

ANDREW MARR SHOW, HILLARY CLINTON

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I/V HILLARY CLINTON

AM: Secretary Clinton, you call your book *What Happened?* So let's start with what happened. The moment and you're sitting watching the television –

HC: right.

AM: On that night.

HC: Yes.

AM: And you say you'd be a damn good president and you thought you were going to win. Just talk us through the next few minutes.

HC: Well, I was shocked and very disappointed, obviously. Yes, I did think I was going to win, so did nearly everybody else and it began early in the evening when a couple of early States came in that we thought we would do better in than we did, but it didn't end –

AM: A sort of sinking feeling at that time?

HC: Yes, it was a sinking feeling, it was a sick feeling . By midnight we knew that I was going to lose the Electoral College by a very, very narrow margin and I went on to win the popular vote, but in our system that didn't matter.

AM: Because it's not just that you lost to a sophisticated, well organised, traditional Republican, you lost to a television game show man who had nevertheless found a way to get to the White House that you had not spotted.

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HC: That's a very good summary, yes. A reality TV star. Everything was you know really part of his effort to make it entertaining, to give people reasons to channel their - their anger, their grievance toward others and then to find in him someone that they could relate to and vote for.

AM: And this is a man you really, really didn't like. There's a very powerful part in the book where you're on stage on television with him and he's prowling around behind you and you nearly turn round and call him a creep. Would things have been different if you had done?

HC: You know I don't know the answer to that. I believed that keeping your calm, being composed is part of the job of being President. What turned out to be an entertainment contest, and he was quite good at that, maybe should have engendered a different response from me, but I –

AM: It was a game you hadn't played before.

HC: It was a game I hadn't played, it was a game that I didn't think presidents should play. It was a game that I wasn't sure I would be advantaged by because as I was thinking on the stage that night I knew that I had prepared for that debate and that he would be disruptive and difficult and I had concluded in the preparation that the best thing for me to do was just to – you know – not get sucked into it. But maybe there would have been a moment of confrontation that might have worked to my advantage.

AM: And you use the word 'prepared' there and that maybe part of the problem, because you're very tough on yourself in parts of this book. You say all the mistakes you think you made but the toughest thing I think you say is that people just didn't like me. I wondered why you think that was.

HC: Because I think there was a very concerted and it turned out to be quite effective campaign to tear me down.

AM: But also the kind of politics that you were part of, all the triangulation, the very careful messaging, that produced a kind of political rhetoric that by this election people found inauthentic. They just didn't get the emotional charge.

HC: You know what? That's a really fair point but I think we're at a point in politics – maybe it's true here as it is in our country – where being thoughtful is viewed as somehow inauthentic. You know if you're taking your time formulating an answer to a very difficult question and you prepare, you have a lot of thoughts about it, you know that's not as immediately satisfying as just, you know, coming out with some kind of rhetorical blast. So I thought it was odd that my experience, was somehow not considered, you know, sufficient in the new world in which we find ourselves and that in a reality TV campaign you get much more points if you're fast and quick and a little bit on the attack and insulting. Because people say, oh that's real. Well, it's not any more real but it does come across that way.

AM: But perhaps it works in a context where people feel really angry already and you know average incomes of middle class Americans have fallen since your husband was President and really for a very, very long time and you were seen – as you say in the book as well – as being part of the elite. Too close to the bankers, too close to the very same people who had carried on doing well while so many Americans are having a really tough time.

HC: Over the years the kind of you know – sense of anger, resentment, grievance, whatever one wants to call it, had been building up because I think it's a crisis in western democracy, not

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just in the United States and I'm not sure that I was as forceful and clear in what I was going to do, but I had a record, I had programmes, people knew what I would be doing as President but it wasn't as dramatic as maybe it needed to be.

AM: And they don't read the economic textbooks and they don't read the fine detail –

HC: No. That's right.

AM: - and they look at television and they see you as part of a charmed golden circle of people at the top. And there's a very telling moment in the book when you're in the Caribbean at Oscar de la Renta's place when you decide to run.

HC: Yeah.

AM: And that in itself in a sense epitomises the problem, doesn't it?

HC: Well, it epitomises the problem if you are going to have a very narrow view of what the problem is and I put that in that deliberately you know because he was a dear friend of mine and he was an immigration success story. Someone who worked his way up in our country to great acclaim because of hard work and because of what he produced. And we now have a president who wants to disregard the enormous contributions that immigrants have been and are making to America's future.

AM: Well you raised the question of the present, the most formidable chapter in the book, if I may say so, is on Russia. Very, very detailed and I'm going to come onto Russia in more detail in a moment, but in that chapter you say this about Donald Trump: "He doesn't just like Putin, he wants to be like Putin. A white authoritarian leader who would put down dissenters, repress

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minorities, disenfranchise voters, weaken the press and amass untold billions for himself. He dreams of Moscow on the Potomac.” That sounds like a proto-fascist.

HC: Well I’m not gonna label it. I described it in the book and you accurately read what I said and in the last few weeks we’ve seen examples of what I worried about. He made a statement the other day saying that NBC, one of our big broadcast TV networks should have their licence questioned, because he doesn’t like the stories that they produce about him.

AM: So you think on the press and the media he’s going beyond angry tweets to actually challenging the fabric of American media itself?

HC: I think he – I think he wants to. That’s why I said he wants to be like an authoritarian. He wants to. So far he has been checked and balanced under our Constitution, to a limited extent by the Congress and by the court system so I think that the fabric is certainly being stretched.

AM: Okay, let’s talk about Russia because as I say it’s a very interesting part of your book. And for people who don’t know all the details, it’s a very complicated and detailed story, can you just explain what the Russians did during the campaign in your view?

HC: Well, the Russians wanted to help Trump and hurt me. In their wildest dreams they wanted to elect him and defeat me.

AM: Why was that?

HC: Well, I think for several reasons. Our intelligence community says that Putin had a personal grudge against me. In part because as Secretary of State I spoke out about human rights abuses, illegitimate election activities within Russia. He wants to

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undermine NATO, the EU, American stability and he has a lot of practice from Soviet days to the present in doing propaganda. Having content organisations, they're called content farms in places like Macedonia, pumping out fake news. Having Russians posing as Americans and not just to denigrate me, which was a big part of what they did, but to sow distrust and division.

AM: What's not clear from your book is whether you think that the Trump campaign was colluding with this.

HC: We don't know the answer to that. That is part of what is being explored. There are some serious questions, because what happened when the emails of my Campaign Manager, John Podesta, were stolen by the Russian intelligence services, then they were conveyed to Wikileaks which is basically now a mouthpiece for Russian authoritarianism and then they were released on the very same day that the Hollywood access tape came out showing Trump, you know, bragging about sexual assault. Then they were, what we call weaponised, so that they were turned into phoney news stories, they were turned into Facebook posts and then they were targeted at specific voters. The question is where did the Russians get that kind of targeting information? And you know that is one of the unanswered questions that investigators in Congress and the Special Council are looking into.

AM: This is a pattern that we're seeing in Europe as well of course. The Germans have been very worried about Russian involvement in their elections, President Macron in France has talked about it as well and there's been suggestions that it's over here too. What should Britain be looking for and how should we protect ourselves?

HC: I think Britain has a lot at stake in this and I think this is affecting all of western democracies. So part of what has to

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happen is cracking down on foreign interference in your election. And anyone who makes common cause with Russia, China, Iran, whoever it might be. Right now it's Russia because they're the ones trying to destabilise Europe, should be held accountable, civilly and criminally in my opinion.

AM: This week in – in Britain we're right on the edge of suddenly talking about no deal when we leave the EU. What would no deal mean for Britain in your view?

HC: I think it would be a very big disadvantage to Britain. I mean, no deal meaning no preferential trade deals, which means products in Britain would not have the kind easy access to the European market that you had under EU membership. It could very well mean that there would be more pressure on businesses in Britain, if not to leave completely, at least also have sites and employment elsewhere in Europe. I – I think that the disruption for Britain could be, you know, quite serious.

AM: A lot of people on the other side of the argument here, on the pro-Brexit side, look to America and they see that is our future. A new great big trade deal with Donald Trump is the way forward for Britain.

HC: Well, yes, but you're making a trade deal with someone who says he doesn't believe in trade. So I'm not quite sure how that's going to play out over the next few years. But I wanted to make a – another point about Brexit. Looking at Bre- the Brexit vote now, it was a precursor to some extent of what happened to us in the United States. But the amount of fabricated, false information that your voters were given by the Leave campaign –

AM: From both sides.

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HC: Well, I'm not as familiar with – but I'm very familiar with what the Leave side said, because they transported a lot of that on behalf of Trump. You had, you know, Mr Farage campaigning for Trump and the like. You know, the big lie is a very potent tool, and we've somewhat kept it at bay in western democracies, partly because of the freedom of the press. But given the absolutely explosive spread of online news and sites that have sprung up that are very effective at propagating false stories we've got some thinking to do about how we're going to not to say, you know, you have to agree with me, that's not what I'm saying at all, but there has to be some basic level of fact and evidence in our politics. Well, frankly, in all part of our society.

AM: The other big story of this week, as you know, is your friend Harvey Weinstein, whose had a huge slew of really serious allegations made against him. What was your reaction when you first read those allegations?

HC: I was shocked and appalled, because I've known him through politics, as many Democrats have. He's been a supporter.

AM: A funder

HC: He's been a funder, and you know, for all of us. For Obama, for me, for people who've run for, you know, for office in the United States. So it was – it was just disgusting and the stories that have come out are heartbreaking. And I really commend the women who have been willing to step forward now and tell their stories. But I think it's important that we not just focus on him and whatever consequences flow from these stories about his behaviour, but that we recognise this kind of behaviour cannot be tolerated anywhere, whether it's in entertainment, politics, you know, after all we have someone admitting to be the sexual assaulter in the Oval Office, there has to be a recognition that we

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must stand against this kind of, you know, action that is so sexist and misogynistic.

AM: And this depends upon women coming forward.

HC: Yeah.

AM Having the courage to come forward.

HC: Right.

AM And yet in your book the three were women brought onto stage by Trump attacking your husband, and you kind of dismissed them. Was that the right thing to do? Are you sure about that?

HC: Well, yes, because that had all been litigated. I mean, that was the subject of a huge, you know, investigation, as you might recall, in the late '90s and there were conclusions drawn and that was clearly in the past. But it is something that has to be taken seriously. As I say, for everyone, not just for those in entertainment right now.

AM: Absolutely. Nobody wants to blame women for what men do. But nonetheless, powerful women like you of course have a duty to call men out.

HC: As I did throughout the campaign. I – I certainly did. I mean, the – the – the really sad part of the campaign was how this horrific tape – what he said about women in the past, what he said about women during the campaign was discounted by a lot of voters. I think he has a very narrow view of what a women should be, and is very focused on keeping women in their place. And so the way he treated Angela Merkel, for example, when she came to the Oval Office, where he would not shake her hand,

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where he would not look at her, compared with the way he treated Theresa May, whose hand he grabbed.

AM: It was a grab wasn't it?

HC: Yes, yes. I mean, so there's two kind of women. Women that I like and I can work with and women that I'm afraid of or that would challenge me. I mean, that seems quite, you know, sexist if not misogynistic to me.

AM: Hillary Clinton is not going to run for the American presidency again I suspect.

HC: That's right.

AM: But you have said very clearly in your book you intend to live long enough to see the first female president of the United States. Can I just throw a few names at you?

HC: Sure, sure.

AM: Oprah Winfrey. Might...

HC: Yeah, well she has said she's not interested. So I'm only going to look at people who might run.

AM: Okay. She has – she has tweeted articles suggesting she might run.

HC: Well, it's very flattering. You know, who knows, maybe in two years she will. You never know.

AM: Okay. What about Michelle Obama?

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HC: She has said absolutely she's never going to run for political office.

AM: Alright, what about somebody who is, appears a lot in your book and clearly seems to be more qualified than almost anybody else, Chelsea Clinton?

HC: (laugh) No, she's never been at all interested in running for office. She might, you know, in 5-10-15-20 years, who knows what life brings? But not in any – not in any way that I see right now.

AM: Okay, last of four people. Ivanka Trump?

HC: Well, I – I don't know her so I really can't speculate at all on that. Who knows? I mean, it's hard to predict these days what – what will happen in American politics.

(ends)