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HOST: Oprah Winfrey

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HILLARY CLINTON AND T. BERRY BRAZELTON

OPRAH WINFREY: She's the first first lady to juggle motherhood and a career.

Ms. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON (First Lady): Nothing is more important to our shared future than the well-being of children.

WINFREY: Today, we're honored to talk with Hillary Rodham Clinton about her passionate commitment to children, and she'll tell of the rewards and risks of raising Chelsea in the White House. Also, renowned child expert T. Berry Brazelton shows us how we can help our own kids cope with the fears and the stress of tragic events. Putting Children First--coming up.

Everybody says they want to do it. Today we're talking about how to put children first and create a national movement in this country. You-all can sit down. She'll be out in a minute. Nice to have you here in Chicago.

My first very special guest today is one of the most admired women in the country and was once described as arguably the most important woman in the world. She is, of course, a successful attorney, she's a champion of children's causes, she is a loving wife and mother. She is the first lady of the United States of America and we are honored to have her here today. Please welcome Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mrs. CLINTON: How are you?

WINFREY: Yes. Yes, yes, yes. Great. This will be fun. This will be fun. This will be fun. Yes. Yes. Yes. There you are--right there. Thank you. Oh, yes.

I have to tell you, we are--we are thrilled to have you here. Your secret service has been here for days. I would not want to be you for one minute.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, some days it's better than other days. But I am so glad to be here with you. Thank you. Thank you.

WINFREY: Thank you very much. I wanted to have a really serious conversation that would get the country moving in another direction, because, you know, we have this whole health campaign going. But I wanted us not to just pay lip service to the idea of putting children first...

Mrs. CLINTON: Right.

WINFREY: ...because for so many years, and throughout the years on this show--I have done 3,000 shows that in one way or another illustrate the crisis in families and with children. And I, like a lot of people, am fed up with the idea that child molesters are allowed to go free after molesting children...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm.

WINFREY: ...that people are allowed to abuse their own children and neglect their own children. And I wondered how we could, together, start a movement with the nation--a movement, not just a public service announcement or spend this hour on this talk show talking about it. But how do we get people to understand that, unless we start today to change the lives for our children, that this country is headed to hell with a speeding ticket.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I think we start by doing what you've been doing, number one, which is to absolutely focus on these problems. And I want to commend you, before we get into that, for turning the show in such a positive direction. I am so...

Mrs. CLINTON: You know, I am--I am so convinced that what people see on television absolutely affects how they treat children and how they feel about themselves. And I am tired of folks saying that we can't change television because that's censorship. All of us who grew up and are as old as I am, know that television can be a good role model...

WINFREY: Mm-hmm.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...it can help us solve our problems. And we ought to start by saying we're going to change what we see and how we treat each other.

And as far as a movement, I think there are several things we can do. First of all, each adult has to become more responsible for the children in that adult's life--not just parents, but all of us. You know, there's that wonderful old African proverb, "It takes a whole village to raise a child."

WINFREY: "It takes a village"--yeah.

Mrs. CLINTON: There are too many of us who are not doing our part for our children. And I think it's also true there's been a false debate in our country. There are those who have taken the position that families have to be responsible and nobody should help them. They're out there on their own. Single mothers...

WINFREY: Right--that it's not our job to interfere.

Mrs. CLINTON: Not our job--you get out there, do whatever you want behind closed doors, but you have to sink or swim on your own.

WINFREY: Uh-huh.

Mrs. CLINTON: There are other people who say, 'Oh, no, it's the government's responsibility' and 'People don't have to take responsibility.' Both those are dead wrong. I mean, each of us is a product of our families and our society, so we have to start figuring out, how do we strengthen families? How do we keep families together? How do we prevent a lot of the problems that we see on the headlines? And we have to do a lot of hard work to decide, what is society's and government's responsibility to help families be strong and productive?

WINFREY: What is that?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I think it's several things. I think a strong economy, so that there really are jobs out there...

WINFREY: Mm.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...that can provide a decent living; a safety net, because, you know, there but for the grace of God go a lot of us. I mean, I am so appalled when I see people ranting and raving against folks who are less fortunate than themselves, because I always think I am so lucky. I was blessed with good parents. I was blessed with people who gave me a good upbringing. But I was also blessed with good health. I was blessed with a father who never lost his job. You know, I was blessed with things that a lot of families are not blessed with. So there needs to be a safety net if we really care about our children.

And, finally, I think we have to do more than lip service, and that means organizing. And I think there's a wonderful opportunity, particularly for women and mothers, to organize around a lot of these issues and let our voices be heard, because I have worked for 25 years on children's issues. And, like you, I am just tired of people...

WINFREY: Yeah.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...saying one thing and doing something else.

WINFREY: It's so frustrating. Well, let's just take, for example--every day in the news we hear about yet another child--and many times in the news we don't hear it--about another child being molested and abused. Just here in Chicago yesterday, they even caught it on camera. The police happened to be driving by in Inglewood and found this--this student being assaulted

For those of us who hear about Polly Glass and the children who...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: ...are molested by repeat offenders...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: ...and we feel frustrated--we feel like the laws need to change--I'm wondering--I was talking to my friend Andrew Vox about this recently--why can't there be a civil rights law for children? Why can't we put under the federal government--and I know people don't want government in their lives--but why can't we as a nation--we all say it to ourselves: 'The children are our future.' Every time I hear somebody say that, it makes me want to spit, because I say, 'What have you really done to...'

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: ...to make a difference? Why can't there be a national--why can't we as a country say, 'We will not tolerate the abuse and molestation of our children'? And if you do, the law doesn't change from Virginia to Oklahoma...

Mrs. CLINTON: Right. Right. Right.

WINFREY: ...to Wisconsin to--I--is that impossible?

Mrs. CLINTON: No. It's not impossible.

WINFREY: Because if it's not impossible--everybody tells me it's impossible. And I was saying to friends the other day, 'I would give my life for that.' I would work my entire life to create a civil--I would give up this show; I would do whatever was necessary to create a civil rights law for children so that--so that we--we honored the right of being a child.

Mrs. CLINTON: That's a wonderful way of putting it, because that's what I think we don't do. I don't think we honor children in our country. And I think there could be laws, but we could do a better job of enforcing the laws we've got. I am a big supporter of what you've tried to do in order to make it less easy for people who are repeat offenders against children to be out in the work force. You know, after a certain point, adults should lose their rights...

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...if they have abused children.

WINFREY: You should just go to jail and stay.

Mrs. CLINTON: They should not be continually given their rights.

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: You know, one of the--one of the hardest--one of the hardest issues is, where does somebody's rights start and where does somebody else's stop? But when it comes to children--you know, their lives are forming every minute. And a young child who is 2 years old--something that is horrific that happens to that child is a huge part of their life.

WINFREY: Yes, but may I interrupt you? Where the rights begin--the guy in prison gets three meals a day. He has medical care and free legal advice.

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm. Yeah.

WINFREY: What about the right of the person--the child he molested?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, that's what I want to try to prevent, is to get those children out of situations in which they are subjected to molestation. I absolutely approve of the laws that are now being passed in jurisdictions to give people in neighborhoods information about...

WINFREY: Right.

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Mrs. CLINTON: ...convicted sex offenders who may move into their neighborhoods. I think it's absurd to say that a family should not know that somebody down the block is living in a house, who is there...

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...and has raped girls or has molested young boys. I think that's absurd, you know. So I think there--there are a lot of things that we--we can do better, but it really starts in the home. I mean, parents have to pay more attention to where their children are and what is happening to their children, and that's harder these days because so many families are working so hard to make ends meet, so many single mothers are doing the best job they can.

WINFREY: Do you think it's education? Do you think that people--I mean, it makes me crazy because I think--over the years, I've said it so many times; you'd think people should get it--but is it that people don't know what their neglect does? Do we need to start there, by saying, 'OK. If you neglect the child today, then that child internalizes that and that child becomes this kind of adult?' Is it educa--is it that pe--people don't know?

Mrs. CLINTON: I've concluded that that's a big part of it. And--and I don't know why, because we're deluged with information.

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: But I think, actually, having so much information delivered so impersonally with the disruption of the extended family, which used to deliver information in a more personal way...

WINFREY: Mm-hmm.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...has meant people have more information and know less to do with it than they did 10, 20, 50 years ago. So I do think we almost have to start from ground zero. I remember a few years ago I was walking by a group of people who were, I thought, kind of being very harsh to a little baby. You know how sometimes you're in a supermarket...

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...and you see things you wish you didn't see, and, you know...

WINFREY: Were you into a supermarket?

Mrs. CLINTON: Yeah, I was in a supermarket--the days I used to be able to go to the supermarket...

WINFREY: Oh, OK.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...which I really would like to be able to do again.

WINFREY: Because I'd hate to see you go to the supermarket with 10 secret service ahead of you. It'd be really hard now.

Mrs. CLINTON: Yeah, well--they're--you know--they're pretty good. They kind of clear the aisles out. So--and--and I--you know, I had one of those moments that we all do, like, 'Do I say something? Don't I say something?' And I just figured, 'You know, if I don't say something'--I remember when I was living in my neighborhood, growing up here outside of Chicago, the entire neighborhood looked out for us. One day my grandfather had a new car and pulled up in front of the house, and the woman across the street didn't recognize the car. She was out of her house in 10 seconds, across the street, running up to make sure I was OK. Now most of us, you know, we'd look out; we'd say, 'We don't recognize the car but we don't want to get involved.'

WINFREY: Yeah.

Mrs. CLINTON: So I went up and I said, 'You know, you really shouldn't shake a baby. That is not a good thing to do.' And this woman just turned on me. And I could tell that she was upset herself, but I could tell nobody had ever really gotten that message through to her. And I

said, 'You know, if you shake a baby, their little brain sometimes can knock around in their head.' And she stopped, startled. And I thought, you know, 'How can we not do everything possible to get better information out?'

WINFREY: Now what would have happened if she'd have said, 'Mind our own business, you so and so?'

Mrs. CLINTON: I would have said, 'I'll be happy to mind my own business, but I want you to know that what you're doing to that baby--and I assume you love your baby, because I can tell that you're trying to discipline your baby...'

WINFREY: Uh-huh.

Mrs. CLINTON: '...you could damage your baby in ways that would make it impossible for your baby to learn, make it impossible for your baby to really love you. So I'll mind my own business, but you need to know more about the business of raising your baby, because I know you love that baby.' You know, part of it is reaffirming parents, because a lot of parents are doing the best job they can under difficult circumstances.

WINFREY: Well, I--I--I appreciate the fact that you understand that. And I'm--I'm wondering if it's not overwhelming, because part of the--the--what I feel every day is, where do you even begin? Where do you even begin?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, there are so many things we could do that we don't do in our country. We could spend more time with new mothers in hospitals. I personally am appalled that we are now discharging mothers with babies as soon as we possibly can get them out the door. I think that is wrong.

You know, when--I know how I felt when I had my daughter. I mean, here I was, this person who had been to school longer than I needed to be, and all of a sudden I had this baby and I didn't know the first thing about what I was doing. And it took a lot of nurses and my mother-in-law and my own mother and other people to kind of make sure that I had a good idea of what I was doing.

I was sitting there learning how to breastfeed Chelsea one day in the hospital, and so I had her in a funny a--angle. And all of a sudden I see stuff--foam--coming out of her nose. I thought my baby was dying. And I punch all the buttons and the nurses run in, and the nurse says, 'Well, it would help if you sort of lifted her head up a little bit.' You know--and--but I could imagine how terrified I would be if I'd been alone in that situation, without a support of wonderful husband, without a family.

So let's start at the very beginning. Let's take the time we need with new mothers to help them bond with their babies. I was--I was in Manila, in the Philippines. I went to a hospital in a very poor section of Manila that had a very high abuse rate of children. And the doctors there had decided they were going to keep their mothers in the hospital with new babies till they learned to breastfeed and bonded with those babies. They kept them in three, four, five, six days. Not only did the mothers really bond with the babies; child abuse went down, the numbers of babies went down, because each mother was more invested in each baby, so they didn't feel the need to keep having more babies. Well, we can do the same thing here at home--so starting at the very beginning. I also believe we ought to have home visits from nurses and from citizens...

WINFREY: Really?

Mrs. CLINTON: ...from mentors, from role models. Absolutely. Because what we're doing now is we're not spending the time in the hospital. In fact, with the way that health care is developing, we are not even having a lot of registered nurses available who can really help train mothers. We're just moving the mothers in, moving them out with their babies and sending them home into a situation where they often have no help, no support system.

And I have been in other countries, and I have seen model programs here in the United States where, if you get that mother and baby off on the right footing, it makes all the difference in the world. Then, if the mother has to go back to work, she has bonded with the baby. And she will demand better day care than is available...

Mrs. CLINTON: ...to most mothers in this country right now.

WINFREY: Yeah. When we come back, we're going to meet a very good friend of Hillary's. I've known T. Berry Brazelton for--since I started in television. How long have you known him and how did he become such a good friend?

Mrs. CLINTON: I've known him--I can't remember--10, 15 years. I have followed his work. He and I have tried to advocate together on behalf of changes for children. I think he's just a great man and a wonderful doctor.

WINFREY: We're going to hear from T. Berry Brazelton--Dr. Brazelton--when we come back. We'll also talk about motherhood in the White House and how Hillary's raising Chelsea. I heard you talked to Jackie Kennedy Onassis, before you moved in, about raising kids in the White House.

Mrs. CLINTON: I did.

WINFREY: Really? We'll talk about that when we come back.

Mrs. CLINTON: Yeah. Good.

WINFREY: Yeah. Thank you. Back in a moment.

(Announcements)

WINFREY: Today we're pleased to have a very special guest with us, the first lady of this country, Hillary Rodham Clinton, talking about motherhood in the White House, raising Chelsea and making our children, your children, a priority in this country.

And joining us now is a man I think every parent in this country knows and respects. He's considered one of the leading authorities on children and parenting and is celebrating his 10-year anniversary as contributing editor for Family Circle magazine. Please welcome Dr. T. Berry Brazelton.

He's been quoted as saying, 'Never before has one generation'--you're quoted as saying, 'Never before has one generation been less healthy, less cared for, less prepared for life than their parents were at the same age.' What happened?

Dr. T. BERRY BRAZELTON (Pediatrician): I don't know. You know, how can we let it happen in a country like this? We're the least child- and family-oriented society in the civilized world--probably in the world.

WINFREY: How did--OK. So how it happened isn't as important as we need to turn it around.

Dr. BRAZELTON: That's right. And this is what I think is--that we've got to pay attention to. I love what you're doing, Oprah, incidentally.

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

Dr. BRAZELTON: And if we can give people hope, we can turn it around. We've just got to quit beating ourselves on the breast and saying, 'Oh, we don't know what to do. We can't do it.' And if we just decide we're going to do it--for instance, you-all were talking about the 24-hour discharge. Well, Proctor and Gamble has made my dream come true. We now have a center in which we're studying what we can do in that 24 hours, because mothers are so exhausted, they can't think. So what we do is show them their baby. And if I show a baby to a mother and put the baby's head here--I talk, 'Hi. How you doing?' The baby will turn to me. But if I put the mother over there, they'll always turn to her. And so, when she starts talking, the baby turns to her. She always grabs her baby and says, 'You know me already.'

And now--now I do it with fathers, if I can get their macho types over here. We--we play this game, and 80 percent of them turn to their father's voice. And the other 20 percent, I tip their head. And at that point--at that point fathers grab them and they say, 'You know me'--like it was a miracle. But you know, we can do that. If we pay attention to what people care about, we can do that.

WINFREY: Well, I think it's important to stress, because I think so many parents--and I see this--a lot of you who are working moms and, of course, working fathers out there feel--and we just did this show recently on Am I Spoiling My Child, where they--parents are--they live their lives to get their children these \$90 sneakers and \$70 jeans and stuff and stuff and stuff, and we went to a 6-year-old's house who has enough toys to fill a--you know, a charity full of--of children. And parents seem to be focused on--on--on material things--this generation. I think that's what's happened; I'm not sure.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: So that the--the actual attention and time with their children is not stressed as much as 'I've got to get my child this.' The--their children--they're preparing their children to compete in the world of 'Who has what.'

Dr. BRAZELTON: Mm-hmm.

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right. And what every child wants, more than anything, I think, is the time and attention, love and discipline--that combination--from their parents. And they want it so that they feel validated...

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...and it is--it is so--you know, it is so hard for so many parents today who are working very hard to understand that...

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...that, you know, really slowing down enough to spend that time is more important than anything you can physically, materially give.

WINFREY: Right. And this is something that I read that Dr. Brazelton had suggested. This is a great idea, America. This is a great idea. He says make a date with your children. You make a date and you start early in the week talking about it. You say, 'I'm going--I--we're going to have a date on Saturday or Wednesday or Thursday,' or whatever, and during the week you talk about the date and what you're going to do and how much fun you're going to have. And that is, whether it's 20 minutes or 30 minutes or an hour, that--throughout the week you get the bonus of the child looking forward to it and understanding that that...

Dr. BRAZELTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: ...time is important. Isn't that a great idea you had?

Dr. BRAZELTON: Well, I think it works. I'd rather hear it from you.

WINFREY: I love that idea.

Dr. BRAZELTON: The other thing I'm--I'm recommending to working parents--because 70 percent of mothers are working now...

WINFREY: Yeah.

Dr. BRAZELTON: ...in the work force--is learn to cheat on the work force.

WINFREY: Mm-hmm.

Dr. BRAZELTON: And when your boss calls, you don't go the first time; just sort of cool it as you walk down the hall. When you get there, take--you know, take dictation very slowly and save up energy. So when you walk in the door at night, everybody--you know they're all going to be at you and screaming at you, so just walk in the door and pick them all up and sit in the big rocking chair and just rock. And then, as soon as they calm down, take them in the kitchen and let them help you. You know, kids need to be involved.

WINFREY: So what we're trying to get across is--is that there needs to be a shift. If we could just do that, that would be a big deal--a shift in priorities, because I think what has happened with a lot of working moms and dads out there is that the priority is, 'I've got to get it; I've



Mrs. CLINTON: And I think it goes back to something you said earlier: A lot of people find it hard to believe that these very simple things are really that important. You know, it's the difference between breastfeeding and bottle feeding. 'Well, if it's bottle feeding, a formula, that must be better, because that's an advance.' Well, it isn't an advance. And if you spend time with your children, that may be very simple, but it is more important than the lot of other things you could do with them.

WINFREY: I guarantee you, America, if you made a date with your children on a regular basis, you would see a difference in their behavior.

Mrs. CLINTON: We used to do that with Chelsea a lot.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Yeah. I forgot about that.

Mrs. CLINTON: That's one thing th--yeah. We made a date, and we--we alternated: every week one of us got to choose what we would do. So sometimes it would be my husband's choice; we'd go play miniature golf, you know--and even when she was, like, three years old.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Her choice.

Mrs. CLINTON: Sometimes it was my choice, you know; we'd go play--we'd go do something else. And Chelsea would pick out odd things, like 'I want to go to the store and buy a coconut.' Well, we didn't know where that came from, you know? But it's what was--she wanted to do it. And I remember one day, we go to the store, we buy a coconut, and neither Bill nor I could get the darn thing to break open. We took that--but we had so much fun. We finally took it outside, just were throwing it on the sidewalk. Well, she remembers those things, because those were her times and she was kind of in charge. She got to make the decision. So she felt very much a part of the family. And it wasn't just 'You go do this and you go do that.'

Dr. BRAZELTON: And see, it's...

WINFREY: We said before the commercial break that you had asked Jackie Kennedy Onassis, before you moved into the White House, about raising a child in the White House.

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right.

WINFREY: And what did she tell you?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I think everybody knows what an incredible job she did and how much she...

WINFREY: I think that's the greatest tribute to her.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...it's--well--and she herself said that, you know, 'If you don't spend your time with your children and if your children don't turn out all right, then everything else you've done is not going to mean as much.' And I said to her...

WINFREY: Did you hear that, America? Did you hear that?

Mrs. CLINTON: And...

WINFREY: It doesn't matter what positions you have, how much clout you have in the office, if you don't spend the time with the children. And what was it all for?

Mrs. CLINTON: And I was concerned because, you know, I felt that we'd been able to protect our daughter and basically have the life we wanted with our values being...

WINFREY: Mm-hmm.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...transmitted to her, but I didn't know what would happen when we got to the White House. So I went to talk with her, and she was so great. You know, she said things that just were common sense, but--your child has to continue to have chores, to be involved in doing things, has to have responsibilities around the home; so, you know, every time I tell my daughter to go clean up her own room she gives me a cross-eyed look, but that's part of--you know--her maturing.

Dr. BRAZELTON: She does.

Mrs. CLINTON: And she told me that...

WINFREY: I'm so happy Chelsea has chores.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well--well, yeah. I mean...

Dr. BRAZELTON: Me too. I love it.

Mrs. CLINTON: You know--it--I mean, we have to make them up some...

WINFREY: Yeah.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...I mean, you know, it's not easy. But we sort of--you know...

WINFREY: What trash is there to take out?

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right. Exactly. But--but we also learned, from talking with Jackie, that it's very important that children--as they mature, you follow these--what Dr. Brazelton calls touch points. And at certain points along their development you give them new responsibilities. And--she told me how, for example, everybody always wanted to help her children and everybody wanted to intervene, to solve their problems for them.

WINFREY: Yeah.

Mrs. CLINTON: And there were always adults around. And I...

WINFREY: I can imagine; you can't drop a ball without somebody wanting to pick it up. You can't do anything.

Mrs. CLINTON: Yeah. You can't drop a ball. And so she told me one time that--you know--John had run into some bullies in the--in the park across from where they lived, and they had grabbed his bicycle and were going off with it. And immediately, you know, all the adults who were around and the security were going to move in. And, you know, she said to them later--she said, 'If that ever happens again, he has to solve it himself.' And, you know, sure enough--when it happened again, he had to go solve it himself. And when he was late for school, she made him, you know, get there on his own and not be taken care of. So that, as a child matures, you have to be willing to let them--to have consequences of their actions that are not going to be harmful and damaging. And that's very important, too. So I was very, very grateful to her.

Dr. BRAZELTON: You know...

WINFREY: When we come back...

Dr. BRAZELTON: ...Jackie--Jackie consulted me, when she was in the White House, when John came along, because Caroline was so mean to him.

WINFREY: Really?

Dr. BRAZELTON: And so we had a talk about sibling rivalry way back there. Didn't work, but--there's...

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right, but she was--didn't work. But it's those touch points. She was aware of what was happening in her children's life.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: And I think you can be the busiest mother in the world, but you can still be aware. Because we all think about our children 24 hours a day anyway, so we ought to think about them in line with their developmental needs.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Absolutely.

WINFREY: When we come back, Hillary's the first lady to be a nontraditional working mother.

woman do both well? We'll talk about that, next.

(Announcements)

Mrs. CLINTON: (From speech) Women need to have the right and the opportunity to make incomes to help themselves and their families.

WINFREY: Yes. Because--Hillary was saying to me during one of the commercial breaks--we talk about putting children first. You can't put the children first unless you're willing to put the moms first.

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: And that was Hillary addressing the labor union of poor women in India during her trip with her daughter, Chelsea, to south Asia last month. How did they accept that speech?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, this was a group of women who had been organized to help themselves. And they were the poorest of the poor. They were women who were vegetable vendors, who were poor farmers, and, through their coming together, they were lending each other money, they were able to go out and help raise the standard of living of their own families. They'd pool their money together to get a well for clean water in their community. And I were th--I was there with about 500 women, who--some of whom had walked 12 to 15 hours to be there. And each one who talked...

WINFREY: Whoa.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...stood up and said something like, 'I am so proud now, because my children can go to school. I don't have to take them out to work. I am so proud now, because my husband and I, working together, are able to help my family.' And they would say things like, 'I am not afraid anymore. I used to be afraid all the time. And now that I am not afraid, my children are not afraid.' I mean, everything was oriented toward the next generation. It was so wonderful to see that.

WINFREY: It--it must make you a lit--very frustrated and feel, sometimes, like--I don't--not--not giving up, but when you see a--the poorest woman in India, who has walked 15 miles and is a vegetable vendor, take charge of her life...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: ...and her existence, and then you see what we have in this country...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: ...and people sit around and whine about 'What can I do?'

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I--I did feel that when I was there.

WINFREY: Makes you want to spit, but you can't say it. Yeah.

Mrs. CLINTON: I want--no, I--I--no. I wanted to take every American with me, and particularly every American teen-ager, and let them see what other people are sacrificing to get an education, to be able to fulfill their own God-given potential. And we really do, in our country, have so many blessings we take for granted. And, as the doctor said, I mean, if we can't figure out how to help our children have better lives in this country, then shame on us. There's something very wrong with how we're making decisions and what our values are. And that's what I hope we can turn around.

WINFREY: Now you've been criticized for trying to create this superwoman mo--role model that a lot of women say they can't live up to. Do you think--of course, that's not fair, because you're doing the best that you know how.

Mrs. CLINTON: Right. Well, I feel strongly that every woman should make the right choices for her.

WINFREY: For her.

Mrs. CLINTON: For her.

WINFREY: That's what I feel.

Mrs. CLINTON: And what I'm hoping is that we will recognize that all of us, thankfully, are living longer and we're going to have many opportunities in our lives. And we ought to support each other as women, so that if a woman makes the decision, as some of my dearest friends have, to be full-time mothers during their 20s and 30s and early 40s, we ought to say, 'Hallelujah.'

WINFREY: Hallelujah.

Mrs. CLINTON: And if other women make the decision that the right choice for them is to pursue a profession or a career, that also ought to be respected. But what happens is most of us are trying to compose a life consisting of all these different notes, to use Mary Catherine Bates' phrase. I mean, here we are; we're trying to work, we're trying to be true to our families, we're trying to do what we can to make a contribution. And we sure make it hard in this country. We make it very difficult for women, and I think we're going to have to change the way we think, because we are seeing less productivity, we are seeing a lot of anger, a lot of distress.

WINFREY: Yeah. I would like to see that change, too. I would like to see--wouldn't you, Dr. Brazelton?--women especially being supportive of each other, rather than trying to be divisive...

Dr. BRAZELTON: ...(Unintelligible).

Mrs. CLINTON: Right.

WINFREY: ...and criticizing and judgmental of what one woman chooses to do with her life vs. another.

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Well, it would take so little to support women, too. In Europe, you walk around--women feel good about themselves that they're working. And Lois Hoffman at the University of Michigan has a study in which she shows that, if women feel good about their work, they bring that self-image home to their kids, so their kids profit, too. You can do both.

Mrs. CLINTON: I mean, we--we always end up with these stereotypes which are so unfair to women.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Mm-hmm.

Mrs. CLINTON: I mean, women have problems with the families, if they're at home, if they're in the workplace, and women can be very successful with their families if they're at home and if they're in the workplace. What matters is the kind of attitude that the mothers bring and the support they get from the outside society and from their families.

WINFREY: Absolutely. That's right.

Mrs. CLINTON: And that's what we ought to be trying to promote.

WINFREY: How violent and tragic events, like the Oklahoma bombing, are affecting our kids--it's more than you know. We asked a group of fourth-graders to share their private fears, and take a look at what we heard.

(Excerpt from video)

Unidentified Student #1: Well, I'm worried about the bombing and that it could happen anywhere. that they could just plant a bomb anywhere where you are and you wouldn't know it till it exploded.

Unidentified Student #2: You know, the little babies from the Oklahoma bombing, you know, with--you know, with all the blood, and they've got these really deep cuts. And--and it's--it really is sad. And I think the people who did it should get the death penalty twice, to tell

## (Announcements)

Mrs. CLINTON: (From speech) I know that many children around the country have been very frightened by what they have seen and heard, particularly on television, in the last few days. And I'm sure that you, like many of the children I've already talked to, are really concerned, because they don't know how something so terrible could have happened here in our country.

WINFREY: That was the president and first lady addressing some children in the Oval Office after the tragedy in Oklahoma. What did the kids tell you?

Mrs. CLINTON: Told me what we've already heard from the children here, that it was a very mean thing to do; these were very bad people. And they were scared that it could happen to them and their families. And it was so awful, I think, for many of us, because it was difficult to explain to our children. And that's one of the reasons the president...

WINFREY: To explain to ourselves.

Mrs. CLINTON: To explain to ourselves...

WINFREY: Yeah.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...yeah--or even to absorb it.

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: And that's one of the reasons the president and I did that, was to try to, in some way, help other parents deal with it, because we certainly, even though our daughter is now older, we certainly went through the same kinds of questions with her and the children of our friends.

WINFREY: And so this affects children in ways we don't recognize, isn't that true, Dr. Brazelton?

Dr. BRAZELTON: Yeah.

WINFREY: Because I remember growing up with the Cuban Missile Crisis, and I remember thinking at any moment we were going to be bombed. Every time I heard a plane I was, like, terrified for months as a--as a--as a kid.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Well, this time I had a 4-year-old who asked his mother to call me so he could talk to me. And he said, 'Dr. Brazelton, why did those mommies put those babies in a burning building? Were they bad kids?' And I thought, 'Oh, Lord, this is what every child feels, that if they--if that--it's their fault if something like this happens.'

WINFREY: Wow.

Dr. BRAZELTON: And I just think it's critical for parents to, no matter what their own fears are, to sit down with their kids at night and say, 'Look, you must be as worried as I am. Let's share what we're thinking.'

WINFREY: Well, a parent was telling me that they were telling their child, 'This could never happen to you. This was a'--and then I said, 'But is that the truth? Are you telling your child the truth when you say this will never happen again, this w...'

Dr. BRAZELTON: And they know better than that, so...

WINFREY: Yes, and they know better than that.

Mrs. CLINTON: But they do need the reassurances that you will take care of them...

Dr. BRAZELTON: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...and you'll be there for them, and that there are more good people in the world than bad people.

Dr. BRAZELTON: That's right.

Mrs. CLINTON: They do need all that, because one of the problems is the violence on television breeds violence and children get desensitized to violence. They get a sense that...

WINFREY: Can we talk about what's going on on some of the other talk shows? I know that that's a sort of a taboo subject, supposedly, with me, but I have recently--you know, for years I never watched other people's work and never understood the criticism from the critics. But it's not the violence; it's the day in and day out--if you see shows--for instance, you come home from school, parents, and you only see shows that depict one-night-stand reunions and who slept with whose boyfriend.

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right.

WINFREY: To me, it's such a breakdown of morali--it's saying we no longer even question whether it's OK to have a one-night stand, because we say we should have a reunion with the one-night stands. Yes.

Mrs. CLINTON: Right. And everybody's doing it.

WINFREY: Everybody's doing it. Yes.

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right. You know, my fa...

WINFREY: We don't question whether you should sleep together on the first date; we question, whose boyfriend should you steal?

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right. Well, you know, my father used to say all the time, you know, 'Do as I say, not as I do.' And I used to think, 'Oh, please.' But you know, adults need to be careful about what they say around children and what they portray to children. And I'm all for bringing back some old-fashioned hypocrisy, because I think the kind of dysfunctional behavior that we are subjecting our children to gives them no role models, gives them the feeling anything goes, that they can do anything with no consequences and get on television--which, you know, my goodness--that validates everything. So I'm--I am absolutely with you, Oprah. I think that the talk shows, combined with the violence, is, in effect, changing the way children feel about themselves in very damaging ways to themselves and our country.

WINFREY: When we come back, we'll talk to some students who are here today with questions. Back in a moment.

(Announcements)

WINFREY: And you had a question for Mrs. Clinton.

Unidentified Student #3: Yes. What are we going to do about--well, it's really easy to boot up information about how to build bombs and where to put them off your computer. Like, the other day, Kim wrote that in one of her essays on how easy it was. And so she asked me if I could get proof about it. And so I went home and booted up Incarda 95 and I went under military technology, and it said, "Bomb." And so I went there and it's, like, so...

WINFREY: You're computer literate, of course. We can tell. Yes.

Student #3: And it said, like, all-purpose bombs and where to put bombs. And I was just wondering, is--are we going to someday be able to get that eliminated from computers and not make it so easy?

Mrs. CLINTON: I sure hope so.

WINFREY: And how old are you? How old are you?

Student #3: Ten.

WINFREY: You're 10. You could get that information and you're 10. Yeah. What did you want to say? Oh, I--I have this to say about these girls. Joining us are some fourth-graders from Francis Parker School and sixth-graders from the Ogden Public School here in Chicago. We asked them to tell us what they worry most about and what they would want to change in the world. And

Kim said that she wishes there would be an end to violence and destruction. That's why you're concerned about the bombs being--bomb information on computer?

KIM: Yeah, I am, because, I mean, there are lots of little kids, like in the Oklahoma City bombing, and they had no idea that there was a bomb in their building.

WINFREY: Mm-hmm.

KIM: And when it exploded...

WINFREY: Do you think that you would--Kim, let's just think for a moment. In your lifetime--I mean, because you see a lot of violence on television. Are you allowed to watch it?

KIM: Yeah, but I don't like to.

WINFREY: You don't like to.

KIM: No.

WINFREY: Because it scares you...

KIM: Yeah.

WINFREY: ...sometimes. But do you think in your lifetime that it is possible--that it would be possible to eliminate a lot of the violence that we see on television and--and destruction caused in the world by violence?

KIM: Well, I think it would be really good if we could eliminate the TV shows that show, like, all the gory stuff and the killing and the guns and the bombs.

WINFREY: Are you hopeful that that will happen, though? Do you think, like, in your lifetime...

KIM: Yes.

WINFREY: ...you think that's going to happen?

KIM: Yes.

WINFREY: OK. That's good. Adriana said she wishes she could end the hatred.

Dr. BRAZELTON: You know, Oprah, Mrs. Clinton has set up a n--a new commission for children's television, and there are about 10 of us now trying to decide how to control the appropriate timing of television.

WINFREY: Why did you say you wish you could end the hatred? Because...

ADRIANA: Because, if we--if we don't worry about other people and what they hate most, then we're going to get hurt. And we need to teach those people--somebody needs to tell them--that they're doing something wrong and they just need to control themselves. Otherwise, we're not going to love each other; we're going to hate each other.

Mrs. CLINTON: I agree.

WINFREY: Thank you, Adriana. When we come back, we want to know what Hillary feels she sacrificed as a woman, wife and mother to be our first lady. We'll talk about that when we come back, and I know you-all have some questions. We'll talk to you, too.

(Announcements)

WINFREY: We've been talking today about how to put your children first. I don't want to leave the hour without some specifics on how to begin doing that. Hillary?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, there's a lot that we can do. And Dr. Brazelton and I were just talking about--what we need is a whole movement, as you said, in this country, that really does respect and support parenting and honors children. And I think there are some specific things, starting

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with birth, which we've already covered; changing policies in the workplace that just make it so difficult for most working parents--particularly working mothers--and I think practically impossible for single parents--to do their jobs both at home and out in the workplace.

WINFREY: OK. This wom--you--you're are a single working mom?

Unidentified Woman #1: Yes. I'm a single working mother, and I'm wondering: How do you deal with the guilt? Because I travel; I work every day, about 50 hours a week. And was just wondering...

Dr. BRAZELTON: I--I can't imagine a harder job than being a single parent, for one thing, but also having to work like that. I think you've--you've got to have some support. So I hope you know other single parents that get together and can all support each other and...

WINFREY: You just looked like you didn't, though. You don't? You don't?

Woman #1: No. I--I--I find it hard to balance time and find time for myself.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Mm.

Woman #1: And you just get into this routine. When does it--you know, when do you ever stop?

WINFREY: That's why Hillary is writing a book. Aren't you writing a book--"It Takes a Village to Raise a Child"?

Mrs. CLINTON: I am writing a book about that, because...

WINFREY: Yeah. Because you can't--I think you can't emphasize enough: You really can't do it alone.

Mrs. CLINTON: You can't do it alone.

WINFREY: And everybody's been raised to believe that you should be out here doing it alone.

Woman #1: Mm-hmm.

WINFREY: You can't do it alone. You c--y--you can't.

Mrs. CLINTON: And so many mothers are made to feel even guiltier, because they think, 'I'm the only one who can't manage this.'

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: And that is ridiculous. You know...

WINFREY: Because everybody else is feeling like you.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Mm-hmm.

Woman #1: Mm-hmm.

Mrs. CLINTON: Everybody is. And, you know, all I--just from my own experience, having support made a big difference. I--I--like Dr. Brazelton, I can't imagine the difficulties you face every day. But setting some priorities--and I know that sounds simplistic again, but I really think we need to get back to basics...

WINFREY: Right.

Mrs. CLINTON: ...about spending that time with your child, no matter what. I have a good friend who's always been a working mother. She calls her child every single day at the same time, no matter where she is. And, you know, she's traveled all over the world with her job.

Woman #1: Mm-hmm.

Mrs. CLINTON: But that child knows that, no matter what happens--and the mother's just made it clear--if she has to walk out of a meeting if she has to slowly walk down the hall because she



needs that extra time, she does it. And I think there are little things like that can always make it clear to your child that you're out there doing the best you can to provide the material support, but your heart is there with that child.

WINFREY: When we come back, Dr. Brazelton's specific advice for putting children first. That was really good.

(Announcements)

WINFREY: We were just talking in the commercial break about this; I know you don't have a long time to address it, but what do you think about the Baby Richard situation?

Mrs. CLINTON: I think it's an outrage that that child was not considered with respect to his best interests. And it is something that I have fought for for a long time. That child should not have been moved. Those were his parents. It was a psychological bonding that happened.

WINFREY: Talk about not putting children first.

Dr. BRAZELTON: You know...

WINFREY: Yeah.

Dr. BRAZELTON: ...Oprah, more than that, it--it would have been so easy to have evaluated that situation four years ago, and found out that--that the real parents were not equipped to handle that child. So instead of putting him in a foster situation and yanking him out and wrecking his life for the future--there's no question in my mind about that--because he shoves it under. What's going to happen? It'll bubble up someday and he'll--he'll go bomb Oklahoma City or something.

Mrs. CLINTON: You know, Oprah, I used to, as a lawyer, do cases like that, where I represented adoptive parents who all of a sudden had been told that they had to give the child back after two, three, four years. And, yes, it's a difficult matter. And I used to stay awake at night worrying that was making the right decision. But if you put the child first, you can only make the decision about what you know right now. And that child had bonded. That child was not just the child of the adoptive parents; that child was the child of an entire extended family and neighborhood. And it was as though a bomb had gone off and he was the only survivor. Now think about it like that, because that's what has been done to that child, in terms of the depth of the trauma.

Dr. BRAZELTON: I have one idea.

WINFREY: You wanted to say something to this working mother.

Dr. BRAZELTON: Yeah.

WINFREY: Yes. What?

Dr. BRAZELTON: Well, all right. I-- I was going to say to the working mother, make some tapes and leave different tapes for each day you're gone. And when you call her, say, 'Go watch that tape, because I'm thinking about you all the time.' And she'll know you care about her and she'll feel like this is par--her contribution.

But I have one more idea for--for America--for children first. We need somebody like Hillary in the White House, who's right at the president's side, saying, 'Children come first.' And we ought to have a cabinet-level person. We fought in--in--when we went around the country in the National Commission for Children, we fought for a cabinet-level person who thought of children first. And everything that was going to happen was related.

(Announcements)

WINFREY: I thank you so much, Mrs. Clinton, for being here.

Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you for what you're doing.

WINFREY: Thank you so much. And, Dr. Brazelton, I never had a baby you could be the

Mr. BRAZELTON: I'm s--I'm still waiting.

WINFREY: I--I--you know what I think? I think if we g--if--if we did nothing else today to get the country thinking about what you can, in your own life, do...

Mrs. CLINTON: Right.

WINFREY: ...to prioritize and put your child first...

Mrs. CLINTON: That's right.

WINFREY: ...we would have made a difference.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I hope so, because each of us can do something more than we're doing, and do it better, and then we can spread out from there.

WINFREY: Thank you. Thank you, everybody. Thanks for watching.