That's not part

of what I'm doing in the campaign, and it is up to the team that the President has pulled together, all of whom are extremely capable. If I have opinions or suggestions, I'll offer them, but I'm not part of making the final decision. The final decision is made by the President, and that's the way it's always been. You know, my husband has run--I've lost track of how many campaigns since I've known him in our more than 20 years of marriage, and he makes the decisions. He gets a lot of info, but it's his campaign.

MR. LEHRER: Is his famous two-for-one deal still in effect?

HILLARY CLINTON: (laughing) I don't know. Do you think there's a fire sale somewhere? We could put it up--(laughing)--I don't have any idea. I mean, I find all of this a little bit, you know, funny, I suppose. My husband and I have been husband and wife and best friends and partners for a very long time. We work together. We support each other, and I think most married couples that stay together as long as we have are in the same boat. I mean, so, you know, I'm going to be there for him. I'm going to do whatever I can, and that's part of what I believe in, and that's what I'll be doing in this campaign.

MR. LEHRER: Are you comfortable with the fact that the polls show that for the first time maybe since Eleanor Roosevelt that you are a First Lady that people have strong enough opinions about pro as well as con that they might cast a vote because of that, in other words, I think Hillary Clinton is terrific, I'm going to vote for Bill Clinton, I think Hillary Clinton is lousy, I'm not going to vote for Bill Clinton. The polls show this is the first time this has happened in a long time. Are you comfortable with that?

HILLARY CLINTON: I don't believe that.

MR. LEHRER: You don't believe it?

HILLARY CLINTON: I don't believe that people vote for President based on spouses. I don't even think they vote much based on vice presidents or any other factor. I think they choose between the two people who are running. Somebody sent me a button from one of the Roosevelt campaigns that said, "I don't like Eleanor either," so I think that a lot of people who make up their mind about my husband also have an opinion about me and if they like my husband, they're more likely to like me, if they don't like my husband, they're not as likely, which I think is the way it goes.

MR. LEHRER: But you don't--you're not suggesting that the polls are wrong in that it's an unusual situation that you have, I mean, that, that the strong, the strong opinions that people have about you, they're positive as well as very negative, because it's very unusual, you're not challenging that?

HILLARY CLINTON: Oh, no. I know people have strong opinions but I just don't think that it will in the end influence very much of anybody's vote for President.

MR. LEHRER: Now, then if there is a Clinton second term, are you going to do things like you did before on health care reform, take special projects of that nature?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, you know, I've continued to do a lot of that. I worked, umm, at my husband's request on Gulf War issues related to illnesses that our veterans had, and I'm so pleased today that the President made the announcement about agent orange. And I would predict at some point in the future--I don't know when or under what circumstances--we'll learn some more about what happened to a lot of our folks in the Gulf too. Uh, but I've worked on a variety of other issues. I will continue to do that. Umm, I like helping to solve people's problems. I like working with the President. We have a lot of fun when he asks me to do something, so I anticipate that in the second term I'll continue to be part of trying to help and do whatever I can to help the country.

MR. LEHRER: So the public perception that you got your nose bloodied on health care reform, you're not going to do that anymore, that's not true?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, I don't know that I will take a high visibility position with a, you know, a great big target on my face again, umm, on an issue that is as controversial as that, but I certainly will continue to work to try to improve health care, particularly for children. I think it's just a very sad state of affairs that when the President started, we had 37 million uninsured Americans and now it's over 41 million. So we're going in the wrong direction, and we've seen that progress can be made on some fronts, but we have some business ahead of us like getting the Congress to pass out the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill so that the President could sign it in a form that will actually try to help people. So there's a lot of work that I would like to see happen in a second term that if I could be helpful doing, I will.

MR. LEHRER: How does it work? You feel strongly about some issues. Let's take children's issues. Do you talk to the President about it directly? Do you go to the chief of staff? Do you go to a cabinet officer? How do you get your strong opinions voiced within the administration these days?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, I think it depends upon the issues. Umm, I talk to my husband about everything. We talk constantly, and, umm, you know, he tells me sometimes why what I think wouldn't work or thinks it's a good idea and he'll look into it, but sometimes I talk to other people in the administration as well. It depends upon what it is we're trying to achieve. You know, I've worked very hard, for example, to set up partnerships with American hospitals and hospitals particularly in the former Soviet Union that don't have resources that they need. Now that's something that, you know, I and my staff will work on with people in the State Department or people in the Defense Department and my husband will know about it and the chief of staff may know about it, but it doesn't make headlines. It's not something that anybody is really focused on, and so that's kind of the way it works, what can make a difference based on what I've seen and learned or what the President asks me to do.

MR. LEHRER: Let me ask you about the "Time" Magazine interview about, uh, is--are you and the President seriously considering adopting a child?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, if you read the interview--

MR. LEHRER: I did, every word.

HILLARY CLINTON: What I said is that for years we wanted to have another child and, umm, we have from time to time talked about adopting a child. And I've publicly talked about that. This is not the first time. In fact, I did an interview with Larry King three years ago and I talked about it. All of a sudden it's news, and if it can help people think about adoption, I hope that they will, because I've been very involved in trying to promote adoption because we have so many children in our country who need and deserve a home. But this is on kind of the back burner for us until after the election, umm, because we can't really go much beyond the talking stage right now.

MR. LEHRER: But is it a serious possibility that if, if the President is reelected, that you would adopt a child here and bring a new--an adopted child into the First Family?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, we would certainly consider it, but it hasn't gotten beyond the talking point, and so I don't want to say anything more than that. But I have, I've spent a lot of time helping kids, encourage adoption, and talk about adoption. I've had a number of events here at the White House that are aimed at promoting adoption. I really believe in it, and you know whether or not it's something that my husband and I eventually decide to do I hope other people who aren't in as high a visibility position as we are, for example, might consider it. You know, I worry. I've talked with specialists in this area about what it would mean to bring a child, especially an older child, into a home where not just living in the White House, in your position, in any position where somebody's in the public eye, that would pose extra special burdens for a child, so there are lots of things we would have to think about. But if by talking about it, I can encourage more people to adopt, I hope they will.

MR. LEHRER: Why do think this thing has become such a big deal suddenly, if you say you've talked about this before?

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, people have short memories, but, you know, I can give you a long list of all the places I've talked about it, including just three weeks ago in the Roosevelt Room, when I had a Mother's Day event about adoption, and I've said, you know, we've always wanted to have more children but it didn't end up on the front cover of a major news weekly. I think that makes the difference.

MR. LEHRER: That's makes a difference.

HILLARY CLINTON: You know, I have learned a lot about how you can say the same things over and over and over again publicly and privately but then all of a sudden somebody makes a decision that is news and it's news.

MR. LEHRER: It depends on who's listening at any given moment. Your book has been a terrific success. How many weeks has it been on the best seller list?

HILLARY CLINTON: I don't know. It's been on I think 16 weeks or so, something like that.

MR. LEHRER: Yeah. Are you ever going to write another book?

HILLARY CLINTON: Absolutely. Now there I can tell you I know I'm going to do that.

MR. LEHRER: Are you going to write a book about your experiences as First Lady?

HILLARY CLINTON: At some point I will do that, yes.

MR. LEHRER: Do you know what the theme will be?

HILLARY CLINTON: Umm, I don't know. I'm sure there will be a big section about, uh, hairstyles and probably raucous dinner conversations I've had with you and others in Washington and maybe what I've learned and how I see Washington from the perspective of living in this wonderful house.

MR. LEHRER: Yeah. Are you keeping a diary? Are you keeping good notes on what's happened to you?

HILLARY CLINTON: Heavens no! It could get subpoenaed. I can't write anything. (laughing)

MR. LEHRER: So well, when it comes time to write this book, you're just going to sit down and try to remember all this?

HILLARY CLINTON: I have tons of, you know, schedules and information and all that stuff, but you know, there's been a real crimp put in history by these absurd investigations that have gone on where people, you know, don't even want to, you know, say I had dinner last night with because if you say that, the person you had dinner with is likely to get called before some committee somewhere.

MR. LEHRER: But is that a serious issue that, that you, the First Lady of the United States of America, would hesitate to make a diary because you're afraid it might be subpoenaed?

HILLARY CLINTON: It's not a question of hesitation. It's a question of realism. You know, I, I know very well--I--you know, I will say again what I said at the beginning, that since my husband declared for the Presidency back in '91, umm, there have been an enormous number of attacks and assaults coming from all directions on him, and when he became President, there were many in this

town and elsewhere who didn't think he should have won and didn't think that he had any right to be here, and so we have lived with this, umm, extraordinary kind of atmosphere unfortunately, and I just think it's the better part of wisdom not to do something like that.

MR. LEHRER: They'd love to get their hands on your diary.

HILLARY CLINTON: Of course they would and then they'd go after and persecute every friend of mine, everybody I've ever talked with, everyone I've had a conversation with, what did she really say, who can remember those things, but, you know, that are of importance only to try to make a case against somebody? It's very sad.

MR. LEHRER: And that sadness will be in your book when do write it?

HILLARY CLINTON: Oh, of course, it will. I mean, I think it's not from a sad--only on a personal level--it's sad, umm, collectively. You know, I talk to older members of Congress, for example, and they tell me how much fun they used to have getting to know each other, spending time with each other, maybe having disputes or disagreements over issues, but treating each other with civility and respect. Umm, we are just living in an evidence-free zone right now where people feel they can say or do anything to those of us in public life and you know we'll survive it, we're not, you know, we're not worried about us personally, but it's a commentary on the times we live in and what's important. To me what's important is dealing with the problems people come to me to talk about, you know, keeping their jobs in the face of downsizing, finding health care if your child's gotten sick, you know, reforming welfare in a way that provides some kind of child care so people can go to work, umm, keeping the environment clean, the things that are on people's minds that they want their government to deal with, and instead, we have all these silly hearings that last longer than, you know, anything than analyzing Medicare changes that were proposed, things that will really affect how people live, I don't think that it makes for good government. It is not a good way for our democracy to operate.

MR. LEHRER: Mrs. Clinton, thank you very much.

HILLARY CLINTON: Thank you.

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LARRY KING LIVE Transcript #1752

May 20, 1996

Interview with Hillary Rodham Clinton

LARRY KING: *[voice-over]* Tonight, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is next on *Larry King Live*.
ANNOUNCER: Now, live from Washington, here's Larry King.
LARRY KING: Good evening, a full hour is promised with Hillary Clinton to kick off a king-sized week on CNN. Hillary was supposed to be with us a few weeks back but tragedy occurred with the death of Ron Brown— what do you make, by the way, of these tragedies in the Administration? The Admiral, Ron, Vince — what's the—
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, First Lady of the 'ted States: Well, of course, the accident with Ron on was terrible, unexpected and unpredictable. And we lost so many other people along with him. The suicide of the Admiral is just unbelievably sad. On a personal level it's a great loss. I don't know if you ever had a chance to meet him, but what a—
LARRY KING: Once I met him; I never got to interview him though.
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, what a great guy. I mean, the kind of person who just would light up a room, make you feel so at ease, and the times he was at the White House, sometimes alone, sometimes with his wife, Betty, he would be sure to say hello and thank you to all of the people who worked there. I— I think it's a great loss for everybody.
LARRY KING: What do you make of it?
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't know that we can make anything of it, other than, you know, the stresses of the kinds of jobs that people have today with the extraordinary scrutiny that everyone is under and the relentless and unforgiving glare that people who live in public life are subjected to. But then, I think there is also always, you know, underlying issues of depression or vulnerability. So, as I said, when our friend Vince took his life, I don't know that any of us who are left will ever know all the reas why.
RRY KING: You never really know.
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't think so, Larry.
LARRY KING: But in this case he said in a note—
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.
LARRY KING: —that it was he was going to embarrass the Navy. And Admiral Zumwalt, here Friday night, said, "It ain't that big a deal."
— — — — Well, I don't know if explanation that it was an honest mistake, if indeed it was. And, of course, Admiral Zumwalt, for whom I have the highest regard, has said to you and has said to others, there wasn't even a mistake. But in today's atmosphere,which is so highly charged, a lie is halfway around the world before the truth can get out of someone's mouth.
LARRY KING: What do you make of that atmosphere. Like, what — on right wing talk radio you are rapped every day.
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.
LARRY KING: This is like a common occurrence.
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.
LARRY KING: Tabloids—
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.
LARRY KING: —take you on. You have been probably more vilified than most. How do you deal with it?
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I think there has been a lot of that for everybody in public life. You, for example, have not escaped it either. Anyone who is in the public arena. I think it is regrettable, I think it creates a climate in which peoples respect for one another, respect for institutions, the feeling that we are all in this together, that people are trying to do the best they can — is a victim of that kind of mentality . And as a result, I think people are reluctant to believe anything or anybody. They kind of back off and that breeds, at least in the political process, I think , apathy and cynicism because of all of the negativity that is out there.
LARRY KING: Do you ever get used to it?
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't think you can get used to it. I think what you do, as Eleanor Roosevelt — who is one of my great heroines — said, you know, you just grow as thick a skin as you possibly can and you try to take criticism seriously, but not personally. But sometimes that is difficult, especially for people who have had a whole life and a whole career where they have been lauded and successful all of a sudden to get into this arena, where the rules really are different than they are anywhere else. And to be criticized for the first time. I think unless you've had some getting used to it, it could be devastating.
LARRY KING: Would you want Chelsea to marry a major political figure or a major show business figure or a celebrity who makes the press a lot.
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I want her to marry or have a life that is the best for her based on the decisions that she makes at the time.
LARRY KING: Would you be worried, though, if she chose that route?
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I hope by that time, we will have come to our senses—
LARRY KING: Ha, ha.
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —and that people will be giving each other the benefit of the doubt a little more and not be looking to tear other people down at the expense of other peoples reputations, regardless of the truth or the evidence. A friend of mine said the other day that sometimes he thinks we live in an evidence-free world — because it doesn't really matter. And sometimes

the note has been released, I've seen the press accounts of it. And he seemed to believe that no one would accept his too, you know, the truth is not always so easily described

or put into eight or 10 seconds.

So, I would hope that by the time she's ready for that kind of decision that all of us, whether in the political arena, or the business world, or the media, will say "You know, we don't need to do this to each other."

LARRY KING: Frank Sinatra said half-truths are worse.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh.

LARRY KING: Because it takes you longer to explain them.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, he's had a lot of experience, hasn't he?

LARRY KING: Yes, I was in the restaurant, but I didn't sit over there.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm. Yeah. Well, I hope that all of us, regardless of our politics or ideology, will say, "Look, we don't need to be doing this to each other, let's try to be civil, let's be successful. Let's judge people on their whole performance, their whole life, not on one little thing.

LARRY KING: Lots of bases to cover. Were you surprised at the success of *It Takes A Village*?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I was— I was surprised. Because it's a sort of a different kind of a book, you ? It's not a memoir, and it's not a strictly policy wonk ..., but it does talk about my 25 years of work on behalf of children and my experience as a daughter and a wife and a mother. So it's kind of a hybrid.

LARRY KING: They say it's terrific. Plus it had an extraordinary run, didn't you?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, it's still on the best seller list. I am very gratified by that. But, you know and tell me about having read it , of having been assigned to read it, in a class — which I am very pleased about. I was over at the Omni Shoreham the other day and a woman in the catering department came up and told me that her son had read it in class and he really thought it was a good book. Those are the kinds of stories that I really cherish, because I had hoped by this book to get a conversation going about what our kids need, what works for families and how all of us have responsibilities.

LARRY KING: More in a minute with the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Clinton. A lot to talk about. We will get into it. We will include your phone calls as well.

And tomorrow night, the complete cast of *60 Minutes*, you remember them?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: They will be here tomorrow night, don't go away.

[Commercial break]

LARRY KING: I think this is our sixth visit together. It's always great to have her, especially to kick of a week like this — Hillary Rodham Clinton the First Lady of the United States.

I know there are some things that have occurred in the past few months that we haven't heard you comment on.

LARRY KING: Were you— were you— your husband was pained, we're you hurt by Bill Safire's 'Liar' column?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No.

LARRY KING: You were not?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No. No.

LARRY KING: Why not?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Why should I be? I mean there are some people who criticize my husband and everything he stands for for a living and he's one of them. So, it doesn't bother me. It's just too bad that he goes to such an extreme.

LARRY KING: So, in other words when you read it and heard about it, nothing?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Now, my mother was insulted.

LARRY KING: Ha, ha. That's always a mother, isn't it? They took it— she took it personally?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: She takes it personally because she's a mother, you know? I'm sure I'd feel the same way if I were in her position. She said to me the other day, she said "You know, Hillary, when you were growing up, you never gave your father or me a sleepless night. Now that you and Bill are in the White House we hardly ever sleep a night through." So—

LARRY KING: How about— was there a lot of pain at the correspondent's dinner which got such widespread attention?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Not— not really. Not personally. Again, I mean that's—

LARRY KING: You looked stunned.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I was stunned about people [illegible] what

LARRY KING: Really?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —I think it has gone so far, it's so absurd, that I just turn it off. But when I heard it said about other people that did shock me. But— that's— that's, you know, that's his business.

LARRY KING: Well, what do you— what do you— Let's— so that— that's very interesting. What about you are we entitled to know? How much of your— do we— do we have to know your happiness or unhappiness? Do we have to know — what about your personal life goes to the public?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, what don't we know? I mean I'm not sure that—

LARRY KING: Yeah, but what should we know?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, that I can't answer because I have a different sense of what privacy is and how people should lead their lives and how you try to construct a life of integrity and I have been, as I've said before, rezoned, since I've been in Washington. So I accept the fact that people want to know all kinds of things and I will do the best job I can to answer them.

LARRY KING: Has it changed you?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No.

LARRY KING: Not at all?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No. I don't believe so.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Ha, ha, ha.

I mean, I hope as— I hope as every year goes by and I get

older, I hope that, you know, I get to be a better person if I can be. I mean—

LARRY KING: But it hasn't hardened you at all, toughened you?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I mean, I think what prepared me most for Washington was playing lots of sports with boys in my neighborhood growing up. I'm so used to them razzing each other and razzing me, that it, you know, it — you know, I think — that's why I urge girls to play competitive sports with boys at an early age. And I am so glad more do now. I think a lot of this is just part of the atmosphere now. And I know that it's not easy, it's painful sometimes. It does upset me — I am not going to sit here and say that when people come up with all these charges that they just roll off my back, but I just deal with them the best I can and go on.

LARRY KING: Does it affect you and the relationship with the President?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No. No.

LARRY KING: In other words, you don't 'take it upstairs'?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, we do just to support each other. I mean, that's— I don't know how you would go through this alone. I don't know how you know, anybody could take that kind of pressure without some-

who loved them and supported them and was there

em, and we are for each other. So, it has— it has not

ected our relationship, except to, you know—

LARRY KING: Strengthen it?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't know that strengthen— I mean, we've always had such an extraordinary partnership, as well as marriage, best friends as well as husband and wife. It's given us, you know, some new challenges to meet together, but that seems to be par for the course these days.

LARRY KING: I went to the mall today, saw a movie, you told me that was your favorite thing you used to do with Chelsea when you were First Lady —

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Yeah. I love going to movies.

LARRY KING: —when was the last time you walked through a mall with your daughter?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, a long, long time. I can't even remember, right now.

LARRY KING: How do you deal with that as a wife and then raising a child.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, we've tried to make it possible for her to have as normal a life as possible. But, it isn't easy and certainly for my husband it's practically impossible. He can't get out and you know, walk through the mall easily, or—

LARRY KING: Because he likes doing it?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, he loves it.

RRY KING: His instinct is to do that.

LARY RODHAM CLINTON: Absolutely. I mean no— he loves people. He genuinely loves people; he loves meeting them, he loves hearing their stories, he loves helping them. And we could lead that kind of life before, we can't now. But we try to you know, occasionally get out to a store, you know, go for a long walk, I did that, even yesterday, in that terrible heat.

LARRY KING: Where to?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: In Washington.

LARRY KING: You walked in Washington?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I did. I walked in Washington. Yeah, I had a friend and I went out for a long walk.

LARRY KING: Did people stop you on the street?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No.

LARRY KING: You had sunglasses.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Of course, it was so hot out there.

LARRY KING: Talk a little politics. First, Elizabeth Dole. That's an interesting contrast. Elizabeth Dole was a Democrat early on, then she became a Republican. You were a Republican, you were for Goldwater, right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: And now you are a Democrat. Do you know Elizabeth Dole?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Not well. I have met her, certainly, yeah.

LARRY KING: Like her?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't know her well, but I admire her work.

LARRY KING: Do you think she could be First Lady and President of the American Red Cross?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: You know, I am going to say about that what I have said about questions concerning me or other women and their lives — I think each woman has to make the choices that are right for her and her family and if that's what she believes is right for her and her husband, then I would support her in doing that.

LARRY KING: It's fair to ask because you know the job, right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Right. Right.

LARRY KING: Now you know it and she doesn't. No one else knows what being First Lady is like except Nancy, and Barbara and Betty.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: Right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: And— and Rosalynn.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: They are the ones who know. So what would you— can you go 9-5? Somewhere else?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, it depends upon what you are going to give up. It's like any other choice a woman makes. I mean, if you are going to be full-time 9-5, or — in the kind of job you are describing, that's not 9-5—

LARRY KING: No, it's travel and—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —that's a much bigger job, then there are certain things you will have to delegate that you cannot do yourself. I mean, I do a lot of work with my staff and with others in the White House, you know, dinners and social events, planning Christmas which starts in June and goes all the way through—

LARRY KING: Yeah.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —to the New Year.

ther women might make different choices and I would re-judge how somebody would fulfill their responsibilities.

LARRY KING: So, if someone asked for advice you wouldn't say do or don't?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, I would just say—

LARRY KING: It's up to them.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —"Here's what I know needs to be done, that the White House has to have done, in order for it to fulfill its responsibilities, here's how I have done it." But I don't believe in telling anyone what choice they should make. That's something they should decide based on what they think is the responsible alternative for them.

LARRY KING: More from Hillary Rodham Clinton on *Larry King Live*. Then your phone calls. *It Takes a Village* is still on the best seller lists.

Don't go away.

[Commercial break]

LARRY KING: We're back with Hillary Rodham Clinton. Politics. Are you going to campaign a lot?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, yes, very much so.

LARRY KING: Out on the hustings?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Yes, I'm going to—

LARRY KING: With the President and alone?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Yes. That's the way we've always done it for, gosh, all the 20 years of our marriage.

LARRY KING: Have they carved out a role for you different from four years ago? I mean, now you are the incumbent.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't think so. I think, I will be doing what I have always done, which is speaking on behalf of the campaign and doing whatever I can to help my husband.

LARRY KING: Have you— is it fair to say you've backed off since health care?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't think so, Larry.

LARRY KING: You don't?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, I mean, I've spent a lot of 1995 writing my book, which I cared very much about and which has some strong opinions in it about child rearing and what American society should do. I've kept a very active speaking schedule around the country. I just finished giving my second commencement this year, I give a third one on Thursday. So, I don't— I don't quite know where that came from, but I certainly don't feel, given the pace of my life and all of my obligations that I am doing anything much different.

LARRY KING: So you will speak out on issues in this campaign?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Certainly.

LARRY KING: And we will know what you're— you are not going to be Mrs. Wallflower.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, I don't think so.

LARRY KING: Some people have said that you've backed off and you are not in the combative mode that Hillary was in two years ago.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I think that is a mischaracterization. You know, two years ago, I was working on behalf of my husband's health care plan which he and I both felt very strongly about. We spoke about it separately, together. We tried to explain it to people and since then, I have talked about a lot of other issues and have been in many events in the White House and around the country on matters, but nothing that has risen to the level of public interest or controversy that the health care issue did. So people may not know everything I've been doing.

LARRY KING: Critics and observers, pundits who say you are the left wing of the Clinton White House.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: There is no left wing of the Clinton White House. You know, I listen to that and I don't know where those folks have been, because they certainly haven't followed my husband in the last four years, nor in the years before. I mean just take a couple of issues — you know, when he campaigned for President he said he was going to take a tough stand against crime. We'd had a lot of rhetoric before that, but he came in and in his first two years, he went after assault weapons, the Brady Bill, put another 100,000 police on the street, increased the punishment for a lot of crimes at the federal level. He's been implementing that. The crime rate has been doing down. He campaigned on what he would do, he did it, he is doing it and he will continue to do it. And if you pick any other issue, like welfare for example: he said he would end welfare as we knew it. He started by getting the earned income tax credit passed so that people who are working but hardly making a living above the poverty level, would not have incentives not to work and then he, a few days after he came into the White House met with the nation's governors and said, "I want you all to start changing welfare at the grassroots level," because he knew there would be a fight in Washington and so through 38 waivers to states, we're beginning to see some results. And he is continuing to work for a national welfare bill that doesn't penalize children, that does provide adequate day care but does move us toward moving people off of welfare.

So, I mean people who say that, I don't think have really looked at the record very closely.

LARRY KING: So you'll— you say labels don't fit. You wouldn't call yourself a liberal?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, I don't think— I don't think these labels and stereotypes work at all. Because, you know, I am someone who has always been concerned about crime, so what my husband did, I said, "Horray." I mean, what mother or woman wants to walk a lot of our streets? And I am grateful that we are finally getting the crime under some control, although we are going to have to do more on youth violence and teenage gangs, and the President has plans for that. For a long time, and when the — when my husband was Governor of Arkansas, I supported his efforts to move people from welfare to work. We were totally in agreement on that. So, I think it's, you know, it's—

LARRY KING: You are saying that's a bum rap.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Or—

J RY KING: Or it doesn't fit.

ARY RODHAM CLINTON: I am saying that it doesn't fit There is very little evidence of it. And what my husband has done, what he has said he would do, I think is right in line with his entire public record.

LARRY KING: How do you get along with Dick Morris?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Very well. He's been a friend of mine for — I hate to tell you — 18 years. I was very much in favor—

LARRY KING: You met him when I was six?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: When I was six, yes he came to my kindergarten glass to make a polling presentation.

LARRY KING: How— how important is he in this reelection. The — the cog. We— we read so much about him and know so little about him.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, there are a lot of people who are very important. But Dick has worked with my husband since 1978 and he is someone who my husband feels really does have a lot of good ideas and worked with him all through his governorship, when he really crested a lot of the new Democratic positions, that he took into the '92 campaign, that he really pioncered there. So, I think, he you know, is a very important part of the team, but it's a team and the captain is the President and all the rest of the people who work do so at his request and he makes the final decisions.

LARRY KING: So— and is it pretty much a Clinton paign? I mean— by that I mean he signs off on it.

LARY RODHAM CLINTON: He—

RRY KING: Is he easily managed is the question.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I don't think that he is 'managed' in that sense. I think what he does is bring to the campaign, as he brings to his presidency strong feelings and values about what he wants to do in America, what he wants to stand up for. That's another part of the bum rap. I mean, here is somebody who has stood up to the National Rifle Association, to get the assault weapons ban and the Brady bill, has stood up to the tobacco manufacturers on behalf of his campaign against teenage smoking. Has stood up time and again, against the majority in Congress, on behalf of whether it's Medicare, or Medicaid, or education or the environment. He has a very strong sense of where he thinks our country should go and that's where he has been leading us.

Sen. Dole leaving the Senate? And I know you to get along, because I sat with you one night at the old Dick Ziebert's [sp?] coffee and you—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Right.

LARRY KING: —and dessert—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Right.

LARRY KING: —and you seemed to really get along together, you and the Senator.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Right.

LARRY KING: Were you surprised he left?

LARY RODHAM CLINTON: I think I was as surised as nearly everybody in Washington. Yeah.

LARRY KING: Do you think it's a good idea, politically?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I— I don't really have an opin—

LARRY KING: Play reporter for the— your chance—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't really have an opinion.

LARRY KING: —to be a pundit.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, now, I do write a weekly column, but—

LARRY KING: Okay, what are you going to say about this?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I am not going to say anything about it.

LARRY KING: Well, do you think it's a smart idea?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I have no idea, Larry. I really don't. I think that, you know, there is more than I can say grace over, at home trying to figure out what I do from day to day. That is his choice, his campaign, and we will just see how things work out.

LARRY KING: Are you— how do you — how do you feel about being so far ahead in the polls?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, I don't believe it. I never believe polls, good, bad, indifferent.

LARRY KING: You don't think 10 points, or 16 points—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I think that the President has really acquired a very broad level of support in the country because people have kind of caught up on what he's been trying to do, and the impact — whether it's on the economy, or the falling crime rate, or the fact that there are now fewer people on welfare than there were when he took office, or that the deficit — which he said he would cut in half — has actually been cut in half. I think that all of that reality really begun to sunk— sink in around the country.

LARRY KING: So he is ahead.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: He is ahead, absolutely he's ahead.

LARRY KING: So when you say you don't believe them—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I don't— I don't think anybody should take anything for granted. I think politics is volatile, I have no doubt that, you know, there is going to be ups and downs in the months ahead. I am absolutely confident my husband is going to win, because I think he's the right man to be president in the country at this time, but that doesn't mean that it's going to be easy, or that it's not going to be different, that there's not going to be a lot of different challenges.

LARRY KING: The late Claude Pepper used to say always run like you are 20 points behind.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I think that's a very good piece of advice.

LARRY KING: Your relationship with the Gores, has that continued well from the campaign, where you got to know each other?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: It's been wonderful. And there is one pact that the four of us made that I would really recommend to anybody in this town or anywhere in America. We knew that there would be attempts to pit one of us against the other, or that some story might come on the screen which said, you know, "The vice president said this, or the president said that, or Mrs. Clinton or Tipper

[illegible] that—" so we made a pact at the very beginning of the [illegible] sign that we would never believe anything that was [illegible]outed to any of the others of us that if we had a problem with one of us or a question about what was happening we would just deal with it honestly. And it has been the most wonderful relationship. I am crazy about both of them—

LARRY KING: So if you read a quote attributed to Tipper—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: —that might have been critical, you call Tipper?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, sure.

LARRY KING: And discuss it right there.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Right, right. Absolutely. Now, there haven't been any that I'm aware of, so it hasn't really arisen, but that kind of honesty on the front end and saying, you know, we're not going to let people who make their living out of trying to create conflict, do that to us. And you know, if there are disagreements or is somebody thinks we ought to go this way instead of that way, then let's talk about it.

And I just only have really positive things to say about them.

LARRY KING: Do you concern yourself about things like 'Will Colin Powell run'?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, because I have no— no input—

LARRY KING: Control?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —or control over that. . that's some— that's for -- for him and his family to decide.

LARRY KING: So you— you don't — idle time concerned about him?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, I don't. I don't.

LARRY KING: We will take a break and come back with more and your phone calls for Hillary Rodham Clinton, First Lady of the United States. This is *Larry King Live*.

Wednesday night, David Letterman. Do you like him?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Yeah, he's funny.

LARRY KING: Well, David, there's a chance. We will be right back.

[Commercial break]

LARRY KING: We're back with Hillary Rodham Clinton, we're going to go to phone calls in just a couple of moments. A couple of other things to cover, we will never ever get into all of this of course.

Whitewater. the jury is out now in the other trial down there.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: And apparently they asked today fro 700 pages of documents.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: Which obviously indicates that this is [illegible] confusing.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: What's your read on that?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, one thing that's not confusing, one thing that both the prosecution and the defense agree on is that my husband had absolutely nothing to do with these allegations and that for four years now, the only allegation made against my husband was made by David Hale, who the prosecutor called in his closing argument, a notorious liar. So, I am just hoping that once and for all these allegations are discredited and will be, you know, pushed off the screen.

LARRY KING: On the day he did that testifying—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: —were you there that day?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I was in the house, yeah. But I wasn't in the room.

LARRY KING: Did you watch it?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, no.

LARRY KING: What about the allegations against you? How have you dealt with that?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, just as with these allegations against my husband. Every time there has been any kind of official investigation or report, what people alleged has been proven to be not true, and eventually that's what the American people will see of all of these politically inspired investigations.

LARRY KING: The Travelgate story—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm.

LARRY KING: —they were all on this show, all of the travel office and they said that their word that they got was that you wanted them out. I'd like to hear it from you.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I have said repeatedly ever since that happened, that I had no role in the decision of getting them out of the White House. But I did express concern. And I think that that concern was well-founded. That if somebody anywhere in Washington were misusing funds, or negligent about the use of funds, that should be looked into and taken seriously.

LARRY KING: The— the first thing, though, is if a First Lady expresses concern, that might appear to an underling to mean "I better take some action."

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, you know, I tell the story about being in France for a state dinner and meeting — it was when President Mitterand was in office, and meeting with his wife earlier in the day and at the end of our conversation she said she felt so bad that there wouldn't be any flowers on the table at the state dinner. And I said, "Well, why?" And she said, "Well, because, you know, we were told that you would not let any flowers be on any table for any dinners because of your husband's allergies." And I said, "Oh, Madame, I never said such a thing. I might have expressed some concern about my husband's allergies, but we have flowers on the table at our state dinners. Is it too late? Can you get flowers?" And she was greatly relieved.

So, that was —

LARRY KING: So you just express concern and they dump the flowers. So is it possible you expressed concern and they fired people?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No. I— I don't know what's possible because I can't speculate on what somebody heard. I know that I said, you know, if this is some-

thing that is a concern it should be looked into. But I know we have had some funny experiences in the past three years, where, you know, my husband will say, "Gee, I want a banana," and next thing you know there are bananas everywhere. So, you know, we have learned to be,you know, maybe a little bit more careful about that.

LARRY KING: Before we take some calls, what about this whole experience surprised you the most?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: That there isn't really any way to prepare for it. That when you walk in that door at the White House the day that your husband is inaugurated, you really do not know what you are walking into. You can read history, you can know that there are all kinds of experiences that people have had to go through, but until you actually are there, day in and day out, neither the wonder and the thrill and the excitement of it, nor the challenges of it seem quite real. And it's a constant adjustment. And I think it's been an extraordinary and for me it's been a very positive and wonderful experience, but I could never have predicted how I would have reacted or what would have happened to me.

LARRY KING: It ain't the First Lady of Arkansas.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, no. Nor—

LARRY KING: Nothing like it, right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —of any— anything else like it that I am aware of.

LARRY KING: Does it make you commiserate more with the Betty's and the Nancy's and the Barbara's and the Rosalynn's?

LARY RODHAM CLINTON: And also for the Presi-s. I mean, when I see how meaning is imputed to events and actions that is not in anyway related to what you thought, at the time, you were doing,or that, if you go back in history and see how every woman who has been in this position, starting with Martha Washington, was criticized, you really do develop empathy, and regardless of the political differences. And I guess that is one of the things I would like to see back here in Washington. And I've had older members of Congress of both parties, say that, you know, in the old days, 20 years ago, 10 years ago even, it was so much easier to be somebody's friend. it was easier to get to know each other. Because people saw each other as human beings and there was more empathy. So, I think that that is a lesson not just for us in the White House.

LARRY KING: We could name the whole Senate when we were kids, right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Ha, ha.

LARRY KING: What changed that do you think?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't know, Larry. I mean, a lot of scholars have written some very impressive books about the way we have changed our culture, the impact of the media, 24 hours news filling all those minutes and hours, so that things that would never have been paid attention to,you know, 10 years ago, are now more impor-than they should be perhaps. The commercial pres-s on the media. When we had three networks there ...s, you know, certain stability, and then when we had CNN, there were four, and certain stability, you know, and now when you've got 150 channels how do you communicate with people unless you are controversial and confrontational and have something nasty to say. So, I think it's a com—

LARRY KING: Or we've become gimmicky?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —well, I think it's a combinaton of a lot of, you know, pressures.

LARRY KING: We will include some of your phone calls for the First Lady. Only in America. Don't go away.

[Commercial break]

LARRY KING: We're back with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Let's take some phone calls, Scottsdale, Arizona. Hello.

1st CALLER, *[Scottsdale, Arizona]*: Hello, good evening, Larry.

LARRY KING: Hi.

1st CALLER: I have a question for Mrs. Clinton.

LARRY KING: Go ahead.

1st CALLER: What tools would you give to parents to help them raise children in this difficult generation where they are facing such tremendous pressures?

LARRY KING: Great question.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, I love that question. It's really what I wrote my book about *It Takes a Village*. And I will just say one piece of advice that I got as I was growing up that I've passed on in the book. You know, when I used to get into a jam, or be confused about a decision, my father used to say, "Well, how are you going to dig yourself out of this?" And starting when I was a little girl, I carried around this mental image of a shovel. And the shovel began to sort of stand for the tools that I would want any child to have. Starting with love, attention, discipline, feelings of self confidence that are rooted in real experience. So I would do things like reading to your child and talking to your child from the moment you have that child in the world. I would also make sure that your child has little tasks that will take some effort to accomplish. I am a big believer, for example, as silly as this may sound, in continuing to teach our children how to tie shoelaces, the old fashioned way. It's a frustrating task for those little fingers, but they have to do it and they learn how to stick to something.

Now, in my book, I give lots more examples of the kinds of tools, and as I say, you know, sometimes for me in my own life, shovels weren't enough, I needed a bulldozer. Ha, ha.

LARRY KING: There is no training for that either. There is no training for First Lady there is no training for parenting, is there? Anyone can be one.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, that's true, but the best training is the kind of parents you had and that's why I think if we support mothers and fathers, if we give families the kind of support they need to be the best parents we are going to get better outcomes and that's not just a job for the family I mean, one of the arguments that I try to make in my book is that, you know, it is not just the family who influences the child. You know, sometimes I wish I never had to send my daughter out, but she goes out to school, she goes out in the neighborhood, people who

e our streets, and all the rest of it, will influence how , treated and grows up.

LARRY KING: Long ago, when I was just starting in the business, one of the first people I interviewed was Eleanor Roosevelt and she told me the toughest job of a First Lady is raising children in the White House. It's next to impossible. How do you do that?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I think she's right. I think that it certainly is the single part of my life and my husband's that I think we've spent more time on — you know, people see the headlines, but you know, we spend time with our daughter and we try to be there for her and of course, as she's gotten older she may not have needed us as much but we still hang around hoping that, you know, we will be able to help her whether it's with homework, or just to talk. And we've tried very hard to carve out as much normal life as possible.

LARRY KING: But you are in an abnormal — for want of a better term — an unreal situation for a child, right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Yes.

LARRY KING: But you're— I remember Chelsea— she goes to friends houses—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Right, right.

LARRY KING: — and she stays overnight, they come to the White House—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: That's right.

LARRY KING: But you've got to — you've got to work at normalcy.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: You have to work very l at it. And—

RRY KING: Do you call in for pizza?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, we tried to do that one time and we weren't successful. So we — we have pizza but we don't get to call in anymore.

LARRY KING: The pizza — the pizza place didn't believe it, right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: They didn't believe it. Ha, ha.

LARRY KING: Dominoes? What are you kidding? We'll never make it in a half hour!

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: That's exactly right.

LARRY KING: No, but what — how is she — she's how old now?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: She's 16.

LARRY KING: Dating?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I am not going to answer any questions about her. I mean, that's the way that we try to give her a normal life, is that I try to keep her privacy and respect how she lives and give her as much space as possible.

LARRY KING: All right, in that venue, does she still come to you? Are you still the source of— are you Mum?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Yes.

LARRY KING: Or are you— have the peers taken over?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: No, I feel — and I k Bill feels the same way — you know, just very unate that we have a relationship with her where she does talk to us. Now, obviously she talks to her friends, she's a normal teenager. But, that's something else we started many, many years ago. I mean, we didn't just wake up one day and say, "Oh, my gosh, we have a teenager, we better start talking with her." You know, we talk with her, we've tried to be as honest to her, bring in as many pieces of information she might want, so that she can know what's going on, ever since she was a very little girl.

LARRY KING: Do you think some of it is luck, too?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, I think lots of life is luck and grace and blessings, and there are people who work so hard and just seem to be beset by misfortune and others—

LARRY KING: Black cloud?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —yeah — who just kind of skim through life. But I do think some of what you can do in life is try to maximize the chances for good luck. To try to be as good a person and to try to take care of the people who are near you, and to try to, you know, build up your own sense of gratitude for the world that you are in and share those blessings.

LARRY KING: When this is all over — let's say four years from now, which is your wish — are you going to go back to law?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't have any idea what I am going to do.

LARRY KING: Your daughter is going to be grown, right? And she will be— she will be at college.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Larry, don't say that.

LARRY KING: She will be—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I know, I know. You are introducing more reality than I can take.

LARRY KING: Do you want her to go to Yale?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I want her to go wherever she is happy.

LARRY KING: Georgetown?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I—

LARRY KING: Wherever she's happy?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Wherever she's happy, yeah. She's — she's going to start looking at that. But I don't know what I'm going to do. I think that— I hope it is, in a little over four years that I will be facing that decision with my husband and I hope I write another book. I'm interested in writing, I like the process of writing, I learned a lot from this book by the way.

LARRY KING: Just wondered, what might the President do?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't know.

LARRY KING: What do you think?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: But you know, even after a second term, he will be young—

LARRY KING: Fifty-four, right?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —and he's so vital and resilient, has so much energy and he really, I believe, will look for ways to continue to help people and to help solve problems.

LARRY KING: The story was that if John Kennedy would have lived he would have bought a newspaper. Because he liked the *Boston Globe* maybe or something like that and run it.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Mm-hm. That's a nice to—

LARRY KING: What would be the first thing you would say Bill would do?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't know, maybe go on the senior circuit of the—

LARRY KING: Golf?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: —golf pros.

LARRY KING: And what do you do? Beat him?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I don't know. He loves golf.

LARRY KING: We will be right back with Hillary Rodham Clinton and more of your phone calls. Don't go away.

[Commercial break]

LARRY KING: Before we take the next call, there are a lot of feminists, fans of yours, who say that you've become the symbol, you're taking the flak for all the feminism flap in America, you have become—

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Ha, ha.

LARRY KING: —flak symbol.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I feel like I should wear a flak suit and a hard hat.

LARRY KING: Do you feel like you are a symbol for the stand up ness of American women?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, I don't know. I think that, to some extent I might be, or, you know, a lot of other women are as well.

LARRY KING: You don't think you are looked upon that ?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, I think in some quarters, sure.

LARRY KING: Yeah. Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Swarthmore are you there? Hello? I don't hear anything. They did not connect the phone in.

Do you— do you see yourself as a role model?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I— you know, I see myself as somebody who has tried to live my life according to what I believe in and what I think is important. And, so when someone says that to me, I always say, "I hope you will find what's important to you and do that to the best of your ability, and make choices that are right for you." So, if I am to anybody an example or role model, I hope it's not to try to be like me, because I don't think there is any way to do that, with anyone else — but perhaps to just know what's right for you and to try to have the courage to do it, despite what anybody else might say.

LARRY KING: How about dealing with a public marriage, you know, where both people are famous.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Yes, yes.

LARRY KING: What about that aspect?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, you know, I married my husband 20 years, plus ago, and he wasn't famous. He had lost his only political race, I wasn't famous.

LARRY KING: So you got famous together?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I don't think — I mean, he— his career was a public career and he certainly now, is famous as president. But I think that we've just been together so long, and we've kind of grown up together ever since we met each other in law school, so we see our marriage as very private and something that is so important and precious to us that the idea that it's of interest to other people or that people kind of look in and try to figure it out, you know, we just— we just don't pay much attention to that.

LARRY KING: Does it surprise you that they do?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I guess it doesn't surprise me because today, you know, people's personality and what they do is seemingly so important and the topic of such conversation. But I don't think anybody can ever know very much about anybody else's life or their marriage and so much of it just kind of, you know, off mark or idle gossip that doesn't really have any relation to reality. We laugh about it a lot.

LARRY KING: Back with our remaining momonts with Hillary Rodham Clinton right after this.

[Commercial break]

LARRY KING: Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for the First Lady, hello.

2nd CALLER, *[Carlisle, Pennsylvania]*: Hi, and thanks for taking my call.

LARRY KING: Sure.

2nd CALLER: Mrs. Clinton, I am wondering how do we as parents and educators implement the— the wonderful ideas and suggestions that you list in your book, how do we make them real?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I think we start where we are. We start in our homes. I've had people tell me that, you know, they are now, for example, having a night with their children, planning it, turning off the television set as I recommend in my book for one night a week. They're doing things with their kids, they're trying to rearrange their priorities. I think we do it in our schools, by making sure that parents feel welcome in the schools, so that they are partners again, with teachers and that it's not the teachers feeling isolated and the parents feeling confused. I think it's in our communities, where, as I say in the book, you can band together to patrol streets, to provide recreational activities for kids. It's in mentoring programs and I have visited so many good ones, from Florida to Missouri to Texas to California, to Philadelphia — and I think there are so many good ideas out there — and one of the reasons I wrote this book is because we only hear the negative stories? And I see the positive stories every single day. And I meet mothers and fathers and teachers and ministers and business people who are making a difference in kids lives. And one of the things I am going to do next year is create a kind of clearing house of ideas that work around the country, so that if you're in Pennsylvania and you want to try something, you don't dhave to start from scratch, you will be able to get ideas about what has worked elsewhere.

LARRY KING: Last call, Tulsa, hello?

3rd CALLER, *[Tulsa, Oklahoma]*: Hello.

LARRY KING: Yes?

3rd CALLER: Thank you for taking my call.

LARRY KING: Sure.

CALLER: As the mother of a teenage girl, I would ... to know what you would do Mrs. Clinton to address this problem in the country and how you feel about it, because it is so horrendous.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, you know I—

LARRY KING: Teen pregnancy? Is that what you're asking about? Teen pregnancy.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: You know, I had an interesting opportunity the other day to meet with Mary Pyfer [sp?] who has written a book called *Reviving Ophelia* about what happens to teenage girls in our culture, has a new book out and I've talked with people all over the country about how do we address these issues that affect our children? Whether it's teenage pregnancy, or drugs, or violence, or you know the kind of depression and alienation that too many of our young kids feel. I think that we are seeing some approaches that work, but you have to start where you are. And if you have a young child, you need to start there and if you have an older child, you need to be as open and available to that child; you need to be as honest with that child, you need to spend time listening to that child, not picking confrontations despite what I may feel about— how I may feel about you know, what my daughter wears or how another mother may feel about, you know, what her daughter does to her hair and all. Trying to pick those moments when you can really talk about what the important decisions are.

LARRY KING: We are running out of time. Are you look-forward to the campaign?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Very much.

LARRY KING: Do you like campaigning?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: I love campaigning. I love meeting people, I love listening to people. I always learn a lot. I feel like I'm in, you know, some kind of wonderful graduate education course.

LARRY KING: Ever worry about safety?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Oh, I trust the Secret Service and the people who take care of us. I mean—

LARRY KING: So you don't think about it?

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Well, I can't say it doesn't cross my mind, I do think about it, but I feel, you know, very well taken care of.

LARRY KING: Thanks as always.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Thank you.

LARRY KING: We will see you on the trail.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON: Okay, thanks, Larry.

LARRY KING: Two Scorpios say good night. A little inside joke.

Thanks for joining us. Tomorrow night, the entire cast of *60 Minutes*. Good night.

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FURTHER INFORMATION:

The preceding text has been professionally transcribed. However, although the text has been checked against an audio track, in order to meet rigid distribution and transmission deadlines, it has not yet been proofread against videotape.

Internal -

INTERVIEW WITH FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MAY 23, 1996
TIME MAGAZINE

INTERVIEWER: WALTER ISAACSON, MANAGING EDITOR, TIME MAGAZINE

WI: (inaudible...Chelsea... Could you describe that a little bit? Because I think it's interesting, when we talk about children and preparing them for the world.

HRC: Well Chelsea was born into politics, in the Governor's Mansion, and then in her father's comeback election in '82 and then he was reelected in '84.. But she, you know, didn't pay any attention to what was going on. She was too young, she wasn't able to read anything or follow the news. But I knew that being six meant that she would start picking up what people were saying. And Bill and I talked about how we could best prepare her for what would inevitably be, no matter how we tried to protect her, um, the mean spiritedness and the slings and arrows that come with political life.

(Comment by Isaacson about Orville Faubus, inaudible)
HRC: It was in 1986, not only was one of Bill's former opponents, the man who had beaten him in 1980, running against him, but Orville Faubus got into the Democratic primary. So we knew that it was going to be just um, kind of a free-for-all on their parts. So we were sitting at dinner, one night, and I started to explain to her how her daddy had to run for reelection and get people to vote for him, and that in an election people had to go out and explain why they deserve to be given the votes of other people. And she asked me, 'Does that mean we get to live here if he wins?'And I said, 'Yea we get to live here,' I was trying out how to make it simple for her. And then I said, 'But you know sometimes in a political campaign people will say mean things and untrue things.' And she got really upset about that, I remember, and said 'Why would people do that?' And I said, 'Well because they want to win, and that's what they do, they get kind of carried away.' So Bill and I'd talked about it beforehand, and I said, 'Now, for example suppose you're your daddy, and you're running for office and you want to be reelected Governor, what would you say?' And she said, 'Well I don't know!'And I said, "Well just say something.' And she said, "Well I'm Bill Clinton and I want to help people, so I want to run for this." And then I said, 'OK now your daddy is going to pretend to be someone running against him.' So Bill said something like 'Don't vote for Bill Clinton, he's a terrible person and he's mean to people.' And you know Chelsea got big tears in her eyes, you know 'Why would anybody say that about you?' And Bill explained about what happens. So from that time, and I can remember it so vividly,

then for a series of dinners we would do this, and of course as she talked to us more she got more into making the speeches and sometimes she'd say, well, she'd learned about Orville Faubus having closed down the schools in Little Rock, and she'd picked it up from the news somewhere, so at dinner all of a sudden she said, 'Vote for me, don't vote for that other person! He shut down the schools in Little Rock so that black children couldn't go to them!' You know, and everything that I had thought might happen, sort of by absorption, she started to pick up things about the campaign, was happening, but she had a way of expressing it well. And ever since then we've talked a lot about what happens in public life, and we've tried to make sure she's never left without information...

WI: What are you doing this time around?

HRC: Well this time around...

WI: It's going to be a tough campaign.

HRC: Oh it's going to be a very tough campaign. A friend of mine... somebody... I can't even remember where I was, and somebody introduced me the other day and they said, 'You know, they've thrown everything but the kitchen sink, but they'll probably throw that.' And I got up to speak and I said, 'Well they'll probably also throw the kitchen, the house, the housing development, whatever can be hurled.' We're just doing what we've always done, um, she follows the news, she's interested in issues, um, her dad and I try to have at least one meal with her...

WI: Can you give me an example of you talking about something that might hurt her and shielding her from it?

HRC: I think we're sort of beyond that. I think she's kind of come to understand about what is said in politics now. You know, I'll give you an example, when we started all this I expected her to hear a lot of mean things about her father. I wasn't quite prepared for having as much attention as I've received in the last four years... But when I was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury and all that, usually you know it's I who goes in and says, "Do you want to talk about what going on in the news, or have you heard this, or your dad's got this really tough decision and he'll probably get criticized for it, do you want to talk about it?' But this time it was Bill, he said, 'Do you want to talk about what's going on with your mom?' and all the rest... So we just try to anticipate.

WI: And what did she say? (inaudible)

HRC: Oh sure he sat down and talked with her

WI: Did he go through all the details of the case or anything like that?

HRC: No, we just explained the process and, I mean, she obviously shares our view that all of these investigations are politically inspired so they belong in our category of political conversations and she has a pretty good sense of that. But I guess my larger point was, not that everyone will face what we, who are in the public arena face, but I think everyone to some extent or another, should really think about how to prepare children once they get to be a certain age for the realities of life. I mean you know, jobs aren't always secure, um, when we were back in Arkansas, a friend of Chelsea's, a girl that she'd been in her house and played with, father, killed himself, killed his wife, and killed his two daughters, and these were people that she knew. And so trying to pretend that your children don't know what's going on and what's happening in the world around them, I think, causes a lot of pain and unnecessarily so. You have to be aware of the age of a child -- you can't load-down a young child with more than that child can accommodate, but as a child matures I think talking about um what you confront is important.

WI: I read (inaudible) about Mrs. Onassis and her advice

HRC: Oh Walter that was one of the best...

WI: Do you have any other...

HRC: In the summer of 1991 when it was first even talked about that Bill might run, she was one of the first people who came forward who said she wanted to support him. And sent word to us. And I think Bill had met her but I had not. And then the campaign was so rigorous that I didn't get a chance to accept her invitation to come talk with her until, um, what, probably June of '92 I think. I went to her apartment, and we had lunch and it was one of the most delightful and helpful times that I had during the entire campaign because we talked very specifically about how you give your children, in the glare of public life, a sense of personal space, privacy, self-confidence that they're worthy on their own, and all of the issues that I had been worrying about because of Bill's running for President. And she was so kind, and she told me about how she'd looked for ways to have her children accept responsibility. You know I tell the story in the book about the bicycle, but she also told me how she would expect John and Caroline to be on time, to get ready for school and if they weren't ready, the car that was going to take them was told to go ahead. It was something that she said that I did just so that they would know they had to abide by the rules that other people do as well

WI: What do you do with Chelsea on that? Anything particular?

HRC: Well we've tried to do a lot of things starting from the time she was in the Governor's Mansion, um, you know, making it clear that she had certain responsibilities she has to fulfill, um, I remember one time coming down into the kitchen of the

Governor's Mansion and it was breakfast time and she was watching television and she knew that we didn't want her to watch television during breakfast and I said, 'Why is this on?' And she said, 'Well they said I could,' meaning the people who worked around there, and I said, 'I know but we're your parents and we say you can't.' And then I said to the people who worked, who are all wonderful, I said,'She's a child. We don't let children decide what's best for the.'

WI: But she can't do the chores like you and I did, like take out the garbage at the White House...

HRC: No,

WI: And make the popcorn even.

HRC: Well but she can, I mean one of the things that I did when we moved in, when Mrs. Bush first showed me around the White House, um, I noticed that Mrs. Kennedy had put in a, have you been up to the second floor?

WI: No, (inaudible)

HRC: In the living quarters Mrs. Kennedy took what had been Margaret Truman's bedroom, I don't know who slept there after that, um, and made it into a dining room and a serving/butler's kitchen. And she did it because up until then you had to eat all of your meals down on the state floor. And she had these children she didn't want to transport to the state floor. And so when I visited with Mrs. Bush the dining room is beautiful but it's very formal. And so when I went into the butler's kitchen I said, 'Could we take out some of the serving area and put in a table so that we could actually, when we were just the three of us alone, eat more normally? And so that was done, and so since then, I mean she makes cookies, she makes bread, we occasionally do a little bit of cooking for ourselves, not a lot, sort of an infamous incident when she was sick after we'd been there for a little while and I went in there to make her scrambled eggs the way she likes it and some apple sauce and everybody was rushing around saying, 'What are you doing? What are you doing?' And I said, 'Well I was going to make her some scrambled eggs and apple sauce.' 'Oh we'll do it!' 'No, no I wanna do it.' So we've tried to bring that sense of normalcy as much as possible.

WI: Do you have any second thoughts about the private school versus the public school decision?

HRC: No, and the reasons I don't is because after talking to many many people I had no doubt, with her having been in public schools for her entire career, that she could have gotten a good education. They were public buildings, and there was no way that the press or the public could be asked not to come in and I was particularly struck with great sadness about what happened when Amy Carter first started in her public school and according to

press accounts which I read, by about the third or fourth day she'd gone out to recess with the other kids and there was such a jam of press and onlookers waiting to catch a glimpse of her that the school made the decision, because they couldn't ask people to leave, that she would have to stay in at recess. So for me the privacy and security issues unfortunately were ones we'd never had to face before but I know that we had to face them then.

WI: You were, I think down at Emma Gladney once, speaking was that right, I remember reading that somewhere, where you talked about having considered adoption because it happened to us too. We went through a long period before we had Betsy and even going through Emma Gladney. And Cathy had had a few miscarriages and everything, and then we finally had a child. Did you consider adoption at all before?

HRC: Well, we've talked about it, I must say we were hoping that we would have another child and um,

WI: You were hoping to have a second child?

HRC: Yes.

WI: Are you still hoping to have a second child?

HRC: I have to tell you Walter, with the reality, I would be surprised but not disappointed! (laughter) My friends would be appalled I'm sure but um, I think it would be terrific.

WI: I think so too. I would have loved to have had a second child and I think (inaudible)

HRC: Your faces just lit up, that's the way I feel about it.(laughter)

WI: I know, I know, I think we both have (inaudible). Would you consider adoption now?

HRC: We continue to talk about it, because we really believe in adoption and I have worked hard to promote adoption, particularly for older kids and across racial lines, kids with special needs. We may still think about that. We'd have to think hard about it, especially if it were an older child, the pressures of the White House on a child like that.

WI: But you could do it though, right, I mean there's no, you've actually, why wouldn't you,

HRC: We've thought about it.

WI: That's great. And it would be, you might want to do an older child or something

HRC: We haven't gotten into that level of detail about it.

WI: But you'd probably have to do it, assuming you win a second term, while you're in the White House, it's getting kind of late after that, right, or is that impolite of me to say?

HRC: It's something that we're all facing you know, as of August 19 I'll be married to a 50 year-old man. That's startling.

WI: And um, have you ever talked about having miscarriages or does that bother you, because I know we talked about it a lot when we went through that and people had told us that you had mentioned it. I don't want to put you on the spot here but

HRC: I never, I never had a miscarriage, I just had a lot of difficulties um, getting pregnant, and then with the pregnancy, but I never had a miscarriage.

WI: Oh, by difficult pregnancies you mean lost pregnancies though or just uh,

HRC: No, no just a lot of uh, questions about you know whether I'd be able to carry out..

WI: I'll leave this off too, alright , were you a DES daughter, because that was Cathy's problem, do you know what that was?

HRC: I do know what that was

WI: Yea, when the mother takes the (inaudible)

HRC: I should ask my mother that.

WI: Yea, that was one of the reasons we had.. anyway, um, but I am fascinated about the notion of you all considering adoption and you've been very involved in the adoption legislation, it's not legislation it was adoption... well explain what it is.

HRC: It's several pieces of legislation I have supported. ON of them began the process of eliminating the prohibition that many states had used toward adopting across racial lines. And the President strongly supported that as well And then it is being further refined because there is some thought that still some of the states have not gotten the message that we're really serious about this as national policy. I also support giving some tax relief to people who adopt babies when they're older.

WI: (inaudible)

HRC: It is occurring, I mean it's been passed I believe in the House, I don't know if it's gotten through the Senate but it is something that is really important. It's a good first step, but a lot of adoption advocates point out how difficult it is to adopt an older child or a child with special needs unless you get some continuing medical assistance, like a lot of these kids when they're in foster care, are eligible for Medicaid but if they're

adopted into a family they may not be. So trying to provide some financial support, especially through the medical needs, both physical and emotional, that kids may have is important to me. And then we're also um, you know, looking at ways of encouraging employers to be more supportive. Mr. Thomas, "Mr. Wendy's" has been a big adoption advocate, because he was adopted. So he has provided benefits for adoptive parents that other employers don't, just the whole range of actions that could be taken to move a lot of the kids who are not eligible for adoption into adoptive homes more quickly than we have.

WI: The fact that you're considering adopting, does that inform your thinking about this in any way?

HRC: Well I think it, you know, I've seen a lot of these children, um, and have visited with them, and I believe many people have concerns about adopting, particularly an older child, and in fact I was asked that question at an event that I had at the White House a few weeks ago where we highlighted adopted children other than babies and infants. And a reporter said, 'Don't you worry about the outcome?' And I said, 'Well I think any time you take responsibility for a child you have to worry about the outcome. There are so many things that are not in your control, and so many characteristics that can go one way or the other that any child has, so

WI: When did you all start considering adoption?

HRC: Well considering may be too strong, I think 'talking about it,' and you know

WI: When did you start talking about it?

HRC: We have off and on for a long time.

WI: Are you talking about it more now?

HRC: Yea I think we're talking about it more now. We'd obviously wait to get serious in considering it until after the election, there's just too much going on in our lives right now but, um, I just think that giving a child a chance and sharing what you have with a child is one of the greatest gifts you can give yourself, as well as a child, so I hope that something will come of our thinking about it.

WI: Dealing with the adoption legislation as well, you're very much in favor of, you're sort of split with, I guess it's Ms. Edelman and others, in terms of cross-racial adoption, right? Is that a..

HRC: Well I've never had a conversation specifically with Marian about that, but I believe that finding a home for a child is our first priority and making sure that anyone who does have a cross-

racial adoption is sensitive to the issues that will arise and get support

WI: But might you do a cross-racial adoption yourself, have you talked about that in order to make a statement?

HRC: We haven't gotten into that kind of detail.

WI: Have you talked about whether you'd do it through an agency or other issues like that?

HRC: No.

WI: What's your feeling on orphanages and group homes; they got kind of hit politically when Speaker Gingrich stuck his neck in.

HRC: I think the way that was presented, at least the way it came across, for those of us that listened, was that orphanages were an option for poor parents, and that poverty would be a reason for children to be taken away from their families. I just oppose that with every fiber of my being. I think though that there are situations that both involuntarily and voluntarily could be appropriate for the placement of children um, in well-run and carefully staffed orphanages. But I think it's a very difficult issue to take and make a blanket statement about.

WI: But you were a little bit further along than most people and be willing to sever parental rights as a lawyer.

HRC: Yes, well, I started off when I was at law school, working at New Haven Legal Services on the cases involving children, which is one of the reasons I got interested. And I saw lots of abuse and neglect and I worked at the Yale New Haven Hospital with their pediatrics department and trauma staff in helping to think through what should be the standards for identifying and dealing with child abuse, so I have seen a lot of families have abdicated their responsibilities toward their children and that at some point a child's rights deserve careful attention and some parents do not deserve the continued authority over their children. I know that there's a lot of debate about this and I was criticized during the '92 campaign for my 1973 article about children's rights. But anyone who has dealt with abuse knows that at some point you've got to make a very tough decision and it's not easy. I represented a lot of children or foster parents who were caught in the system and one of the early cases I did in Arkansas was representing couple who had been foster parents and had fallen in love with this little boy and had had him for about four years. And they were told on the one hand by the state that had signed a contract to be foster parents and it couldn't be adoption and then the biological mother showed back up and wanted the baby. And I just kept saying, I said to my clients, 'If at any point I encounter any information or develop the feeling that it would not be in the best interests of this child I will tell you that and I will no longer represent you because what my

principal concern was the best interests of the child. And once you have seen enough abuse and neglect cases, you know you've got to make that decision. The hard thing for us to do in our legal system is to move these cases along because so many of these kids are moved back and forth into situations of violence and drug abuse. The parents aren't helped, they're not really given any chance to be better parents, a lot of them are beyond help. And at some point we have to say, 'Look this child's future means more than that.'

WI: Cathy was counsel for (inaudible) foster care thing, and got so depressed during that whole process. When it comes to um, this also applies to adoptions when the biological parents may change their mind, that can scare people away, which may not be in the best interests of the child too.

HRC: Those cases are really rare but they get so much attention that people do get scared and again we need clear legal guidance and so if a biological mother is counselled and told the consequences of her action and she signs that consent form then she should be absolutely held to it. The problem is, as in the Baby Richard case, when a biological father shows up and claims he didn't know anything. Now that case, it seems to me, could have been handled much more quickly than it was, and if a decision were going to be made that the child was going to be returned it should have been done as soon as possible. But I would still argue, based on all the work that I have done, that that psychological and emotional bond that is developed between responsible and loving caretakers and a child over a certain period of time should not be interrupted except for the most compelling reasons.

WI: What about the parental rights movement that's more on the right about curricula?

HRC: Well I think parents have the primary rights for the upbringing and nurturing of their children.

WI: I'm talking about that legislation.

HRC: But I think that the current legislation as I have tried to understand it would create a right for individual parents to make decisions that not only would affect their own child but would affect other children as well. I believe that there should be like parental "op-outs" and consent, if you don't want your child attending a certain health class about health education, that's fine, I think that a parent should say that goes against my beliefs, I don't want my child to do it and parents should be given that option. But I don't think that gives parents who object to it on behalf of their own children the right to prohibit other parents who think that it is in line with their values for their children to be given such information and therefore to argue that the school shouldn't be able to offer such a course. Or the parents who on religious grounds oppose the

teaching of evolution should have the right to deny their child the access to information about evolution so that the child can make his or her own decision. So I believe strongly in parental rights but I also believe that there has to be some balance in the (inaudible) and implementation of those rights.

WI: The Wisconsin welfare reform plan that the President has given the waver to. What is your feeling about what that could do, to basically say there is no entitlement to cash welfare for children. You can get an earnings credit or you can get wage supplements. Is that dangerous in the long run?

HRC: I don't think we know, an part of the reason the President's granted I think now 38 waivers, is to find out what works, and to give some direction to the national debate. And if you look at any of these states, there are features in each which I think are going to have to be evaluated on their own merits. In Wisconsin as I understand it, and I haven;t read the proposal, just the press accounts, recipients are guaranteed employment basically, in either the private or public sector. Now that is very different from just saying there's no entitlement and you're off. So I don't know that we know yet what variations on reforming and ending welfare will work. But I know that there are certain basic features that the President wants to see in any national framework that is adopted by the Congress. But the waivers themselves are turning up some really good information. And we now have, as I recall, about a 1.6 fewer people on welfare than when the President took office. So that we're making some progress and we're seeing some results that I think are very promising.

WI: Does it really make sense, though, to force a mother of a young child to work?

HRC: You know, I've thought about that a lot, and I think about it when I go into a restaurant and I get waited on by a waitress who's working a minimum wage job and has young children at home. Or when I go to a hospital and meet the women who are the orderlies and the nurses' aides who are in the work force with children at home. Welfare was meant to be a transition and welfare is for most people who are on it, a temporary stop on their journey through life. I think the average time is no more than two years. So we have to look at the welfare population and say for most people who are on welfare who come in and out of it, a lot of the changes that are being talked about are not going to be that significant. They need the help and support, the medical benefits that come with Medicaid, but then they find a way off somehow. For a certain population who have been trapped in generational poverty what we have done has not worked. And I think, and I've said this for a long time, and when Bill was Governor of Arkansas he did it, I think getting up and going to work, getting up and going to school, and having to make the same difficult decisions about who cares for your children that every other working mother has to make, is a necessary step toward

learning how to be self-sufficient and independent. Now having said that, I don't think there's enough child care available, that is quality child care that is subsidized for wither welfare recipients or the working poor, so I think we ought to be moving people off of welfare and yes, I think as many people who are physically able to work ought to work. But I think they ought to have some child care support and they ought to have some benefits to take care of their children medically. Because a lot of the mothers that I see working in the restaurants and in the nursing homes and in the hospitals and on the assembly lines of small plants who are working minimum wage or above, have no medical benefits at all. So we've got to figure out a way to make work pay, not just for the welfare recipient but for the working poor. But I don't think it is fair to subsidize some people and say they shouldn't have to leave their children when millions and millions of women get up every day, and I've stood at plant gates at 5:00 in the morning and I've seen the pick-up trucks with the grandma sitting there and the mother handing off the kids in pajamas so that she can go work the early shift. I just think that we've got to recognize that everybody should have to do their part.

WI: And you don't think it's saying to certain mothers that raising a kid isn't real work, that you have to have real out-of-home work?

HRC: I think that, and I have also advocated this: I think one of the ways we ought to be thinking about reorganizing welfare, is by training women to be early childhood caretakers, and you've got all these women and children, often times in public housing or even in other settings, neighborhoods, intense poverty and welfare enrollment, and nobody's doing anything to kind of help organize them, to help them if you will, help each other take care of their kids. In my book, I write about how angry it made me when these two little kids and suffocated to death, and it made me angry at everybody -- it made me angry at the parents who weren't watching them, at the neighbors who weren't watching them, at the city who didn't have a recreational facility available to them. And I sort of feel the same way about this: there is no more important responsibility than caring for children. At this point in our history, what we're trying to figure out is who is responsible for that and how do we do it well. And everybody should be looking for better ways to do that, and I would spend some time and effort trying to help women who are currently on welfare figure out how to organize themselves better so that they trade childcare duties, so that they support one of their own who is taking care of the children as a way of both of being sure that their children are being well cared for and also providing employment. I was on an Indian reservation I guess a few years ago, and the women there were very upset because the tribal elders didn't see the need for any more childcare. And a lot of these women worked off the reservation, and there was no one for them to leave their children with. And I started talking to them about co-op babysitting, because they

were taking their children off into places and leaving them, and I said, think about how to solve this problem at home -- what would it take to work together so that one of you could stay home and be the child director, and instead of paying a stranger, you'd pay somebody you know? I mean, that's how we need to be thinking about this, I think.

WI: In your book, you quoted a few times and praised Mrs. Edelman. Yet you all had a bit of a rift, and she wrote the open letter to the President. How involved are you with this march, and has there been some separation because you disagree with her on certain issues?

HRC: I don't feel that at all. I don't believe that's the case. You know I was attracted to Marion because of her passion, her commitment, her effectiveness as an advocate on behalf of children, particularly poor children. She does what she does better than anybody in the country, and it's a really important task because it not only challenges all of us to do better but it points out ways that we don't live up to our rhetoric as a nation.

WI: Are you part of the march?

HRC: Yea, I'm going to be I think Friday night at the Kennedy Center we have a big benefit for all of the groups and the sponsors, so I'm doing everything I can to help it and support it. But I have been an advocate, I have been on the front lines, passionately arguing for all kinds of changes, and I have watched very closely my husband, who I also think is a great champion for and of children, taking the realities that you have deal with, and trying always to keep in mind where we should be and what our goals ought to be as a nation but understanding in the political process you may have to take it one step at a time. So I don't feel any separation at all. I see, looking at Marion and looking at my husband, two people in whom I have enormous confidence that they both care deeply about what happens to children, and they both have different roles that perform superbly, in my opinion.

WI: If you could have one piece of legislation get passed right now, just wave a wand or something, and only one...

HRC: Well, one thing I would want to have happen right now is passing the minimum wage, and not just for economic reasons, but for reasons of value, and a way of saying to people who are really working hard, this society values what you do, and we know it's not easy out there. If you look at what's happened to our kids in this really rapidly society, I find that we have the same problems whether I'm in the inner city in Philadelphia, with an all-black student body, or I'm in Corpus Christi with an predominantly Hispanic student body in a poor neighborhood, or I'm in an all-white school outside of Duluth: I hear the same thing: that the severity of the problem and the resources available to deal with them are certainly much more dramatic

where there are jobs or where people are working hard 40 hours a week and they can't get themselves ahead. So anything we could do, starting with raising the minimum wage, which says to people, this is your job as a parent to take care of your children but also we want help you by recognizing that you can't do it if you can't make a decent living the way that you would want to do it. Now there are many other things, since you put me on the spot, that I would do or want to do if I could, but as for what's on the landscape right now, I think that would be such a powerful thing.

WI: With the welfare thing, and the gay marriages, whatever, there's a lot of conflict between what Sen. Dole is saying and what the President is saying. What are the fundamental disagreements between this administration and Senator Dole on welfare reform?

HRC: Let me just back up one minute on that, because my husband has a long record on welfare reform. When he was in the National Governors' Association, he worked with particularly Senator Moynihan and the Reagan White House, in coming up with the Family Support Act, which was a very good piece of legislation. And it was never adequately funded nor implemented under either Presidents Reagan or Bush. So what my husband did was what a lot of governors had to do, and that was to seek waivers from the federal government so that he could get about the business of trying to reform welfare. In arkansas he had a very good success rate of moving people from welfare to work. So I'd say the first difference is he's somebody who's actually done it. He is somebody who has sat across the table time and time again with welfare recipients and asked them what is that you need to do for yourselves that we can give you the support to do to get off. He's listened to the testimonials of people who have found it in themselves to take the educational opportunities, use the child care, find the jobs that his reform program helped provide. The second thing I'd say is that when he came in he said he wanted to end welfare as we know it. He campaigned on that, and he started doing it. If you look at the earned income tax credit, that was as much an economic and tax decision as it was a reforming welfare decision because you cannot make the point about reforming welfare if you don't also say you're going to reward and honor work. And Senator Dole voted against that. And it removed millions of Americans out of being in danger of falling into welfare because all of a sudden there was a floor beneath them. It had a huge impact on our ability to reduce the welfare rolls. He also has a record from three or four days after he took office, he met with National Governors, and he said, 'I don;t know when we're going to be able to get welfare reform through, but let's not wait -- you send me waivers; if they're decent, we'll grant them. ' So while other people have been arguing about what should or shouldn't be done, his administration has been grating waivers and it's made welfare reform. And I guess the final thing is that he wants to reform welfare in a way that believes will work. And we know that if we don't have some kind

of child care help, it won't work. So I think on a whole range of issues, starting with having done it, having begun to implement when he was doing the earned income tax credit and all the way through the waivers and his consistency of saying yes I'll work with you but here are certain bottom lines I have, I think it's a difference between somebody who talks about it and somebody who actually does it.

WI: Divorce is harder to get. You talked about in the book, staying together for Chelsea, people have done that generation after generation after generation. Should we do something to make divorce as kind of more of a waiting period, I mean is that part of the campaign for children is to say to people, keep families intact if you can?

HRC: I think it has to be. When you're responsible for children I think you have to try to put their interests at least equal with if not ahead of your own. And there is a lot of evidence about the traumas and difficulties that divorced mothers face, whether it be financially or emotionally, and also about what happens to children. Now I do not believe we should prohibit divorce, if that's what people feel they have to do for themselves and their children. I know that there are many instances when a situation is intolerable; I often asked my mother-in-law why she didn't divorce earlier and then didn't stay divorced from Bill's step-father. So I understand the arguments on the other side. What I would hope is that we would do a more honest job of talking about the costs of divorce, and when parents seek, there would be some waiting, or cooling-off period where education and counselling programs would be available, where marital counselling would be available, so that people could understand the consequences of their decisions, as they impacted on the children and as they would impact on their financial well-being in the future. If a divorce occurs, then I think everything that the legal system can do to minimize the disruption in the lives of the children should be undertaken, and I think those are steps that adults who have children should be willing to take.

WI: Does it sometimes annoy you to be lectured about family values by people who have left their wives and children and remarried, like virtually everyone who's lecturing you on family values?

HRC: Well, lecture about family values, regardless of the source, have always frustrated me a little bit, because I don't think we need we need to just talk about family values, we should act in ways that value families and provide, support for parents, not just exhort them to do better but give them tools to do better.

HRC: Are you considering a kids' care like Medicare as a real way to get to health care, focusing on children this time around instead of doing a broad-based

HRC: Well I know that the President has said that in a second term he would look at how we could come up with a realistic effective way of ensuring kids. and I think that would be a very good step for the country to take. Kids are cheaper to insure than us older, creakier(?) people, but when they're sick they're often acutely more sick. Childrens' Hospitals, for example, are more costly than adult hospitals because the technology and the intensity of the care that children need who are injured or ill is greater than what we often need. So I would like to see us come up with some proposals for that and have...

WI: You told that heartbreaking story of that cousins with meningitis

HRC: I met the mothers yesterday. I didn't identify the city because I didn't want to bring any undue attention to them. I met the little girl, Chantelle, who survived, and her mother, and I met I have to say I just don;t understand how anybody can look at these children, who are usually the children of working parents, and not feel that we all have a responsibility to help them get the medical care they deserve. Even at the end of the health care debate in the first two years there were a number of us that said well at least let's look at kids, let's do something we can agree on to move the debate forward. But for political reasons we couldn't get anybody

WI: But that will be part of the second term?

HRC: I hope it will be and my husband has said it should be.

KATE WHITE'S INTERVIEW WITH HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1996

Kate White: In your book, It Takes a Village, you say that the biggest obstacles many students face in learning are the low expectations we have of them and their schools. How did our expectations get to be so low?

Hillary Rodham Clinton: That is one of the questions I've thought about more than any other. I think it's due, in part, to the increasingly frantic nature of adult life--work patterns changing, increased mobility, divorce--a lot of things that have made it more difficult for parents to really stop and think about what they expect from their kids' education. Parents have delegated more and more responsibility to the school itself. I also think that with the changing economy and influence of mass communications, particularly television, it became unclear what our expectations should be. And people started second-guessing themselves about what their children needed to learn.

I think many of us parents assumed our kids were learning more because they were exposed to so much more than we had been. I think that the many cultural and economic reasons for this are fueled, in part, by adults themselves not knowing any longer what they had to know. Within a generation, adults who thought they would have the same job for their whole life, and who did that job well, were laid off or let go, or their company moved to a foreign country, so they themselves became a little discouraged about the link between learning and hard work and results.

KW: In your book you talk about some of the excellent programs that certain schools have started. How do we challenge our own children's schools? How do we raise expectations? communities ←?

HRC: I think there are several ways. There is no substitute for parents being involved in school, and that means parents have to make time again for volunteering, for joining PTAs, for parent-teacher conferences. That hands-on involvement is the first step. Then the school gets to know you, you get to know the school, and you begin to build a partnership.

I also believe that the process of goal-setting, which is something that businesses in every community understand, should be a communitywide process. I believe that businesses could play a major role in prodding schools in their communities to set goals and provide benchmarks against which to measure the kids' progress. Parents could play a role and become involved in this process.

And then, finally, I think that understanding the role that expectations play is something that both parents and teachers need educating about. I'm very impressed by the work of the Efficacy Institute (a teacher-training group in Lexington, Massachusetts), because they really take it from ground level in convincing teachers that all kids can learn, and teachers then help parents understand that. Together teachers and parents help kids realize that getting smart is something you can work at, not just an ability you are born with.

KW: What have you found are the best areas for parents to get involved in if they're going to work directly with the school-- without stepping on any toes?

HRC: I can give you some examples from my own experience, as well as others I know of. I have always tried to be as active a parent as I could be, and I have, at the parent meetings I've attended, asked the principal or the teacher, "What's your wish list? What would you like to have help with?"

I remember when Chelsea was in first grade and a group of us mothers were at a meeting and we asked that question. The first grade teachers were really honest. They said, we just don't feel that we've got the time or the background to put together a science curriculum, but we want our kids exposed to science. It just so happened that one of the mothers in one of those classes had herself been a high school science teacher. So she said, would you like it if we helped? And the teacher said, yes, that would be great. So she recruited three of us, and I'm no science whiz by any means. We met over at her house, and we created a little curriculum and it took only, as I recall, about six weeks, maybe less, but about there. We would go into all of the first grade classrooms once a week and do these little experiments. And you know, they were

simple things, the kinds of things you do with first graders like, well, let's plant this lima bean, and we'll plant it in different kinds of soil, and you'll water it and you'll put it in the sun and you'll put a different one in the closet and then we'll see what happens--things like that. And the kids loved that hands-on instruction. We loved being in there and we observed so much. We saw what the teachers were dealing with, with the range of abilities and attitudes in the classroom. We really became in a sense allies with the teachers. We weren't just the outside parents coming in.

And then I've known other parents who have made up lists of things they'd be willing to do; they go by and talk with the principal or teacher. The list might include everything from "I'm pretty handy with a hammer and saw if you've got any construction projects on the playground that you'd like me to do" to "I run a little landscape business--how about if I try to help landscape?" Or "I love to read to kids--can I come in and read?" You know, things that are very simple but get your foot in the door. And I think that if you're willing to help out at school, you'll find a way to be

helpful
~~useful~~ as long as you approach the teacher as you would want to be approached if it were your classroom.

KW: We hear of friction between working and nonworking mothers over volunteer work at school because many nonworking mothers feel they bear the load. Do you have any ideas from your own experience about how working mothers and nonworking mothers can work cooperatively?

HRC: I really wish we could get beyond the friction and find opportunities for working women to become involved in their children's schools. Not every woman who works at home is involved in the school, and many working mothers I know make heroic efforts to be involved in the schools. But somehow the schools don't make it easy for working parents. I think there are certain tasks that working parents could do at home. The school could make more accommodations, such as staying open for certain activities after school hours, after work hours, maybe opening one weekend a month or every quarter, something that would make it clear that the school understands there are many working parents out there who want to be involved, but literally cannot get

the time off. It's not even a question of rearranging a schedule. They're just not permitted time off; they have to punch in and punch out.

One of the things I've heard of that I think sounds really kind of neat are service projects [to the community]. If more schools asked their students to engage in them, more working parents could participate on evenings and weekends in those projects. If one of your projects is going to be cleaning up the river bank in your community, that's a Saturday morning project and working parents could be there. Instead of all the reasons we can't make things happen, we just have to start thinking about what we can do to rid ourselves of the old conventional time-thinking and start to understand that if we're going to have effective, functioning schools and strong families and a supportive community, we're going to have to be more realistic about how people can participate. And I believe there are many ways we can make it easier for working parents to get involved.

KW: What about on the home front? It's not simply that we have low expectations of our schools. We may have

low expectations of our kids. How do we raise our expectations of our own children and be more challenging as parents?

HRC: I think we have to make spending time with our kids a real priority again. It doesn't have to be fancy or so-called quality time, but it does take some energy. I really believe that you can do anything. You can follow the example of many Mormon families of making one night a week family night--you can start with something as simple as that--no TV, no computers, you're going to do something together as a family and take turns selecting what that activity will be. That's a way of building relationships among family members who often live in the same house but not in the same space. ~~We need to start doing that again.~~

I also think you have to start early. If you take your toddler to museums, to parks, if you take your toddler to run errands with you, if you take your toddler out to the yard when you're raking leaves or to the kitchen when you're cleaning up and have him stack the measuring cups one on top of the other endlessly, telling him ~~that this is~~ that's this work, that builds a sense of work associated with results.

Then I think when you get into school, → Setting aside time which is school time.

~~I think it's important to constantly set aside time to read to your children~~, which I can't stress too much, and talk ~~to~~ your children. When it comes to school work, provide a space, even if it's just the corner of a table, it doesn't have to be anything elaborate, but that's your child's "office." When you have more than one kid, it's important to have that space available so that each child feels that this is his or her work area. My father used to say, when you play, play hard, when you work, work hard, but don't confuse the two. And when you're growing up, school is your work, and so you create that sense of investment in work.

And then finally, I think that parents should not be afraid to ask for help. Lots of parents don't feel comfortable helping with homework, but more and more communities are doing things like setting up homework hot lines or having older kids tutor younger kids. You can ask the kid down the block who you know does well to come in and read and work on math or something with your child, instead of just babysitting. That way your child knows school work is a priority with you, and you're trying to figure out ways to help him.

KW: One thing that many parents appear to struggle with is how to be good effective parents without being terribly authoritarian, as their own parents may have been. They end erring on the side of permissiveness. It isn't that they want their child to be watching all that TV, but they're afraid if they make their child tow the line, she'll be rebellious or rejecting. How do we find that balance between permissiveness and the authoritarian approach?

HRC: In the book I talk about this middle road that is called "authoritative," which I have tried to ~~find~~ apply in my own parenting. And it does require that parents give up both the easy answer of "We know what's best and you do everything we say as long as you live under this roof" and the extreme permissiveness that cedes control and authority to children.

In authoritative parenting you explain what you're going to do and why you're going to do it. You make it clear that there are certain behaviors that you expect, certain ways that you want your child to fill his time because you think they're better than some of the

alternatives, and you just have to be willing to hold firm. Again, the earlier you start, the easier it is. But it's not easy at any point because every child is going to be rebellious and test you.

But I'm more and more convinced that the breakdown in authority and respect for authority in our society has really trickled down, if you will, into the home, so that many parents are almost afraid to exercise authority for fear of alienating their children. Many parents who are working very hard, are really stressed out--they may be single parents under extraordinary pressures, and just don't want to fight with their children. And so they keep ceding ground. Every study that I've looked at makes it as clear as it can be that being willing to be authoritative, being willing to set limits and enforce those limits, being willing to say no and take the feedback you will inevitably get, will make your life easier, not harder, over the long run.