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INTERVIEW OF THE FIRST LADY
BY MARTHA SHERRILL OF THE WASHINGTON POST

The West Wing

Q The purpose of the interview is to try to get a sense of what you believe in, if that helps you while you answer questions.

MRS. CLINTON: Okay.

Q I realized on my way over here that I have too many questions for a 30-minute interview. So if we get to one, just wave it off if you don't want to answer it.

MRS. CLINTON: Okay.

Q How do you think being raised a Methodist influenced you in particular?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think it influenced me a lot. I think that it influenced me because my father was such a strong believer in Methodism and had such a history with the Methodist Church which he traced back through his parents and his grandparents and back to England and Wales and all of the early Methodist preaching and reaching out to people in the coal mines and everything. So it was like a part of my personal history.

And then the church itself really appealed to me because they were very -- the church I grew up in was very child-oriented, very supportive of kids in their early years as they tried to find their way through faith, not in a dogmatic way but in a real open way in which anything could be discussed, no question was out of bounds. And I think that gave me a grounding in my faith that has sustained me.

The whole discipline of the Methodist Church appeals to me with the emphasis on scripture and reason and tradition and experience. So for both family and personal reasons it just made a real fit for me.

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Q Did Don Jones have a lot to do with that later on?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes.

Q Or did you get a lot from the church before he entered the scene?

MRS. CLINTON: I got a lot from the church and a lot from my parents -- really, the whole side of my father's family because we all were christened in his little church in Scranton and we all would be kind of -- every year we went back to Scranton, sometimes twice a year, once in the summer and once in the winter, and spent long times there. So there was a sense in which the church and their experience was like part of the present. You know, it was a real motivating force in our lives.

And then growing up in the church that I grew up in was very supportive. But Don Jones had a particularly important effect because he came into my life at the time when kids start wondering what all this is about and whether they want to be part of it and whether they believe it or just because their parents make them go to church. And he gave a sense of social mission and personal commitment to faith that I found very unifying. He was a lot of fun when we did it. We just had a great time.

Q It seems as though, and I don't want to presume to know, that he brought a lot of the outside world to Park Ridge.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes.

Q He described Park Ridge at the time he was there as a place where maybe no black person had ever worshipped in the church that you were going to.

MRS. CLINTON: Unless there might have been some visiting dignitary from some African country, I think that's probably right.

Q And the sense of a social revolution taking place seemed very remote.

MRS. CLINTON: That's absolutely right. He opened it not only in an experiential way. You know, we did a lot of exchanges with black and Hispanic kids in Chicago. We went out and worked with Mexican migrants and their families. When I say worked with I mean we went out and baby-sat the children while the parents would be able to go do something else.

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Because when I was growing up -- I mean, this is hard to imagine now if you fly in and out of O'Hare and that's what you know about suburban Chicago -- when I was growing up there was just farmland everywhere. In my elementary school years we went to school part of the year with the children of Mexican migrants who would be just camped half a mile from the school because we had all of this agricultural land. O'Hare airport wasn't even really built as a big commercial airport. It was on a military reserve basis. It really came to flowering in the late '50s.

So the whole environment in which I was raised changed from being fairly rural and pastoral even though it was suburban to being very suburban. And he made it possible for us to reach beyond that. And he also did it intellectually, because some of my fondest memories were, you know, we'd be at MYF on Sunday night and we'd be reading e.e. cummings or T.S. Eliot or looking at Picasso prints and talking about what they meant to us. Nobody had heard about anything like that before in my experience. So it was just a wonderful opportunity.

Q Do you remember any reading in particular -- I know there were a lot of theologians that I'm sure he introduced to you -- but anything that stayed with you in particular?

MRS. CLINTON: e.e. cummings and T.S. Eliot and Auden and Bunhauser and -- let's see -- he would give us like little excerpts of things to read. I mean, we weren't sitting around reading long tomes -- I don't want you to get that impression. That is not what we were doing. But, you know, for 30 minutes before we had our social hour to hand us like an e.e. cummings poem, which I'll never forget which goes something like "dying is fine, but death, oh, baby, I wouldn't like death if death were good."

You know, and you're 15 years old when you're asked what does that mean to you. That was just mind blowing for me. I just felt like there was this whole other world out there that was exciting and challenging that he linked to our faith. I mean, it was part of our religious experience. It wasn't just an intellectual enterprise. It was what does this mean to you as a Christian; what does this mean to you as a person. How do you link what you feel about this with people you may never know in some faraway land or in the inner city of Chicago.

It was just great for me. And then, of course, he took some of us down to hear Martin Luther King preach one night downtown in Chicago. Real radical thing to do. I mean, it was a wonderful time for me.

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Q By that time did you have a sense of commitment or conviction? A feeling that you wanted to devote yourself to public service? I mean, when would be your earliest memory of thinking about the world, that it wasn't a fair place and wanting to change things?

MRS. CLINTON: Real early. I remember a friend of mine and I in my neighborhood when we were probably about 10 -- I don't know where we got this idea, but we read something about poor kids in some place in Chicago. So we organized this fundraising effort which consisted of what we called a neighborhood Olympics, you know. And we had all these contests and kids had to pay like a nickle or a quarter or something to participate.

And I hadn't thought about this for a long time, but then an old friend of mine -- as you walked in I was signing a letter to a boy that I had gone to school with all my life who lived three blocks away who I haven't heard from since we graduated from high school, sending me pictures and reminding me of stuff. And a few months ago I got this picture where I'm standing there with my best friends from our neighborhood and there's this distinguished looking sort of Father Knows Best kind of character standing there and we're handing him a paper bag filled with money, which probably was about \$20, as our contribution to this charitable effort on behalf of these kids.

And so, my mother was very concerned about injustice and unfairness and kind of kept that on the forefront of our minds. So I remember doing that when I guess I was about 10. And then I was in seventh and eighth grade I became very interested in why people weren't helped, why we didn't try to help more people. And I was really impressed by my father. You know, my father was a Republican and he was not any kind of bleeding heart at all. He was a very straightforward person and very much a man of his time, sort of coming of age in World War II, the Depression, 1950s.

But I was always impressed by some of the things that he did. Like he had a man one time who he found drunk on the doorstep of his small little plant where he did drapery fabrics. And the man wanted a handout and my father said, I'll give you a job. If you will come in and work I'll give you a job. And, you know, my father worked with that man -- I guess we met him, Mr. Atkins, like in the early '50s maybe. My father not only gave him a job, but he helped him invest his money, helped him buy property. You know, if you were to ask him, he wouldn't have any sort of high-blown theory about it, he would just say, well, you know, the guy said he wanted help, so I tried to help him. And so between my mother's more kind of general feeling about the world not being a fair place and my father never buying into any of that in a particular way, but in his own personal

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way trying to help people and connect with them, I just had this sense from a very early time that you had to do both.

You had to try to be -- I mean, sometimes people do either or. They are good to their own families, they are good to people like them, they have -- and I think that is very important because the alternative, which is to care about people very far away and to mistreat those closest to you is not very good either. So you need to try to know those. You have to worry about those closest to you; that's where your principle obligations are. And if you can help one person who you find drunk on your doorstep to get his life together and over time support him, that may be more important than making a lot of speeches that you don't follow up on, and helping somebody far away from you.

On the other hand, what you do in your personal life has to be seen in the larger context of the community, the country, the world and not to paralyze you, but to understand how it all fits together. And I felt real lucky to have those two kinds of world views, in a way, coming together in my life.

Q Don Jones speculated that perhaps growing up, and later when you were in college, that while you were comfortable with being competitive, that maybe standing out and being a leader, which you were naturally, was sort of embarrassing to you, and that to do something for others instead of appearing to be being a leader and out front just for self-serving purposes was sort of not ever you goal. It has always seemed to be about other people and organizing other people and not to be about yourself. Was that part of how you were raised? Or just something naturally about you that you --

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that's an interesting thing for him to say. I have repeatedly felt over my lifetime -- I really, I don't have any personal desires to be in any particular position. That has never been my goal. I have a burning desire to do what I can to try to make the world around me, kind of going out in concentric circles maybe, better for everybody.

I would be so happy if tomorrow we could wave a magic wand and I could walk down any street in Washington, D.C. without being afraid of being mugged; if I could take my child to any park in this city at any time of day or night with my friends and we could sit around and have a conversation and watch children playing, and you know, young teenagers holding hands, and you wouldn't be living in fear. I don't care who gets the credit for that.

But that's how I see my life. I want to live in a place that helps everybody be better than they are, and to achieve whatever their potential is. I don't care who's president, I don't care who's

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governor, I don't care who's the big muckity-muck that gets the attention. I just want the conditions to change. And that's always the way that I have felt. And it is -- you know, I don't talk about it a lot because it sounds sort of silly, I suppose, to some people. Because, you know, here I am, I have a lot of wonderful aspects of my life; my husband is President and I'm very proud of him. And I think he's going to be a great President because I think he care about the right things.

But I told him all during the campaign, if there had been anybody else who I thought could talk about the world the way we see it, who could motivate people to understand they had to change personally -- it wasn't just some top-down, programmatic approach to our lives that we needed to change; it was who we were and what we cared about, and the meaning in our own lives -- heck, I would have been ecstatic about that.

I just want this country to realize what it's real future could be and to come to terms with a lot of the problems that it's had and to work them out. And that's what I care about -- you know, in a political and a day-to-day sense about how we live together, and how we support each other, and how we take care of each other. I don't care who gets the credit. That's irrelevant to me.

Q I'm going to, later on, get back to the politics of meaning and your speech in Austin. Let me skim through some chronological stuff. Alan Shekter said that you were never inflammatory or radical in any way in college. And I was wondering whether you gave a lot of thought to how much of an activist you wanted to be at that time, or whether it was just your nature to be more cautious maybe.

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know if cautious is the right word. I like to see that what is being advocated actually can bring about results. Because there are very few sweeping events that you see historically, whether you're talking about a college or a community or a country or anything else. Most change is done incrementally and over time. And I've always felt that way. That even if you had very strong feelings about something, you had to think about how best to communicate those feelings so that people could understand what you were trying to say.

And I learned a lot about that in college because it was a very tough emotional time to be going to college and to care about issues. And, you know, a lot of my friends were deeply involved in various movements and emotionally committed to them. And I've supported their feelings, but I was always looking for ways that would get to where they wanted to go that would be effective.

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So maybe some of it was my own nature, but some of it was real thoughtful in trying to work out how to help the people who I thought were really more in tune with what was going on, who understood the pain and the anguish of assassinations and wars and all that was happening, but whose emotion was not always tied to being effective. And the emotion is a necessary engine, because you got to have a track you're going down once you get it fired up.

So that's kind of how I tried to understand what we needed to accomplish. I have very strong feelings about a whole range of issues and believe deeply in a lot of personal and social matters. But I also want to go back to what I said earlier which is that what I'm interested in is creating an environment in which more people have an opportunity to make good decisions for themselves and the emotional catharsis that comes with just saying it, which gets you the momentary applause and the great screams and yells of approbation, are usually not enough to sustain the energy that's needed to bring about the changes that will actually created the conditions that I'd like to see.

Q Your politics changed a lot when you were in college, I think the way they do for a lot of people. But did -- was this something that happened that was more emotional or intuitive or gradually -- a more rational sort of process or --

MRS. CLINTON: I don't know. Kind of both. I'd always been a Republican because my parents were Republican and I lived in a very Republican community, and because a lot of the issues that I cared about I could view in terms of what I used to think of as the Republican Party. I mean, individual responsibility, conservatism that really does try to conserve, that is not driven by the buzz words of the modern ideological battles we've had.

And probably I began to change about my thinking in my senior year in high school because I had a very smart Social Studies teacher who in 1964 wanted to have a debate between Johnson and Goldwater. And I was a Goldwater proponent, a Goldwater girl. I used to dress up with all these other friends of mine and we'd go do things for Goldwater. And so my Social Studies teacher took a good friend of mine who was a leading Democrat, assigned her the task of representing Goldwater, assigned me the task of representing Johnson. We both bitterly complained and she held her ground. So I had to go and really look at things from the other side. I had to do a lot of research. I had to understand all this -- you know, Great Society stuff, all this civil rights stuff that Johnson was promoting. And it was a real eye-opener for me.

But when I got to Wellesley I was elected President of the college Republicans. And I remember going to a big meeting of

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Massachusetts Republicans. It was like their convention or something. And I remember walking around, talking to a lot of people, and I began to see more clearly what a lot of the movement toward a more radical version of Republicanism actually meant. So I got back to college and I -- you know, it was more emotional and intuitive. I went to see one of my good friends who was like the vice president of the college Republicans, and I said, I don't know what I am right now, but I know I can't be the president of the college Republicans.

Q What year was that, do you remember?

MRS. CLINTON: It was the first year when I was at Wellesley, 1965-66. I worked very hard to elect Senator Brook. We worked in his campaign. And I really believed in that, but I didn't believe in a lot of the other stuff that I saw happening in the Republican Party after the Goldwater defeat.

And so I went to my friend and I said, I'm going to resign and so you're going to become the president and, you know, I'll do anything I can to help you, but I just can't do this. I just don't believe it anymore. I just can't be part of it.

So I didn't identify with any particular party after that for a while because I was mostly interested in issues and reading a lot and trying to understand what I did believe. I had a wonderful course in international relations at Wellesley my sophomore year, one of the best college courses I've ever had. And the professor, a woman named Barbara Green, was so intellectually acute -- I mean, she really raised for us every possible theory about America's role in the world. And it was so apt because we were getting more deeply involved in Vietnam and she had -- I mean, I must have spent -- I did not only all the reading I was supposed to, but I did much, much more reading. I remember sitting in the reserve room of the Wellesley library hour upon hour reading everything I could find about what was happening in the world.

And I remember also -- it was my freshman or sophomore year -- Henry Kissinger came up to Wellesley to speak. And we all crowded in to hear him speak. He was speaking about the future of Europe. And I stood in line for a long time to go up to talk to him after it was over, and I remember asking him, you know, he didn't say very much about Germany, what was Germany's future, what did the future of Europe have to do with our developing policy in Vietnam. And I was just very interested in all of that. So I spent a couple of years kind of searching for my own sense of politics -- carrying with me sort of my sort of bedrock beliefs in promoting individual responsibility and promoting the kind of conservatism in which you do try to sustain institutions like families and communities against the

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onslaught of change so that there can be some anchoring for people as they go through the last part of the 20th century.

I mean, a lot of my politics is a real mixture, it's an amalgam of -- and I get so amused when these people characterize me, you know, she is this, therefore, she believes the following 25 things, half of which I don't believe, but nobody's ever really stopped to ask me or try to figure out the kind of new sense of politics that Bill and a lot of us are trying to create.

Q With labels are --

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, the labels are irrelevant, basically.

Q I think it's -- actually, I think most people feel that way.

MRS. CLINTON: They do feel that way.

Q It is an amalgam for a lot of people.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, it is. And yet, the political system and the reporting of it keeps trying to force us back into the boxes because the boxes are so much easier to talk about. You know, it's just -- it's a lot easier. You don't have to think so much if you just fall back on the old, discredited, Republican versus Democrat, liberal versus conservative mind-set. A big disservice to this process that a lot of us are going through trying to figure out how you make sense out of responsibility at a individual and a national level and how you support it, instead of saying one or the other is the answer.

Q You also stumbled upon Saul Olinsky, I guess in college, and that must have been a big influence.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, it was interesting because I was looking around for a senior thesis subject and I was very interested in this issue: What is the proper balance between government programs and individual and community responsibility? And what Olinsky was doing was so interesting to me because he was trying to organize people on the grass-roots level, sometimes in opposition to the government programs of the Great Society that were trying to help them.

I thought it was a terrific kind of case study for the tensions between making people independent and dependent, which you could very loosely argue were the kind of conflicts that were going on. And so I read what he had written and I met him and I talked to

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people about him. And I wrote this senior thesis in which I, basically, argued that, you know, he was right in some respects to be against what I called then the welfare files. You know, even at that early stage I was just against these people who came up with these big government programs that were more supportive of the bureaucracy than actually helpful to people. I've been on this kick for 25 years. And I really enjoyed getting to meet him because he was a real character and he was irascible.

I was talking to Senator Moynihan about him the other day because Senator Moynihan knew him very well. And he and Senator Moynihan had very hard-fought, but mutually respectful battles about all of these issues. In fact, we had a very nice conversation about Olinsky because Senator Moynihan is one of the few people that I know now who knew Olinsky and so I really loved talking to him about that.

But that's what I was trying to work out in my own mind. I mean, people have to take responsibility for themselves. They cannot expect the government to come in and make their lives better. But they can expect the government to create conditions in which their responsibility is more likely to be rewarded than penalized. So that's been a continuing refrain for me and he helped me a lot with that.

Q I read a story, I think it was in The Boston Globe -- I thought it was a nice story on your time at Wellesley.

MRS. CLINTON: I've never seen that. I'd like to see that.

Q And there was a story in there about how you took a black woman to church with you one of the few weeks you were at Wellesley. And I'm thinking in retrospect that that seems like a daring thing to have done --

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, when I got to Wellesley I had never had any relationship with any black person my age except in episodic ways through you know school exchanges or my church work. And I was exhilarated by my friendships with all different kinds of people. I mean, that was one of the greatest experiences that Wellesley gave me. And I don't think we even thought about it, but this friend of mine and I went to church together one Sunday and realized that what we were doing was considered --

Q Was out there or --

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. I mean, it was considered unusual. And it was such a telling moment for me because I had not gone to school with any black kids, I had not gone to church with any black

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kids. And what seemed at the time then so natural, here was this friend of mine and we were going to go to church together, would be viewed as unusual was one of those real kind of click experiences that you know you have in your life. Well, looking back on it now -- I guess it still it would be unusual for some people in some parts of our country, you know. And the churches on Sunday morning --

Q -- said that the most segregated hours were between 11:00 a.m. and 12:00 p.m. on Sunday.

MRS. CLINTON: That's right.

Q I wanted to talk to you a little about just your church life. Did you go to church when you were in college and at Yale?

MRS. CLINTON: I went sporadically when I was in college and law school. I'd go to chapel at Wellesley and I'd go into town at Wellesley on occasion. And the same when I was at Yale, I'd go to chapel or I go to -- there were a couple of small churches in New Haven that I really liked. There was a real small, beautiful Episcopal church that I liked to go to at times.

Q So you shopped around, you never stayed with the --

MRS. CLINTON: No, I shopped around. But it was mostly more because I wanted to go to different services and I wanted to go to different churches or I'd hear that somebody was going to preach a great sermon or that somebody, you know, some church had a great choir. So I was, you know, just real open. And I knew that I wasn't going to be living in those communities when I graduated from college and law school, and so I kept my membership at home.

Q And I think there was an interview in the United Methodist magazine -- what's that called -- the New World Outlook, when you talk a lot about -- you talk a bit about how when you met the President you talked about your religious beliefs and how important they were to you.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes, we did that a lot.

Q Have you found a church here or are you just -- you're in a position of really not being able to have a -- well, I guess you could have a church.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I'm trying. I mean, we've been gone lots of Sundays. You know what I loved is going to church at Camp David.

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Q Oh, is there a chapel out there?

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. And we went to Easter service there. It was wonderful. I mean, it really had a great feeling. I like the Navy Chaplain a lot. I've been to church at Camp David twice, and I've been to church here maybe three or four other times. But I haven't really gotten a church yet; I'm still kind of just visiting around and meeting people. I'm finding that because of our movements back and forth and all the other stuff, I haven't quite gotten my routine down yet.

Q How tied is -- I mean, I think you somewhat answered the question -- but how tied are your religious beliefs and your feeling of your own purpose for being here and the purpose of your life tied to your commitment to social action?

MRS. CLINTON: Very tied. I don't really see them as separate, I see them as part of the same set of feelings and convictions.

Q Very tied.

MRS. CLINTON: Very. Well, in fact, part of the same.

Q Does it feel like a sense of mission, that that's just really who you are what you are supposed to be doing? Does it feel like --

MRS. CLINTON: It just feels like who I am. I mean, it just feels that --

Q It's not something you have to make yourself do?

MRS. CLINTON: No, because I just think about how all of my life I've tried to lead an integrated life. And so the spiritual and the emotional and psychological and physical -- all of that -- I mean, I'm not there, I don't want to mislead you. But I'm trying very hard to have that be like the primary purpose of my life. I mean, I want to feel as though I've led a coherent, integrated life. And the spiritual part of my life is a very important element to me in defining who I am and what I care about. And it's a real benchmark. I mean, when I disappoint myself because of a way that I've treated somebody or behaved, it's against a backdrop of believing that there's some effort I should make to try to be better than that. And it's something real personal to me.

Q Let's talk about your Austin speech and the politics of meaning. How important -- I read a little thing from Michael Lerner, his editorial which talks about the politics of

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meaning. Have you been very influenced by some of the things he's written?

MRS. CLINTON: Not knowingly, although I had a wonderful conversation with Michael during the -- I met him for the first time during the Holocaust reception we had out here. And I had read some of his early stuff, like in '88, '89, '87, somewhere around back then why the Democrats were always losing. I don't really remember it, other than it was sort of part of the backdrop against which my husband was thinking all of these things. But I think he's done some very good work, and he's brought me and sent me a lot of the stuff that he's written and I'm now reading all of that.

I've been more influenced by Havel. I mean, I have read Havel stuff. I don't know that he ever quite used the term "politics of meaning," but he talked a lot about the need for more understanding, that people in political life and those who cared about politics needed not to be so obsessed with the programmatic or the issue-driven or the factual side, so much as they needed to be looking for meaning and understanding and interpreting what was happening to people.

I think there's a convergence. Michael came to see me the other day and brought me a huge stack of things that I should read, which I will. But I think there's a convergence of a lot of people. Much of the energy animating the responsible fundamentalist right has come from their sense of life getting away from us and meaning being lost and people being turned into kind of amoral decision-makers, because there wasn't any overriding values that they related to. And I have a lot of sympathy for that.

I battled hard, for example, for religious parents in Arkansas to be able to teach their own families. I championed home schooling 13 years ago or whenever it was, because my view was that for parents to make that kind of commitment to their families is a value we should support. It gives meaning to their life, and through it, meaning to a lot of other people's lives.

Q It's been a long time since Democrats, though, talked about God.

MRS. CLINTON: I know, and --

Q -- belonged to the Republicans for 12 years.

MRS. CLINTON: Yes. And I'm not in any way casting any doubt on their right to claim whatever they wish to claim. But the problem is that the issue of meaning and the issue of our daily experience being grounded in some sense of a greater whole than what

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we can understand can be viewed from so many different perspectives. But the search for meaning should cut across all kinds of religious and ideological boundaries. That's what we should be struggling about, not "you have a corner on God and I don't," or, "you're the real true person and this other one isn't." That is an unfortunate and, in many ways, destructive debate.

What we ought to start from is a sense, I think, that is widely shared now in a lot of elements of society that being economically prosperous, having a rich country, having most people able to participate in the market and have luxuries beyond their grandparents' wildest dreams and all of the stuff that we now have is not sufficient for either a meaningful personal life or a meaningful community life. Now, then we can argue over what is or is not the appropriate way to --

Q -- the government replace --

MRS. CLINTON: No. The answer to that is a no-brainer. But there are things that government can do that is more likely to create a condition for more people to be secure enough to take responsibility for themselves and therefore participate fully in this search for meaning.

You know, if you treat people like they're disposable commodities, whether it's in the workplace or in a government program where you look on them with contempt because of who they are or what race they are, you are bound and guaranteed to get the kind of division and alienation that we currently have. And so there are ways that government can promote an environment in which responsibility truly has a chance to flourish. That's really the motivating force behind welfare reform. Some people may want to do it because they want to punish people because they're not worthy, but where the President comes from and where I come from is that we want government to be empowering and uplifting, not degrading and demeaning and dependency-producing, which is basically what we've had. Maybe out of good motive, but nevertheless the results have not worked.

Q Are you with the President on welfare reform?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely.

Q One hundred percent?

MRS. CLINTON: Absolutely.

Q -- attempts by many opinion magazines that paint you as more ideologically to the left.

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MRS. CLINTON: I think so much of that is rooted in their desire to sort of put me in a corner or a box and try to understand me, because I apparently pose problems for them, which it too bad for them. But there are ways of doing it that are more likely to be successful than other ways.

But in terms of our ultimate goals, I mean, I would like to see welfare as we know it over the next years abolished. That's what I would like to see. I do not like it, I do not think it is good for the women or children who are trapped within it. And one of my great goals in this health care effort is to remove the Medicaid incentive for people to stay on welfare by having a system of health care that is available to every American so that you don't have the unfair situation now where some women stay on welfare because they get Medicaid; other women who are single parents struggling in the job market from day to day with the fear that their family will be felled by some health disaster, but are working and not able to get health care.

So there's a lot about this that I believe in very strongly, that I think will, if we do it right, result in a better situation for the people in general.

Q Thank you.

MRS. CLINTON: If you need to finish up on this -- no, I've really enjoyed this. And I really have appreciated your writing over the past x-number of months. You know, Peter O'Toole and everybody else. I really do. I understand you've been on a sabbatical or something.

Q I have a wonderful deal. I only work six months a year for the paper. It doesn't mean I'm not working.

MRS. CLINTON: Well, good, good. That ought to be fun.

Q Thank you again.

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