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Questions and Answers for ELEUTHROS (Greece)
NOVEMBER 2000

11/00 Eleuthros Q & A

New York has been a symbol for people from all around the world as a multicultural and cosmopolitan mega city. What is your vision of New York in the 21st century?

New York is such an exciting and dynamic place. It's always has been on the cutting edge of progress both for the United States and the world. It seems that everybody looks to New York when they think about the future because it has led the way for America and the world in terms of art, culture, ideas, and innovations in technology, medicine and science. And, of course, it has been the gateway to our country where many immigrants first set foot on American soil. It's where generations of Americans have come and realized their dreams. So my vision of New York's future is that it will remain on the cutting edge and will continue to lead the world and the nation with its generous, progressive and innovative spirit.

What was the crucial factor that motivated you to run for office?

I had never given it any thought until a number of New Yorkers and Democratic leaders came to me and asked me to do it. I didn't really take them seriously at first. But they kept asking me over and over again and I started to think about it. I realized that I travel around my own country and the world urging women to speak up and get involved and participate in the political process. And then I found myself in a situation where I was being encouraged to run for elective office myself. So I began travelling to all 62 counties of the state talking with thousands of New Yorkers about what a Senator could do for them and their families to build a better future. I believe government can and does make a difference in people's lives. And in the last eight years we've seen what a difference the Clinton Presidency has made. I realized that, having worked on children and family issues and on improving education and health care for 30 years, I could be a strong voice in the Senate on behalf of New Yorkers for causes I have championed my whole life.

Even in the United States, women's participation in politics is limited. How do you explain this? Do you anticipate women being more active in politics in the future? Do you expect to see a woman President in your lifetime?

Well, we've come a long way in our country in the past 80 years. I often think about the fact that my mother was born before women won the right to vote in the United States in 1920. Just in her lifetime American women have gone from not being able to vote at all to being one of the most important voting blocs in this year's election. You'll notice that the presidential candidates are very attuned to the thoughts and attitudes of women voters. And women voters will certainly hold the key in some races this year. We also have made progress in terms of getting women elected – at

least at the local and congressional level. There are more women in the House and Senate than ever before. Women are moving up the leadership ranks in Congress. I'm often asked why my country has never had a woman President, where other countries – Great Britain, Israel and India, to name a few – have had women Prime Ministers. The reason, I think, is that it's much easier in a parliamentary system because women legislators can rise up through the party ranks and become the party leader. In our system, to run for President you have to raise huge amounts of money and get yourself known across the country. It takes longer to develop that kind of political and financial base. But it will happen. There are many qualified women candidates out there and I expect to see one of them get elected President in my lifetime.

You have visited our country several times in the past. When do you plan to come again? What impressed you most about Greece?

I can't wait for the chance to visit Greece again. I've been there twice in recent years and both visits were wonderful. The first trip I made as First Lady was in 1996 to meet with Greek leaders and to speak about the ideals and tenets of democracy. It was an extraordinary experience for me to visit Athens and Delphi and to help light the Olympic flame at Olympia. I remember leaving the Acropolis and being overwhelmed by the idea that virtually every aspect of modern life has been influenced by classical antiquity. Ancient Greece was the birthplace of democracy and today we are still guided by the lessons and legacy of Greece's earliest democrats.

I was privileged to return to Greece with the President last year and was very pleased to be able to announce a grant to help with reforestation. This was just one of many issues where I could see the strong friendship and partnership between our nations. Of course I look forward to many more opportunities to travel to Greece in the future.

Greece has faced problems with fires in the past decades and you have contributed significantly to the reforestation of our country. Do you plan to carry on with that project?

I'm very pleased to be the honorary chair of the Plant Your Roots organization, a program sponsored by the Greek American AHEPA Society, which aims to expedite the reforestation of areas damaged by fires in Greece. Our embassy in Athens continues its activities, both with AHEPA and with the Greek government, to enlist much needed expertise and support in this area. Last year, when I visited Greece with the President, I announced the beginning of an effort to plant 1.5 million saplings throughout Greece. I was deeply touched that one tree was planted in my name.

You have shown great interest in helping to solve the political problem of a divided Cyprus. What is your prediction for progress on this issue?

I'm proud of the President's role last December in restarting the UN-sponsored Cyprus talks after a stalemate of more than two years. Clearly there is much work to be done towards a just and lasting settlement. I'm hopeful that these efforts will be successful.

We are aware of great efforts made by the United States for peace and stability in the Balkans. Greece is the only country in the region that is both a member of NATO and the European Union. How do you see Greece's role in the region?

Greece plays a vital and growing role in the Balkans. Greece's remarkable economic development over the past decade is evident in her admission to the European Monetary Union. And Greece's example as a democracy underscores the country's unique ability to help the region develop the democratic, stable, peaceful and prosperous future it so desperately needs. I'm convinced that Greece must be a leader of Southeast Europe and a leader in Europe.

What does it mean to you to have spent eight years as First Lady?

It's been the greatest honor and privilege of my life. It's offered me an extraordinary opportunity and venue for speaking out about the issues that I believe are critical to the lives of our citizens, especially children, women and families. I'm extremely grateful to have had the chance to work on policies and programs that have improved access to health care, helped strengthen our schools, increased women's economic opportunities, and strengthened the role of the arts and culture across our country. I've also been privileged to travel to many foreign countries in the last eight years and to champion the rights of women to participate in the political, social, economic and legal arenas of the communities and nations in which they live. I've spoken out for democracy and free markets in many countries where democracy is still in its infancy or just blossoming, and where grass roots organizations need support and training in building civil society. And in this era of globalization, I've tried to showcase innovative methods being used to improve social and economic conditions for people on the margins, whether its immunizations for children or microenterprise opportunities for poor women. It's truly been a blessing to have had the chance to serve the American people in this capacity and to have been a voice for women and children around the world.

FINAL

10/2000 Paris Match

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

PARIS MATCH
OCTOBER 2000

What is your greatest achievement during the last eight years at the White House?

I hope that I have used this extraordinary opportunity and all the privileges that go with it to improve conditions for children, women and families in the United States and around the world. I truly believe that if we want a peaceful and prosperous world we need to make sure that all children have access to health care and education and live in communities that are free from poverty and violence. Otherwise we have little hope that future generations will grow up to become productive and happy citizens. And I believe that women, who comprise the majority of the world's poor, must be afforded the social, economic and political tools they need to care for their families and contribute to society. Both at home and abroad, I have tried to speak out about the problems confronting children and women, particularly in this era of globalization, and to help draw attention to innovative methods being used to solve social problems, from microenterprise projects to immunization efforts to women's networks that are bringing the ideals of democracy to women at the grass roots level. These are the sorts of issues I've worked on during the last eight years. I'm very excited about how much progress we've made, and how much more we can make in the future.

What regrets do you have?

There are probably a few policy issues I might have approached differently knowing what I know now. It's always easier in hindsight to see obstacles that weren't so clear at the time. But I honestly don't have any regrets. Mostly I'm just grateful to have had the privilege of being in this position for eight years and to have had the opportunity to make a difference in people's lives.

How would you describe your husband's presidency?

I think he's been a great President. And I don't think there has ever been a President who has worked harder day in and day out for eight years. He had a vision of how to prepare our nation for the 21st century, and specifically, how to move us from an Industrial Age to an Information Age. He understood that the Information Revolution presented unprecedented opportunities, but also new challenges. As President he has translated his vision of the future into an effort to restore the U.S. economy, expand prosperity to those in our society who were falling behind, encourage citizens to take more responsibility for their own lives, strengthen our sense of community, and promote peace, democracy and human rights around

the world. Those are very large goals and I think he has done an incredible job on all of them. We have the strongest economy in decades. We've created more than 22 million new jobs. We no longer have a budget deficit, but a budget surplus. The President's policies have moved people from welfare to work, expanded educational opportunities for working families, reduced crime, improved access to health care. And just look at what he has done in terms of political appointments. Never before have so many qualified women and minorities served at the highest levels of the U.S. government. Beyond our borders he has been a great champion of democracy, free markets and peace -- from Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Africa. So these are a few of the reasons that I think he will go down in history as a truly great President.

Why do you think you and he have been one of the most targeted presidential couples in the history of the White House?

I think there are always a few people who aren't ready for change. In 1992 there were some people with different political ideologies who were not eager to have a dynamic President with big dreams for our country. Clearly the political right-wing was bent on undermining my husband's efforts and to some extent my own in order to advance their own political agenda. We tried very hard not to be distracted by it and I think we succeeded.

You have profoundly changed the role of the First Lady during the last eight years. Was this something you planned and knew you would do before he was elected or did it just happen step-by-step?

The position of First Lady is one of the most unusual positions in our national life. There is no portfolio for the job, no specific job requirements. So every First Lady molds it in a way that is appropriate for her interests, her personality and the Administration she serves. Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, was really her husband's eyes and ears and she was very much a public crusader for social progress. Mrs. Kennedy brought an unprecedented style and elegance to the White House and was a great champion of the arts. Mrs. Nixon instituted a corps of volunteers who work in the White House and are crucial to its operations.

In my case, I have worked for more than 30 years on children and family issues as a lawyer and an advocate. When I got to the White House I felt that I could use the position to work on issues related to health care, education, economic opportunity as well as democracy and human rights. My goal wasn't to change the role of First Lady, but to do what I could -- given my own experience -- to help address some of our country's and our world's problems.

Francois Mitterand said after a couple of weeks of being elected president that "power was exhilarating." Do you share his opinion?

What is exhilarating to me is that by working as a public servant you can make a difference in people's lives. I believe that government plays an essential role in our society, both in lifting people up and enabling them to fulfill their God-given potential as citizens. And I also believe that public service is a noble profession and one that is immensely rewarding. Serving as First Lady is an honor and a privilege and a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity in terms of one's ability to reach out and help others. That has been very gratifying and exciting for me.

You have always been very firm not to expose your daughter to the public eye. But recently she has been seen on more official trips than ever before? Did you encourage her or discourage her?

Actually, she's traveled with her father and me very consistently for most of the last eight years. I think she's been on about a dozen trips overseas by now, so that's not something that has changed or increased in recent months. She did decide to take off the fall term from Stanford to enjoy the final months of her father's presidency and to help out on my campaign. She will still graduate on time next spring. We try to offer her options of what she might like to do and then let her decide for herself. Of course we are always thrilled when she wants to travel with us or spend time with us!

Why did you choose to run for Senate knowing that if you lose that it could tarnish your image?

I decided to run after numerous New York politicians and Democratic leaders asked me to consider it. I really had never thought about it before that. But they came back to me over and over again and I started thinking about it. And I realized that I travel around the world urging women to get involved in politics at all levels and suddenly I had the opportunity to make that choice myself. I also believed that, given my experience, I could be a strong voice for children and families in the Senate. As for losing, I don't think about that! I try to stay positive and focused on what I'll do in the Senate for the people of New York and our country.

How would you describe your political skills?

I think they're improving. It was a big adjustment for me to go from being someone who campaigned for many years for other people to suddenly campaigning for myself. I had a lot to learn in those first few months. But after awhile I got more comfortable with talking about myself instead of about someone else. I must say that I thoroughly enjoy being on the campaign trail talking to people and visiting with them. It's been an extraordinary experience. People have been so friendly and enthusiastic and, of course, very willing to share their opinions with me.

What will you do if you don't win the Senate race?

Right now I'm concentrating on the work I need to do each day in the campaign. I'm not thinking about much beyond that.

You are a very private person, yet you have chosen a public life. How do you explain this contradiction?

Like most people, I'm private about things that are personal, but not about issues affecting the public, and that's what really matters in politics. From my point of view, there is far too much prurient interest in the private lives of public figures and not enough attention paid to their positions on issues or their ideas about how to solve problems. But I don't see it as a contradiction for me; I've always been willing to speak up and speak out about issues of concern to me.

The women's movement has greatly improved women's rights and opportunities during this century. What are the next goals for women, especially in America?

We certainly have come a long way. I often think about the fact that my mother was born the year before American women won the right to vote in 1920. And then I look at my daughter and see the many opportunities she has had and will have as a woman of her generation. It's incredible progress. But clearly there are still areas of concern, such as equal pay for equal work, breaking down glass ceilings that impede women from rising up the ranks in their workplaces, and making sure that a woman has the right to make decisions regarding her own reproduction. I also think we need to do a better job of helping women balance the demands of work and family. Most women work by necessity, and we need to help them fulfill their responsibilities on the job and as parents.

What kind of candidate would you like to see succeed your husband as President? Obviously I think it's very important that Al Gore is elected. The vice president has a great grasp of the issues, whether it's the economy or foreign policy or family issues or the environment. He certainly won't bankrupt the country with a giant tax cut that largely benefits the wealthy, as his opponent has proposed. He'll push for responsible tax cuts for working people and the middle class and he'll promote social investments in areas such as education and health care and ensuring that senior citizens can afford their prescription drugs. He has been the most involved and accomplished Vice President in our history. He already has traveled the world and met with many foreign leaders and he is extremely knowledgeable about international issues. I think he'll be an excellent successor to my husband.

There is a love-hate relationship between France and the United States. Why do you think Americans love the French so much, and the French are more "annoyed" by Americans?

Well, I can't speak for the French and their feelings about Americans. But I must say that every time I have been to France the French people have always been extremely hospitable and gracious to me, even before I was First Lady. I agree that

most Americans who visit France love it, probably because your country is so beautiful, your history is so rich, and your cuisine is so fabulous!

Do you think the 21st century will see an African-American president?

I certainly hope we'll cross that barrier. There are many qualified African Americans in public life today, just as there are many qualified women. It's just a matter of time. More candidates will emerge each year and hopefully, before long, it will be common enough that people won't even think about it as an issue.

One day there will be a woman sitting in the Oval Office. Could this woman be you?

Well, I'm concentrating on one thing right now and that's getting elected to the Senate. If I'm fortunate enough to be elected, I'm committed to serving out my full term. But there are many qualified women out there who could run for President and I'm optimistic that a woman will get elected in my lifetime. People often ask me why England and Israel and India have had women Prime Ministers and the United States hasn't had a woman President. Many people don't realize that it's much more difficult to break that barrier in our system than it is in a parliamentary system, where you can rise up the ranks and become the national party leader. In the U.S., a Senator or Governor who wants to run for President has to make himself or herself known to the entire country, which requires a huge amount of money and very broad-based support. It takes time to develop that kind of political base, and that's why I think it's taken longer for women to break through in our system of government.

Attention to Lisa Muscatine
From Romain Clergeat
Paris Match Magazine



1633 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NY 10019

*File w/
Paris Match
Q+A in
"Transcripts
Q+A"*

Dear Lisa,

sorry for the delay but I was assigned to an other story and couldn't fax the questions to you. Anyway, here they are. If you need any further informations, don't hesitate to contact me.

Regards

Thanks

Attention to Lisa Muscatine
From Romain Clergeat
Paris Match Magazine



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NEW YORK, NY 10019

QUESTIONS FOR THE FIRST LADY

- 1) What is your greatest achievements during those 8 years at the White House?
- 2) What regrets do you have?
- 3) How would you describe your husband presidency?
- 4) How do you think history books will characterize Mr Clinton's presidency?
- 5) Why do you think, your presidential couple has been one of the most targeted in the history of the White House?
- 6) You have profoundly changed the role of the First Lady during the 8 years of Mr Clinton's presidency. Was it something planned, something you knew you would try to do before your husband was elected or did it just happen step by step?
- 7) Francois Mitterrand said after a couple of weeks of being elected president that "power was exhilarating". Do you share his opinion?
- 8) During the roughest times of the Presidency, where did you get the strength to hold on on a daily basis?
- 9) You were silent during the Lewinsky's affair and a lot of people admired you for that. Then, why did you agree to talk about it in a Talk Magazine interview?

Attention to Lisa Muscatine
From Romain Clergeat
Paris Match Magazine



1633 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NY 10019

10) You have always been very firm not to expose your daughter Chelsea to the public eye but recently, she has been seen on official trips more than ever before. Is this your choice or her, and did you encourage her or discourage her?

11) Why did you choose to run for the Senate knowing that if you loose it could tarnish your image?

12) How would you describe your political skills?

13) On a political basis, did you think for a moment that your candidacy could shadows and therefore hurt Mr Gore's one?

14) What will you do if you don't win the senate race?

15) You are a very private person, reluctant to expose your emotions in public but you choose to have a public life. How do you explain this "contradiction"?

16) Women emancipation has greatly improved during this century, what are the next goals to achieve for women, especially in America?

17) America has today an undisputed leadership and therefore one of the greatest responsibility in human history as a nation. It seems that USA is asking itself: "We have all this power but what should we do with it? What is it for?"
What's your opinion about it?

18) How do you explain that in the beginning of the new century, America seems to be tempted to regress on several issues like abortion, gun control...

19) What is your position on Death Penalty?

Attention to Lisa Muscatine
From Romain Clergeat
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1633 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NY 10019

20) What should be the profile of the best candidate to succeed to your husband in the White House?

21) There is a "Love-hate" relationship between France and United States. Why do you think american love the french so much, or so it seems, and the french are more "annoyed" by the american?

22) Do you think the 20st century will see a black president?

23) One day, there will be a woman sitting in the oval office. Could this woman be you?

Draft #1

Q & A for PARIS MATCH
OCTOBER 2000

What is your greatest achievement during the last eight years at the White House?

I hope that I have used this extraordinary opportunity and all the privileges that go with it to improve conditions for children, women and families in the United States and around the world. If we want a peaceful and prosperous world we need to make sure that all children have access to health care and education and live in communities that are free from poverty and violence. Otherwise we have little hope that future generations will grow up to be productive and happy citizens. And I believe that women, who comprise the majority of the world's poor, must be afforded the social, economic and political tools they need to care for their families and contribute to society. Both at home and abroad, I have tried to speak out about the problems confronting children and women, particularly in this era of globalization, and to help draw attention to innovative methods being used to solve social problems, from microenterprise projects to immunization efforts to women's networks that are bringing the ideals of democracy to women at the grass roots level. These are the sorts of issues I've worked on during the last eight years. I'm very excited about how much progress we've made, and how much more we can make in the future.

What regrets do you have?

There are probably a few policy issues I might have approached differently knowing what I know now. It's always easier in hindsight to see obstacles that weren't so clear at the time. But I honestly don't have any regrets. Mostly I'm just immensely grateful to have had the privilege of being in this position for eight years and to have had the opportunity to make a difference.

How would you describe your husband's presidency?

I think he's been a great President. And I don't think there has ever been a President who has worked harder day in and day out for eight years. He had a vision of how to prepare our nation for the 21st century, and specifically, how to move us from an Industrial Age to an Information Age. He understood that the Information Age presented unprecedented opportunities, but also new challenges. As President he has translated his vision into an effort to restore the economy, expand prosperity to those who were falling behind, encourage citizens to take more responsibility for their own lives, strengthen our sense of community and promote peace, democracy and human rights around the world. Those are very large goals and I think he has done an incredible job on all of them. We have the strongest

economy in decades. We've created more than 22 million new jobs and no longer have a budget deficit. The President's policies have moved people from welfare to work, expanded educational opportunities for working families, reduced crime, improved access to health care. He has worked to safeguard pensions and people's health coverage. And just look at what he has done in terms of political appointments. Never before have so many qualified women and minorities served at the highest levels of the U.S. government. Beyond our borders he has been a great champion of democracy, free markets and peace -- from Northern Ireland to Africa to the Middle East, where he has just been recently to help deflate tensions and restore peace. So these are a few of the reasons that I think he will go down in history as a truly great President.

Why do you think you and he have been one of the most targeted presidential couples in the history of the White House?

I think there are always some people who aren't ready for change. In 1992 there were some people with different political ideologies who were not eager to have a dynamic President with big dreams for this country. Clearly the political right-wing was bent on undermining my husband's efforts and to some extent my own in order to advance their own political agenda. We tried very hard not to be distracted by it and I think we succeeded.

You have profoundly changed the role of the First Lady during the last eight years. Was this something you planned and knew you would do before he was elected or did it just happen step-by-step?

The position of First Lady is one of the most unusual positions in our national life. There is no portfolio for the job, no specific job requirements. So every First Lady molds it in a way that is appropriate for her interests, her personality and the Administration she serves. Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, was really her husband's eyes and ears and she was very much a public crusader for social progress. Mrs. Kennedy brought an unprecedented style and elegance to the White House and was a great champion of the arts. Mrs. Nixon started a whole corps of volunteers who work in the White House and are crucial to its operations.

In my case, I had worked for more than 20 years on children and family issues as a lawyer and an advocate. When I got to the White House I felt that I could use the position to work on issues related to health care, education, economic progress as well as democracy and human rights. My goal wasn't to change the role of First Lady, but to do what I could -- given my own experience -- to help address some of our country's and our world's problems.

Francois Mitterand said after a couple of weeks of being elected president that "power was exhilarating." Do you share his opinion?

What is exhilarating to me is the idea that by working as a public servant you can make a difference in people's lives. I do believe that the government plays an essential role in our society, both in lifting people up and enabling them to fulfill their God-given potential as citizens. And I also believe that public service is a noble profession that can be immensely rewarding. Serving as First Lady is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity in terms of one's ability to reach out and help others. That has been very gratifying and exciting for me and I'm very thankful to have been blessed with such a rare privilege.

You have always been very firm not to expose your daughter to the public eye. But recently she has been seen on more official trips than ever before? Did you encourage her or discourage her?

Actually, she's traveled with her father and me very consistently for most of the last eight years. I think she's been on about a dozen trips overseas by now, so that's not something that has changed or increased in recent months. She did decide to take off the fall term from Stanford to enjoy the final months of her father's presidency and to help out on my campaign. She will still graduate on time next spring. But we have always offered her options of what she might like to do and then let her decide for herself. Of course we are always thrilled when she wants to travel with us or spend time with us!

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I decided to run after numerous New Yorkers and Democratic leaders asked me to consider it. I really had never thought about it before that. But they came back to me over and over again and I started thinking about it. And I realized that I travel around the world urging women to get involved in politics at all levels and suddenly I had the opportunity to make that choice myself. I also believed that, given my experience, I could probably be a strong voice for children and families in the Senate. As for losing, I don't think about that! I try to stay positive and focused on what I'll do in the Senate for the people of New York and our country should I be fortunate enough to represent them.

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I think they're improving. It was a big adjustment for me to go from being someone who campaigned for many years for other people to suddenly campaigning for myself. I had a lot to learn in those first few months. But after awhile I got more comfortable with talking about myself instead of about someone else. I must say that I thoroughly enjoy being on the campaign trail talking to people and visiting with them. It's been an extraordinary experience. People have been so friendly and enthusiastic and, of course, very willing to share their opinions with me.

What will you do if you don't win the Senate race?

Right now I'm concentrating on the work I need to do each day in the campaign. I'm not thinking about much beyond that.

You are a very private person, yet you have chosen a public life. How do you explain this contradiction?

Like most people, I'm private about things that are personal, but not about issues affecting the public, and that's what really matters in politics. From my point of view, there is far too much prurient interest in the private lives of public figures and not enough attention paid to their positions on issues or their ideas about how to solve problems. But I don't see it as a contradiction for me; I've always been willing to speak up and speak out about issues of concern to me.

The women's movement has greatly improved women's rights and opportunities during this century. What are the next goals for women, especially in America?

We certainly have come a long way. I often think about the fact that American women had just won the right to vote when my mother was born in the early 1920s [ck]. And then I look at my daughter and see the opportunities she has had and will have as a woman of her generation. It's incredible progress. But clearly there are still areas of concern, such as equal pay for equal work, breaking down glass ceilings that impede women from rising up the ranks in their workplaces, and making sure that a woman has the right to make decisions regarding her own reproductive health. I also think we need to do a better job of helping women balance the demands of work and family. Most women work by necessity, and we need to help them fulfill their responsibilities on the job and as parents.

What kind of candidate would you like to see succeed your husband as President?

Obviously I think it's very important that Al Gore is elected. The vice president has a great grasp of the issues, whether it's the economy or foreign policy or family issues or the environment. He certainly won't bankrupt the country with a giant tax cut that largely benefits the wealthy, as his opponent has proposed. He'll push for responsible tax cuts for working people and the middle class and he'll promote social investments in areas such as education and health care and ensuring that senior citizens can afford their prescription drugs. He has been the most involved and accomplished Vice President in our history. He already has traveled the world and met with many foreign leaders and he is extremely well-versed on international issues. I think he'll be an excellent successor to my husband.

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extremely hospitable and gracious to me, even before I was First Lady. I agree that most Americans who visit France love it, probably because your country is so beautiful, your history is so rich, and because your cuisine is fabulous!

Do you think the 21st century will see an African-American president?

I certainly hope we'll cross that barrier. There are many qualified African Americans in public life today, just as there are many qualified women. It's just a matter of time. More candidates will emerge each year and hopefully, before long, it will be common enough that people won't even think about it as an issue.

One day there will be a woman sitting in the Oval Office. Could this woman be you?

Well, I'm concentrating on one thing right now and that's getting elected to the Senate. If I'm fortunate enough to be elected, I'm committed to serving out my term. But there are many qualified women out there who could conceivably run for President in 2004 or 2008, and I'm optimistic that a woman will get elected in my lifetime. People often ask me why England and Israel and India have had women Prime Ministers and the United States hasn't had a woman President. Many people don't realize that it's much more difficult to break that barrier in our system than it is in a parliamentary system, where you can rise up the ranks and become the national party leader. In the U.S., a Senator or Governor who wants to run for President has to make himself or herself known to the entire country, which requires a huge amount of money and very broad-based support. It takes time to develop that kind of political base, and that's why I think it's taken longer for women to break through in our system of government.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

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10/2000 Paris Match

What is your greatest achievement during the last eight years at the White House?

I hope that I have used this extraordinary opportunity and all the privileges that go with it to improve conditions for children, women and families in the United States and around the world. I truly believe that if we want a peaceful and prosperous world we need to make sure that all children have access to health care and education and live in communities that are free from poverty and violence. Otherwise we have little hope that future generations will grow up to become productive and happy citizens. And I believe that women, who comprise the majority of the world's poor, must be afforded the social, economic and political tools they need to care for their families and contribute to society. Both at home and abroad, I have tried to speak out about the problems confronting children and women, particularly in this era of globalization, and to help draw attention to innovative methods being used to solve social problems, from microenterprise projects to immunization efforts to women's networks that are bringing the ideals of democracy to women at the grass roots level. These are the sorts of issues I've worked on during the last eight years. I'm very excited about how much progress we've made, and how much more we can make in the future.

What regrets to you have?

There are probably a few policy issues I might have approached differently knowing what I know now. It's always easier in hindsight to see obstacles that weren't so clear at the time. But I honestly don't have any regrets. Mostly I'm just grateful to have had the privilege of being in this position for eight years and to have had the opportunity to make a difference in people's lives.

How would you describe your husband's presidency?

I think he's been a great President. And I don't think there has ever been a President who has worked harder day in and day out for eight years. He had a vision of how to prepare our nation for the 21st century, and specifically, how to move us from an Industrial Age to an Information Age. He understood that the Information Revolution presented unprecedented opportunities, but also new challenges. As President he has translated his vision of the future into an effort to restore the U.S. economy, expand prosperity to those in our society who were falling behind, encourage citizens to take more responsibility for their own lives, strengthen our sense of community, and promote peace, democracy and human rights around

the world. Those are very large goals and I think he has done an incredible job on all of them. We have the strongest economy in decades. We've created more than 22 million new jobs. We no longer have a budget deficit, but a budget surplus. The President's policies have moved people from welfare to work, expanded educational opportunities for working families, reduced crime, improved access to health care. And just look at what he has done in terms of political appointments. Never before have so many qualified women and minorities served at the highest levels of the U.S. government. Beyond our borders he has been a great champion of democracy, free markets and peace -- from Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Africa. So these are a few of the reasons that I think he will go down in history as a truly great President.

Why do you think you and he have been one of the most targeted presidential couples in the history of the White House?

I think there are always a few people who aren't ready for change. In 1992 there were some people with different political ideologies who were not eager to have a dynamic President with big dreams for our country. Clearly the political right-wing was bent on undermining my husband's efforts and to some extent my own in order to advance their own political agenda. We tried very hard not to be distracted by it and I think we succeeded.

You have profoundly changed the role of the First Lady during the last eight years. Was this something you planned and knew you would do before he was elected or did it just happen step-by-step?

The position of First Lady is one of the most unusual positions in our national life. There is no portfolio for the job, no specific job requirements. So every First Lady molds it in a way that is appropriate for her interests, her personality and the Administration she serves. Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, was really her husband's eyes and ears and she was very much a public crusader for social progress. Mrs. Kennedy brought an unprecedented style and elegance to the White House and was a great champion of the arts. Mrs. Nixon instituted a corps of volunteers who work in the White House and are crucial to its operations.

In my case, I have worked for more than 30 years on children and family issues as a lawyer and an advocate. When I got to the White House I felt that I could use the position to work on issues related to health care, education, economic opportunity as well as democracy and human rights. My goal wasn't to change the role of First Lady, but to do what I could -- given my own experience -- to help address some of our country's and our world's problems.

Francois Mitterand said after a couple of weeks of being elected president that "power was exhilarating." Do you share his opinion?

What is exhilarating to me is that by working as a public servant you can make a difference in people's lives. I believe that government plays an essential role in our society, both in lifting people up and enabling them to fulfill their God-given potential as citizens. And I also believe that public service is a noble profession and one that is immensely rewarding. Serving as First Lady is an honor and a privilege and a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity in terms of one's ability to reach out and help others. That has been very gratifying and exciting for me.

You have always been very firm not to expose your daughter to the public eye. But recently she has been seen on more official trips than ever before? Did you encourage her or discourage her?

Actually, she's traveled with her father and me very consistently for most of the last eight years. I think she's been on about a dozen trips overseas by now, so that's not something that has changed or increased in recent months. She did decide to take off the fall term from Stanford to enjoy the final months of her father's presidency and to help out on my campaign. She will still graduate on time next spring. We try to offer her options of what she might like to do and then let her decide for herself. Of course we are always thrilled when she wants to travel with us or spend time with us!

Why did you choose to run for Senate knowing that if you lose that it could tarnish your image?

I decided to run after numerous New York politicians and Democratic leaders asked me to consider it. I really had never thought about it before that. But they came back to me over and over again and I started thinking about it. And I realized that I travel around the world urging women to get involved in politics at all levels and suddenly I had the opportunity to make that choice myself. I also believed that, given my experience, I could be a strong voice for children and families in the Senate. As for losing, I don't think about that! I try to stay positive and focused on what I'll do in the Senate for the people of New York and our country.

How would you describe your political skills?

I think they're improving. It was a big adjustment for me to go from being someone who campaigned for many years for other people to suddenly campaigning for myself. I had a lot to learn in those first few months. But after awhile I got more comfortable with talking about myself instead of about someone else. I must say that I thoroughly enjoy being on the campaign trail talking to people and visiting with them. It's been an extraordinary experience. People have been so friendly and enthusiastic and, of course, very willing to share their opinions with me.

What will you do if you don't win the Senate race?

Right now I'm concentrating on the work I need to do each day in the campaign. I'm not thinking about much beyond that.

You are a very private person, yet you have chosen a public life. How do you explain this contradiction?

Like most people, I'm private about things that are personal, but not about issues affecting the public, and that's what really matters in politics. From my point of view, there is far too much prurient interest in the private lives of public figures and not enough attention paid to their positions on issues or their ideas about how to solve problems. But I don't see it as a contradiction for me; I've always been willing to speak up and speak out about issues of concern to me.

The women's movement has greatly improved women's rights and opportunities during this century. What are the next goals for women, especially in America?

We certainly have come a long way. I often think about the fact that my mother was born the year before American women won the right to vote in 1920. And then I look at my daughter and see the many opportunities she has had and will have as a woman of her generation. It's incredible progress. But clearly there are still areas of concern, such as equal pay for equal work, breaking down glass ceilings that impede women from rising up the ranks in their workplaces, and making sure that a woman has the right to make decisions regarding her own reproduction. I also think we need to do a better job of helping women balance the demands of work and family. Most women work by necessity, and we need to help them fulfill their responsibilities on the job and as parents.

What kind of candidate would you like to see succeed your husband as President?
Obviously I think it's very important that Al Gore is elected. The vice president has a great grasp of the issues, whether it's the economy or foreign policy or family issues or the environment. He certainly won't bankrupt the country with a giant tax cut that largely benefits the wealthy, as his opponent has proposed. He'll push for responsible tax cuts for working people and the middle class and he'll promote social investments in areas such as education and health care and ensuring that senior citizens can afford their prescription drugs. He has been the most involved and accomplished Vice President in our history. He already has traveled the world and met with many foreign leaders and he is extremely knowledgeable about international issues. I think he'll be an excellent successor to my husband.

There is a love-hate relationship between France and the United States. Why do you think Americans love the French so much, and the French are more "annoyed" by Americans?

Well, I can't speak for the French and their feelings about Americans. But I must say that every time I have been to France the French people have always been extremely hospitable and gracious to me, even before I was First Lady. I agree that

most Americans who visit France love it, probably because your country is so beautiful, your history is so rich, and your cuisine is so fabulous!

Do you think the 21st century will see an African-American president?

I certainly hope we'll cross that barrier. There are many qualified African Americans in public life today, just as there are many qualified women. It's just a matter of time. More candidates will emerge each year and hopefully, before long, it will be common enough that people won't even think about it as an issue.

One day there will be a woman sitting in the Oval Office. Could this woman be you?

Well, I'm concentrating on one thing right now and that's getting elected to the Senate. If I'm fortunate enough to be elected, I'm committed to serving out my full term. But there are many qualified women out there who could run for President and I'm optimistic that a woman will get elected in my lifetime. People often ask me why England and Israel and India have had women Prime Ministers and the United States hasn't had a woman President. Many people don't realize that it's much more difficult to break that barrier in our system than it is in a parliamentary system, where you can rise up the ranks and become the national party leader. In the U.S., a Senator or Governor who wants to run for President has to make himself or herself known to the entire country, which requires a huge amount of money and very broad-based support. It takes time to develop that kind of political base, and that's why I think it's taken longer for women to break through in our system of government.

VOGUE (Hellas)
Q AND A with HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
JUNE 2000

Which single issue would you judge to be of highest importance in the developed world, particularly concerning women?

It's hard to pick one issue because there are so many that are important to women. But the good news is that we have made tremendous strides, particularly in the five years since the United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing.

In the United States, we've extended health care coverage to several million children who were uninsured. We've made dramatic increases in funding for programs to combat domestic violence. We have made an unprecedented number of loans to women who own small businesses. We've done more than ever before to assist families with child care opportunities and family leave. We've seen greater numbers of women get involved in the political process, both as candidates and at the grass roots.

Still, challenges remain that require our further commitment and attention. We still have far too many people who lack access to quality, affordable health care – and many of them are women. While we have made progress in the economic arena, we need to get to the point where women get equal pay for equal work. We can do more to help parents – and especially women – balance the demands of family and work. These are a few areas where we need to do more.

You have been particularly interested in health care and more recently in issues concerning our youngest children, ages 0 to 3. Why do these issues concern you so much?

So much of life flows from one's health, whether we are children or adults. Obviously, children are better able to develop intellectually, socially and physically if they are healthy. Adults are better able to meet their responsibilities to their families as well as on the job if they are in good health. So I believe that, as advanced societies, we should be at a point where our citizens are assured of access to the health care they need. It's not just a philosophical issue, it's an economic and social one too.

As for our youngest children, this turns out to be a critical developmental stage of life. New scientific discoveries have told us much more about brain development during the first three years of life. As a result, we are in a much better position to help children develop to their full potential if we start early with very simple steps

such as talking, reading and singing to them. In 1997, the President and I hosted a White House Conference on Early Childhood Development with experts ranging from scientists to doctors to parents. The conference really helped raise awareness about these crucial years of childhood and offered practical advice to parents and others involved in raising children.

Do you feel that a woman's political profile is trivialized when the media make a fuss about the way she dresses or wears her hair? How conscious are you of the fact that we are living in an era obsessed by image and surface impressions of people in public life?

One thing I learned very soon after coming to the White House was that the media certainly can get preoccupied with appearances. I can't even keep count of the number of stories that have been written about my hair! Much of it is a natural curiosity and fascination about people in the public eye. But I honestly don't think that voters decide who they're going to vote for based on a politician's wardrobe or hair style, or whether a woman candidate wears a yellow dress or a beige suit.

What are your favorite ways to relax?

I love to walk. That's one of my favorite forms of relaxation. I also do a lot of reading. I like movies and we play cards a lot as a family. I love music and have quite a few of my favorite CDs in my office. Sometimes I find it relaxing just to chat on the phone with my friends, especially when I've been on the road a lot.

What is your experience of Greece and are you planning to visit anytime soon?

I've been to Greece twice as First Lady, and each visit has been a wonderful experience for me. I was privileged to visit in 1996 and to go to Olympus for the lighting of the Olympic torch, which was a truly memorable occasion. I also have had the great pleasure of visiting with women leaders in Greece, who talked to me about many of our shared concerns.

Mostly, though, I came away with an even deeper appreciation of Greece's ancient history and its contributions to our civilization. I found it profoundly moving to be in the birthplace of democracy and to think about how much our own democratic values and principles are derived from Greece and the Greeks.

And of course, as anyone who visits Greece knows, it is simply a beautiful country and the people are wonderful. I look forward to a time when I'll be able to visit again, but it probably won't be until after my Senate campaign is over.

Would you care to elaborate on your political ambitions?

As you know, right now I'm a candidate for the United States Senate from New York. I believe I can make a difference in the Senate because, while I've never held elective office, I have worked on issues affecting children and families for more than

30 years. Whatever I do in my life, I hope to advance the cause of children and families and the most vulnerable in our society. That is my ultimate goal.

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa
RE: Interview with Eleanor Clift and Tom Brazaitis
DATE: Feb. 22, 2000

Eleanor Clift and her husband, Tom Brazaitis, are writing a book about women and politics. Although the book takes a broad view, they will ask some questions about the Senate race and the role of women voters. (Please see the attached piece from today's *New York Times*.) Specifically, they are interested in whether you think issues or personality matter more to women voters. There may be a silly question too: Eleanor asked me today if your different hairstyles might "confuse" voters—the suggestion being that by changing hairstyles, people may think you are changing yourself. Humor would be the best response to this sort of question.

There is a strong likelihood that they will ask you whether female candidates have a burden of double standards and whether, as a female candidate, you have to do things differently on the campaign trail.

You have spoken eloquently on the subject of women and politics many times. I'm including speeches and excerpts of what you've said for your perusal. My suggestion is to stay as broad as possible:

1. Talk about the 1996 campaign being a watershed year. Issues that were traditionally labeled (derided) as women's issues took center stage in American politics during the '96 election. The "feminization of politics" was in fact a "humanization of politics." You might want to talk about how it's a maturation of politics when women begin to vote their self-interest and their values. "Real life politick."
2. If they ask about the toll it takes to run a campaign, you could talk about what it felt like to be at Seneca Falls and to think about the progress we've made in terms of women in politics—and all the sacrifices that were made to get us here. (You might also want to note that as you announced your Senate candidacy, it occurred to you that your mother—who was there with you—was born before women had the right to vote.)
3. Talk about Vital Voices and other efforts to get women to participate politically around the world, and how that influenced your own views of political participation.
4. Women are suited to politics because "politics is housekeeping...on a grand scale."
(Jane Addams)
5. You may also want to mention the incredible success of Emily's List and the increasing number of women involved in politics at the local levels.

We are trying to gather more factual information and polling data, and will get that to you in the morning.

ELEANOR CLIFT / Tom BRAZAITIS
February 2000

WELLESLEY BIO – HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

When Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke at her commencement in 1969, she talked about politics as “the art of making what appears to be impossible, possible.” More than thirty years later, she remains faithful to that vision. From working to improve the conditions of children and families in the United States to championing democracy and human rights around the world, she has become one of our nation’s most eloquent and influential voices for social justice and social progress.

Her long devotion to children and family issues began as a law student, when she worked on foster care and abuse cases, and has continued throughout her years as First Lady of Arkansas and as First Lady of the United States. For three decades she has fought tirelessly for better health care for children and families, expanded educational opportunities, improvements in child care, and economic security for all Americans, especially women. Her philosophy and beliefs are delineated in a book she wrote in 1995 entitled: It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us.

Hillary Clinton also has been a champion of girls and women in the developing world, promoting education, microfinance, and family planning as essential tools for women to fulfill their potential in life. In one of her most passionate articulations of women’s rights and human rights, she told delegates to the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995: “Women are the primary caretakers of the world’s children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued – not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

“At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, and running countries. Women are also dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition and poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the bank lending office and banned from the ballot box. . . .

“As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around the world – as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes – the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.”

WELLESLEY BIO February 2006

Her vision of the connections between social development, civil society and the building of democracy has resonated within foreign policy circles at home and abroad. In her extensive travels, she has been a leading voice speaking out for the democratic principles of freedom, equality and social justice – from South Africa to Mongolia to the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe.

In particular, she has encouraged women to become voices in their own communities and countries and to participate in the political process. To that end she initiated Vital Voices conferences in [Belfast, Palermo, Istanbul, etc.] in which women from around the world have joined together to share ideas about how to be effective agents of political change.

At home, she has continued her lifelong work to advance the causes of children and families. Her record as First Lady has already left an indelible imprint on policies affecting foster care and adoption, breast cancer treatment and detection, expansions of Medicare funding, child care and after school care, health insurance for poor children and families, tax deductions for college tuition, legal services for the poor, the arts and humanities and many other issues.

Senator Christopher Dodd of Connecticut recently said that when he wants support for children's programs, "I don't call the President, I don't call the Office of Management and Budget, I don't call the Chief of Staff, I call the First Lady."

Now she hopes to put her lifelong experience and skills to work in the United States Senate, having announced on February 6, 2000 that she would run for the seat being vacated by retiring Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York.

Hillary Clinton has remained a friend of Wellesley throughout her adult years. She continues to attend important college events, including her 30th reunion, and credits the college with giving women the skills and support they need to achieve equal standing in whatever career they choose to do.

"Wellesley nurtured, challenged and guided me; it instilled in me, not just knowledge, but a reserve of sustaining values. I also made friends who are still among my closest friends today."

53RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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CNN

SHOW: CNN THE WORLD TODAY 20:00

February 4, 2000; Friday

Transcript # 00020405V23

TYPE: PACKAGE

SECTION: News; Domestic

LENGTH: 519 words

HEADLINE: A Look at What the First Lady's Senate Agenda Might Include Should
She Win

BYLINE: Jim Moret, Kelly Wallace

HIGHLIGHT:

This Sunday in New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton plans to finally make it
official, by announcing plans to become the first first lady to run for the U.S.
Senate. What would be her agenda should she win?

BODY:

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE
UPDATED.

JIM MORET, CNN ANCHOR: This Sunday in New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton plans
to finally make it official, by announcing plans to become the first first lady
to run for the U.S. Senate. What would be her agenda should she win?

CNN White House correspondent Kelly Wallace takes a look.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

KELLY WALLACE, CNN WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): From the
beginning, Hillary Rodham Clinton broke new ground as first lady, leading her
husband's efforts to make health coverage universal, testifying on Capitol Hill.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP, SEPTEMBER 1993)

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES: I am here as an
American citizen concerned about the health of her family and the health of her

KELLY WALLACE
CNN
FEBRUARY
2000

CNN THE WORLD TODAY, February 4, 2000

nation.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

WALLACE: The experience was a political disaster. Critics not only attacked the plan, but questioned the power she wielded in the White House. Now Mrs. Clinton admits she's learned a few lessons.

CLINTON: I now come from the school of smaller steps.

WALLACE: Smaller and often less public steps. She pushed for government health insurance for children of low-income workers, now federal law.

SEN. CHRISTOPHER DODDS (D), CONNECTICUT: When I want to get the child-care numbers approved in the White House's budget, *when he wants support for children's programs* "I don't call the president, I don't call the Office of Management and Budget, I don't call the chief of staff, I call the first lady. || |

WALLACE: Most of Mrs. Clinton's policy efforts focused on children, including kids waiting to be adopted.

CLINTON: Foster care should never be a permanent solution.

WALLACE: She lobbied Congress to increase incentives for adoption. Her husband signed it into law. She also convened two White House conferences -- one on child care, the other on brain development in early childhood. Matthew Melmed worked with Mrs. Clinton on programs for children under 4.

MATTHEW MELMED, ZERO TO THREE: She had a very pragmatic approach about what was the art of the possible, and how we could we try to move that forward, and I believe that that's how she was able to accomplish as much as she has been able to accomplish.

WALLACE: Mrs. Clinton also traveled to more countries than any other first lady, focusing attention on women's health in Pakistan, promoting women's rights in China and advocating microloans in South Africa. Aides say the first lady's policy achievements are an untold story.

LISSA MUSCATINE, HILLARY CLINTON PRESS SECRETARY: I think that after '94, a lot of people just assumed that because health care didn't quite go the way she wanted to, that was going to be the end of her involvement, and quite the opposite has been true.

WALLACE: And if the first lady makes her way to the Senate, her aides say the venue might change, but her focus on children and families will not.

Kelly Wallace, CNN, the White House.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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