

TIME INTERV

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INTERVIEW WITH FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
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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 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 granting 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.