

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Reines, Philippe I <reinesp@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 3:06 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R; H
Cc: Adler, Caroline E
Subject: Re: Monica Langley Transcript

+Hrc

Tom, she moved that yellow chair as close as it went. Knee to knee. Amazed she didn't try knee in between knee. And if that wasn't enough, she leaned forward. More like a pivot, as far as her torso could fold forward to minimize the space between their heads. Was like the dental hygienist rolling around the floor to get the best access to your mouth depending on what tooth she was trying to get access to. I've never seen a Westerner invade her space like that. And even the non-Westerners I've seen do it based on cultural differences have been only briefly to greet. This went on like that for 51 minutes - unacceptable in any culture. I don't even think you see that behavior among any type of mammal.

The touching the leg and repeatedly calling her 'Hillary' was just gravy.

But it was wonderful. One of the best interviews I've ever witnessed. Wish it were on live tv.

From: Nides, Thomas R
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 02:39 PM
To: Adler, Caroline E
Cc: Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: Monica Langley Transcript

I may go and throw up since I am laughing so hard

From: Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 1:00 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Reines, Philippe I
Subject: RE: Monica Langley Transcript

This will be exciting when it's FOIA'd ... but will give you a sense of the interaction:

HRC: Monica, have a seat
 ::HRC motions toward a chair situated an appropriate distance from her preferred spot on the couch::

Monica: !!!!Sure!!!!
 ::Monica proceeds to drag her chair within inches of the Secretary –leaning in even further::

Interview proceeds...and about midway:

Monica: Oh Hillary...2016 '16 '16
 :: Monica grabs HRC's knee::

HRC laughs awkwardly – glances at Philippe

Monica: ::leaning in further::
 Oh Hillary...what do you eat? drink? dream about when you sleep?

:: Monica again touches HRC's leg::

::Everybody laughs awkwardly – Philippe hardly able to contain himself::

Monica: They think I'm so funny (looking at Philippe and me.) HILL, can I ride on your lap to the White House?

...this went for about 51 minutes. And I agree with Philippe- whatever she does, it works. It was a really great interview.

From: Reines, Philippe I
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 12:38 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Adler, Caroline E
Subject: Re: Monica Langley Transcript

Tom, was an awesome interview. Hrc was great, but I was really impressed by how good of an interviewer Monica is. One of the best I've ever seen. But she was her usual wacky self and pulled one move that I can't even describe so I'll let Caroline do - since you'll appreciate it given your familiarity with Monica Langley, Hillary Clinton, and the Secretary's chair arrangement in her outer office.

From: Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2012 12:25 PM
To: Nides, Thomas R
Cc: Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Monica Langley Transcript

Hi Tom –
Below is the transcript from yesterday's interview with Monica and the Secretary.
Enjoy!
Caroline

UNEDITED - FOR INTERNAL USE

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Monica Langley of The Wall Street Journal

October 10, 2012
Department of State

QUESTION: Oh, so you've had a fun morning.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's been a busy morning.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah.

QUESTION: So what did you do besides Desmond Tutu? I saw that one – (laughter) – but I know there's been much more.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, we did a lot of internal meetings which are kind of in preparation for everything to come the last three months. So talking about all of the issues. I had everybody do a –

QUESTION: I'm moving closer.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Sure. (Laughter.) Had everybody do memos about what they wanted to get done and what they needed from me to get done, so we've been kind of going through all of that, and --

QUESTION: To get done before you actually leave (inaudible)?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Before I actually leave. And also to set up for some post-election memos for the President about not only what we do here at State and --

QUESTION: Are we recording this for sure? You know it's working? Okay.

PARTICIPANT: For sure, yes.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- USAID, but also for how it interacts with the rest of government, DOD, USTR, Commerce, HHS, you name it. So there's a lot of that work going on. Obviously, we're working hard to be responsive to the Congress in their requests on our terrible tragedy in Benghazi, and give them information, and try to run an effective, accurate, investigation so we can get to the bottom of what happened. And then I did have this long, funny meeting with Desmond Tutu and about 10 other people about the International Day of the Girl, first ever.

QUESTION: I thought that was great.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Isn't that terrific?

QUESTION: As a mother of an only daughter --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Me too, me too.

QUESTION: Like you, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And I --

QUESTION: And Barbara was one of my daughter and Langley Grace's (ph) teachers.

SECRETARY CLINTON: You're kidding.

QUESTION: Yeah, who is Chelsea's --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: -- best friend's mother.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Nicole --

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- is Chelsea's, yes, best friend.

QUESTION: Yeah, so I found out about that long ago.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, she's a wonderful teacher.

QUESTION: Yes, she is. She's one of my daughter's favorite.

SECRETARY CLINTON: The whole family is fabulous. In fact, Nicole and Chelsea have remained such good friends, they live in the same building in New York, and they're just great friends.

QUESTION: Oh gosh, isn't that great?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah.

QUESTION: Okay. So let me tell you about this story. It started as a personality profile of you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay.

QUESTION: Ordered at the highest level of *The Wall Street Journal* – (laughter) – believe it or not. And I do page one profiles, but this came down as like, “You are the star of the Obama Administration.”

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, my goodness.

QUESTION: So I said, “Okay, fine.” I had fun covering you in your campaigns.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: And so I would love to do it even though I know very little about foreign policy and State – (laughter). I thought, okay, this will be good for – this will be a good personality profile. Well, it morphed into – now it’s become the action profile.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay.

QUESTION: Because your life –

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- is just constant action.

QUESTION: Totally. I mean, you just about killed me over the last (inaudible) – (laughter). I’ve got nothing. I’ve got nothing except gained five pounds. Anyway, I don’t know how you do it. So – and then I thought, for a graphic for this story, all we need to do is show the countries you visited, we can put that in one color on a map of the globe.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: And then if we colored in every country you’ve talked to or person you’ve touched, you’ve been all over the – you’ve talked to like almost every country.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think that’s probably right.

QUESTION: In the last five weeks.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes.

QUESTION: I mean, it’s been unbelievable.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, it’s been pretty jam-packed.

QUESTION: It is.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Starting with August, coming all the way to mid-October.

QUESTION: Exactly. So I thought this story was going to be kind of your easy glide-out. It’s turned out to be much –

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don’t think there is such a thing. I think in today’s world, there is nothing easy or potentially gliding for this job. There is just too much going on, and you know everything that’s going on because we are hyper-connected. So there’s no doubt in my mind I will work to the last minute before I leave the building.

QUESTION: Has this, though – since I’m focused on this last 4-5 week period – has it been your most challenging part of your tenure, or not?

SECRETARY CLINTON: It’s been among the most challenging. There’s no doubt about that. And it’s been challenging on many levels. Of course, the terrible events in Benghazi, but also in other parts of the Middle East and North Africa that didn’t get as much attention because, thankfully, no one was killed or injured. But we’ve had to keep a close watch on a lot of different places. We’ve spent – I’ve spent time, as you know, in the Far East, in China and Vladivostok, and working on trying to manage what are always complicated relationships, but made more so because of changes in leadership and challenges like who owns what rock where.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And working hard with the ASEAN nations to support their efforts for peaceful resolution of their disputes. UNGA is always exhausting. It is a non-stop dawn-to-midnight marathon.

QUESTION: Can I back you up to –

SECRETARY CLINTON: Sure.

QUESTION: Because I've joined you in Jakarta and Beijing.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: That's all I could handle of your trip. (Laughter.) So in Jakarta, I watched you talk to the embassy folks there and noticed one person said to you, "I can't wait to vote for you in four years."

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh.

QUESTION: You said, "Bless your heart," or something like that. (Laughter.) Okay, so – but I want to try to get – I want to put – string together these anecdotes.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay.

QUESTION: So I want to get your perspective on some of the things I saw. Now, in Beijing, a similar thing came up. I heard, at the dinner – that dinner 'til 1 a.m. So – did the Foreign Minister say to you – somebody told me he said to you, "You will be so young when you are President." Do you remember his saying that?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, it wasn't the Foreign Minister.

QUESTION: Oh, who said it?

SECRETARY CLINTON: It was the State Counselor --

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- Dai Bingguo, who has become a very good partner for me as I've worked with China. He was my counterpart in the Strategic and Economic Dialogue, and he was kidding me because he's retiring.

QUESTION: Are you sure he was kidding you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I think so. That's my interpretation. He's retiring and he's probably at least ten years older than I am. And he's saying to me, "Why are you retiring? You're so young!" I said, "Boy, I'd travel a thousand miles to anywhere to be told I was so young." (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But it was more along the lines of, he will be leaving with the change in leadership in China, and I will be voluntarily leaving, as I announced a year ago.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah, more on that later.

Okay, so then, the next day, you have Xi cancel on you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. I'm not --

QUESTION: Now, he cancelled on others, too.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: But you were told – were you told it was the back injury?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. But that – we were told the night before, and I took it at face value, really, because from our perspective, I had a very good set of discussions with him both here in Washington and in my previous trip to Beijing. And as you know, he was unable to keep his schedule for ten days.

QUESTION: Right, he'd not been seen in public, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, so I didn't really think anything other than what I was told.

QUESTION: Did it frustrate you, though? 'Cause you were all the way over there, and --

SECRETARY CLINTON: No, because I had so many other meetings.

QUESTION: Okay. Okay, okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I mean, I didn't go specifically to see him. I went to continue our dialogue.

QUESTION: Did they get a little ticked off that we reported that it was a back injury, since they like to keep things so close to the vest?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don't -- I don't know that.

QUESTION: Okay. And then at your press conference, I sat in the front row right in front of you because I was a pool reporter.

PARTICIPANT: Just like this. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Yes, you know me. I like to be very touchy-feely. If I could've touched you, I would.

Anyway, so I sat there, and you as a politician came through to me loud and clear. You took control of that press conference, okay. I mean, you said your little pleasantries, he said his pleasantries, and then you took charge. And it wasn't just about the South China Seas. You hit all the things, Syria, Iran, not -- and all the others. North Korea.

So then he was on his heels. And he's like -- he was wanting to get in. So tell me: What was your thinking? Was it purposeful? Was that your strategy going in? I'd like to -- I want to describe that, because to me, you clearly had the political savvy over your counterpart.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, we have very different systems. He's an incredibly accomplished diplomat, and as you rightly point out, we both made our points. And I --

QUESTION: He did make his points, but only after he was on his heels.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, that's your interpretation.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I had a very clear understanding of what I needed to say because there were all these issues that we were talking about. And they are complicated, challenging issues. So I wanted to be sure that I put it out there, and I didn't want to say anything other than what my assessment was at the time. Some people say, "Well, you're in a foreign country, you shouldn't do this," or whatever.

QUESTION: Yeah, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Now, I mean, I think we're living in a world where everybody knows what you say everywhere.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And I believe you have to say the same thing, you have to be consistent, repetitive, make the case knowing full well that there's a resistance on the part of China and Russia to be more constructive in the Security Council. But insofar as I could break through in their mass media as well as the international mass media, I was going to make that effort.

QUESTION: Which goes to this point which I was going to get to a little bit later about -- one way you've tried to change, I think, the Secretary of State -- you've changed the terms of what it means, is this public diplomacy. You are knowing you're reaching a different audience. You're not just playing right there at that press conference.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right. A hundred percent right, Monica. I mean, I believe I am the chief public diplomat of the State Department, and as well as the chief diplomat. But there's the public role to it, which is increasingly important, because you can't just go somewhere, have your meeting behind closed doors, do a controlled readout, and go on to the next capital. Because in every society now, you have to recognize there is a public audience as well as an official audience.

So I am conscious of that from the very first trip I made in early February 2009. I've been trying to talk about America's values and our interests and our security everywhere I can.

QUESTION: Is that in part – did you have a vision that you also have to remake America's brand?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think we – I think our brand was battered for a lot of reasons. We came into office in the midst of the economic crisis, which was very dangerous, and I thought that – and still do – that confidence is a commodity, and we had to show confidence. We had to be making smart decisions. We had to reassure leaders and markets and people, and that was part of my job on that first trip that I made and every trip since.

I was in Hong Kong when the debate over the debt was going on, and I had all of these very wealthy, distinguished, high-ranking people from Hong Kong lining up to say, "What's going to happen in America? What are they doing over there?" And I said, "Oh, don't worry about it. We will get to a decision." Because I had to be, at that moment, displaying the kind of confidence that our country has, and our ability to make decisions, even hard decisions, in order to keep leading the world economically and politically, and I believe that.

QUESTION: Okay. Let me then jump – you came – well, of course, there's the campaign. On September 6th, you watch your husband at the convention.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: Okay. What did you feel at that moment?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I was thrilled. It was so odd for me not to be there. I've been at every convention for decades, and there I was in East –

QUESTION: Did you miss it?

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- in Timor-Leste.

QUESTION: Yeah. Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I missed a lot of what goes with conventions – seeing people from all over the country, having that sense of purpose that a convention is supposed to give you to go out in the election and work your heart out for your candidate. But on the other hand, I also believed and knew that what I was doing was very important for my country. So I certainly didn't miss –

QUESTION: And did you hear you were a big topic of conversation there about whether Hillary –

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, well –

QUESTION: -- 2016?

SECRETARY CLINTON: That seems to be a topic of conversation for a lot of people, which is –

QUESTION: Everywhere, okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- which is fine.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But it was thanks to the hard work of Philippe and others that we were able to see in nearly real time. I mean, we had to wait till it was recorded, because I had a schedule that I had to keep, but then we were able to watch the whole speech. It was great.

QUESTION: Yeah. Okay. Now, you came back home September 11th. So let's talk about how you faced that day, just a couple key moments, because I don't want to relive the whole thing.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: But what were the key moments to you? Was it when you first were told the Ambassador's missing? Was it when you found out he was actually – they had found him?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No. It predated that, because I take September 11th very seriously. I was a senator from New York on September 11th.

QUESTION: Right. And I lived in New York on September 11th at the time.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And it was a searing, painful experience in every way, and so every September 11th I'm on hyper alert for what's going on around the world. And we always have discussions in our security – among our security experts – okay, September 11th is coming up. Because we pick up intelligence, we pick up chatter that people might want to do something somewhere in the world. So everybody is watching. That's – but we had a very strong set of standards that we've tried to follow around the world.

And then simultaneously, we had this video coming out, which we were getting lots of feedback from our posts that this was a problem, that people were reacting to it. So there was a lot swirling around. And clearly, when we started hearing about what was happening in Cairo, what was happening in Tunisia, what was happening in Benghazi and other places – because there were demonstrations going on in many places, and they were being, to some extent, hijacked by extremists with other agendas.

But then when we were alerted to what was going on in Benghazi, we were all just totally focused on trying to find out what we could under quite difficult circumstances, and we're still trying to get to the bottom of what happened when. But that day, it was all consuming. We were all just as active as we could given the distance, trying to manage everything that was happening, and be responsive in real time. And of course, it was primarily the duty of the security experts who have those responsibilities, but I was here and others were here trying to sort through all the information as it was coming in.

QUESTION: Do you – today the front page of the *Post* says this is now going to mar your – what had been your great record at State. I mean, are you ultimately, Hillary, going to have to take responsibility for this?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I take responsibility. That's not even – that's not a question. I take responsibility. I'm the Secretary of State. I have 60,000-plus employees around the world, and this is like a big family. I mean, these Foreign Service and Civil Service officers, many of whom have worked with each other, they know each other, I have – I'm working with people today that I first met when I was First Lady, and they were a young diplomat somewhere that I showed up. I sent Chris Stevens to Benghazi in the height of the Libyan conflict.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: And he was eager to go, and he was very effective, and then I recommended him to be our ambassador, and I had the highest regard for him.

QUESTION: Gosh, that must make it that much –

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, it's painful, Monica. It's absolutely painful, because it's not just a faceless person.

QUESTION: Yeah, exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's people who, if I didn't know them personally, somebody close to me in this building knew them, had worked with them, was at the same post five or ten years ago. So there's an extraordinary sense of loss and responsibility. Every one of us who had any responsibility, from the security experts on up, we all feel like we have to figure out what happened, because we clearly want to make sure it doesn't happen again. But there is an inherent risk in this job.

When I okayed sending Robert Ford to Hama at the beginning of the Syrian conflict, that was a risk. We said, "Robert, do you want to go there? It's dangerous. We can't guarantee your safety, because we have to rely on host nations."

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But you think it's the right thing to do. It clearly sends a message about where the United States' values are.

Or when I was in Egypt, and we were protested against in Cairo, and then the security people came to me and said, "You're supposed to go to Alexandria. It's a much less fortified position than we have in Cairo. Maybe you shouldn't go." I said, "No." I said, "I'm going to go." I went. But, I mean, we had people throwing shoes and tomatoes.

This is an inherently risky world. It is a dangerous world. And we will do our very best, as our military and intelligence colleagues do, to try to think through how to provide as much security as possible, but you can't keep people behind 20-foot walls and expect

them to do their jobs. And whether it's the Marine barracks in Beirut being blown up or a CIA outpost in Afghanistan, Americans need to realize that it's not only our soldiers; it's our civilians serving our country who are also putting their lives on the line to --

QUESTION: Well, that's been the wakeup call of this incident.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- to do the job that we ask them to do.

QUESTION: So one thing that a lot of people have said in this is another -- somebody from the White House told me they thought watching you and Obama at the Andrews Air Force Base, there was a new bond between you two, that everybody knows you all aren't buddy-buddy, but you all clearly respect each other and work together. Do you feel that you had a new bond? I mean, I saw that you touched his hand -- on watching the -- watching it, you touched his hand after he spoke, and then when you all walked back to the families that he put his arm around your waist. Do you feel this gave some -- did you feel that at that moment? Somebody at the White House saw it, and then somebody at the State Department also thought so.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I feel like there have been a number of moments -- maybe not public moments -- that have been very, very precious to me in my relationship with the President. I was in that very small group that made the decision about bin Ladin and was there in that Sit Room, and --

QUESTION: Right, which we've all seen that picture.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, going up and down the emotional rollercoaster. And walked with him across the Colonnade in the White House for him to address the nation. I mean, there are a lot of moments, but that was a particularly poignant time for both of us because we live every day -- he as President, I as Secretary -- with the knowledge that decisions we make, sending a Chris Stevens to Libya, are ones that have risk and danger attached to them. And so I --

QUESTION: When he came here that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes.

QUESTION: -- next day, did you call him and say, "I'd love you to come over?"

SECRETARY CLINTON: I did. I did.

QUESTION: Do you call him, like, on the secure phone?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, yes.

QUESTION: Where's the secure phone?

SECRETARY CLINTON: In my office.

QUESTION: Oh.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah, we have a secure phone. Yeah.

QUESTION: I know. Did you call him on the secure phone?

SECRETARY CLINTON: We wanted --

QUESTION: Or do you only do that if there's, like, a real emergency?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. We communicate in lots of different ways. But I thought it was important if he could, but it was -- I knew that he has a lot of other demands on his time, and I was going over to the Rose Garden and then I said, "Mr. President, can -- do you have time to come by and see our people if we can get them gathered?" And he didn't hesitate, absolutely. And it was --

QUESTION: Do you say Mr. President or do you say Barack?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I do. I say Mr. President. I believe strongly in saying Mr. President.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I think it's a sign of respect for the person and for the office.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I mean, I called him Barack when I was a senator with him, but --

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- now he's the President and I respect that.

QUESTION: Okay. Now let's start going toward UNGA. The -- on September 15th, I think the Saturday before Netanyahu was going to be on Meet The Press, you had a private call with him.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I did, I did.

QUESTION: Okay. And that -- the Mideast thing and Iran, it's kind of been in tumult. So the relationship -- do you feel that you need to work your -- work on that with your past relationship with him? I mean, this is -- as two politicians to one another, what's -- show me how this works.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, look. I've known Bibi a long time, and I consider him a friend. He is somebody who I've spent a lot of time talking to in New York, in Washington, in Jerusalem. We have had long in-person conversations, long telephone conversations. And I respect the fact that he is trying to protect Israel, that -- I often tell people, put yourself into the position of the Prime Minister of Israel at a time of great tumult and uncertainty. And so I guess I would say, on a pretty regular basis, we -- I check in with him.

QUESTION: Does that help, though, given that, kind of, people view his relationship with the President as rocky, that you all --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well --

QUESTION: -- are in kind of -- have your own relationship?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, here's -- I think he's been around so long he has good relationships with a lot of people, and I think he has a relationship of mutual respect with the President. And his concerns about what's going to happen are totally legitimate. They're concerns that the President shares, which is why the President has said our policy is prevention, not containment. And he's been very, very clear about that.

QUESTION: Okay. Now then you go to New York for UNGA. But I talked to Betsy, your friend from Park Ridge.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: Okay. So she brought this up on her own about your hair.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.)

QUESTION: She said --

STAFF: I'm amazed you got -- what --

QUESTION: (Laughter.) The pizza party --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, right.

QUESTION: At the pizza party --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: -- she said to you she likes your hair long, and she said it suits where you are in your life right now. Do you remember her saying this to you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Honestly, I don't, but --

QUESTION: Okay. I don't even bring this up.

SECRETARY CLINTON: No, I don't. I mean --

QUESTION: You hear about this all the --

STAFF: I can't believe you're using poor Betsy as a device.

QUESTION: I know. This is great.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I would be happy to talk to you sometime about all of -- all that, all that stuff.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, but not that. But she said that. Okay. All right.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.)

QUESTION: So anyway, so you have the pizza party, then -- and your husband and your daughter are there.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: At least that was a nice break.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: Okay. Then you go into full-scale work.

SECRETARY CLINTON: UNGA, UNGA, UNGA.

QUESTION: Okay. But you first appeared at the Clinton Global Initiative, which was a key --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, no. I started working on Sunday.

QUESTION: Oh, okay, okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I was at the Clinton Global Initiative Monday morning, but I started having what we call bilats on Sunday.

QUESTION: Okay. Yeah. And I wrote down you did -- it looks like you had 29 bilats, you had 54 meetings or events that week. And I don't know if you noticed, but I was running in as a little pool reporter just to see any glimpse of you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.)

QUESTION: And I would try to hang to hear what they were saying. The Yemen President said you work nonstop, you're shuttling around the world, you're on TV every day.

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.) Yeah.

QUESTION: I mean, your public image is really fascinating --

SECRETARY CLINTON: For people all over the world.

QUESTION: -- to all these foreign leaders.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, I know.

QUESTION: I mean, they really, like, admire that.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well --

QUESTION: Don't you think -- what does that tell you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, look. I think in today's world, America has to show up. We have to show up in a lot of places to make the case for what we believe are the right choices for us and for partners and the world. So I'm constantly being told by leaders, presidents, prime ministers, foreign ministers, "I'm exhausted watching you."

QUESTION: Exactly. I once heard – they’ll say that.

SECRETARY CLINTON: They’re the very same people who get quite unhappy if I don’t show up.

QUESTION: Exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Like, “Oh, can you come to this?” “Gee, I’m so sorry I can’t.” “Okay, I’ll change the date. When can you come?” So – and I know that it might not have been quite as important in times past, but now, because you’re covered on broadcast television, you’re covered on the internet, people know you’re there and you’re making a case. And you’re respecting another country and another country’s leaders enough to be in their palace, in their office, in their parliament.

And I have found that it eases the way for building interpersonal relations, which at the end of the day are at the root of much of what we do in foreign relations. Doesn’t mean that people are going to give up their self-interest or change their human nature. That’s not going to happen. But that there may be an opening that you can take advantage of to make a case that might otherwise not have been heard if you were just barking orders at them from a thousand miles away.

QUESTION: Yeah. I know. You know what? I’m all about relationships, not transactions, and I see that in you --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah.

QUESTION: -- in how you do your job.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It really matters. It matters. It’s always mattered.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But it especially matters in the world today.

QUESTION: I see that loud and clear. Okay. And then in the week of October, I noticed on your schedule – well, is there anything about the UN, was there any key – you also met with people that are higher than you --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, right.

QUESTION: -- because Obama left all that to you. Was there any key meeting that I should focus on?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I mean, gosh, there were so many. I mean --

QUESTION: I mean, the bulk of it was unbelievable, but was there one moment that was the one I should pick out --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I don’t --

QUESTION: -- that was particularly sensitive or --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Let me think about that, Monica.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Because, I mean, we had very intense conversations with the presidents of Afghanistan and Pakistan and Egypt and --

QUESTION: Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- Yemen and Libya and – (laughter) –

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I mean, it was a --

QUESTION: Well, maybe you could tell Philippe --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: -- what would be the best one to single out from that time period.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Okay. We'll go through -- yeah.

QUESTION: I mean, the bulk of it -- and then --

STAFF: We'll rank all 24.

QUESTION: (Laughter.) And then on October 1st, that week, you led the U.S.-Afghanistan Bilateral Commission.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right.

QUESTION: Is that important?

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's very important.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: It's part of -- we negotiated something called a Strategic Partnership Agreement with Afghanistan as a way of both committing ourselves to an enduring partnership with the Afghans, having an agenda that we would both follow so that there wouldn't be second-guessing and finger-pointing. We would say, "Look, here's what we want to work on together, and here's how we have to proceed." And this was the first of those meetings. And I found it to be much desired on the Afghan side, and on ours as well because we wanted to clarify what we were going to be focusing on together.

QUESTION: Even after the -- what's been happening with the suicide --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, right.

QUESTION: -- acts and all that? Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right, right.

QUESTION: Okay. Okay. Now, what do you want to be your legacy?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, gosh. I have not stopped to think about that.

QUESTION: Really?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Again, I will stop to think about it maybe in three months.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I'm so in the moment. People say to me, "What are you going to do next? Looking back, what's your legacy?"

QUESTION: Yeah, that's coming to -- yeah, yeah, yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Honestly, I can't answer those questions because I just haven't allowed myself to stop and think them through. And I don't want to divert my mind from what's going on right now. There's too much going on right now that I have to be focused on, so I'll let the rest work itself out.

QUESTION: Do you think, given the way the world is right now and how tough this last few weeks has been, have you even given a thought to maybe staying as Secretary of State?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, a lot of people have talked to me about that, but I --

QUESTION: But has the President?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I'm not going to go into any conversations with anybody, but I would be unlikely to do that. I really made up my mind -- now, at least a year or so ago -- and I want to follow through on that. Because I think it's important for me

to just step off the incredibly high wire that I've been on for the last four years – actually for the last 20 years – just to take stock of the rest of my life which is before me.

QUESTION: Yeah. And do you – I know you haven't given a lot of thought, but is there something that you just can't wait to do?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, yeah, sleep. Sleep would be good.

QUESTION: How do you balance all this? I mean, you do go nonstop.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, I do.

QUESTION: I mean, I've gained five pounds just travelling with you. (Laughter.) No joke. On that travel, it was an excuse to eat shit. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah, there's a lot of it around. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Yeah. I mean, you just grab food. They're like, oh, well I need this to get through the day. And I wasn't even performing like you are; I just sit here and do nothing. So I blame you for this. So how do you do it?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I take responsibility for that too. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah, exactly. (Laughter.) How do you, like, balance --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, first --

QUESTION: -- this physically and also to be, like, a strong leader but also then have the compassion and the person? I mean, how do you pull it off?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. Well, I mean, first, it's just who I am. And I don't think about it being anything other than going about my business. But look, I do try to exercise, I do try to eat right. I fall off the wagon on both. I do try to get enough sleep.

QUESTION: Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Not easy to do. Try to catch up it with whenever I can. But the work is so consuming, intellectually demanding, with such high stakes – literally life and death at stake –

QUESTION: Yeah.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- that I am constantly thinking and planning and reacting, trying to manage this extraordinary panoply of issues around the world that I think are going to affect my country, my daughter, the future that I would like to see, and so it gets me up every day and keeps me going till late at night.

QUESTION: And do you – your colleagues here tell me – you've got a great team, by the way – I have so much fun with them --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you.

QUESTION: -- and they're all very talented.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Thank you.

QUESTION: But do you – they all tell me how you're always searching for the next best organizer.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes.

QUESTION: Saying you're always looking for the next best binder or – so what is this about you that you --

SECRETARY CLINTON: (Laughter.) It's almost a game that I play with myself. When you have as much coming at you as I do every day, it's kind of a constant joke we have. Okay, our cards or paper or our boxes or some other form of storage – I mean, it's just a way of kind of keeping it light, because there's so much serious that we have to do all the time.

QUESTION: And do you – is it true that the President gave you, like, an inscribed iPad cover or something?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, he gave me a great iPad cover that has my initials on it, which was really very welcome because it's hard, so when you travel as much, it doesn't get knocked around.

QUESTION: Was it for a particular occasion? Or did you see one that he had or what?

SECRETARY CLINTON: We were just talking one day. We do that. I mean, I gave --

QUESTION: I know you're going to see him after me.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Very -- yeah, very shortly, yeah.

QUESTION: I'll be happy to go with you. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, I know. I gave him an espresso machine one time. We were talking about good espresso and how hard it was to find. And I really enjoy my time with him, and I also know probably better than anybody because of what -- the positions that I've had, and the respect I have for how hard -- how impossible the job has always been, but certainly is today. It's not all bad news. I mean, there's a lot of bad news I have to deliver, a lot of difficult issues I have to raise, a lot of hard questions he has to grapple with. So it's nice every so often to -- like when Bo the dog came in to see Aung San Suu Kyi, when I went to see --

QUESTION: Oh, well, I wanted to ask about that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, when I went to see her in Burma, I brought her gifts, which you do when you travel through protocol. But I brought a gift for her dog -- she adores her dog -- and the dog was such good company when she was under house arrest. And so when she went to the White House to see the President, she really wanted to meet Bo the dog who she had heard about, and the President was so great.

QUESTION: Oh, that's cool.

SECRETARY CLINTON: He had Bo outside the Oval Office and when the meeting ended he said, "Oh, wait, one more person I want you to meet," right? And in came Bo the dog. She was so thrilled. I mean, we try to make it not just a grind because it could be with everything going on in the world, literally just debilitating -- trying to figure out the right thing to do. how best to protect America, how to get our values across, how to deal with intractable situations like the ones we face in so many places. So every so often, we kind of lighten it up.

QUESTION: Which I forgot to mention in my little timetable of the action profile about you -- you did see her when she was here and you said you know something about being kind of an icon and becoming a politician, what that entails.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, yes, yes, yes.

QUESTION: And you had her to your home for a dinner.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I did. I did.

QUESTION: And can you tell me a little about that and what that meant to you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I --

QUESTION: Had she been to your home before?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No, no.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: She hadn't been in the United States in, I think, 40 years.

QUESTION: Oh, wow.

SECRETARY CLINTON: We can check that, but I think it's like 40 years. She had me in her home, and it was such an emotional experience, and obviously I wanted to reciprocate. And so I had her in my home and we had a very small dinner. And before the dinner, I spent about an hour with her just talking like two old friends, because I had felt when I met her for the first time that we'd been friends forever. And I just so highly admire her, but I also have such affection for her.

QUESTION: Now you did talk about what it's like to be a politician and things like that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right, right

QUESTION: -- and get into the nitty-gritty. Now your approval rating right now is close to 70 percent. So a lot of people are asking the obvious question: What about 2016? And people -- do you think now people --

STAFF: I thought the obvious question was: Who are the other 30? (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Well, yeah. What happened with the other 30? How are they not approving? (Laughter.) So do you -- I mean, do you think that -- why do you think people see you now differently than when you were running for office, or --

SECRETARY CLINTON: I can't even speculate on that, Monica, because I feel like I've always been the same, other than perhaps my hairstyles, which have changed over the last 65 years.

QUESTION: (Laughter.) Haven't we all, though? Yeah, even men's.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yes, indeed.

QUESTION: It's not just women.

SECRETARY CLINTON: But I feel like I've been the same person but in different roles over time. And I appreciate the fact that people are favorably inclined and supporting what I'm trying to do as Secretary, but I can't really venture a theory as to why or why not. I just have to get up every day and do the best I can.

QUESTION: Do you think there's a difference, Hillary, in seeing you running and campaigning versus governing? Or --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Could be. Could be.

QUESTION: But you -- do you have a -- do you give it any thought?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I really don't. I really don't.

QUESTION: Okay. Well, you're too busy to even think about it. So there we have -- a lot of people think you've got to run in 2016 and that service is so important to you that, ultimately, if it's there, they can't imagine you would say no. Now of course, it's not as easy as everybody thinks it's going to be. (Laughter.) They think it's going to be there for the taking for you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right, right. Well, but I have always believed in service, but I did not for -- what, 53 years of my life -- ever believe I would run for office. I respected people who did like my husband and supported a lot of candidates over the course of my adulthood and -- actually even before -- I was a Goldwater girl when I was -- I don't know -- whatever grade I was.

So I don't know why it would be surprising that I said, look, I intend to do service, but I intend to do service in a different capacity -- going back to the advocacy community, working on women and girls, working in the Clinton Foundation, Clinton Global Initiative --

QUESTION: So you wouldn't start your own foundation since you've got that big apparatus there that's so successful.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, yeah. I mean, I think -- I mean, and it seems to me that there's just a great opportunity to expand what we're doing, to deepen it in areas that I'm interested in. But again, I haven't made any decisions. I just know that I will always want to be of service. I believe in service. And one of my mentors, Marian Wright Edelman, and -- used to quote all the time that service is the rent we pay for living on this earth, and I think that's exactly right.

QUESTION: But you're not ruling it out?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I have ruled it out. I have ruled it out. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Oh, my God. I don't want you to say that. I think it would be more fun if you said -- (laughter) -- I've not ruled it out. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's funny.

QUESTION: Seriously. Okay. So is there anything else that -- in this action profile about you that you think I've got to include that I'm missing.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, my gosh. I don't know.

QUESTION: Of course, I wanted to talk to the President and Chelsea, but Philippe said no.

STAFF: I did.

QUESTION: And he did. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. He's a hard taskmaster.

QUESTION: Isn't he?

SECRETARY CLINTON: I don't know. I'll think about it. I mean, I – that period was so –

QUESTION: It was so jam-packed.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- jam-packed.

STAFF: (Inaudible) you have to be more specific. What did you actually want?

QUESTION: What do you mean?

STAFF: Tell her what you actually asked for.

QUESTION: Oh. Oh, I wanted – you mean, like, just hang out? Like, go on a –

STAFF: No. You wanted –

QUESTION: Oh, I wanted to have dinner in New York with you and the President and Chelsea.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: That's what I asked for. Or breakfast.

SECRETARY CLINTON: I want to do that. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Or coffee. (Laughter.) That's what I asked for. And then I said I just want to hang out with Hillary and just know what it's like to be Hillary. I asked for all kinds of things, and he thought I was like a nutcase.

STAFF: She wanted to take a walk with you.

QUESTION: Oh, yeah. I said I could go for a walk. Oh, God. I did once. When I did the profile of Michele Bachmann, I went for a walk with her. Oh, my God, she like freaking wanted to kill me. Do you know what I mean? She does this fast walk. And so I was carrying my little recorder, and then all I could hear when I played it back was like me like that. (Laughter.) You know what I mean? She was, like, going to run me into the damn ground.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Oh, my gosh. You did a profile on her?

QUESTION: Back when she – the two week period she was surging in Iowa at the start of the Republican's – and then she was gone as all the Republicans popped up and then were gone.

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's funny.

QUESTION: Do you know what I mean? But anyway – (laughter) – all right, now, let's see. And then the other thing I was going to get into was just the – how you have to be a leader and the muscular part of you versus the compassionate, the pragmatic part of you, but the lofty goals part of you.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right.

QUESTION: So is there anything in this last few five weeks that you think kind of puts you there?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, yeah. I mean, I think – look, I mean, what happened in Benghazi, but also elsewhere in the Middle East. I mean, I had to get on the phone and really strongly demand that governments do more to take care of our people. I had to be present for the State Department family when we lost four colleagues and do it in a way that was respectful but demonstrating the emotion that we all felt. So –

QUESTION: Would that be like that video hookup you did with – in –

SECRETARY CLINTON: In Libya? In Tripoli? Probably, yeah.

QUESTION: Would that be one? Or here?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, yeah. I mean, we did so much. We reached out to so many people. I personally did.

QUESTION: And then you of course talked to his sister on the phone and stuff like that.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. So Chris's sister and then went over to – we went out to Andrews early and met all the family members.

QUESTION: And before you got – somebody told me before you got out of the car on your way to Andrews, you were on the phone to – which country were you on the phone and said, "Get your people there"? Oh, Tunisia, because there were attacks still continuing there and saying, "Get your people out there. No excuses." Was it something like that?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, we had –

QUESTION: Was it something like that? Would that be accurate?

SECRETARY CLINTON: There were a lot of calls like that. We had a lot of threats.

QUESTION: So you had to be kind of a hard-ass.

SECRETARY CLINTON: We had a lot of threats everywhere. So – and remember, in a lot of these places, the security systems just disappeared after the dictators disappeared. And so there's a difference between some countries where they did not have the capacity, but they had the will and countries that don't have either the will or the capacity and countries that have the capacity but without the will. So you have to zero in on what the right message is to each of those.

QUESTION: Well, what can you do if they have the capacity but not the will?

SECRETARY CLINTON: You just have to up the pressure as much as you can.

QUESTION: And how do you do that?

SECRETARY CLINTON: You get everybody you can on the phone, you get everybody calling everybody who needs to be on the phone, and you basically both appeal to them doing the right thing and threaten them if they don't.

QUESTION: Which country would that have been?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No. No further than that. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Okay. All right. Okay. And then –

STAFF: That piece of paper was the –

QUESTION: That said she has to go? Because I could keep going to get more detail, more detail, more detail. (Laughter.)

STAFF: It's polite. We just set it up that she comes in and gets a blank piece of paper with this – (laughter) –

QUESTION: No, no. I saw it does have something written on it.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. I have to leave for the White House –

QUESTION: I couldn't read it.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- in about five minutes.

QUESTION: Oh, okay. (Laughter.) I did look. There was something on it, but I couldn't read it, unfortunately, through it.

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's funny.

QUESTION: Anyway, okay. And then on your legacy, since you didn't really get into that, the one thing is public diplomacy to me seems to be one part of it -- your town interviews and then the secretary of cool thing where you came that -- it's all kind of this public persona.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. Yeah.

QUESTION: The brand of Secretary of State in America. The economic statecraft seemed to me to be part of your --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Right. That's a big part of it.

QUESTION: Okay. And in that --

SECRETARY CLINTON: Internet freedom. I mean, we have a long list we could give you, which I'm sure you could --

QUESTION: And the Asia focus, like going to Beijing, it was one of your last trips, and it was your first trip.

SECRETARY CLINTON: My first trip, absolutely.

QUESTION: And then on the Arab Spring, that was something that you all were involved in and out of. Do you feel a little bit's come back to bite you?

SECRETARY CLINTON: No.

QUESTION: Okay.

SECRETARY CLINTON: No. Because I do think that it's -- it would be a contortion of who we are not to support people seeking democracy and freedom and free markets.

QUESTION: Well, everybody said, actually, the day after September 11th that you had the star tone and did better than Obama. I mean, all the critics thought you -- everybody that we talked to thought that, that you had struck the right tone.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, look, I believe strongly that democracy is hard. It is a never-completed journey. I mean, we are still working hard to make sure we live up to our own ideals and values, and I want to contextualize what's going on in the world. I mean, these countries have gone from oppression of decades without any democratic history into a burst of revolutionary energy to try to do something they've never done before.

And so it is hard. It's something that is going to take time, and I think the United States remains a beacon of hope and opportunity, an example of freedom and dignity and human rights, but that doesn't mean we can control everything that happens in every country, particularly within a revolutionary transition. But I would never have imagined that after something as horrific as the murder of our four colleagues and the injury of others that you would have a protest -- a pro-American protest in Libya demanding that those who killed Chris Stevens and his colleagues were not the future that Libya wanted. I think that's a remarkable turn of events.

And so we just have to be resolved that we're going to do the best we can to stand for our values, protect ourselves in a dangerous, fast-changing world, and manage as best we can this enormous flood of change that is sweeping across the globe. But with that, I'm going to have to --

QUESTION: Okay. I understand.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- head to the White House.

QUESTION: Gotcha.

SECRETARY CLINTON: All right, my dear.

QUESTION: Okay. Thank you very much.

SECRETARY CLINTON: All right. Thank you very much.

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