

SPECIAL COMMEMORATIVE EDITION

**Newsweek**

# MADAM PRESIDENT

NOVEMBER 8, 2016

**Hillary Clinton's  
Historic Journey  
to the White House**

TOPIX MEDIA SPECIALS

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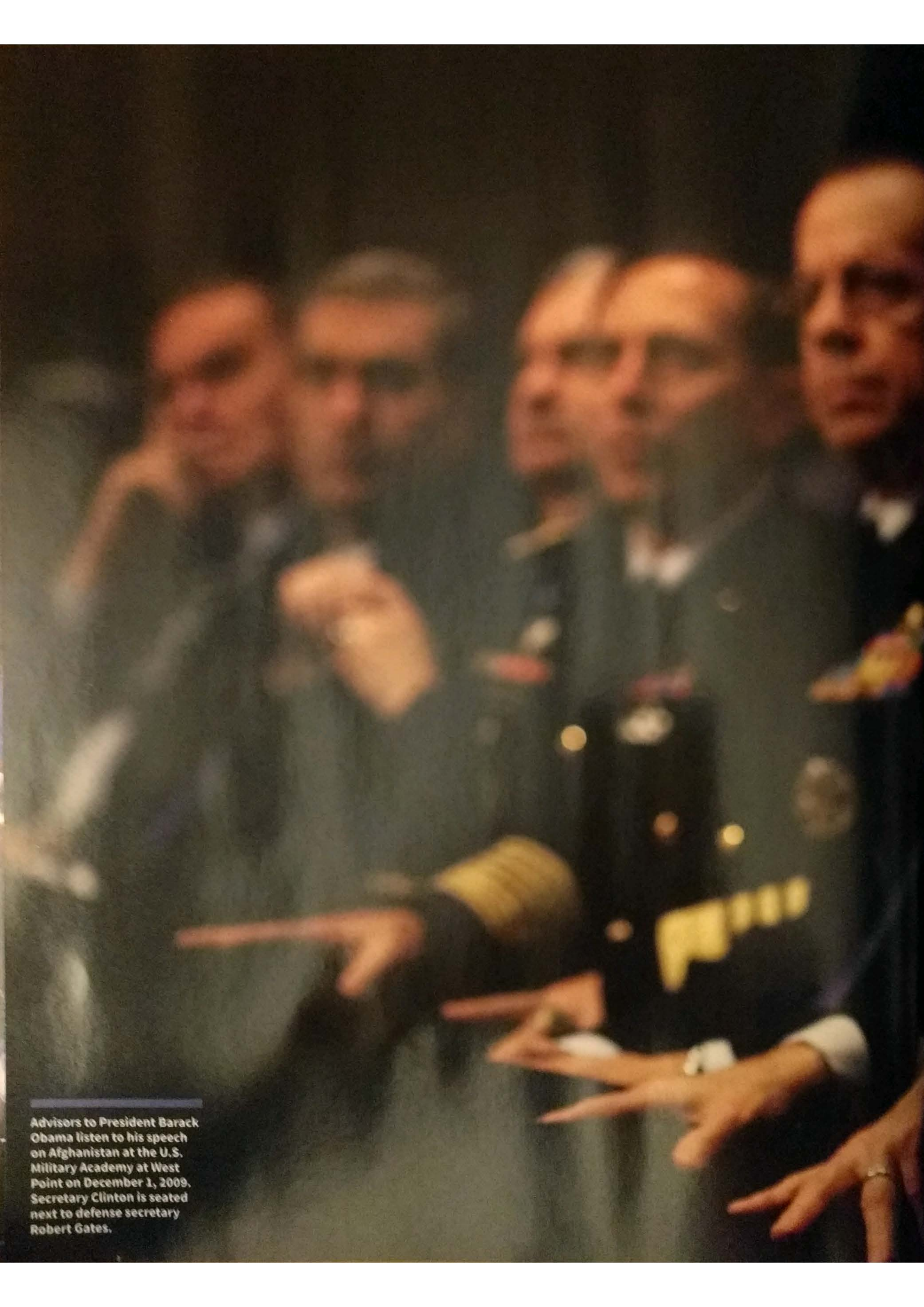




Hillary Clinton speaks to a debate watch party at the Craig Ranch Regional Amphitheater in North Las Vegas on October 19 after a resounding victory in the third and final presidential debate. During a particularly strong showing, Clinton hit back at Trump's rhetoric concerning ISIS, Bernie Sanders's endorsement and the economy.

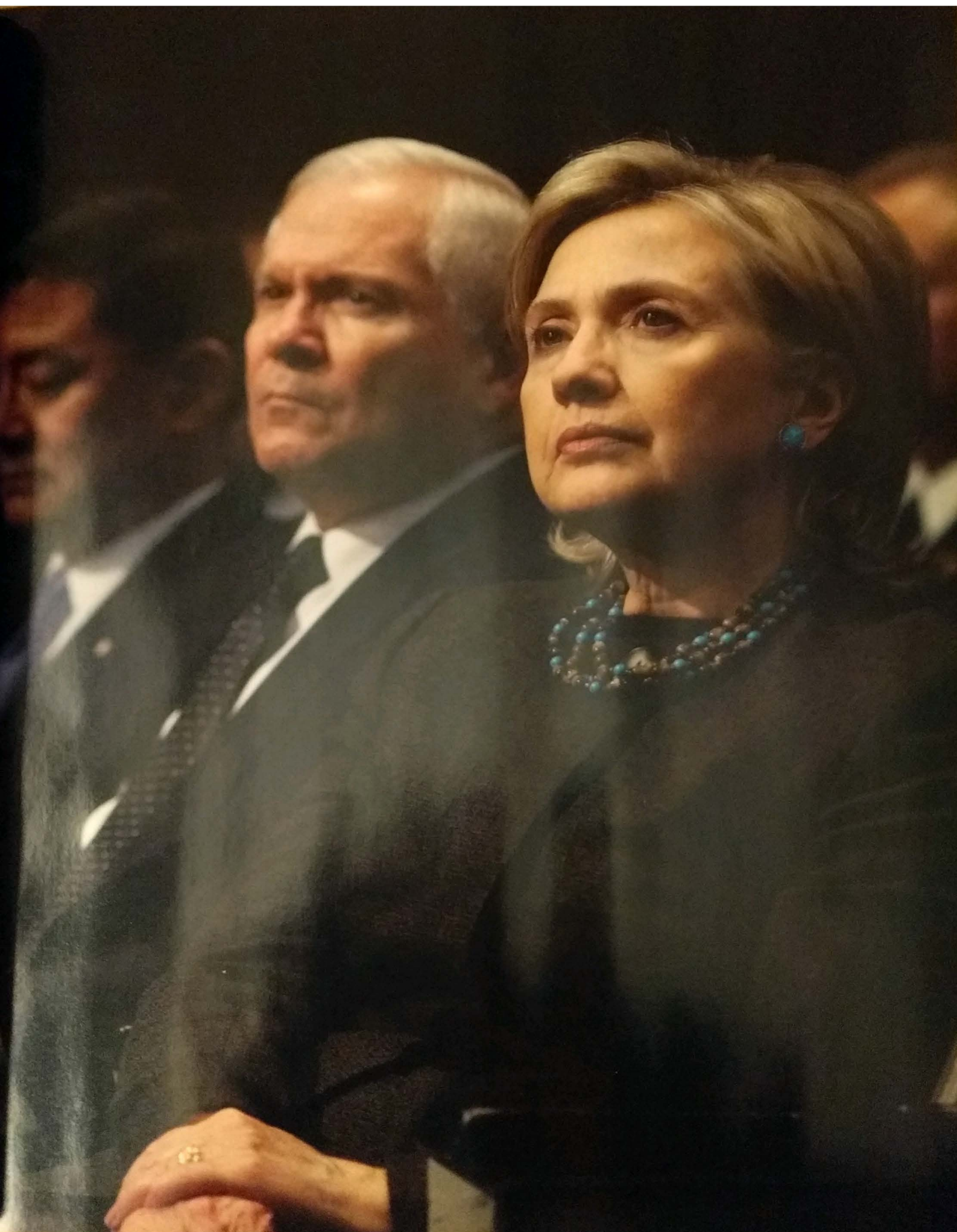




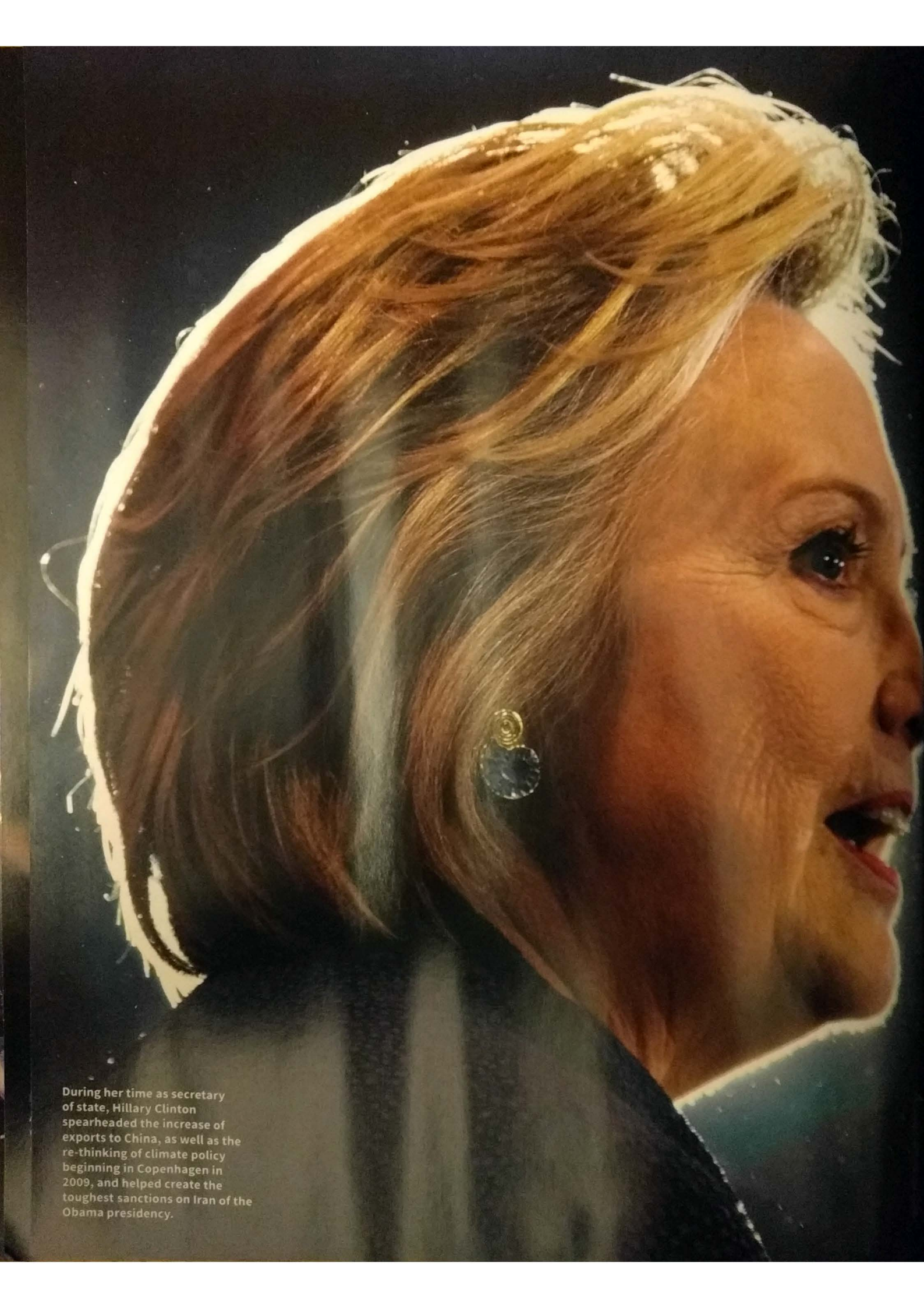


Advisors to President Barack Obama listen to his speech on Afghanistan at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point on December 1, 2009. Secretary Clinton is seated next to defense secretary Robert Gates.









During her time as secretary of state, Hillary Clinton spearheaded the increase of exports to China, as well as the re-thinking of climate policy beginning in Copenhagen in 2009, and helped create the toughest sanctions on Iran of the Obama presidency.



# PRESIDENT CLINTON

**T**HE 2016 presidential election was unique in a number of ways: It saw the first major-party female nominee for the highest office in the country, the improbable rise of the kind of demagogue previously unknown in American politics and enough infighting and mudslinging for 10 election cycles. But as the tone of the election grew darker and more bizarre by the day, President-Elect Hillary Clinton “went high” when her opponent and his supporters went ever lower. No stranger to trudging through the mire of misogyny in her career as first lady, senator and secretary of state, President-Elect Clinton continued to push for an issues-based campaign even as a handful of Trump’s most deplorable supporters, seeing the wide margin Clinton held among female voters, called to repeal the 19th amendment. On election day, Americans across the country roundly rejected the kind of fear and hate-based conservatism peddled by Donald Trump and elected the first woman in U.S. history to the presidency. The culminating election of a career in politics spanning three decades and arguably more experience than any other incoming president, 2016’s was not an easy race to watch, comment on or be a part of—but when the dust cleared it revealed a priceless moment in American history. The highest glass ceiling in the Western World had finally shattered.

08

## PARK RIDGE TO PENN AVE

Hillary Clinton’s political career began in the 1960s, but it evolved through various phases before her first trip to the White House.

30

## SENATE AND STATE

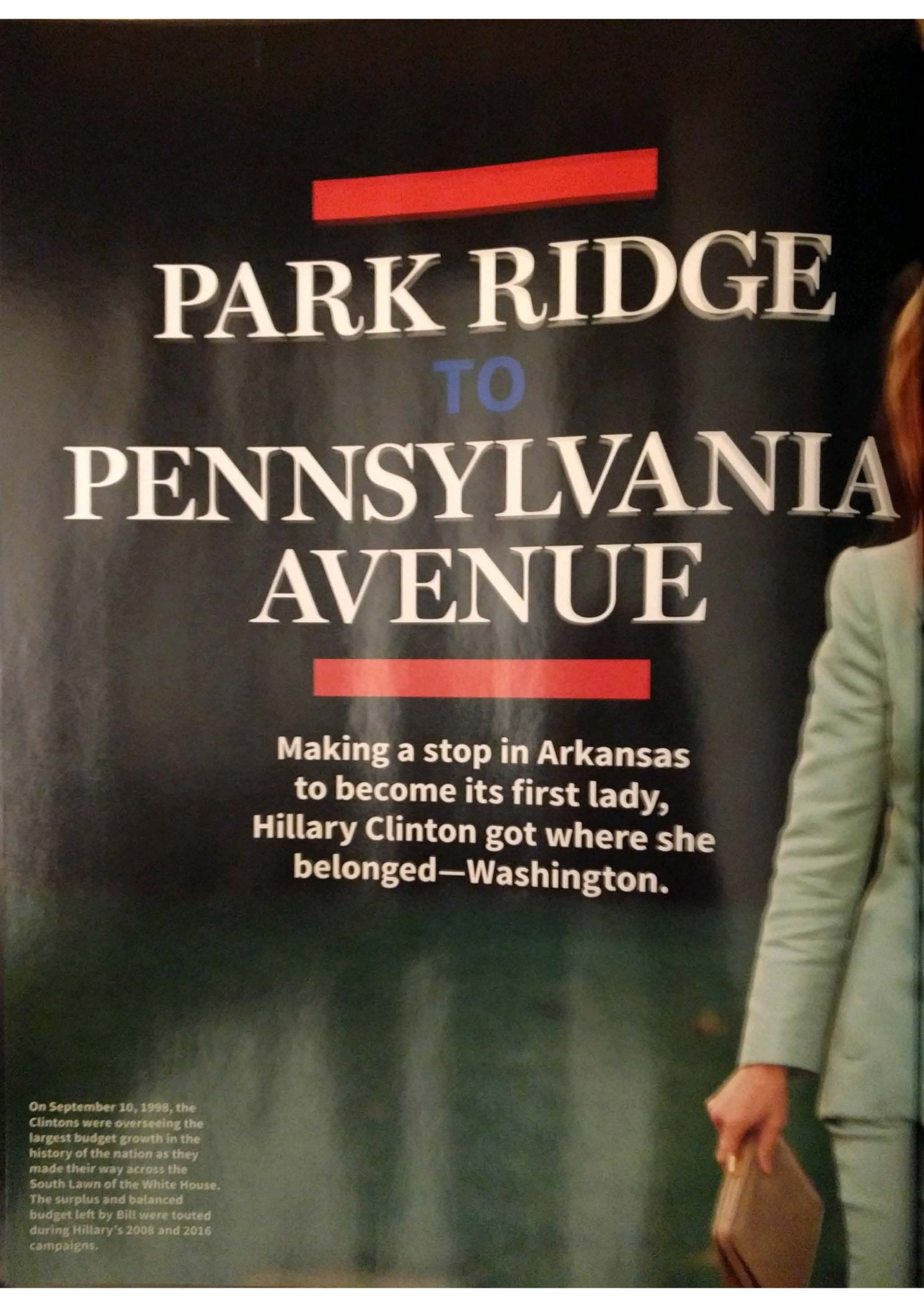
After her time as first lady, Hillary Clinton became the first presidential spouse to run for public office, becoming the senator from New York.

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## MADAM PRESIDENT

The final frontier for American female politicians was the presidency, and Hillary Clinton was able to win the most contentious election ever for the honor of crossing it.





# PARK RIDGE TO PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

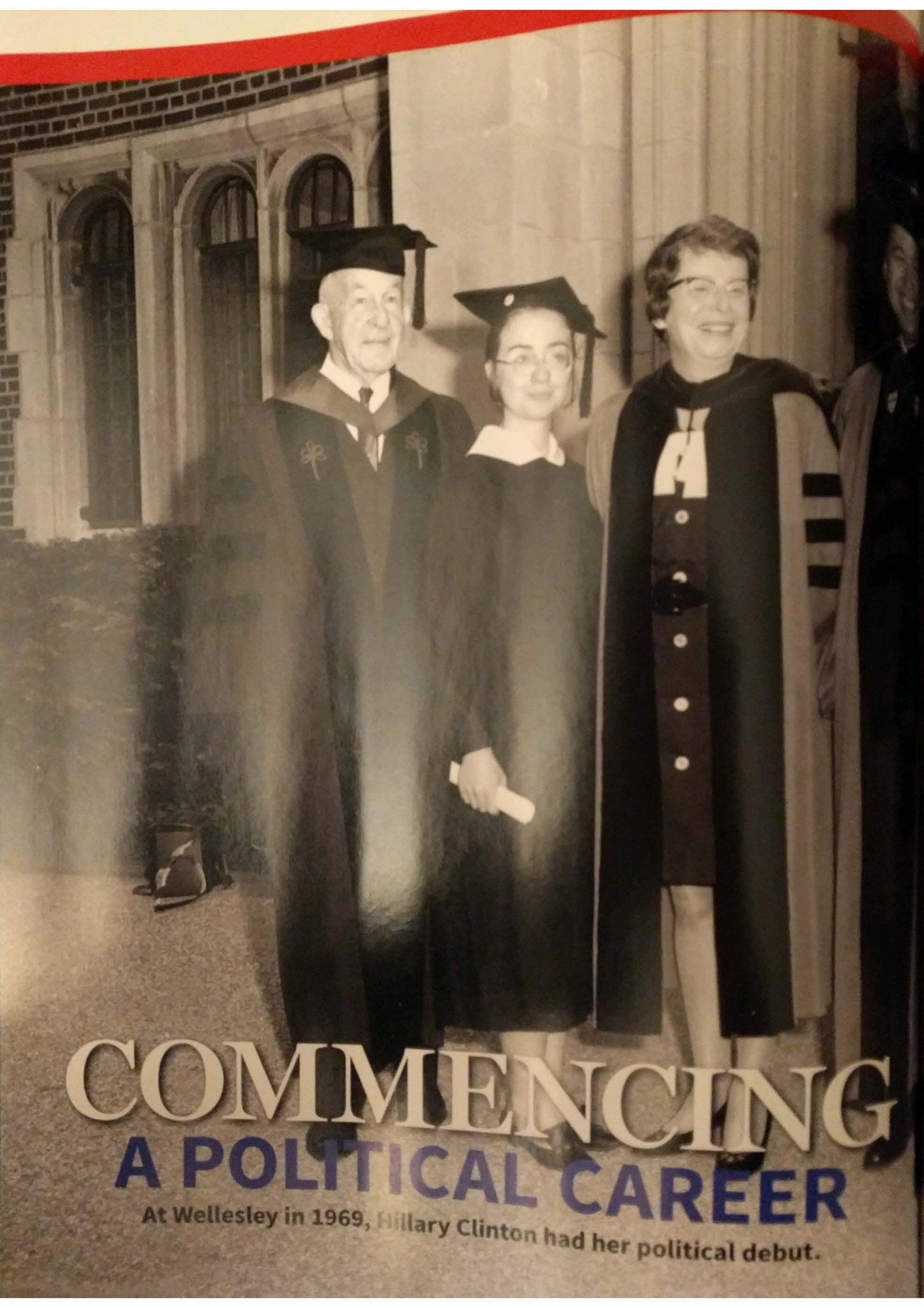
**Making a stop in Arkansas  
to become its first lady,  
Hillary Clinton got where she  
belonged—Washington.**

On September 10, 1998, the Clintons were overseeing the largest budget growth in the history of the nation as they made their way across the South Lawn of the White House. The surplus and balanced budget left by Bill were touted during Hillary's 2008 and 2016 campaigns.









# COMMENCING A POLITICAL CAREER

At Wellesley in 1969, Hillary Clinton had her political debut.





From left: Chairman of the Board of Wellesley College John Quarles, Hillary Clinton, Wellesley College President Rirth M. Adams, and U.S. Senator (R) Edward W. Brooke (right) at the 1969 commencement. In 1968, Hillary had been elected class president.

**W**ELLESLEY COLLEGE in 1969 was the setting for Hillary Clinton's first big speech, her class commencement address, which thrust her into the spotlight for the first time but certainly not the last.

Clinton's speech made news in part because she chided Sen. Edward Brooke, who was sharing the dais with her. A liberal Republican, Brooke was the first popularly elected black senator and enjoyed wide popularity with Democrats and Republicans alike in Massachusetts, where Wellesley is located. He gave the keynote speech moments before Clinton spoke.

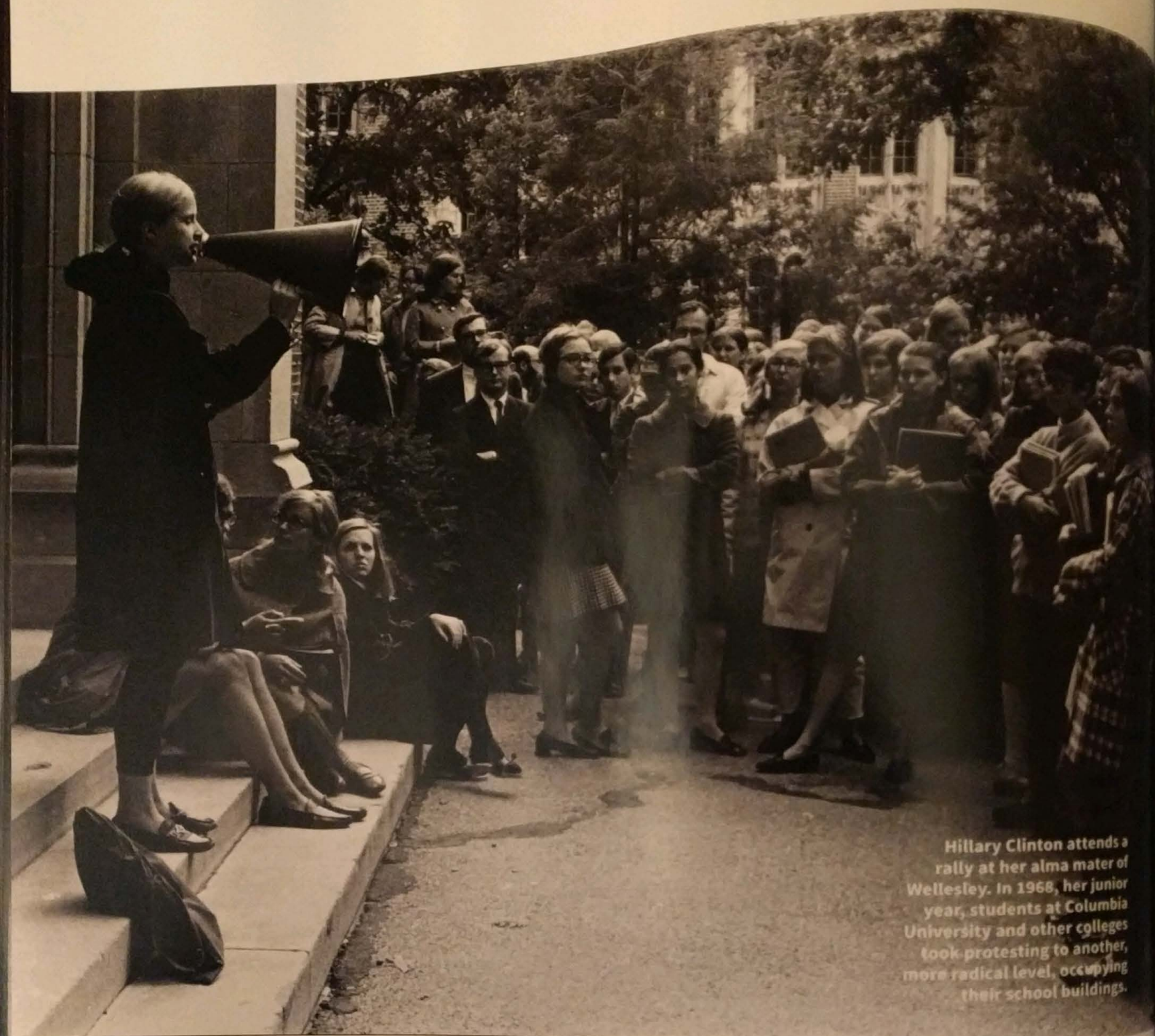
But Brooke was a supporter of President Richard Nixon's policies in Vietnam, and Clinton took advantage of the high-profile occasion to offer a gentle rebuke.

"I find myself reacting just briefly to some of the things that Sen. Brooke said. This has to be quick because I do have a little speech to give. Part of the problem with just empathy with professed goals is that empathy doesn't do us anything," Clinton said. "We've had lots of empathy; we've had lots of sympathy, but we feel that for too long our leaders have viewed politics as the art of the possible. And the challenge now is to practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible possible."

The speech became part of a *Life* magazine cover story on "The Class of '69," which included other prominent campus speakers, including Ira Magaziner from Brown University, who went on to become a top Clinton adviser.

On the campaign trail, Clinton had to grapple with the insurgent, idealistic campaign of Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders, who accused Clinton of thinking only within the realm of possibility.





Hillary Clinton attends a rally at her alma mater of Wellesley. In 1968, her junior year, students at Columbia University and other colleges took protesting to another, more radical level, occupying their school buildings.

The release of her speech, which seems to point to a part of Clinton that contradicts everything Sanders painted her as, came as Clinton and Sanders headed into the last big primary day of the election cycle. On June 7, six states, including delegate-rich California and New Jersey voted and Clinton managed to increase her delegate lead, all but clinching the nomination.

Clinton attended Wellesley from 1965 to 1969. She was the first student to give a commencement

speech at the university, and was chosen unanimously by her classmates for the honor. One of the peers she thanked personally was Eleanor Acheson, who remains a close friend of Clinton's and is, by a happy coincidence, the granddaughter of one of Clinton's predecessors, the late Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,  
BY TAYLOR WOFFORD, 6/6/16



# THE ADDRESS (EXCERPTS)

We [have felt] that for too long our leaders have viewed politics as the art of the possible. And the challenge now is to practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible possible.... We're not interested in social reconstruction; it's human reconstruction. How can we talk about percentages and trends? The complexities are not lost in our analyses, but perhaps they're just put into what we consider a more human and... progressive perspective.

The question about possible and impossible was one that we brought with us to Wellesley four years ago. We arrived not yet knowing what was not possible.... Our attitudes are easily understood having grown up...dominated by men with dreams, men in the civil rights movement, the Peace Corps, the space program—so we arrived at Wellesley and we found... that there was a gap between expectation and realities. But it wasn't a discouraging gap and it didn't turn us into cynical, bitter old women at the age of 18. It just inspired us to do something about that gap.

Every protest, every dissent...is an attempt to forge an identity in this particular age. That attempt at forging...has meant coming to terms with our humanness. Within the context of a society that we perceive...[reality] hovers often between the possibility of disaster and the potentiality for imaginatively responding to men's needs.

There's that mutuality of respect between people where you don't see people as percentage points. Where you don't manipulate people. Where you're not interested in social engineering for people. The struggle for an integrated life existing in an atmosphere of communal trust

and respect is one with desperately important political and social consequences. And the word consequences of course catapults us into the future.... Fear is always with us but we just don't have time for it. Not now.

There are two people that I would like to thank before concluding. That's Ellie Acheson, who is the spearhead for this, and also Nancy Scheibner who wrote this poem:

*My entrance into the world of so-called  
"social problems"*

*Must be with quiet laughter, or not at all.*

*The hollow men of anger and bitterness*

*The bountiful ladies of righteous degradation*

*All must be left to a bygone age.*

*And the purpose of history is to*

*provide a receptacle*

*For all those myths and oddments*

*Which oddly we have acquired*

*And from which we would become unburdened*

*To create a newer world*

*To translate the future into the past.*

*We have no need of false revolutions*

*In a world where categories tend to*

*tyrannize our minds*

*And hang our wills up on narrow pegs.*

*It is well at every given moment to seek the  
limits in our lives.*

*And once those limits are understood*

*To understand that limitations no longer exist.*

*Earth could be fair. And you and I must be free*

*Not to save the world in a glorious crusade*

*Not to kill ourselves with a nameless*

*gnawing pain*

*But to practice with all the skill of our being*

*The art of making possible.*





Gov. Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton of Arkansas meet with Bill Sheffield, the governor of Alaska, at the Democratic National Committee Meeting in Los Angeles, 1991. Hillary Clinton served as the state's first lady twice, once from 1979 to 1981 before Bill was ousted during the so-called Reagan Revolution, and again from 1983 to 1992, when the couple left Arkansas for the presidential campaign trail.







# NO FIRST HOUSEWIFE

**The 1992 election introduced a national audience to Hillary Clinton—and those who were frightened by her strength.**

**R**EAD MY LIPS—no new taxes” turned out to be a phrase that made two presidents. By the time Bill Clinton ran for the office in 1992, it was a promise that was already broken. Clinton was cruising to the White House. And through it all—the implosion of George H.W. Bush’s candidacy, *The Arsenio Hall Show*, the first of many right-wing, anti-Clinton pogroms—Hillary Clinton was in the spotlight as she redefined the role of a political wife (especially one ostensibly from the South) simply by being who she was. From the outset of her life in the national spotlight, she refused to be pigeonholed into traditional, ceremonial roles like hosting Easter egg rolls. She made it clear there would be a first couple in the White House from now on, not a meek and submissive housewife and her larger-than-life American hero.

Conservative pundits immediately voiced their concern over Hillary’s strong personality, despite the fact that the previous first lady, Barbara Bush, was

by all accounts a policy hawk who would not be left out of serious discussions and Bush’s predecessor, Nancy Reagan, helped run the country to various degrees at various times through her influence, astrology charts and perhaps unique knowledge of her husband’s actual health. Hillary Clinton had been painted negatively in the national press as a powerful and ambitious first lady but was already prepared to handle the abuse heaped on her by the right in the best way she knew—by attempting to further her own legacy at every opportunity, whether it meant taking a stand for disenfranchised women in the third world or trying to overhaul our broken health care system. Throughout the first Clinton White House, Hillary’s refusal to back-burner herself to take care of making the First Home continued to rub social conservatives the wrong way.

When Roger Stone, a prominent Republican at the time, came out with the following statement—which would likely incite a riot in 2016—in a Maureen Dowd article, it seemed to many in 1992 to be a summary of why the Clintons rubbed conservatives the wrong way. “Hillary Clinton is exceedingly polarizing. It’s not that she’s an accomplished modern woman. It’s just that she’s grating, abrasive and boastful. There’s a certain familiar order of things, and the notion of a co-equal couple in the White House is a little offensive to men and women.” Hillary has never been shy about going





During a Chicago rally on St. Patrick's Day, 1992, Bill and Hillary Clinton celebrate his victory in the Michigan and Illinois primaries.

against the "familiar order of things," and neither did she seem to be of the opinion that a familiar order is the best one, with her multitude of references to the glass ceiling (and later, its cracks) and her refusal to accept the status quo of America's reputation abroad. Most of all, she rejected the familiar order of the White House itself by taking an active rather than passive role. Since 1992, the attacks against Hillary haven't

changed—they all come from the same places they did then, and as detractors have remained stalwart, so has she. Despite being placed on trial in the court of public opinion at every turn in her career, Hillary continued to move forward, continued to be a thorn in the side of those who in 1992 started the trend of calling her "abrasive" and their heirs, and continued straight on until she won the White House.









Hillary Rodham Clinton sits on the lap of her husband, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, as she jokes with vice presidential candidate Al Gore and his wife, Tipper, in a brief rest on their bus during the 1992 campaign.






# I THINK WE'RE READY

In 1992, Hillary Clinton sat down with *Newsweek* and gave her opinions about living in Arkansas, campaigning for the White House and how having children changes political agendas.





In 1976, Bill and Hillary Clinton were the youngest political power couple in the country. They had been married the year before, and Bill was already on the path to the governorship of his state.

**H**ILLARY CLINTON is the president's most articulate defender. She represents a new generation of political wives: She's an accomplished professional with perhaps as much claim as her husband to a place in public life. Born in Chicago and educated at Wellesley and Yale Law School, Clinton is a nationally known activist on education and children's issues and was recently named one of the nation's top 100 lawyers by the National Law Journal. She stirred resentment in Arkansas when she initially declined to take her husband's surname—relenting only after it became a political liability for him.

**You grew up in suburban Chicago, went to Wellesley and then Yale. Moving to Arkansas must have been a bit of a shock.**

When I met Bill Clinton, he was the first person I ever met from Arkansas. And when I first visited Arkansas [in 1973], I really did not know what to expect. He picked me up at the airport in Little Rock. He lived in Hot Springs, which was like an hour away. We drove eight hours. He took me to all these places he thought were beautiful. We went to all the state parks. We went to all the overlooks. And then we'd stop at his favorite barbecue place. Then we'd go down the road and stop at his favorite fried-pie place. My head was reeling because I didn't know what I was going to see or what I was expecting.

And then in '74, he'd asked me to marry him and he said, "I know this is really a hard choice because I'm committed to living in Arkansas." And I'd say, "Yeah, it's a really hard choice." And I just finally decided, you know, this is no way to make a decision. When you love somebody, you just have to go and see what it's like. So I moved to Arkansas and started teaching at the law school.

I had a lot of apprehension, partly because I didn't know anybody and did not know how I'd be received. And I got to Fayetteville, Arkansas, and started teaching at the law school within the space of about 48 hours. It all happened very quickly. And I loved it. The people were warm and welcoming to me. I felt very much at home. And it was a shock to me because I had never lived in the South or in a small place before. It gave me a perspective on life and helped me understand what it was like for most people.... I think I've had a more interesting time of it than I would have if I had chickened out and not followed my heart.

**In terms of your family, how did they regard marrying a fellow from Arkansas? Was there any Chicago bias about the Deep South?**

I think there was, on the part of not just my family but my friends. You know, my friends loved Bill, but they thought I was going to the end





On November 3, 1992, Hillary and Bill Clinton shake hands with supporters during a victory celebration at the Old Statehouse in Little Rock.

of the earth. They had no idea what life was going to be like. My father was more concerned that he was a Democrat than [from Arkansas]. Great arguments, great arguments.

**Where did your sense of social responsibility come from?**

From two places. My parents always had a strong sense of what was fair. Not necessarily any social content to it, but what was fair and not fair. And then one of the most influential people in my life was my youth minister when I was growing up in the Methodist church. Here we were, these white, suburban kids at the Methodist church on Sunday night, and he'd come in...and he'd say, "We're going downtown to visit with some young people who are just like you." And we'd go downtown and have these exchanges with Hispanic kids and black kids. We had a lot of farms still in my neighborhood in those days. And he'd set up programs so that the girls in my church group would go out and babysit the migrant children while their parents worked. He just was relentless in telling us that to be a

Christian did not just mean you were concerned about your own personal salvation.

**How has Bill's childhood, with the horror of growing up with his stepfather [who Clinton says was abusive toward his mother], affected his behavior as a husband and father?**

Well, one thing I want to say in preface to that, I think the horrors of it can be way overstated. The important thing about Bill Clinton's upbringing is that he was always surrounded by love. He had a mother who, despite all the heartbreak and tragedy in her life, got up every day optimistic and positive and determined to try to make the best of it—and to love his children.... Hard as he tried to understand his stepfather, it became a big challenge to him toward the end of his stepfather's life, when there was a reconciliation.... When Roger Clinton was dying—I think this says a lot about the kind of person Bill is—he was getting medical treatment at Duke. Bill was at Georgetown. And Bill drove down frequently to see him.

[Bill] was amazed by fatherhood. He was overwhelmed by it. I've heard him say that when



he saw his child, he realized it was more than his own father got to do. [Clinton's natural father died before he was born.] And he has worked very hard and has been a real supportive father.

**Where did your daughter's name—Chelsea—come from?**

We were in England—'78, '79, can't remember. Anyway, we were trying to have a child, something we were working on. And it was this glorious morning. We were going to brunch and we were walking through Chelsea, you know, the flowerpots were out and everything. And Bill started singing, "It's a Chelsea morning." Remember that old song? Judy Collins song.

**At Wellesley, a commencement speech that you gave made *Time* magazine.**

Well, it was 1969. And some of my classmates came to me late in the spring and said we don't think it's right that Wellesley has never let a student speak at graduation. And we want to go to the administration and ask them to let us have a student speak because we think we deserve to have our voices heard, and we want you to do it. Anyway, it got worked out that I would be on the program after Sen. [Edward] Brooke. And I was really honored that they wanted me to talk. I guess I was the natural choice because I was president of the college government. People wrote what they wanted me to say. They sent me poems. It became a real collective effort. But basically what they wanted me to do was to try to communicate what it had been like: the four years of the buildup of the Vietnam War, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Bobby Kennedy, the burning of the cities. This was an incredible time to live through. And Sen. Brooke gave a very traditional, conventional speech in which he basically took a kind of Republican apologist line about what was happening, what

President Nixon was doing. It was exactly the kind of message my classmates felt they didn't want as their last remembrance of Wellesley. When I spoke, I responded to his not having really addressed the concerns of the people about to go into this world.

**Bill didn't run in '88 in part because he didn't think your child was old enough to be part of this maelstrom. Has she been asking any questions?**

We've talked to her ever since she was about 6 or 7 years old about campaigns and the kinds of things people say. She and I were in the supermarket last week when the story broke in one of those supermarket tabloids. I said, well, you know those magazines here may run some stories about your dad—and I told her that what we heard was going to be in one of them. We've tried to be real honest with her, too. We want her to feel she's a part of this, and that we're not protecting her from something she may find out about from a friend at school or the TV or being in a supermarket line. And she's fully aware that in a campaign people say things about each other that are not true, and that they are accusations. We started preparing her for that back in '86—Bill was going to have a contested primary, and Orval Faubus was one of his opponents—and I knew that Chelsea by that time was old enough to turn on the TV and pay attention. And we were at dinner one night and I told her, your daddy is going to run for governor again, and when people run for office, other people say things about them. And her eyes got real big—she just couldn't imagine that—and I said, you just need to be ready for that. Now you just pretend to be your daddy and what would you say if you want to run for governor. And she said something like, "I've done a good job—elect me."

FROM THE *NEWSWEEK* ARCHIVE,  
BY ELEANOR CLIFT, 2/3/1992





At the National Garden Gala, "A Tribute to America's First Ladies" at the U.S. Botanic Garden in 1994, each living first lady, from left: Nancy Reagan, Lady Bird Johnson, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Rosalynn Carter, Betty Ford and Barbara Bush.










# HILLARY POWER

As first lady, HRC did everything  
she could to bring women's issues  
into the mainstream all over the world.





United States Ambassador  
to the United Nations  
Madeleine Albright  
accompanies Hillary Clinton  
in Prague on a diplomatic  
trip in 1996. Albright  
became the first female  
secretary of state the  
following year.

**T**HE BABOONS weren't interested, but Hillary Rodham Clinton was warming to her subject. While a couple of primates watched from a nearby boulder, more taken by the remnants of a lavish picnic than their high-profile visitor, the first lady delivered an exegesis on women's advancement. "If there ever was an idea that [women] could be ignored," she declared from beneath the shade of an

acacia tree in Tanzania's Serengeti National Park, "there certainly can no longer be."

Not if the first lady has anything to do with it, anyway. As she toured Africa last week, Mrs. Clinton once again tried to highlight the plight of women around the world. Mrs. Clinton's interest has helped shake up America's foreign-policy bureaucracy. "The administration has really sounded a trumpet through the first lady," says Jill Merrick of the International Center for Research on Women in Washington.

The shift in policy has become only more pronounced under new Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Earlier this year, Albright ordered U.S. diplomats to monitor women's rights as "an integral objective" of American foreign policy. Just last week, Albright traveled to North Carolina, the home state of Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Jesse Helms, to argue for Senate approval of the United Nations' convention on women's rights. The international treaty, which compels signatories to battle sex discrimination, is languishing in the Senate. And Albright's power extends beyond Foggy Bottom: She has just taken the chairmanship of the interagency panel that coordinates all U.S. government response to international women's issues—from Treasury to the CIA. "We're making a difference," says Theresa Loar, who was appointed last fall by Warren Christopher to coordinate international women's issues at State. From her office on the department's all-powerful seventh floor, Loar's influence has grown under Albright.

While neither the first lady nor Albright had a deep interest in international women's issues before 1992, each has come to be captivated by the cause. Mrs. Clinton has used a variety of forums—from United Nations conferences to anti-prostitution programs in Thailand—to make her point that "women's rights are human rights." Friends say that the two—who have traveled overseas together—reinforce each other's interest.





"As they've traveled around the world," says one insider, "they've been moved by what they've heard."

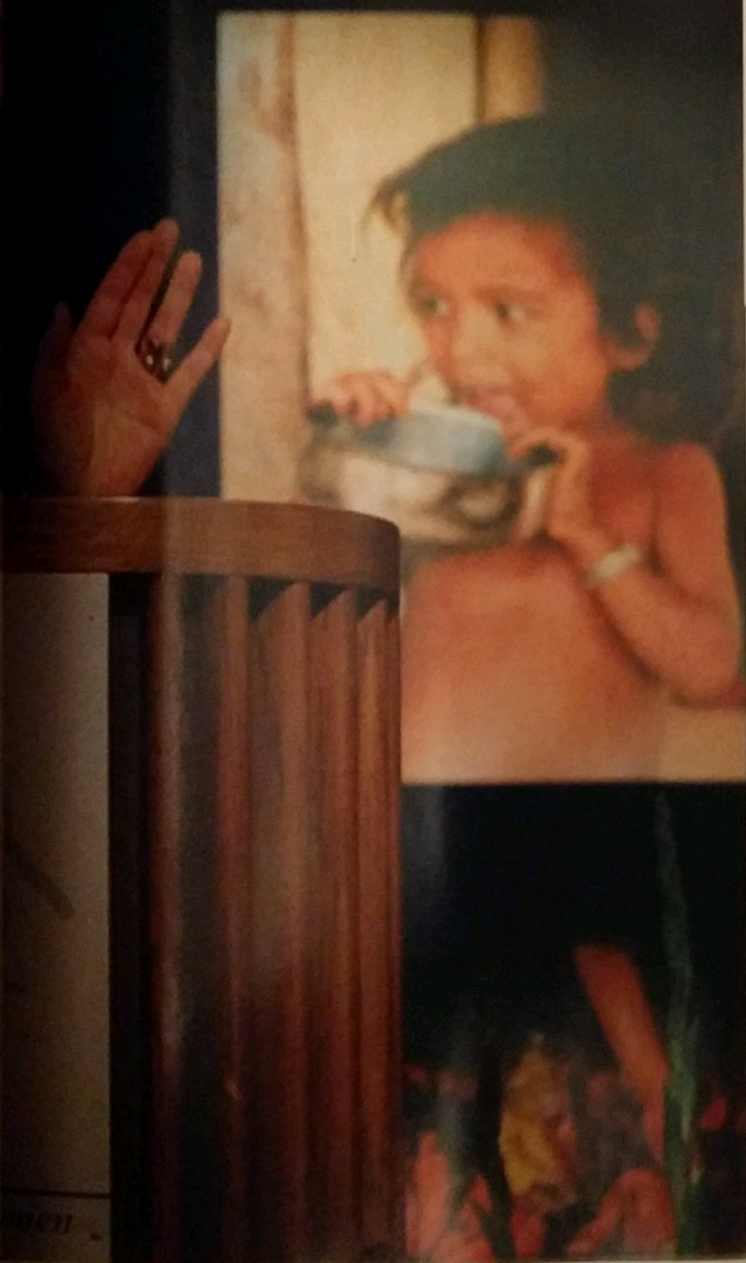
Whether this zeal will improve the sorry lot of many of the world's women is another question. From Afghanistan (where the ultrareligious Taliban regime has banned girls from school) to Zimbabwe (where girls are still offered as settlement in disputes between families), millions of women live under a tyranny that would make

even the worst male chauvinist bridle. Can the crusade make a difference?

American officials say that it already has. They point to a number of projects where, they contend, modest American investments have yielded large dividends. In Rome, the U.S. Embassy successfully lobbied the city's mayor to appoint a woman as head of the Office of Women's Affairs—a post previously held by a



After a trip to Beijing to bring attention to women's issues across the world, Hillary Clinton speaks at the World Bank in Washington, November 8, 1995.



man. And last year the State Department gave \$570,000 to the International Red Cross to help provide education for Afghan refugee children in Pakistan. About 9,000 girls are being educated in these schools, which lie beyond the reach of the Taliban. The vast majority emerge literate, an achievement since female literacy in Afghanistan is only 20 percent. "What we are doing is building up a reserve of educated women—

“What we are doing is building up a reserve of educated women—teachers, scientists, computer operators.”

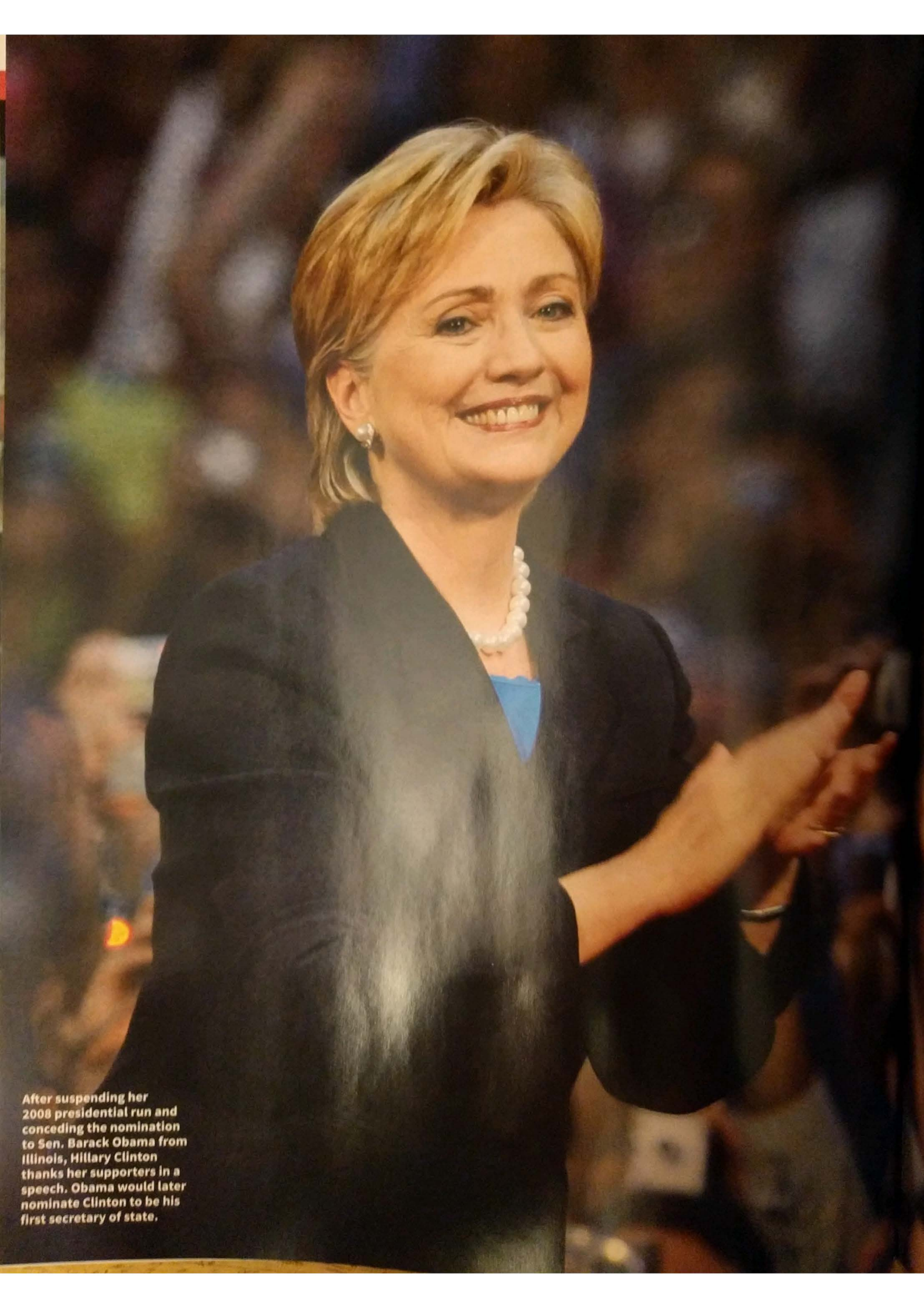
teachers, scientists, computer operators,” says the program's coordinator, Eric Van Der Lee.

For years, a phalanx of nongovernmental organizations have been arguing for more such programs. Their demand: that the oppression of women be treated not as mere custom, best ignored by foreigners, but as a threat to national security on par with narcotics or terrorism. Those groups, from wealthy American philanthropies to African tribeswomen, were animated by the U.N. conference on women held in Beijing in 1995. It became a kind of Woodstock for the international women's rights movement. “You looked out and saw all these thousands of different women—the different colors and textures and smells. It was exhilarating,” says former congresswoman Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, who was director of the U.S. delegation to Beijing. The Jimi Hendrix of the conference was Hillary Rodham Clinton, whose address captivated the conference the way the guitarist mesmerized the 1969 concert. Like it or not, the issue now is institutionalized in the bureaucracy, and it won't be easily dismantled. Think back to the Carter administration, which brought human rights to the fore of American foreign policy. President Reagan vowed to correct his predecessor's zealotry. But the human-rights bureaucracy grew under the Gipper's watch. Count on the same for women's rights even after Hillary is gone. The baboons on the boulder may ignore the issue. Few people will.

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,

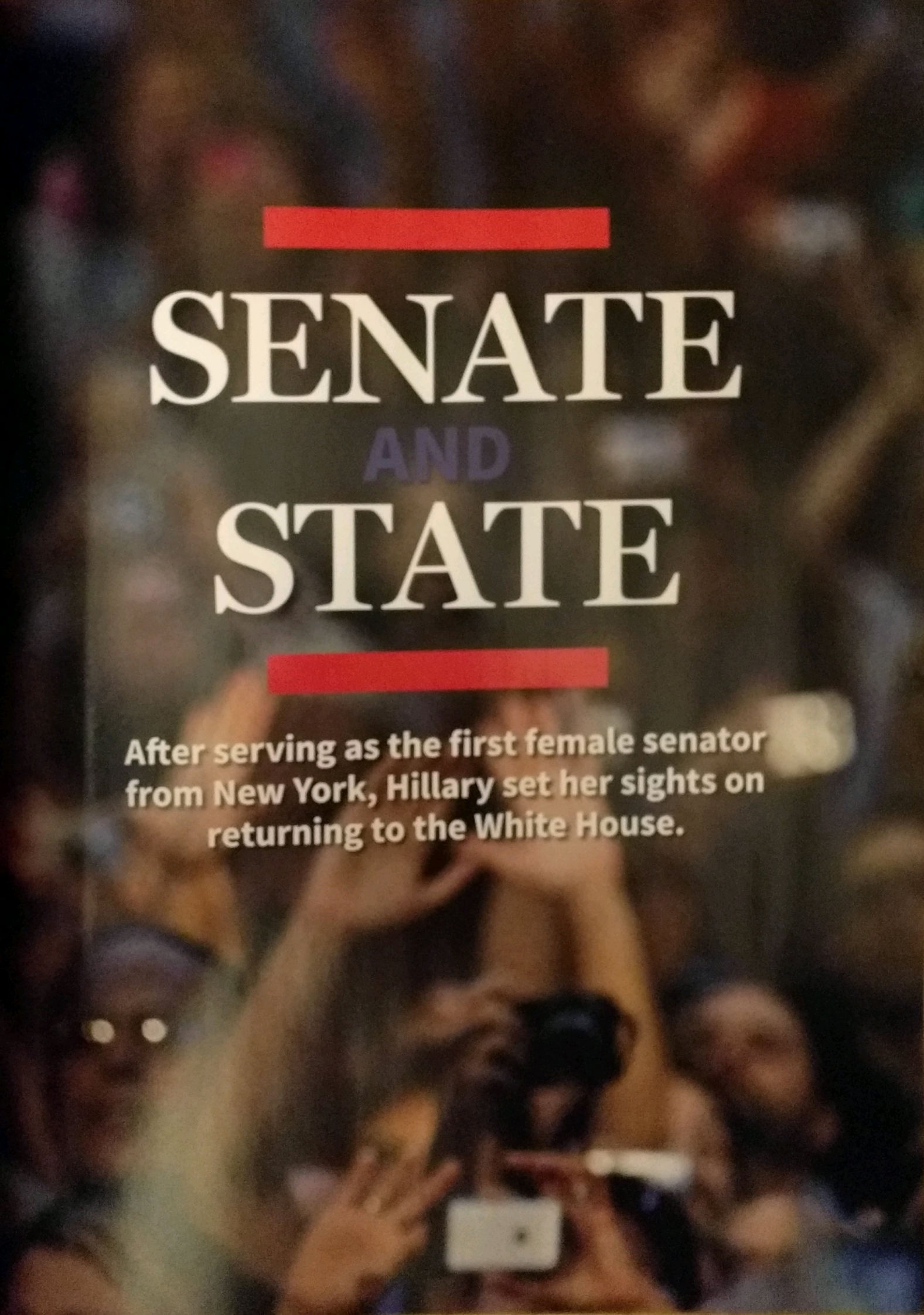
BY MATTHEW COOPER AND KAREN BRESLAU, 4/7/1997





After suspending her 2008 presidential run and conceding the nomination to Sen. Barack Obama from Illinois, Hillary Clinton thanks her supporters in a speech. Obama would later nominate Clinton to be his first secretary of state.






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# SENATE AND STATE

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**After serving as the first female senator from New York, Hillary set her sights on returning to the White House.**





As New Yorkers watch from the Rockefeller Plaza, Hillary Clinton makes her senate victory speech live on NBC, becoming the first female senator from New York.

# A NEW HOME STATE

In 2000, Hillary Clinton moved from Washington to New York and made a legacy for herself.



NBC NEWS

I promise you tonight that I will reach across party lines to bring progress for all New York families," Hillary Clinton said as she accepted the junior senatorship from the state of New York on election day 2000. "Today we voted as Republicans and Democrats. Tomorrow we begin again as New Yorkers." Given what would happen in the presidential race between Al Gore and George W. Bush over the following days, Clinton may have been a bit premature in declaring party loyalty would be so quickly set

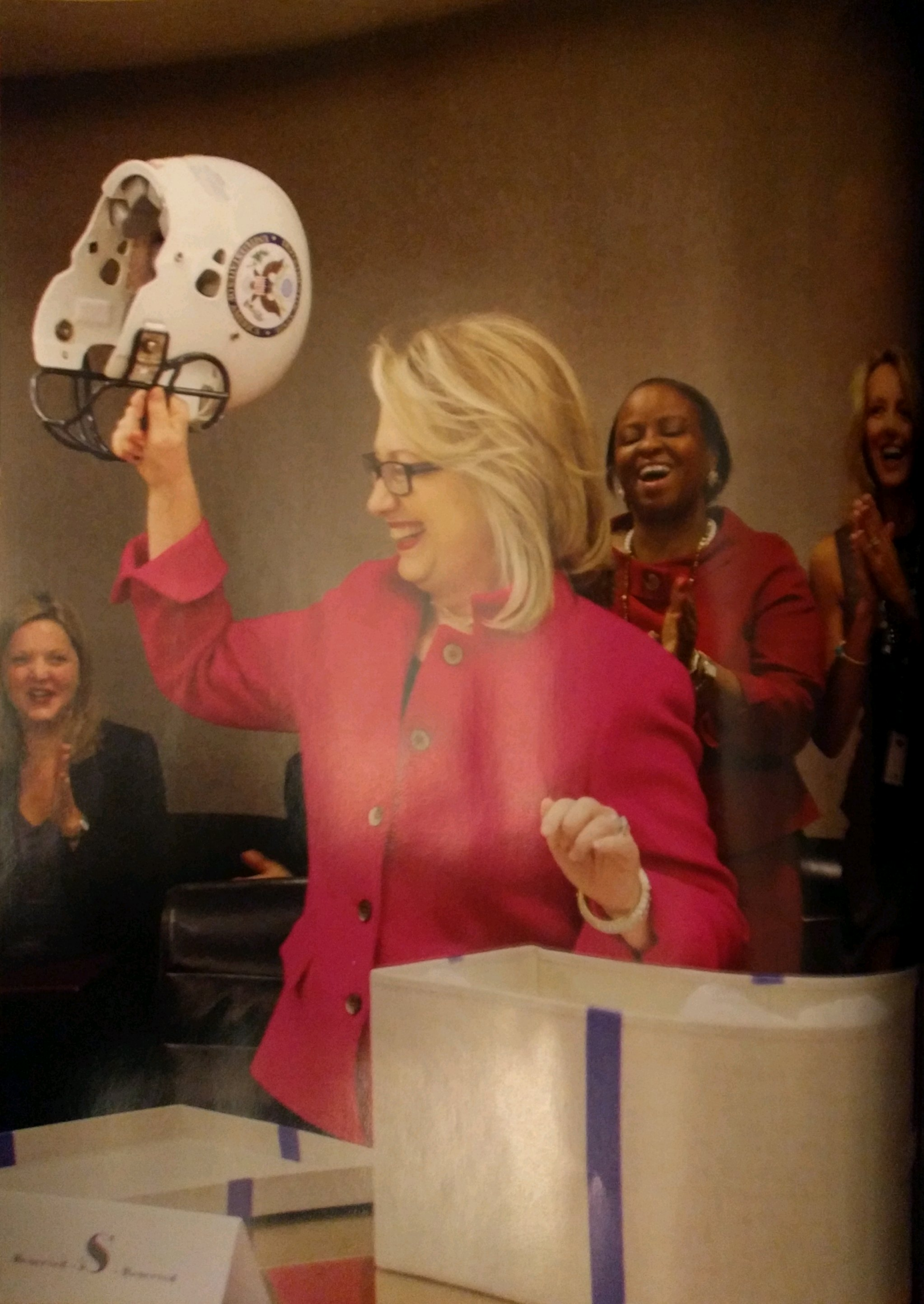
aside, but optimism could be forgiven on her part that night. In the history of the country, no first lady had ever so much as run for alderman—the first would be a senator from New York (via Chicago, Little Rock and Washington), and it would be Hillary Clinton.

For 24 years, she had been watching, taking notes, giving her two cents (or two bits, as the situation dictated). Now it was her turn to sit in the driver's seat. Hillary's 2000 election was the strangest to take place in the Big Apple for some time. At first, it looked as though she would run against New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, but after Giuliani withdrew and left an unknown Long Island Republican, Rick Lazio, in his place, Clinton upped her game, changed her strategy to "Enough about me and Bill, let's talk about New York's problems." On election night, Lazio conceded before 11 p.m. Hillary was onstage accepting and ready to govern before the nightly news.

There were those who said if Lazio had the benefit of a full year to campaign, Hillary Clinton could never have won. She did, after all, have legions of New Yorkers ready to vote against her for her last name—or her gender—a base Lazio could have learned to exploit if only he'd been given the time. In a year that saw a number of confused Floridians and improper hole punches catapult more conservative men than Rick Lazio to high office, anything may have been possible, but for those New Yorkers who remember 2000's electoral battle for the New York senate seat, Hillary's momentum was immediate, relentless and impressive. She broke away from her husband's legacy and forged her own in one masterstroke. Before she had been in office a year, her political acumen and personal resolve were tested in the harshest possible way when her constituency was attacked on 9/11. On the streets of lower Manhattan with first responders, Sen. Clinton saw what she would later describe as "the closest thing to hell I've ever seen," but got right back to work. "It was my job and the job of other officials to get our city and state and country what we needed," she said in a CNN interview on the 15th anniversary of the tragedy.

By becoming senator from New York, Hillary was the first first lady to stand on her own as an elected official in her own right, and it was the first step toward her move-in at Pennsylvania Avenue. She proved she could lead in crisis, govern through tragedy, and be counted on in the darkest times.







New Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is presented with a football helmet bearing the State Department seal after being joked with by her staff that "Washington is a contact sport."





# THE NEW WAR ON HILLARY

**This 2007 analysis of her relationship with the right could have been penned in 2016.**

**S**OME GRUDGES just don't die. In the 1990s, David Bossie worked tirelessly as an investigator for Rep. Dan Burton's government-reform committee. Burton was a top-echelon antagonist to Bill and Hillary Clinton. All his digging didn't amount to much: Six years after the Clintons left the White House, Burton is a little-heard-from member of the minority party, and Hillary Clinton is the frontrunner to be the Democrats' nominee for president in 2008.

But Bossie is still working away. In recent months, he has returned to investigating the Clintons, this time for a tough documentary scheduled for release in theaters this fall. If Clinton is worried about the new dirt-digging efforts, she isn't showing it. When two much-anticipated biographies dropped into bookstores last week, her campaign dismissed them as "old news" and "cash for rehash." For all the charges through the years, none has ever stuck. Arguably the most-investigated woman in contemporary American life moved from tabloid target in the White House to winning a Senate seat in one of the nation's most contentious states. It's her resilience and capacity to survive and thrive against all comers that partly fuels the haters' fury.

But there is some evidence to suggest that even old news can still hurt. The Hillary detractors' image of the candidate—secretive, controlling and paranoid—springs from the way she acted while under attack in the '90s. In a Gallup poll released last week, 50

percent said their opinion of the former first lady was unfavorable. (Forty-six percent said they had a favorable view.) The "negative" is unprecedented for a non-incumbent presidential candidate—neither John Kerry nor Al Gore got such a high unfavorable rating in the Gallup poll at any point in their unsuccessful presidential bids. Clinton's camp notes that other recent polls have not shown unfavorables as high as the Gallup number and says it is confident her favorables will increase as the campaign goes on. But the real problem many Democratic voters have with Clinton is the sneaking suspicion that with so much of the country against her, she can never win a general election. Clinton's fate may well come down to her ability to deal with a vexing question: What is it about me that so many people don't like?

The answer has eluded both Clinton and her husband throughout their three decades in the arena. They began their national political lives with a miscalculation—the idea that America was ready for a new kind of empowered, ambitious political spouse who would be "two for the price of one," in Bill's phrase.

Installed in Washington, Hillary morphed into a comic-book villain for her detractors—a man-eating feminist, they claimed, who allegedly threw lamps at her husband, communed psychically with Eleanor Roosevelt and lit a White House Christmas tree adorned with sex toys. The narrative of depravity—a tissue of inventions by conservatives—was often hard to follow. Still, the anti-Hillary industry has never managed to bring down Hillary herself—in fact, the more they have attacked, the higher she has risen. In the 2000 New York Senate race, her Republican opponent, Rick Lazio, sent out six-word fundraising letters: "I am running against Hillary Clinton." It seemed like a smart strategy—Hillary's policy positions were largely in sync with Blue New York





John Strong of West Des Moines, Iowa, holds signs protesting U.S. Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton and, oddly, actress Jane Fonda at the 2007 Iowa Straw Poll.

but her unfavorable ratings in early Senate polls were sky high. By logging long hours in each of the state's 62 counties, however, Clinton essentially managed to say, "Enough about me," so frequently that New Yorkers—particularly independent women—were willing to change the subject. She won with 55 percent of the vote.

But Clinton's problems go beyond perfecting her personal touch. In polls, she lags significantly with independents, a group that mistrusts establishment candidates. "You're out there trying to create a sense of electability, and your negatives are 52 percent," says one Democratic consultant, who remained unnamed.

It may get tougher now that Republicans are tuning back in to the Bill and Hillary show. In recent weeks, McCain, Giuliani and Mitt Romney have each

amped up their attacks on Clinton, mindful that nothing riles up the Republican base like Clinton-bashing. Even Richard Land, the president of the Southern Baptist Ethics and Religious Liberty Convention, who has decried the lack of socially conservative candidates in the Republican primary field, acknowledges that the prospect of a Hillary Clinton presidency would "unite social conservatives around a candidate who might not be totally acceptable to them." After 12 divisive years, Hillary may at last be a uniter, though perhaps not the kind she'd imagined.

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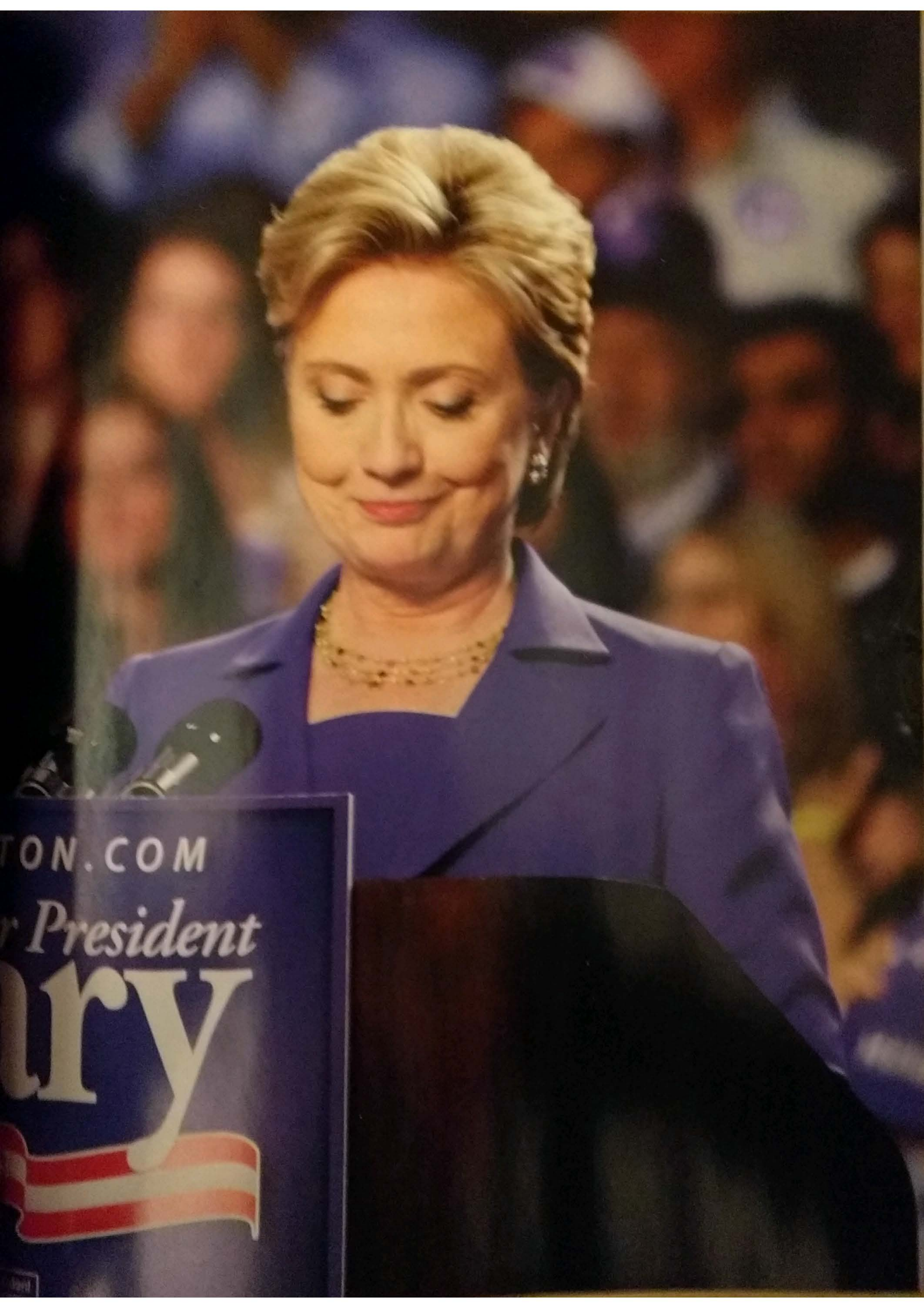
FROM THE *NEWSWEEK* ARCHIVE,  
BY JONATHAN DARMAN, MARK HOSENBALL,  
ELEANOR CLIFT, HOLLY BAILEY, EVE CONANT, 6/18/2007



During her South Dakota and Montana primary night rally, Hillary Clinton addresses her legions of supporters. Clinton would go on to win South Dakota but lose Montana.







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For President

ry







Along with her mother, Dorothy Rodham, Hillary Clinton takes the stage at a December 2007 rally in Iowa. Clinton was promoting her "bring a buddy" system that she hoped would bring out her supporters on the Iowa Caucus.



# LETTING HILLARY BE HILLARY

**In 2008, *Newsweek* took a look at the historic democratic primary and how it was allowing Hillary to reinvent herself.**

**T**HE REV. HERMAN BING is a popular man. Pastor of the red-brick Carpentersville Baptist Church in North Augusta, South Carolina—a town of barbershops, strip malls and churches on the northern bank of the Savannah River—Bing, who was the late James Brown's minister, has been taking calls from the campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, both of which are anxious for the 53-year-old preacher's endorsement before the state's Democratic primary on January 26. The courtship between campaigns and African-American ministers is an ancient political rite, but for Bing, who is also a friend of Al Sharpton's, this is no ordinary time. Like many Democrats, he has been waiting a lifetime for a viable female presidential candidate or a viable black one. Now he and his party have one of each, and in the aftermath of Iowa and New Hampshire, the two camps are fighting over a great deal more than just Bing's endorsement. "I really hate that they had to run at the same time in the same election," says Bing. "It just makes what should be a wonderful situation very stressful for folks like me. I never imagined you could have too much of a good thing."

A continent away last Friday, in an empty classroom inside the sprawling Electrical Training Institute of IBEW Local 11 in Commerce City, California, I read Bing's words to Clinton, who, while she listened, took a sip of water and nodded knowingly, a look of recognition in her eyes. She had heard this before. "I understand that," she said. "What a good problem to have. Two leading candidates for president, a woman and an African-American, who are being viewed, I hope, on our merits, our qualifications, our records, our plans, our vision. I don't think it's easy for either of us. And I really commend Sen. Obama for the very graceful way that he has navigated this campaign. I wish it didn't have to be a choice. I think a lot of people who are torn between us feel that way."

She pauses for the briefest of beats. "But it is a contest," she says, "and the contrasts have to be drawn, and the questions have to be asked because, obviously, I wouldn't be in this race and working as hard as I am unless I thought I am uniquely qualified at this moment in our history to be the president we need starting in 2009. And I think it is informed by my deep experience over the last 35 years, my firsthand knowledge of what goes on inside a White House."

Torn is a tough word, but Clinton is right: It aptly captures how many Americans, and not just Democrats, already feel about 2008. Some women are nursing guilt over supporting Obama;



Democratic presidential candidates Sen. Barack Obama (D-IL) and Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-NY) shake hands at the conclusion of the Texas Democratic Party's presidential candidates debate on February 21, 2008.



some African-Americans worry they are doing the wrong thing by voting for Clinton. And these are early days: We are only just beginning to grapple with the questions of race and gender that the campaign will raise again and again through November. Sometimes the grand statement has the virtue, as Henry Kissinger is said to have remarked, of being true. This is one of those times: Every election changes the country in some way, but the campaign now moving out of the largely white states of Iowa and New Hampshire to the rest of the country will soon mean that the politically engaged across America will be presented with the likelihood that a woman or an African-American will be the Democratic nominee

and perhaps the president. And, as Clinton says, it's a good "problem" to have.

Some Clinton supporters, though, think they are at a disadvantage in this conversation; gender, they say, is fair game, but race is not. "How do I raise what I consider to be legitimate questions about his experience and record without appearing to play the race card?" asks Maria Echaveste, a senior adviser to Clinton's campaign.

It's a good question, and one made even trickier by reserves of pro-Obama sentiment in the black community—a community often vital in Democratic primaries. Samuel Robinson, the mayor pro tem of Awendaw, South Carolina, a rural town between Charleston and Georgetown, says: "I kind of think





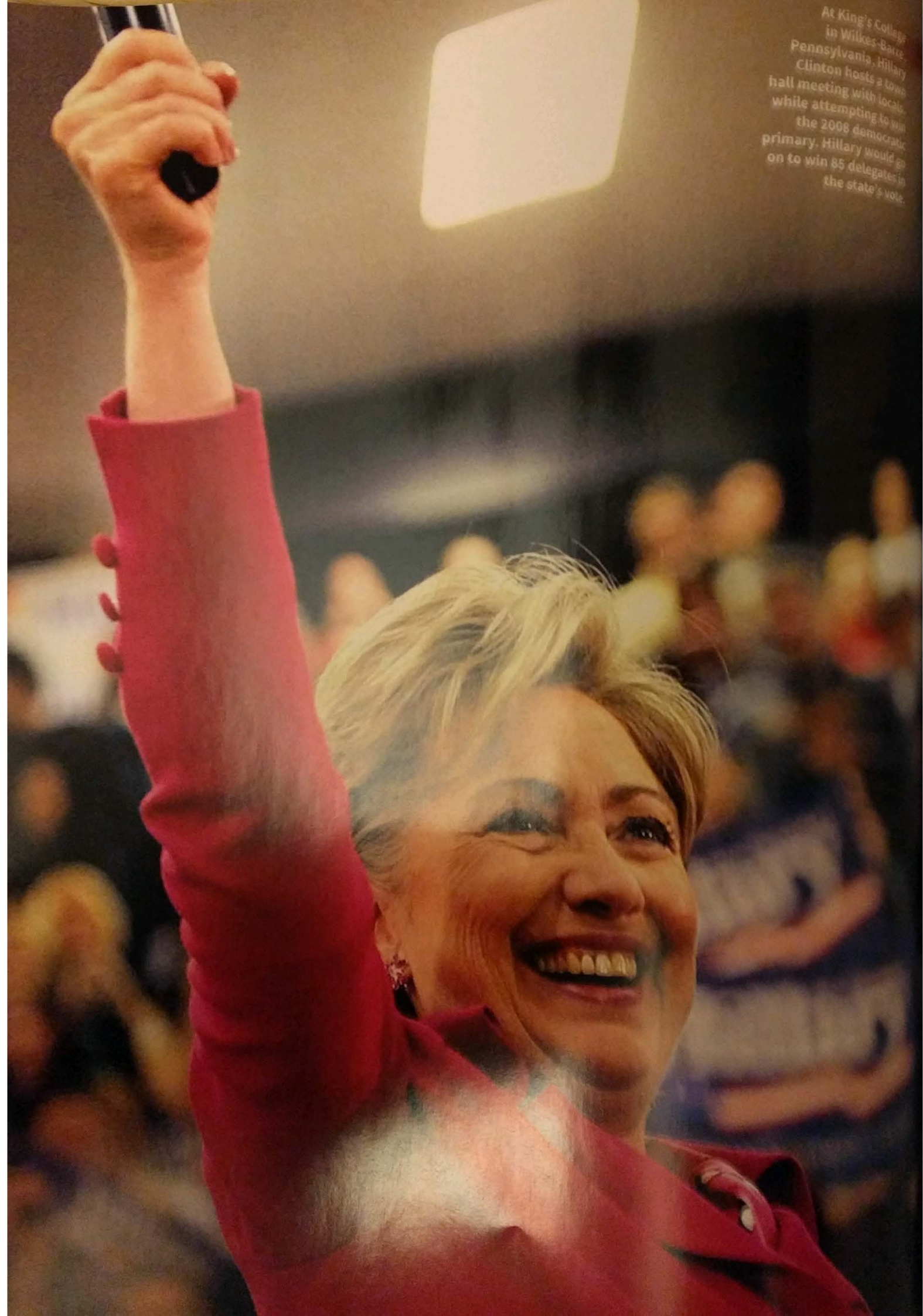
that Mrs. Clinton is relying on the fact that blacks have embraced and continue to embrace Mr. Clinton. In the black community, Mr. Clinton has been elevated to the status of honorary black brother. She can sort of ride on the coattails of that abiding affection. But there's a big, horrible split. Black folks love the Clintons, but they also see in Mr. Obama hope, to borrow Jesse Jackson's phrase: keeping hope alive. He's been able to do what no black, from Jesse Jackson to Al Sharpton or any other, has been able to do. He's been able not just to inspire hope but to incite it. I've had conversations with other blacks in my church and community who are saying, 'Sam, we've got to support him.' In spite of people saying he's not electable, in the final analysis, they're saying, 'We've got to make a statement.'"

The tangled issues seem to arise daily, even hourly. I asked a colleague of mine, an African-American woman who lives in neither Iowa nor New Hampshire, to write me a note describing her private feelings about the campaign. "I was a Hillary supporter going into the primaries," she said. "When Barack won in Iowa, I felt like a traitor to my race. What if this really is a moment where a black president is possible, and I was going to vote for the woman! I felt awful. I constructed this whole complicated theory that I was resistant to the election of Barack because, if he won, then I and every other black person in the world was going to have to accept a new paradigm in American race relations—namely racism is not as pervasive and encompassing as we might like to believe and that the victim stance was going to be pretty hard to claim in the future. So then I became really excited and imagined how inspirational a black president would be, especially to the young black men who feel hopeless. Then came the 'You're likable enough, Hillary' moment, and I swung sharply back to Hillary. I thought: 'Great, another man who resents strong women and therefore resorts to personal insults to demean her.'" In sum: from Clinton to Obama then back to Clinton—in the space of about four days.

Presidential candidates usually find themselves starring in at least two different versions of the same movie—one dark and tragic, the other sunlit and sweeping. The Ronald Reagan of 1980 was either a forgetful nuclear cowboy or a welcome figure of strength in an age of drift. The George W. Bush of 1999 was either a legacy hire who had blown the first four decades of his life and could not name the president of Pakistan, or he was likable and engaging and seemed warmer and looser than Al Gore. This year Barack Obama is either a smooth but insubstantial media-created savior, or he is the embodiment of hope and change whose election would transform America, redeeming us from our racial sins. And Hillary Clinton is either the boomer Daisy Buchanan who has ruthlessly plotted her way to power so that she can bring about a liberal utopia, or she is the hardworking, experienced



At King's College  
in Wilkes-Barre,  
Pennsylvania, Hillary  
Clinton hosts a town  
hall meeting with locals  
while attempting to win  
the 2008 democratic  
primary. Hillary would go  
on to win 85 delegates in  
the state's vote.





**“At the end of the day, life was unpredictable, you never knew what was going to happen, you had to be prepared to take care of yourself....”**

policy-maker and advocate who knows how to fight the good fight in Washington.

She was always, it seems, in charge, seeking out roles that conferred both responsibility and power. Her fifth-grade teacher tasked her and her female classmates with keeping unruly boys in line. “I got a reputation for being able to stand up to them,” she recalled. She was president of the Fabian fan club in Park Ridge, Illinois, even if there were only two other members; her father did not give her an allowance (“I feed you, don’t I?” asked the conservative Republican Hugh Rodham), which led her to find a summer job “supervising a small park a few miles from my house.” It was not easy—Hillary had to pull a wagon of balls, bats and jump ropes those few miles—but at 13, about the time Obama was born, she was learning that life required resilience. When she was 4, she was afraid of playing with a neighbor, Suzy O’Callaghan, who, Hillary recalled, “was always pushing me around.” Running inside one day, afraid, Hillary found an unsympathetic Dorothy Rodham awaiting. “Go back out there,” Hillary’s mother told her, “and if Suzy hits you, you have my permission to hit her back. You have to stand up for yourself. There’s no room in this house for cowards.” Hillary absorbed the lesson, squared her shoulders and sallied forth. Mrs. Rodham’s hawkish counsel worked. “I can play with the boys now!” Hillary announced on her return. “And Suzy will be my friend!” An early lesson that has proved useful: Hit back when you get hit, and then try to win over your foes.

She has never lacked for confidence. At 13, she used a pay phone at school during lunch hour to call Mayor Richard Daley’s office to register her unease about reports of pro-Kennedy voter fraud, which she and a friend then investigated on the South Side of Chicago with unhappy Republicans one Saturday morning. (They did not tell their parents where they were going.)

What was the source of the confidence? “I think it came from both of my parents,” she says. She adds: “My father was raised with brothers, he was a football player and a boxer, he was a chief petty officer in the Navy, he was a man of his times. He didn’t really know what to do with a daughter, so he just pretty much said, let’s throw the football, let’s learn how to switch-hit. It was his way of relating to me, and it was all about sports and doing well in school, and it was really a strong spur to me to earn his support and his approval.

But it also built my confidence at the same time. Going out and playing football or baseball with the boys, when I was a tomboy, was a great way to learn about winning and losing, and most girls didn’t have that experience.... [A lot of research about postwar women shows that] most young women who became successful in the outer world did have a father who either ignored the barriers or explicitly said they are not there for you.” Her mother taught self-reliance: “My mother, who had had to make her own way in life, believed that she would do everything she could to give us a good start in life and protect us and prepare us, but at the end of the day, life was unpredictable, you never knew what was going to happen, you had to be prepared to take care of yourself, you had to be willing to stand up for yourself. So I had not just one but two really powerful messages, each coming out of my parents’ very different experiences, but combining to give me that confidence, to give me the feeling that I should do what I thought was right for my life and make the decisions that would be best for me.”

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,

BY JON MEACHAM, ALLISON SAMUELS, KAREN BRESLAU,  
ARIAN CAMPOFLORES, RAINA KELLEY, CHRIS DIXON, MARTHA  
BRANT, RICHARD WOLFFE, ELEANOR CLIFT, 1/21/2008









Vice President Joe Biden arrives for a meeting with President Barack Obama, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton and National Security Advisor Tom Donilon in the Oval Office. The team was dealing at that point with increased hostility in Afghanistan.



# OBAMA'S BAD COP

**How Hillary and the president put aside their differences to make one.**

**I**T WAS ALMOST like one of those moments in a buddy-cop movie when the two partners who dislike each other at the beginning finally bond while taking on the bad guys. In mid-December Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton were in Copenhagen, where the leaders of more than 100 countries had gathered to negotiate a new agreement to combat global warming, and the summit was on the verge of collapse. Clinton later described it as the most disorganized meeting she'd seen since her eighth-grade student council. It "was just disintegrating right before everybody's eyes," she recalled to *Newsweek* in an interview last week. Clinton and her former political rival, now the president, found themselves up against most of the rest of the world. At the last minute Obama sought a one-on-one meeting with the Chinese leader to rescue some kind of agreement, only to be told that Premier Wen Jiabao and his team still weren't ready to meet (after two years of prior procrastination). "No, we're going in now," Obama declared, looking at Clinton. "Absolutely," she said. "Let's go."

The former political rivals suddenly morphed into a diplomatic version of *Starsky and Hutch*. "I



felt a particular responsibility since I had urged the president to come," Clinton said. "Because I knew nothing was going to happen unless we gave it our all." Striding down the hallway, with the Chinese protocol officer sputtering protests behind them, America's two best-known politicians barged into the meeting room. There they found Wen conferring secretly with the leaders of Brazil, India and South Africa; behind the scenes, Beijing had been trying to block all efforts to impose standards for measuring, reporting and



On December 18, 2009, President Barack Obama speaks during a multilateral meeting with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, Brazilian President Lula da Silva, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and South African President Jacob Zuma during the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen, Denmark.

verifying progress on carbon reduction. Smiling and shaking hands, Obama and Clinton worked the room together, as they had each done so many times before as contending politicians. Then the president sat down and started negotiating, with Clinton sliding position papers to him as needed. When the Chinese finally caved, both Obama and Clinton knew that it wasn't just because they had crashed the meeting. Two days before, the secretary of state had flown in to Copenhagen by surprise to deliver a sweetener to

help win over developing countries. In essence, it was a global bribe: \$100 billion a year from rich nations by 2020 to help poorer countries cope with climate controls. It was political hardball, Hillary style, and it had helped to isolate Beijing. Now Obama was closing the deal Clinton had set up.

The two came away from Copenhagen with a partial triumph and a new sense of maturity—both about their relationship and their sense of how to lead. Clinton later called it one of “the most extraordinary



48 hours she's spent in public life," said her global-warming negotiator, Todd Stern—which is saying something for a woman who's lived through political tumult for 18 years, including several presidential and senatorial campaigns. Clinton told *Newsweek* that it was important for America to be seen taking the lead in tackling seemingly impossible problems, particularly in an era with rising new powers at the table, if only to show what the country stands for. "We can't just walk out of the arena and leave these important decisions to somebody else because it's messy, it's difficult, it requires compromise. That is what you have to do on the world stage today," she said. "We remain the strongest country in the world, but the way we exercise that leadership has changed dramatically."

Copenhagen also provided further evidence that the sharp differences between Obama and Clinton over foreign policy on the campaign trail were, as many on both sides now acknowledge, largely political theater. In fact, their views of American power had never been that far apart. "We're both, at bottom, problem solvers and practical, realistic people," Clinton says now. "As Mario Cuomo said, 'You campaign in poetry and you govern in prose.'" Critics dismissed the climate targets as vague and voluntary, and the administration faces a separate onslaught from global-warming skeptics. But since the summit, 120 nations have signed on and 75 have submitted carbon-reduction plans, Stern says.

It took some time after the election for Obama and Clinton to find their balance together. They had fought one of the fiercest wars in American political history, and the wounds were still raw in the early months of the new administration. Clinton's aides felt a chill from the advisers around Obama, especially loyalists like David Axelrod, Robert Gibbs and Valerie Jarrett. Though Clinton kept her head down while she mastered her brief as secretary of state—it was the way she took on every new task, methodically and tirelessly—she was also feeling a little deflated. Obama's plea to join his administration had been enticing: He had his hands full with the collapsing economy, the new president said, and he needed someone of her stature to handle foreign policy. The implication was that she would have the dominant

voice when it came to dealing with the world. Instead, friends and admirers were baffled at her seeming lack of influence. She "was not in the inner circle. That was clear," says one aide who, like several others quoted in this story, did not want to be named discussing internal politics. Her bluntness abroad occasionally caused consternation in the West Wing, and Clinton, in turn, "complained about a lack of dissenting voices in the administration," says an old friend who knows her from her first-lady days. "In the beginning she would say, 'They want this, they want that,'" meaning the White House. "It took a while for her to start saying 'we.'" Clinton and Obama had already begun bonding on previous trips abroad, but in Copenhagen the "they" truly became "we," Clinton aides say.

Some of Obama's most loyal aides have nothing but good things to say about their former political foe. "The bottom line is the president has always had a very deep respect for Secretary Clinton's capabilities and contributions to the country," says Denis McDonough, who is formally National Security Council chief of staff but plays a powerful role behind the scenes as a longtime Obama confidant. Obama was always one of her biggest fans, even in the immediate aftermath of the primaries, McDonough says, believing "that she made him that much better a candidate" and would do the same for his presidency. National-security adviser Gen. James Jones credits Clinton with being "one of the articulators of the overall strategy that we all adopted" on Iran and China.

Clinton is now influencing policy more than she ever has, especially in close partnership with Defense Secretary Robert Gates. Subtly yet unmistakably, her somewhat greater hawkishness is beginning to show up in policy. While Obama's no slouch at showing displeasure himself, he's depended on Clinton to hammer Iran (which is becoming a "military dictatorship," she recently declared, setting the administration's new tough tone), and to harangue Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu over his defiance of U.S. demands for a settlement freeze. She also criticized the Russians in their own backyard over Moscow's work on an Iranian nuclear power plant. Clinton politely plays down her role as Obama's bad cop. "I don't think there's anything as



President Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton attend the COP15 World Climate Conference in Copenhagen. The conference eventually issued 25 decisions on how to better deal with global climate shifts.

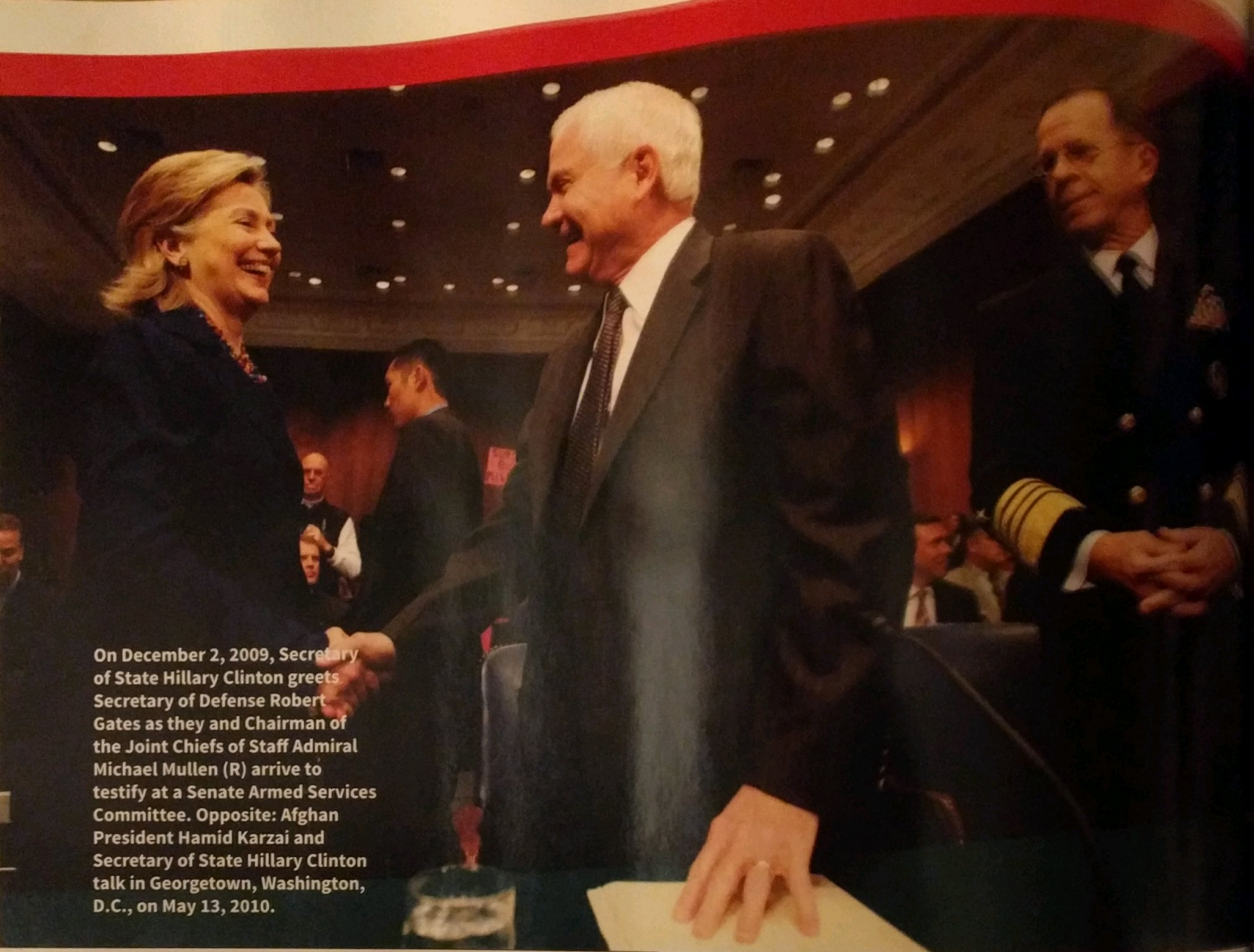


formal as that," she says. "With every tough message that I deliver, it is embedded in a much broader context. It's not, 'You're with us or against us.' It is, 'We have a lot of business to do.'"

The president himself continues to set grand strategy, of course, for his secretary of state to follow. As one of Clinton's senior aides concedes: "If you ask, 'Who is Barack Obama's Henry Kissinger?' the answer, of course, is that it's Barack Obama." But Clinton has added a new sobriety to the administration's approach to the world. "Her point about the 3-o'clock-in-the-morning phone call wasn't entirely wrong," says one senior State official, referring to Clinton's infamous campaign slap at Obama's inexperience. "I think she's

obviously been here before in ways that the president hasn't." It's about hard work as much as a harder line: the flood of attention she's brought to hitherto neglected places with almost nonstop travel, typically delivered with political flair ("How *are* you?" Clinton exclaimed last week on greeting Estonia's overawed young foreign minister, Urmas Paet, prompting grins from Estonian officials). Her internal politicking has helped as well. Beyond forging an intimate working relationship with the like-minded Gates, Clinton has strengthened the bond she already had with Vice President Joe Biden (with whom she often ends conversations, "Talk to you later, dear"). At the same time, she has huge sway with former colleagues on





On December 2, 2009, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton greets Secretary of Defense Robert Gates as they and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Michael Mullen (R) arrive to testify at a Senate Armed Services Committee. Opposite: Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton talk in Georgetown, Washington, D.C., on May 13, 2010.

important Senate committees, giving State new budget power.

It's been at least partly thanks to Clinton's tight bond with Gates that the administration has followed the Obama surge in Afghanistan with a series of high-level visits to Pakistan. She induced her old colleague John Kerry—despite some bad blood over his endorsement of Obama in 2008—to placate the dyspeptic Afghan leader, Hamid Karzai. “John Kerry and I spent a lot of time explaining to President Karzai about why elections oftentimes aren't fair. We can draw on our own personal experience,” she says. “It wasn't just ‘We're going to give you lecture 101 on how democracy works.’ We could say, ‘Look, we've been on the other side.’ I mean, John could talk about Ohio, and I could talk about the 18 million votes [her total in the primaries] and all that went with it. And it really makes a difference.”

Clinton also drove administration policy on Haiti. She heard about the horrific quake on the first leg of a trip to Asia. At dinner with aides in Hawaii, she became emotional as she talked about people she knew who had died in the disaster. The next

morning, Clinton turned into “a gunslinger,” says Kurt Campbell, her assistant secretary for Asia. “It was a new person. She spent the next four hours in the [Pacific Command headquarters] working the phones, pulling strings, in a way I've never seen.” She later persuaded the president to mount a major military-relief operation.

Clinton's regular town-hall meetings abroad—or, as she likes to call them now, “town-terviews,” involving local citizens and media—have eased at least some of the anti-Americanism in Islamic countries. She points proudly to a new BBC World poll showing improved U.S. standing globally thanks in part to “the president's popularity and my popularity, and with how hard we've worked.” She's also succeeded, in part, by not failing: maintaining a low profile for the first year while allowing special envoys like George Mitchell and Richard Holbrooke to make headlines, for better or worse (though Clinton also did manage to put her own foot in her mouth a few times early on).

But now that she's beginning to emerge, says one senior official, “the biggest issue still unresolved in the Obama administration is, can there be more than





one star?" Even now there are questions about how much she's putting her personal stamp on things. "It's a mystery to me why she hasn't taken a big issue and totally owned it," says one devoted aide who has worked for her on and off since Clinton was first lady. "She always has before. This is a woman who never faced questions about whether she has too little influence. She's never been without influence before."

Clinton says she no longer has the "luxury" of focusing on one issue; her agenda is too "enormous." Her admirers credit her for developing a profound and complex world view dating from Beijing in 1995, when she rocked a women's conference hall with her declaration that women's rights were human rights and vice versa, and on through the hard-nosed views she developed as a senator, like voting to authorize the Iraq War. In her biggest strategic speech yet, on Internet freedom in January, Clinton issued a Churchillian warning about the "new information curtain" descending on countries like China and Iran. She still believes passionately, as she did as first lady, that building social stability through economic development

and empowering women and minorities is a key to solving traditional foreign-policy issues like war. But the It Takes a Village Hillary can shift at any moment into the hawkish Hillary.

Clinton's and Obama's various policies do not yet add up to anything like a doctrine on America's place in the world. Much of the first year was about "rebuilding the brand, rebuilding political capital," says one official. And blaming George W. Bush for America's dire situation, of course. Now, however, fewer world leaders care about the mistakes made by the previous administration. Leslie Gelb, the former president of the Council on Foreign Relations, says he doesn't think Clinton is of the caliber of James Baker, the George H.W. Bush secretary of state who was perhaps the last real superstar in the job. "She's very smart," he says. "She understands all these issues. You can have a good discussion with her on almost any [subject]. But she doesn't pretend to be, nor is she, a strategist. When she goes to the National Security Council, she doesn't bring that to the table." (Gen. Jones, for the record, disagrees, saying, "Those of us who have worked with her are grateful for her strategic vision.")

Asked about such criticisms, Clinton reveals a glimmer of the testy feelings she is usually so successful at concealing. "I think when you inherit the range of problems we have, from one end of the world to the other—the threats that we faced, the two wars that we inherited—I think trying to have a very clear approach to actually dealing with those problems [and promoting] American leadership at this time in our history is about as big an idea as you can get," she says. How long she'll stay focused on this job is another question. Before Obama stunned her with his offer, Clinton had wanted to go back to the Senate and write a book about the campaign she'd lost. She's occasionally hinted to friends that she may not last out the first term. Pressed about that now, she looks down and replies, "We'll see." For the moment, strange as it may seem, she appears to enjoy the partnership she's made with the man she once tried so hard to beat.

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,  
BY MICHAEL HIRSH, 5/3/2010



# REGARDING HILLARY

**At the DNC in Philadelphia, the biggest speechmakers in the country sang Hillary's praises.**

"AS [HILLARY CLINTON'S] DAUGHTER, I've had a special window into how she serves. I've seen her holding the hands of mothers worried about how they'll feed their kids, worried about how they'll get them the health care they need. I've seen my mother promising to do everything she could to help. I've seen her right after those conversations getting straight to work, figuring out what she could do, whom she could call, how fast she could get results. She always feels like there isn't a moment to lose because she knows that for that mother, for that family, there isn't."

—CHELSEA CLINTON

"I SEE AMERICANS of every party, every background, every faith who believe that we are stronger together—black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American; young and old; gay, straight, men, women, folks with disabilities, all pledging allegiance under the same proud flag to this big, bold country that we love. That's the America I know. And there is only one candidate in this race who believes in that future and has devoted her life to it; a mother and grandmother who'd do anything to help our children thrive; a leader with real plans to break down barriers, blast through glass ceilings and widen the circle of opportunity to every single American—the next President of the United States, Hillary Clinton."

—PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA

"I CAN TELL YOU THIS—if you were sitting where I am sitting and you heard what I have heard and at every dinner conversation, every lunch conversation, on every long walk, you would say, 'This woman has never been satisfied with the status quo in anything.' She always wants to move the ball forward. That is just who she is."

—PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

"AMERICANS, AT OUR BEST, stand up to bullies and fight those who seek to demean and degrade others. In times of crisis we don't abandon our values—we double down on them. Even in the midst of the Civil War, Lincoln called to the best of the country by saying, 'With malice toward none and charity toward all.' ...I was told that we can't pay those Americans back for their colossal acts of service, but we have an obligation to pay it forward to others through our service and sacrifice. I support Hillary Clinton because these are her values, and she has been paying it forward her entire life."

—SEN. CORY BOOKER

"I WANT A PRESIDENT who will teach our children that everyone in this country matters—a president who truly believes in the vision that our founders put forth all those years ago: That we are all created equal, each a beloved part of the great American story.... And I am here tonight because I know that that is the kind of president that Hillary Clinton will be. And that's why, in this election, I'm with her."

—FIRST LADY MICHELLE OBAMA



Michelle Obama takes the stage in Philadelphia for her rousing speech in support of Hillary Clinton. The speech was so inspiring, there was immediately speculation—just as quickly put down by Obama—that she would run for office herself at some point.



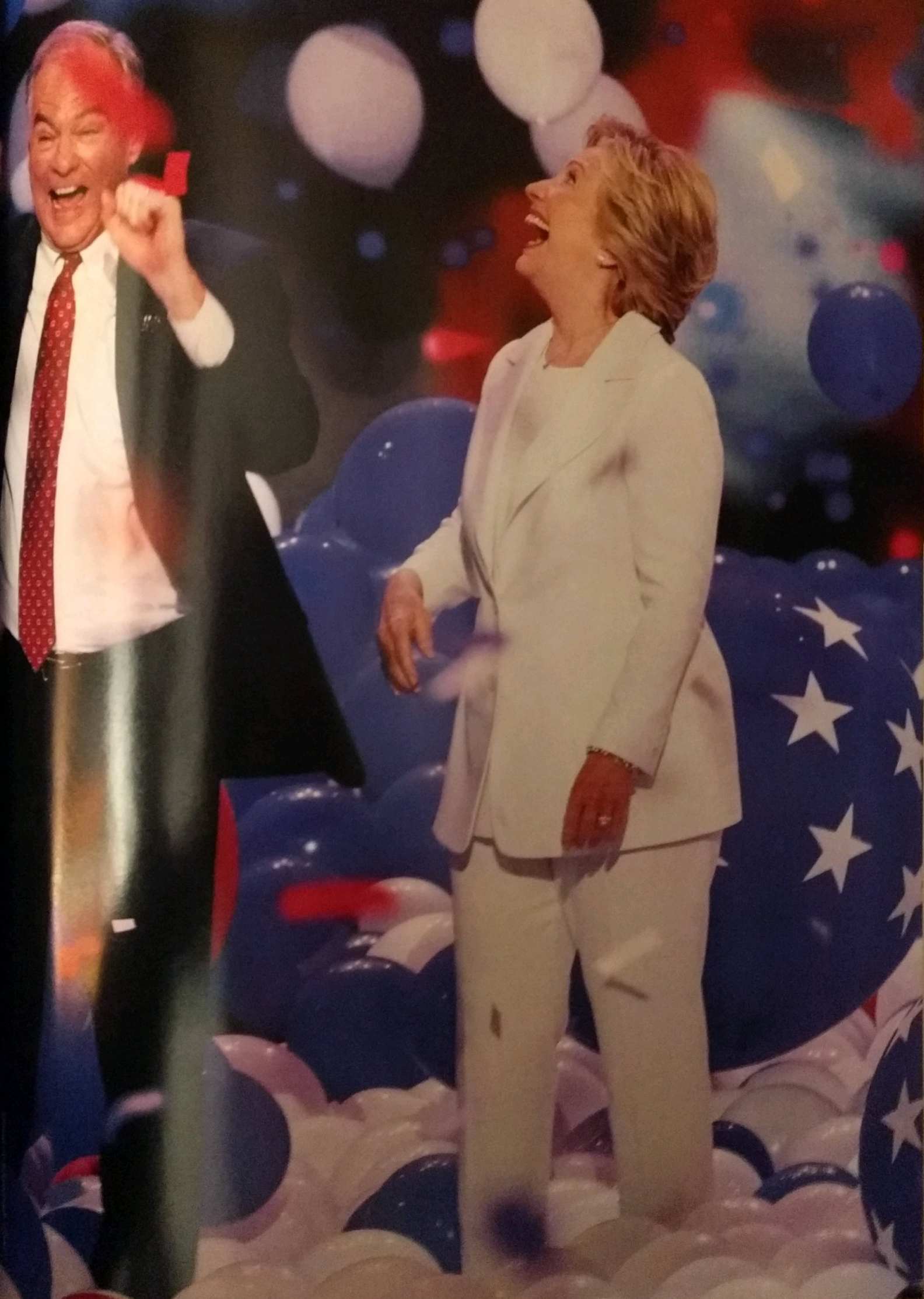


Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton and her running mate, Democratic vice presidential nominee Sen. Tim Kaine (D-Va), celebrate in a sea of falling balloons during the final day of the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia.


# MADAM PRESIDENT

After 25 years in the national spotlight as a political force, Hillary Clinton finally reached the Oval Office on her own.









# SHE'S A LADY!

**When Hillary Clinton launched her candidacy, America was ready for its first woman president.**

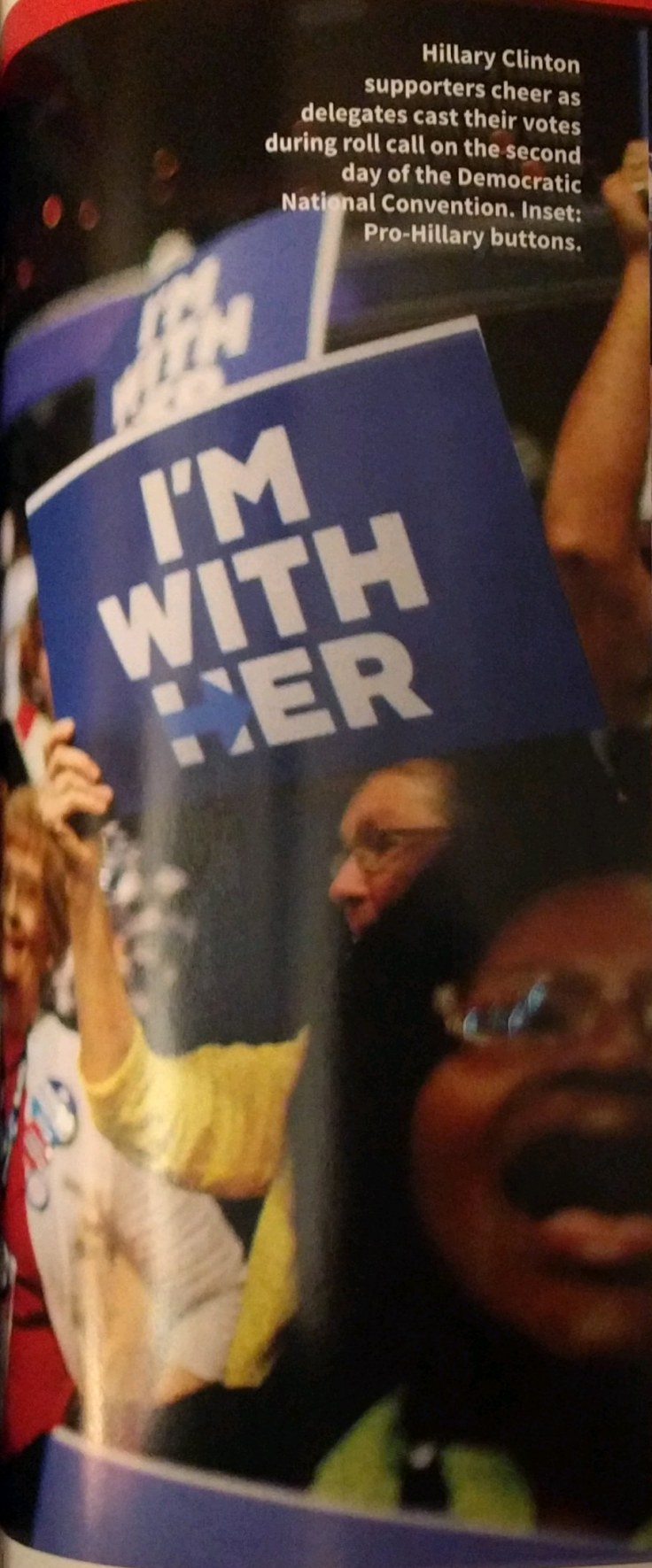
**S**INCE SHE FORMALLY announced her candidacy, Hillary Clinton has missed few chances to mention her gender. "I may not be the youngest candidate in this race," the 68-year-old said, to cheers and laughter at the New York City event. "But I will be the youngest woman president in the history of the United States."

As a presidential candidate, Clinton is playing the gender card like no one ever before. Besides promising

to address women's issues if elected, the former secretary of state has built her campaign on the fact that she's a woman. She cites her late mother's life story as an abandoned teen who worked as a maid and her own status as a grandmother in nearly every speech, and she regularly hits feminist issues of equal pay and women's reproductive rights. In late October, before a GOP debate, her campaign released four ads targeting working women's economic concerns.



Hillary Clinton supporters cheer as delegates cast their votes during roll call on the second day of the Democratic National Convention. Inset: Pro-Hillary buttons.



This time, she doesn't have to compete against Obama, another transformative candidate, although one could argue that by making socialism less of an epithet in the U.S., Sen. Bernie Sanders could also claim he's a history-making candidate.

Clinton is currently surging with core support from women and is savvy to emphasize women's issues and her Wellesley-to-the-White-House tale. She has a huge lead among women, and if she's sworn in on January 20, 2017, it will be owing to their votes. But there are trouble spots. She's always been a polarizing figure, a proverbial lightning rod for male and female hopes and fears about women's role in American society. Now, offering women the chance to see history made, she confronts women who love her, women who loathe her and a muddy middle where the attitude can be summed up as: eh, maybe.

Female support for Clinton heading into the Democratic primaries was strong but unsteady. Her midsummer 2015 peak among Democratic women nationally was a whopping 71 percent, which fell to 42 percent in September. She recovered and by mid-October was at 61 percent, according to ABC News-*Washington Post* polls.

The irony is that the women who most resemble Clinton—white, older, married and moneyed—are less excited about her than millennials, women of color and unmarried women of all ages. Those differences will be critical in the general election.

The emphasis on gender is in stark contrast to her 2008 presidential bid, when Barack Obama defeated her for the Democratic presidential nomination. Back then, advisers steered her away from playing up her gender. They crafted an image of "manly" strength—although her eyes welling up during the New Hampshire primary as she discussed the plight of working families was widely credited with giving her the win in that first primary.





At Tampa's University of South Florida, a Hillary Clinton supporter brandishes a sign with the unofficial slogan of the campaign, "I'm with her." Florida has been a contested battleground state in recent elections, most famously in 2000.

Pollsters and strategists have a number of theories about why younger women are more enthusiastic about Clinton than her graying peers. One reason has to do with memory. Millennials "have known her as senator and secretary of state and presidential candidate," says Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster who specializes in women voters. "They have only known her when she comes into her own."

Baby boomer women, born between 1945 and 1964, are more volatile in their estimation of Clinton, Lake finds. They remember too much of her baggage, such as her husband's infidelity and the scandals of the Clinton White House. For women her age and slightly younger, the unease is a female subset of Clinton Fatigue. She is a living reminder of the humiliating fact that not long ago a working woman in the White

House—wearing pants, no less—was considered revolutionary. "There is more ambivalence about the marriage, which millennials don't even focus on. [Boomers] are critical on everything from 'Should she have stayed with him?' to what she did with her e-mails [as secretary of state]," says Lake, adding that voters "are more nitpicky" about candidates in their cohort.

Younger women, on the other hand, are more likely to see Clinton as transformational, akin to the way Obama was hailed as the apostle of hope and change in 2008, when he attracted significant young female support. Sanders also draws youth, but Clinton's potential to be the first female president carves into his appeal. "Sanders, for younger women, is still an older white man," says Democratic pollster Anna Greenberg.



“The people we need to win elections are becoming younger and more diverse.”

Younger women may be more comfortable than older women with Clinton because they came of age in a more equal era. Justin Barasky, spokesman for Priorities USA, the largest super PAC supporting Clinton, notes that younger women “have grown up in a society where ESPN runs women’s World Cup soccer and everybody watches. I don’t think they have the same skepticism about her, if it exists, as people who experienced their teen years in the ’50s, ’60s and ’70s.” Priorities USA recently ran Spanish-language ads aimed at engaging women in Nevada and Colorado. One of them, “Mi Hija (My Daughter),” describes a young mother’s hopes for her girl.

Young female support is crucial for Clinton because millennials outnumber boomer women when it comes to 2016 voting eligibility, says Marcy Stech, spokeswoman for Emily’s List, a pro-choice, Democratic PAC that has ponied up \$20 million for a “Madam President” project to help Clinton get elected. “This surge in younger voters is a huge shift for Democrats,” Stech says. “The people we need to win elections are becoming younger and more diverse.”

Clinton’s female supporters are also more likely to be unmarried, and she does especially well with those under 55 who either never married or divorced. They are more likely to be moved by Clinton’s progressive economics in general and her support for equal pay in particular. They are a critical demographic for any candidate because in 2016 they will for the first time outnumber married women—a majority of whom vote Republican.

Researcher Margie Omero is part of a bipartisan team tracking “Wal-Mart moms,” defined as women with a child living at home under age 18 who have shopped at Wal-Mart in the past month. In early November, the researchers met with two groups of 10 Wal-Mart moms—Democrats in Iowa and Republicans in New Hampshire. The Iowa Democratic women, four of whom were Sanders

supporters, were not “engaged” by Clinton, one observer said, and they didn’t feel especially supportive of her just because she is a woman.

Lake says Clinton’s greatest general election challenge will be winning over older, married, independent women. In talking about her mother and her role as a grandmother, Clinton can make inroads with this group because she sends not just a gendered message but “a value-oriented conversation” about work, struggle and perseverance.

Clinton’s staunchest supporters are African-American women. They do not think first of scandal and infidelity when they hear the name Clinton, says Lake. “They remember better days under the Clintons. They thought the economy was better then, and they like strong, independent women.” Black women are also as a group more Democratic than white women.

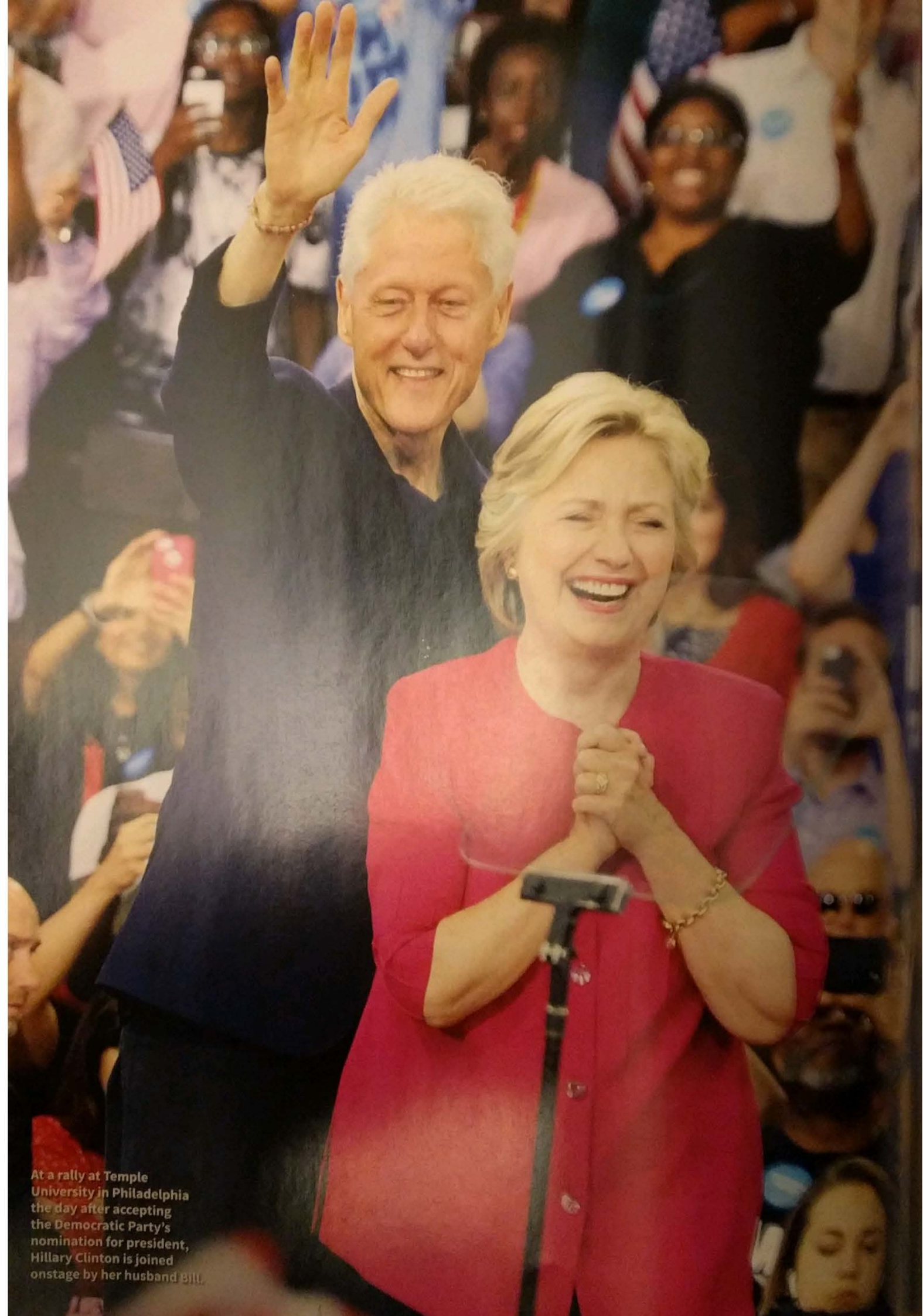
Clinton draws the support of only 26 percent of white men, per a *Wall Street Journal*-NBC poll.

Some of Clinton’s close friends and advisers say the gender strategy, whether successful or not, is more genuine than the 2008 strategy that tried to present her as resolute, tough and disciplined without emphasizing her interest in the welfare of women and children. “Hillary is fond of saying she is the least-known famous person in America,” says longtime political strategist Paul Begala, a veteran of Clinton campaigns going back to 1992.

Clinton’s passion for women’s issues is both authentic and a lure for younger women, says Debbie Walsh, director of Rutgers’s Center for American Women in Politics. “It did her no good to run away from the reality of who she is,” Walsh says of the 2008 campaign. “In some ways, by not talking about that directly, [the Clinton campaign] didn’t let young women get how historic it would be for a woman to be elected president.”

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE, BY NINA BURLEIGH, 11/20/15





At a rally at Temple University in Philadelphia the day after accepting the Democratic Party's nomination for president, Hillary Clinton is joined onstage by her husband Bill.



# SHARING THE WHITE HOUSE

**He might want to be called "First Dude," but what are Hillary's serious plans for Bill's return to the White House?**

**H**ILLARY CLINTON has already made history as the first woman to be elected president of the United States. It's a historic challenge, and one which will force her to instantly confront another vexing dilemma: What does her husband do for the next four years? Will he be a White Hausfrau or a POTUS without portfolio? The enormous question of "What to do about Bill?" has been hanging over Hillary's campaign for the White House since it started. No one knows the answer. The only sure thing is that Bill will be the most powerful first spouse in American history.

For his part, Donald Trump had a general answer to this question during the campaign: He doesn't think husbands should let their wives work. But Bill and Hillary have never been traditional, and they have never listened to Trump.

Everybody will be making it up as they go along in the first gender-flipped White House. The conundrum of "What to do about Bill?" is so controversial and complicated that it needs its own flowchart and PowerPoint presentation—and probably, somewhere in the basement of the Brooklyn HQ of Hillary for President, a team of consultants was hard at work for months on it.

No one in Washington even seems to know what to call him, other than "Bill." What will the official announcers at events like state dinners and the State of the Union intone when the Clintons walk into the room? Ladies and gentlemen: Madam and Mr. President of the United States? President Clinton and former President Clinton. Or how 'bout just Mr. and Mrs. President Clinton.

Bill has jokingly suggested he be called Adam, as in the first man, inspiring tweeters to suggest that the moniker would give him the right to "go forth and multiply," so maybe not.

"Once you've served as president, that is your title for life," White House historian William Seale told *Newsweek* during the campaign. "I would think in business and out in public he would be Mr. President, as he's certainly earned it. And in connection with her, they would be President Clinton and Mr. Clinton."

Spending their golden years together in the White House looks like a happily-ever-after, picture-book ending to a long and stormy tale for Bill and Hillary. Bill did famously say that when he married her, he disappointed his mother, who had hoped for a beauty queen, but that he couldn't imagine growing old with anyone else without getting bored. He's talked about his "endless conversation" with Hillary, and now that she's been elected they'll be having it from rocking chairs at the top of the world.

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FROM THE *NEWSWEEK* ARCHIVE,  
BY NINA BURLEIGH, 6/16/16





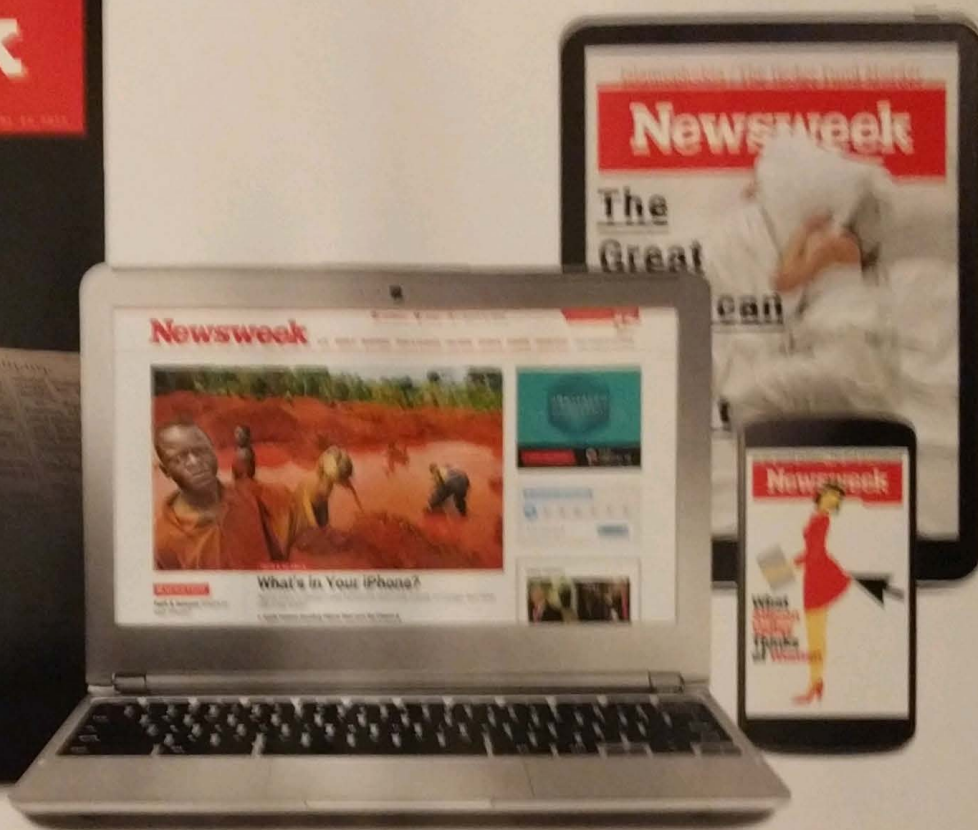
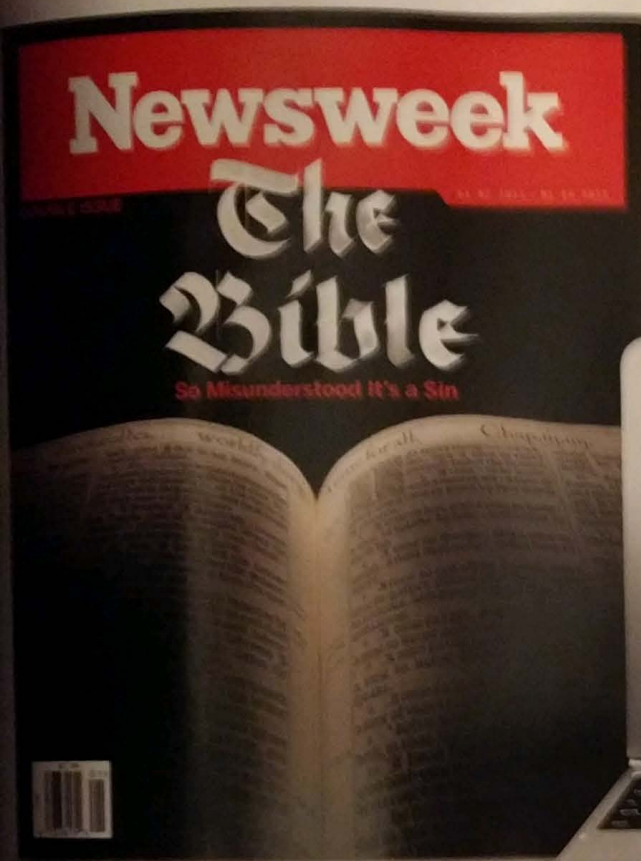
Hillary Clinton at the Hillary for New York Primary Night Party on April 19, 2016. The former senator from the state of New York handily won the primary by defeating Senator Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.).



# Newsweek

# P R E M I E R

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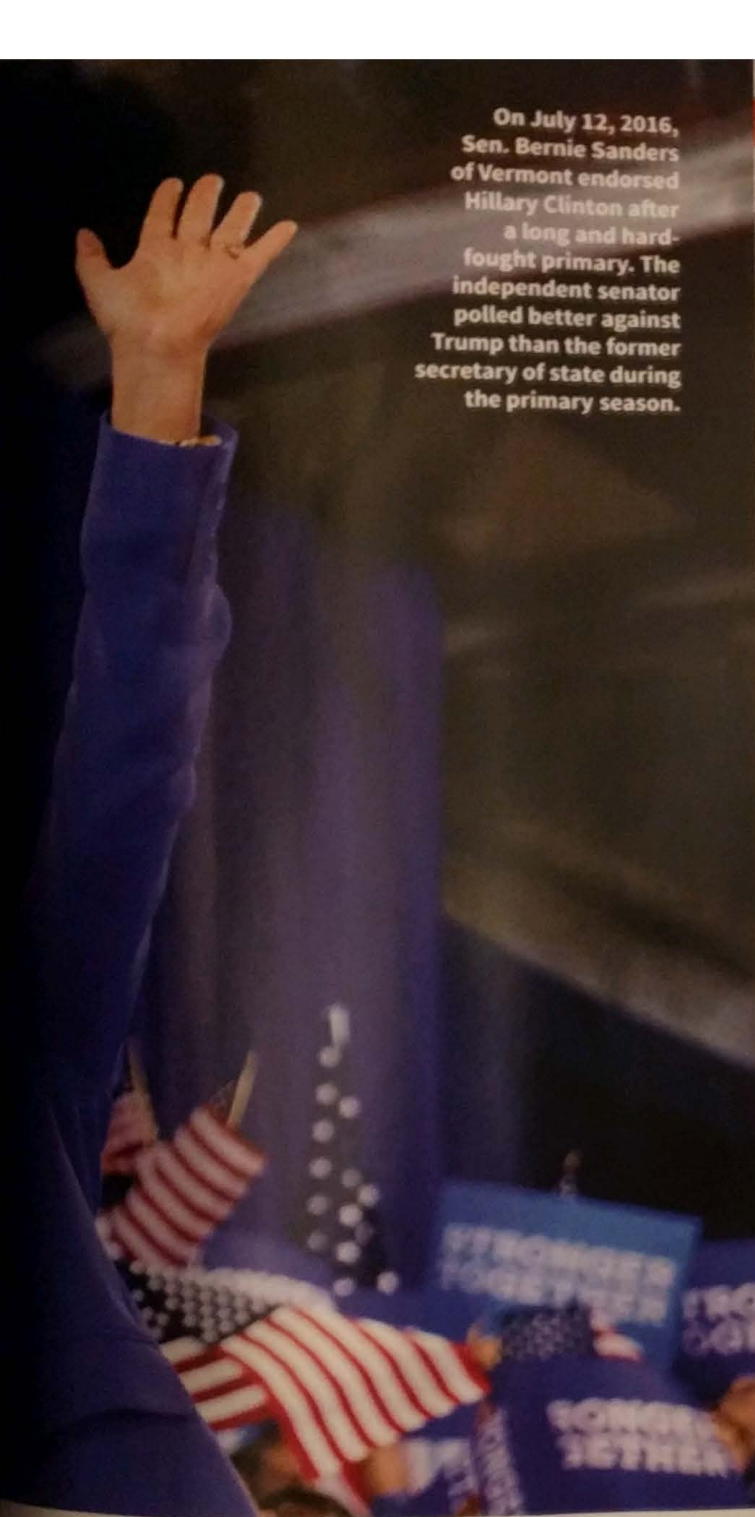




# WHAT THE PRIMARIES TAUGHT US

Hillary had been introducing herself for a quarter of a century when she became the Dems' nominee in June 2016.





On July 12, 2016, Sen. Bernie Sanders of Vermont endorsed Hillary Clinton after a long and hard-fought primary. The independent senator polled better against Trump than the former secretary of state during the primary season.

the wife of a presidential candidate before moving on to become a senator, a presidential candidate, the secretary of state and, finally, the first woman president. Here's what the 2016 primary taught us about our new president.

### HER ALLIES ARE LOYAL

Clinton's strength among black and Latino voters won her this nomination. They stood by her with large majorities, enough to guarantee her victory in big, diverse, high-population states like California, Florida and Texas. Sanders generally won smaller states and caucuses, albeit with some exceptions like Michigan. A younger generation of voters had less interest in Clinton and her centrism. But her win in D.C. was all but guaranteed because the district has a large percentage of black and older, white Democratic voters. Clinton lost there in 2008 because Barack Obama did so well with African-Americans. This time she took D.C. easily.

### SHE CAN BE FLEXIBLE

Clinton once praised the Trans Pacific Partnership, the mammoth international trade deal that the Obama administration still hopes to pass, but came out against it as a candidate. She had no problem shifting leftward. She also improved her relationship with Obama supporters and staff just as she did with the president himself. Any number of Obama alums came around to help her this time, and if they had any hard feelings, they didn't show them.

### SHE STILL AROUSES STRONG FEELINGS

You don't have to spend a lot of time online to see the kind of passion Clinton inspires. The Bernie bros hate her. The right still hates her. And no shortage of supporters see her as The One.

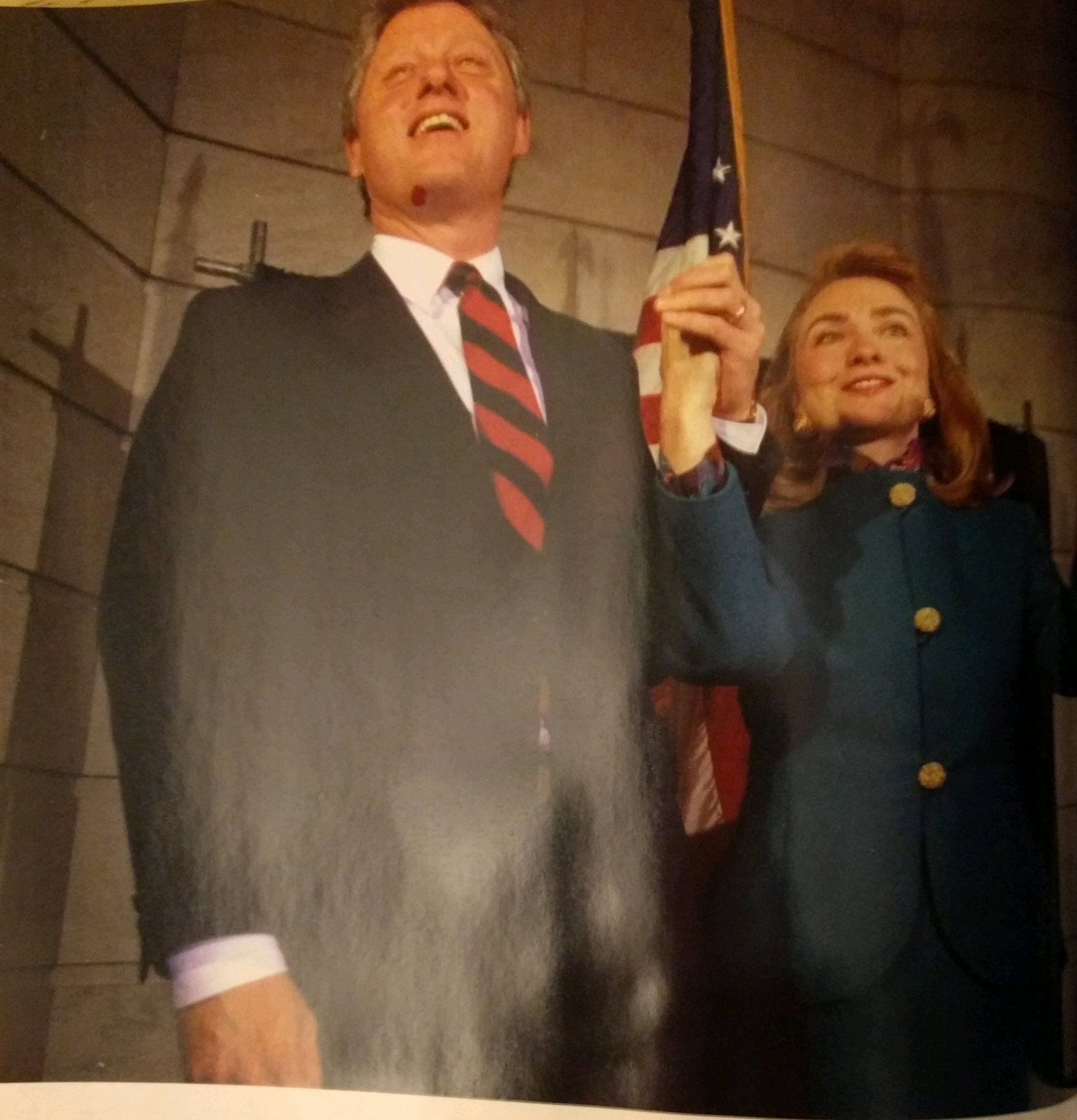
After the primary season, we got to see what Clinton was like in the general election. In 2008, she had to show restraint because Obama was so well liked. Same with Sanders. She knew she'd need his people in the end. Even in her first Senate race, in 2000, she was still the first lady and couldn't act like a total brawler. Now Clinton's free to fight how she pleases.

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,  
BY MATTHEW COOPER, 6/14/16

**H**ILLARY CLINTON ended her campaign for the Democratic nomination with an expected win in the District of Columbia primary on June 14. The capital was the capstone of a campaign that left her with 28 states, including 17 of the largest 20, not to mention 15.7 million votes—compared to 12 million for Bernie Sanders.

The voting that began in Iowa in February marked more than a quest for the Democratic nomination. It was the latest in a long line of introductions Clinton has made to the American people during the last 25 years. Since 1991 she's taken on different personas. We first knew her as





# REMEMBERING LITTLE ROCK

At the 2016 DNC, Bill Clinton remembered how Hillary came to Arkansas as a young idealist and how their years in the governor's mansion changed them.



On September 20, 1991, Bill Clinton is inaugurated as Governor of Arkansas for the second time as Hillary and Chelsea celebrate with him. His first term a decade earlier had made him the state's youngest governor.

MADAM PRESIDENT



**D**ECADES LATER, it's hard to remember how battered Bill Clinton was after the 1992 primaries. He had secured the nomination, but his candidacy was marred by his efforts to avoid serving in Vietnam and allegations, later confirmed, of extramarital affairs. It looked like he was heading for a joyless convention in New York.

But events conspired to make it work. Now, two decades later, we have another convention, another battered Clinton candidacy. Only this time it's Hillary Clinton, the former senator and

secretary of state, who is stuck in a close race with Donald Trump.

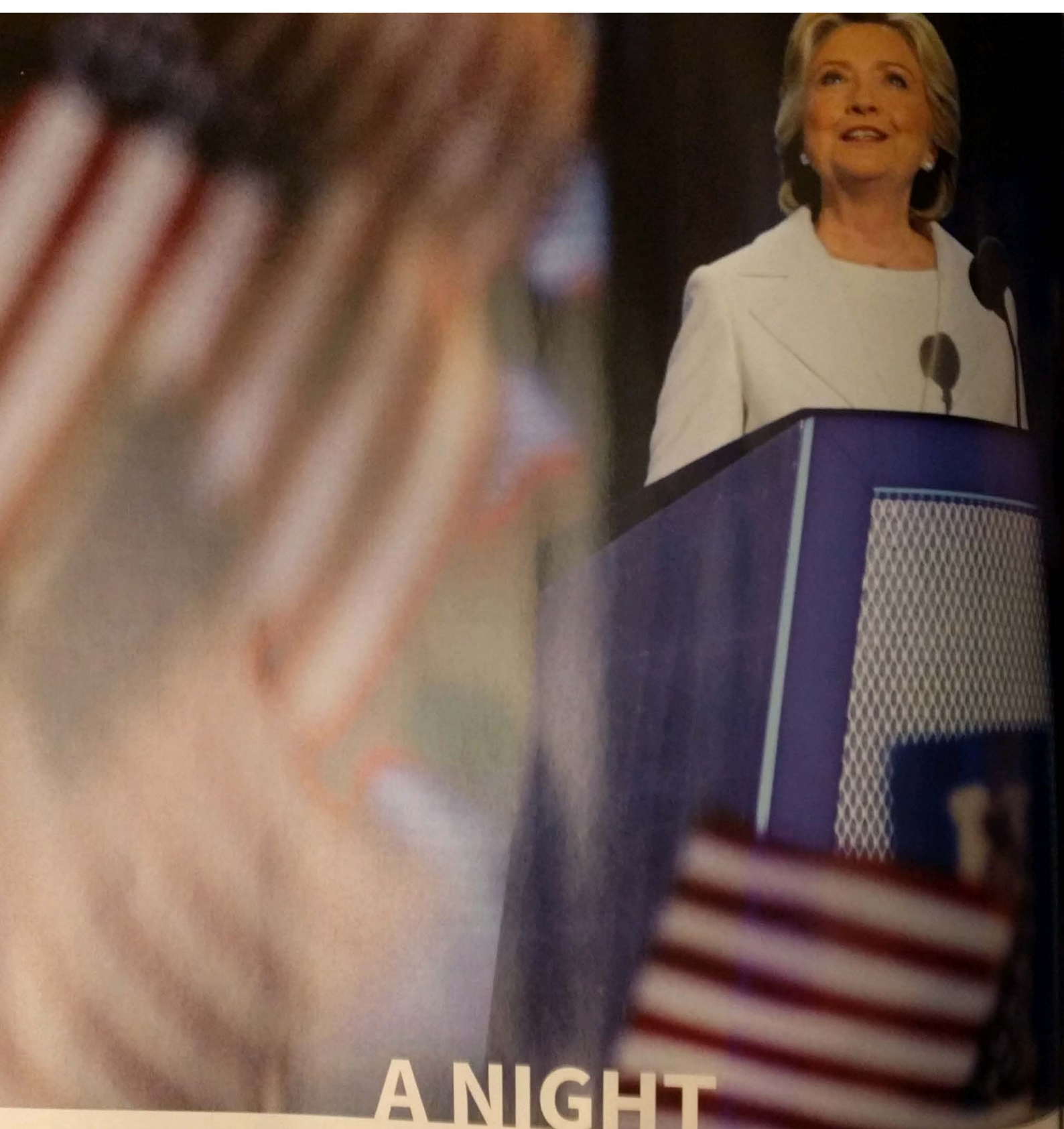
The former president began by tossing out aw-shucks anecdotes about meeting Hillary Rodham at Yale Law School. They're well known to Clinton watchers but still new to millennials, especially young progressives who think the first couple are nothing more than an eye-rolling tangle of pathologies, humiliating affairs and Wall Street honoraria. Every marriage is a mystery, even to those in the middle of it. But by recalling the first time they locked eyes at Yale and his visit to her Bears-and Cubs-crazed family in the suburbs of Chicago, he made it a bit less opaque. He chronicled their nearly 50-year conversation, as Sidney Blumenthal dubbed it, about how to achieve liberal goals in a conservative country. "She took a huge chance," he said of Hillary Clinton accepting a job teaching law in Arkansas. "It was more rural, more culturally conservative than any place she had ever been."

Throughout the night, Bill Clinton accomplished three main things: He reminded the audience that Hillary Clinton was a young idealist. He made some sense of their marriage, perhaps the most analyzed in the world. And he rehabilitated himself, explaining his progressive history to a crowd that only knows him from the Defense of Marriage Act and the deregulation of derivatives. "I was defeated in the Reagan landslide," he recalled of his 1980 bid for a second term as Arkansas's governor. At 34, he'd gone from being the nation's youngest governor to the nation's youngest ex-governor.

It would have been easier for them to go another route. An aspiring Arkansas politician would have been better off with a Little Rock beauty queen, not a smart, young lawyer from Illinois. She'd have been better off somewhere else too. Someplace more liberal, more hip. But they found each other, stayed together, and as weird as their marriage is, it does make some sense. Each thinks the other is the smartest person in the world. The respect is real. "She's the best darn change-maker I've met in my entire life," Bill Clinton said.

FROM THE *NEWSWEEK* ARCHIVE,  
BY MATTHEW COOPER, 7/27/2016






# A NIGHT OF FIRSTS

When the first female candidate for president gave her first post-nomination speech, it was a night for the history books.





Making her speech at the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, Hillary Clinton managed to discredit her opponent's campaign without resorting to the kind of direct personal attacks Trump's campaign delighted in making their hallmark.

**H**ILLARY CLINTON made history at the last night of the DNC in Philadelphia by becoming the first woman to accept her party's nomination for President of the United States. Introduced by her daughter Chelsea, Hillary delivered one of the finest speeches of her career, and one that American women have been waiting 240 years to hear. Presented here are highlights from Hillary Clinton's prepared speech at the 2016 Democratic National Convention on July 28, 2016:

**THANK YOU! THANK YOU** for that amazing welcome. And Chelsea, thank you. I'm so proud to be your mother and so proud of the woman you've become. Thanks for bringing Marc into our family, and Charlotte and Aidan into the world. And Bill, that conversation we started in the law library 45 years ago is still going strong. It's lasted through good times that filled us with joy and hard times that tested us....


My friends, we've come to Philadelphia—the birthplace of our nation—because what happened in this city 240 years ago still has something to teach us today.

We all know the story. But we usually focus on how it turned out—and not enough on how close that story came to never being written at all. When representatives from 13 unruly colonies met just down the road from here, some wanted to stick with the king. Some wanted to stick it to the king and go their own way. The revolution hung in the balance. Then somehow they began listening to each other... compromising, finding common purpose. And by the time they left Philadelphia, they had begun to see themselves as one nation. That's what made it possible to stand up to a king. That took courage. They had courage. Our Founders embraced the enduring truth that we are stronger together....

Freedom and equality, justice and opportunity. We should be so proud that these words are associated with us. That when people hear them, they hear America. So don't let anyone tell you that our country is weak. We're not. Don't let anyone tell you we don't have what it takes. We do. And most of all, don't believe anyone who says: "I alone can fix it." Those were actually Donald Trump's words [at the RNC] in Cleveland. And they should set off alarm bells for all of us....

Isn't [Trump] forgetting? Troops on the frontlines. Police officers and firefighters who run toward danger. Doctors and nurses who care for us. Teachers who change lives. Entrepreneurs who see possibilities in every problem. Mothers who lost children to violence and are building a movement to keep other kids safe. He's forgetting every last one of us. Americans don't say: "I alone can fix it." We say: "We'll fix it together." Remember: Our Founders fought a revolution and wrote a Constitution so



A photograph of Hillary and Chelsea Clinton. Hillary Clinton is in the foreground, smiling broadly with her eyes closed, wearing a white blazer over a white top. Chelsea Clinton is behind her, also smiling and hugging her. The background is dark and out of focus, showing other people.

**Hillary and Chelsea Clinton** celebrate the outcome of the Democratic Convention, which chose a female nominee for the first time in its history. Though Clinton was the first major party candidate to be a woman, Victoria Woodhull ran an independent campaign in 1872, though she could not even vote under the rules of the day.

America would never be a nation where one person had all the power. Two hundred and forty years later, we still put our faith in each other.

America needs every one of us to lend our energy, our talents, our ambition to making our nation better and stronger. I believe that with all my heart. That's why "Stronger Together" is not just a lesson from our history. It's not just a slogan for our campaign. It's a guiding principle for the country we've always been and the future we're going to build. A country where the economy works for everyone, not just those at the top. Where you can get a good job and send your kids to a good school, no matter what zip code you live in. A country where all our children can dream, and those dreams are within reach. Where families are strong,

communities are safe, and yes—love trumps hate. That's the country we're fighting for. That's the future we're working toward.

And so it is with humility, determination and boundless confidence in America's promise, that I accept your nomination for President of the United States.

Tonight, we've reached a milestone in our nation's march toward a more perfect union: the first time that a major party has nominated a woman for president. Standing here as my mother's daughter and my daughter's mother, I'm so happy this day has come. Happy for grandmothers and little girls and everyone in between. Happy for boys and men, too—because when any barrier falls in America, for anyone, it clears the way for everyone. When there are no ceilings, the



“Tonight, we’ve reached a milestone in our nation’s march toward a more perfect union: the first time that a major party has nominated a woman for president.”

sky’s the limit. So let’s keep going, until every one of the 161 million women and girls across America has the opportunity she deserves. Because even more important than the history we make tonight is the history we will write together in the years ahead....

I believe America thrives when the middle class thrives. I believe that our economy isn’t working the way it should because our democracy isn’t working the way it should. That’s why we need to appoint Supreme Court justices who will get money out of politics and expand voting rights, not restrict them. And we’ll pass a constitutional amendment to overturn Citizens United! I believe American corporations that have gotten so much from our country should be just as patriotic in return. Many of them are. But too many aren’t. It’s wrong to take tax breaks with one hand and give out pink slips with the other. And I believe Wall Street can never, ever be allowed to wreck Main Street again. I believe in science. I believe that climate change is real and that we can save our planet while creating millions of good-paying clean energy jobs. I believe that when we have millions of hardworking immigrants contributing to our economy, it would be self-defeating and inhumane to kick them out. Comprehensive immigration reform will grow our economy and keep families together—and it’s the right thing to do. Whatever party you belong to, or if you belong to no party at all, if you share these beliefs, this is your campaign.

If you believe that companies should share profits with their workers, not pad executive bonuses, join us. If you believe the minimum wage should be a living wage, and no one working full time should have to raise their children in poverty, join us. If you believe that every man, woman and child in America has the right to affordable health care, join us. If you believe

that we should say “no” to unfair trade deals—that we should stand up to China, that we should support our steelworkers and autoworkers and homegrown manufacturers—join us.

If you believe we should expand Social Security and protect a woman’s right to make her own healthcare decisions, join us. And yes, if you believe that your working mother, wife, sister or daughter deserves equal pay, join us....

Every generation of Americans has come together to make our country freer, fairer and stronger. None of us can do it alone.... I know that at a time when so much seems to be pulling us apart, it can be hard to imagine how we’ll ever pull together again. But I’m here to tell you tonight: Progress is possible. I know because I’ve seen it in the lives of people across America who get knocked down and get right back up. And I know it from my own life. More than a few times, I’ve had to pick myself up and get back in the game. Like so much else, I got this from my mother. She never let me back down from any challenge. When I tried to hide from a neighborhood bully, she literally blocked the door. “Go back out there,” she said. And she was right. You have to stand up to bullies....

Let our legacy be about “planting seeds in a garden you never get to see.” That’s why we’re here—not just in this hall, but on this Earth. The Founders showed us that. And so have many others since. They were drawn together by love of country and the selfless passion to build something better for all who follow. That is the story of America. And we begin a new chapter tonight. Yes, the world is watching what we do. Yes, America’s destiny is ours to choose. So let’s be stronger together. Looking to the future with courage and confidence. Building a better tomorrow for our beloved children and our beloved country. When we do, America will be greater than ever.







Democratic U.S. presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, former U.S. President Bill Clinton, their daughter, Chelsea, and their son-in-law Marc Mezvinsky celebrate onstage after Hillary's history-making speech at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia.





# DEBATING DONALD

Struggling against the strangest candidate in American history, Hillary showed her expertise.

DEBATE ONE: 9/26/16

Interruptus Maximus

Hofstra University,  
Uniondale, New York

**D**ONALD TRUMP interrupted Hillary Clinton 51 times during the presidential debate, prompting critics to lambast his attitude as sexist and misogynist.

Trump used the debate on September 26 to launch a tirade against Clinton, who only cut him short 17 times, according to *Vox*.

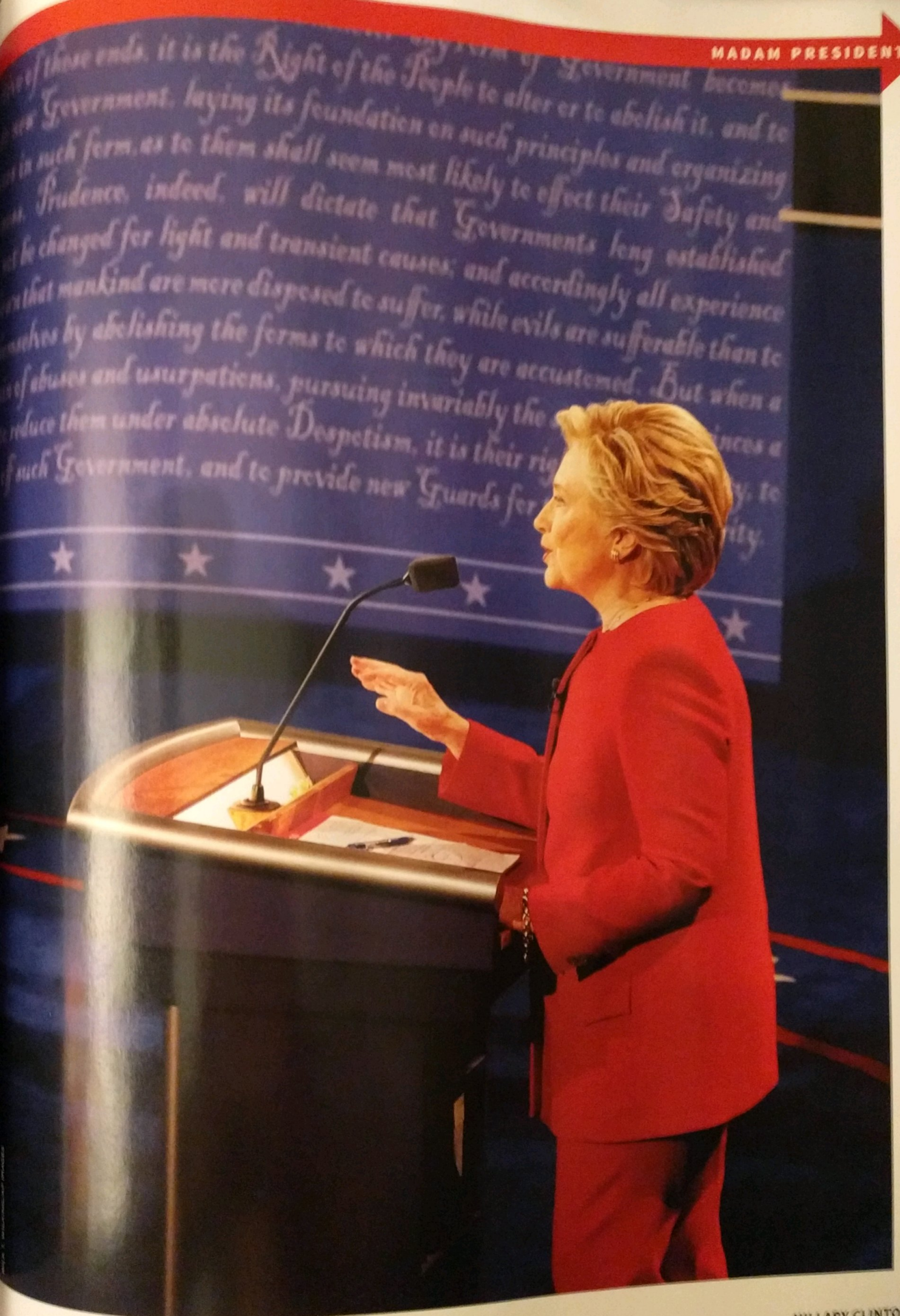
Trump called Clinton to task for her previous support of trade deals, and her foreign policy dealings, but he also used much of the 90-minute clash at Hofstra University, outside New York, as a chance to question her suitability as president.

"She doesn't have the look, and she doesn't have the stamina," he argued. "I've been all over the place. You decided to stay home." Trump's language in this debate was simply the beginning

Before the debate even began on September 26, pundits were in conflict over a point of decorum—would the candidates shake hands? It turned out they did, but it would be the only time out of the three debates.











of Hillary's final herculean trial to gain the White House. All of her previous blemishes and antagonists had been congealed into a boisterous mess that threatened to wrench Hillary's political career from her capable hands if she didn't handle him the right way.

Clinton began by using Trump's condescending swipes to highlight his derogatory comments toward women, which have been well reported.

"This is a man who has called women pigs, slobs and dogs," Clinton said. "Someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers and has said women don't deserve equal pay unless they do as good a job as men."

Clinton recalled the time Trump called former Miss Universe contestant Alicia Machado "Miss Piggy" and "Miss Housekeeping," because she is Latina.

In his closing remarks, Trump addressed Clinton's



In St. Louis, Donald Trump, who was later criticized for his strange habit of mirroring Clinton's movements, attempted to draw attention away from his mounting sexual misconduct scandal by inviting women he claimed were victims of Bill Clinton's own misdeeds.

**DEBATE TWO: 10/9/16**

## The Aftermath of a Terrible, Horrible Week—For Trump

Washington University,  
St. Louis, Missouri

LAURA INGRAHAM was elated. After the second presidential debate had ended, the conservative author and radio talk show host appeared on Fox News Channel's *Hannity* to laud Donald Trump's "decisive and frankly masterful performance" on Sunday, October 9. She added: "He hit her in a way that not a single Republican in the last 30 years has been able to lay a glove on the Clintons. We've been waiting for this moment for someone to take on the Clintons face to face, and he did it."

For the most hardcore Clinton-hating veterans of the 1990s—like Ingraham, who reportedly helped prepare Trump for primary debates, and David Bossie, the deputy Trump campaign manager, president of Citizens United and Whitewater figure—October 9 was a kind of catharsis: the chance to put those who've accused Bill Clinton of rape and harassment on a national stage within feet of the former president and his wife, whom they accuse of enabling him. The Trump campaign's plans to put the accusers in the Trump family box, setting up a face-to-face confrontation with the former president, was quashed at the last minute when Frank Fahrenkopf, a former chairman of the Republican National Committee and a co-chairman of the presidential debates, threatened to eject the women if they were placed in the box reserved for family.

Trump failed in his attempt to shift the subject from his depraved sexual comments on the already infamous *Access Hollywood* recording to allegations against Bill Clinton from 20 and 30 years ago.

"If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine were words, and his was action. What he's done to women, there's never been anybody in the history of politics

criticism of his sexism by citing his tumultuous public relationship with comedian Rosie O'Donnell. "I said very tough things to her, and I think everybody would agree that she deserves it, and nobody feels sorry for her," Trump said of O'Donnell, in a non-sequitur that fairly summed up his first debate performance.

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,  
BY LUCY CLARKE-BILLINGS, 9/27/16



in this nation that's been so abusive to women," Trump said.

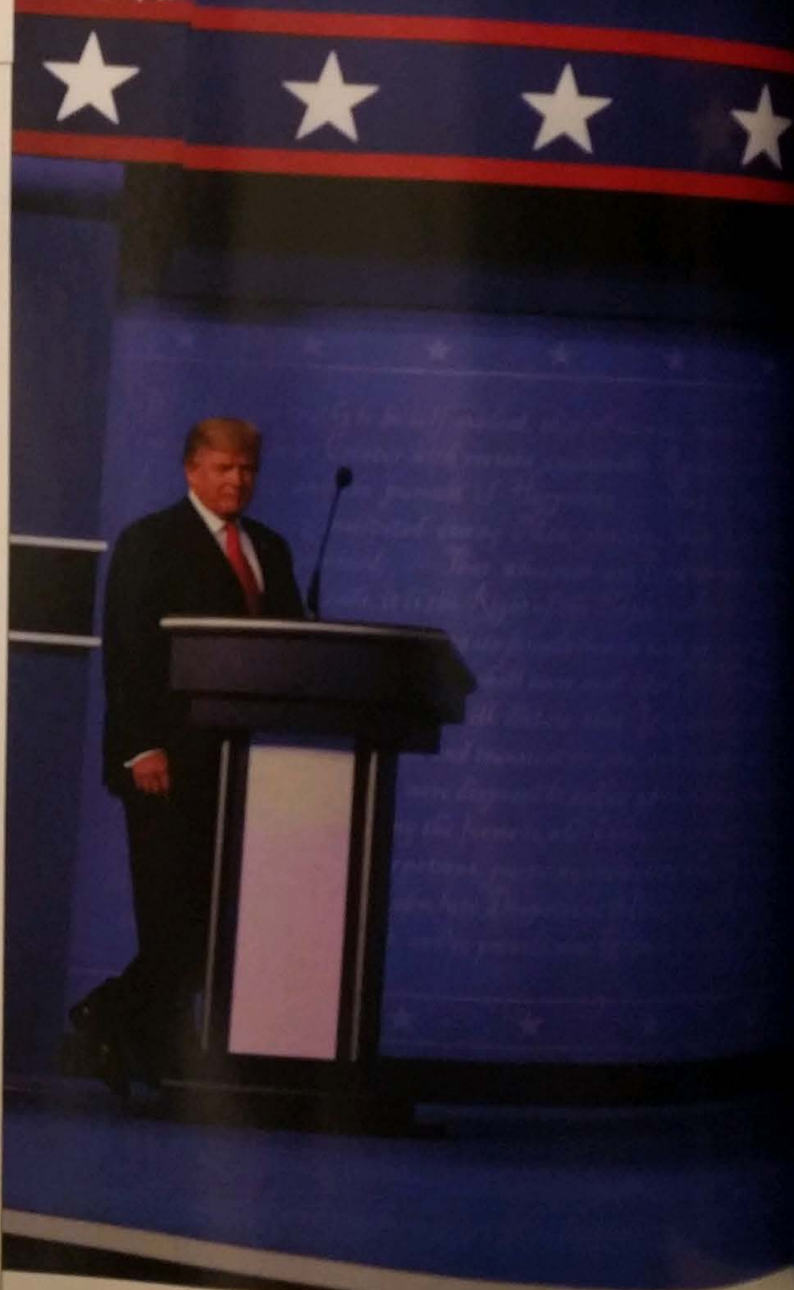
The Trump line of attack against the future President-Elect was doomed for a few reasons. First, campaigns are driven by new information. That sounds axiomatic, but it's true: Revelations about Trump's taxes, his foreign business entanglements, breaking the U.S. embargo against Cuba and using Chinese steel in his buildings landed with force; reviving old allegations can never have the same impact. The allegations against the Clintons are old and have been ventilated for a long time.

Consider the Juanita Broadrick allegation that Bill Clinton raped her in 1978, close to 40 years ago. She aired the charge in 1999. It was broadcast on national television, and it was examined by Whitewater Special Counsel Kenneth Starr. (Broadrick signed an affidavit saying that she had not been assaulted and then recanted it.) The charge obviously carries weight with Clinton critics and even some sympathetic to the Clintons, but it's not new—and new is what counts in politics.

The presence of Bill Clinton's alleged victims at the debate did nothing to alter the state of political discourse—in fact, it mired Trump in a losing argument while Clinton was able to draw attention to the more recent, and therefore far more important politically, question of Trump's own lude behavior with the fairer sex. After a tape of Trump speaking to Billy Bush on *Access Hollywood* and describing a penchant for non-consensual groping surfaced, the story landed with a thud atop a veritable pile of scandal. Clinton was not about to let anything stop her from talking about real issues—not the presence of her husband's supposed victims, not another deluge of interruptions from her opponent, not even a brief detour to remind Trump that those who live in glass houses, especially if the houses in question cost many millions of dollars, should not throw stones.

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,  
BY MATTHEW COOPER, 10/10/16

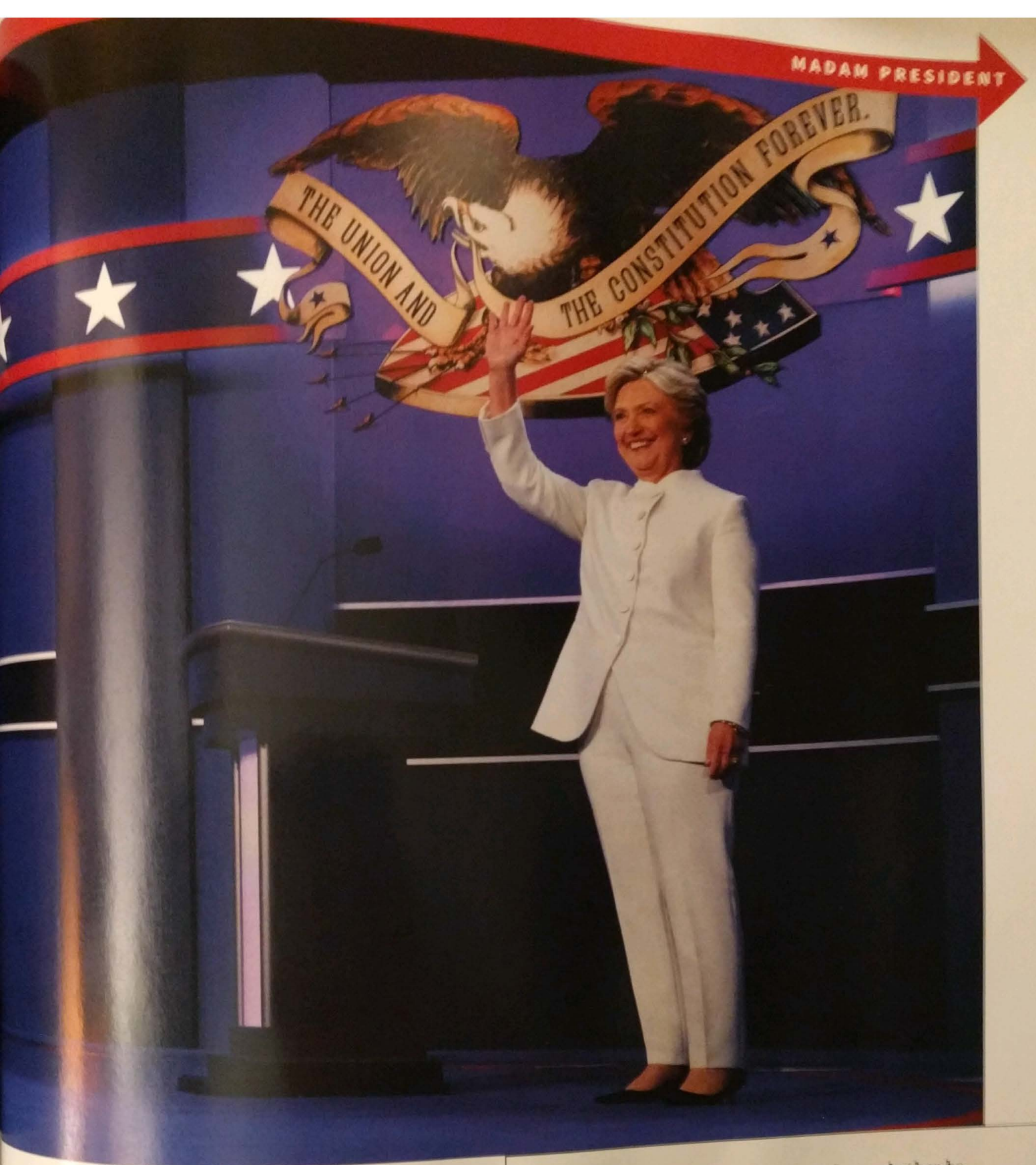
As Trump's campaign continued to spiral downward into a miasma of hatemongering, Hillary Clinton remained frank and on-point at the final debate, dismissing Trump's refusal to accept election results as simply, "horrificing."



**DEBATE THREE: 10/19/16**  
**Delusional Debating**  
**Donald Trump was the most dangerous candidate in our history—the third debate proved it.**

2016 WAS A BRUTAL, bruising year full of sordid allegations of sex, money and power—and that was just at Fox News. But the network finally had a good night on October 19, months after sexual assault





allegations drove Roger Ailes out of the network he built. At the third and final presidential debate, Chris Wallace was a forceful, orderly and logical moderator. Liberals who feared a right-wing bias were proved wrong. Wallace's performance really was fair and balanced.

The candidates, however, weren't as inspiring. Donald Trump was less demented than in the previous two debates. He didn't tell Hillary Clinton that she'd be in jail if he became president, but he

did shockingly say he would wait and see whether he would accept the results of the election. "I will look at it at the time," Trump mused. His answer betrayed a long tradition in American politics. (Al Gore didn't oppose the automatically triggered Florida recount but accepted the Supreme Court decision.) Republicans like Lindsey Graham were quick to denounce Trump's casual dismissal. Mike Pence and Ivanka Trump said the GOP nominee would accept the results. But apparently they underestimated his petulance.



“ [Trump] lives in a fantasy world where facts don’t matter, and what he wants for the country often seems preposterous, especially for someone who claimed he would ‘make America great again.’ ”

Trump’s stated refusal to abide by this tradition spoke to his larger faults as far as America was concerned. He lives in a fantasy world where facts don’t matter, and what he wants for the country often seems preposterous, especially for someone who claimed he would “make America great again.” At one point, for instance, Trump said he wanted health insurance premiums to go up—meaning Americans would pay more for care—because it would demonstrate that Obamacare is a failure. Getting crushed in the polls with female voters, he sniped that Clinton was a “nasty woman.” He referred to the START arms control treaty with Russia as a “start up.” When he spoke of the Iraqi assault on Mosul, he initially said the Islamic State group (ISIS) had left because the U.S. telegraphed the assault. Then he said the battle would be much tougher than anticipated. (Both couldn’t be true.) Trump denied the assessment of American intelligence agencies that Russia is behind the hacks of the Democratic National Committee and the Clinton campaign chairman, John Podesta. The Democratic nominee blasted him, saying Russia was backing Trump because Putin would “rather have a puppet.” “You’re the puppet,” Trump replied, but it seemed more like a childish riposte than a charge that would stick. And after a debate about immigration and building the wall, Trump said, “We have some bad hombres here”—a jibe that seemed like it pushed away his few Latino supporters.

What made these mistakes more galling: Trump came into the debate trailing his opponent. Polls showed Clinton ahead in Arizona, a traditionally Republican state Democrats had won only once since 1952. Clinton had also opened up a huge lead

in New Hampshire, and Virginia was solidly blue. To have any hope of winning the election, Trump had to appeal to more women and make it clear he’s not a sexual predator. He also had to convince undecideds that he’s not too erratic to be president.

He failed at both, and in a lot of other ways too. Yes, he avoided some of the weirder tics of the second debate, like talking about Bill Clinton’s affairs decades after the fact. And his orderly answers about the Supreme Court, the Second Amendment and overturning *Roe v. Wade* appealed to the conservative base. But then there were the gaffes. Perhaps the most ridiculous: He actually talked about being unfairly denied an Emmy for his reality show, *The Apprentice*. Doing so isn’t likely to sway an undecided voter or bring back wavering Republicans.

Clinton’s mannered, well-rehearsed performance was better than Trump’s. Some of her answers had a scripted feel—“What kind of country will we be?” she asked—but she did have a few zingers. “Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger,” she said. “And I don’t think there is a woman anywhere who doesn’t know what that feels like.” The 2016 campaign has become a national teach-in about sexual harassment, and Trump’s categorical denial that he engaged in sexual assault looked weak compared with Clinton’s calculated empathy with his alleged victims.

The third debate was the last time Trump reached such a large audience. He could have used that stage to his advantage. He’s a talented showman who bested a crowded Republican field. But facing just one other opponent, the GOP nominee’s lack of preparation showed. (At one point, he said he’d spent much of the






Hillary Clinton supporters gather outside Washington University before the second presidential debate on October 9, 2016. After the debate, Virginia turned solidly blue in the polls.

day watching cable news.) Clinton's solid command of facts overshadowed the questionable aspects of her record—a self-immolating decision to use a private email server and a reset with Russia that gained the U.S. nothing. Knowing what you're talking about, it seems, matters.

Which is why Trump found himself on the verge of a major defeat after the debate. He's not only a bad hombre. He's the biggest loser.

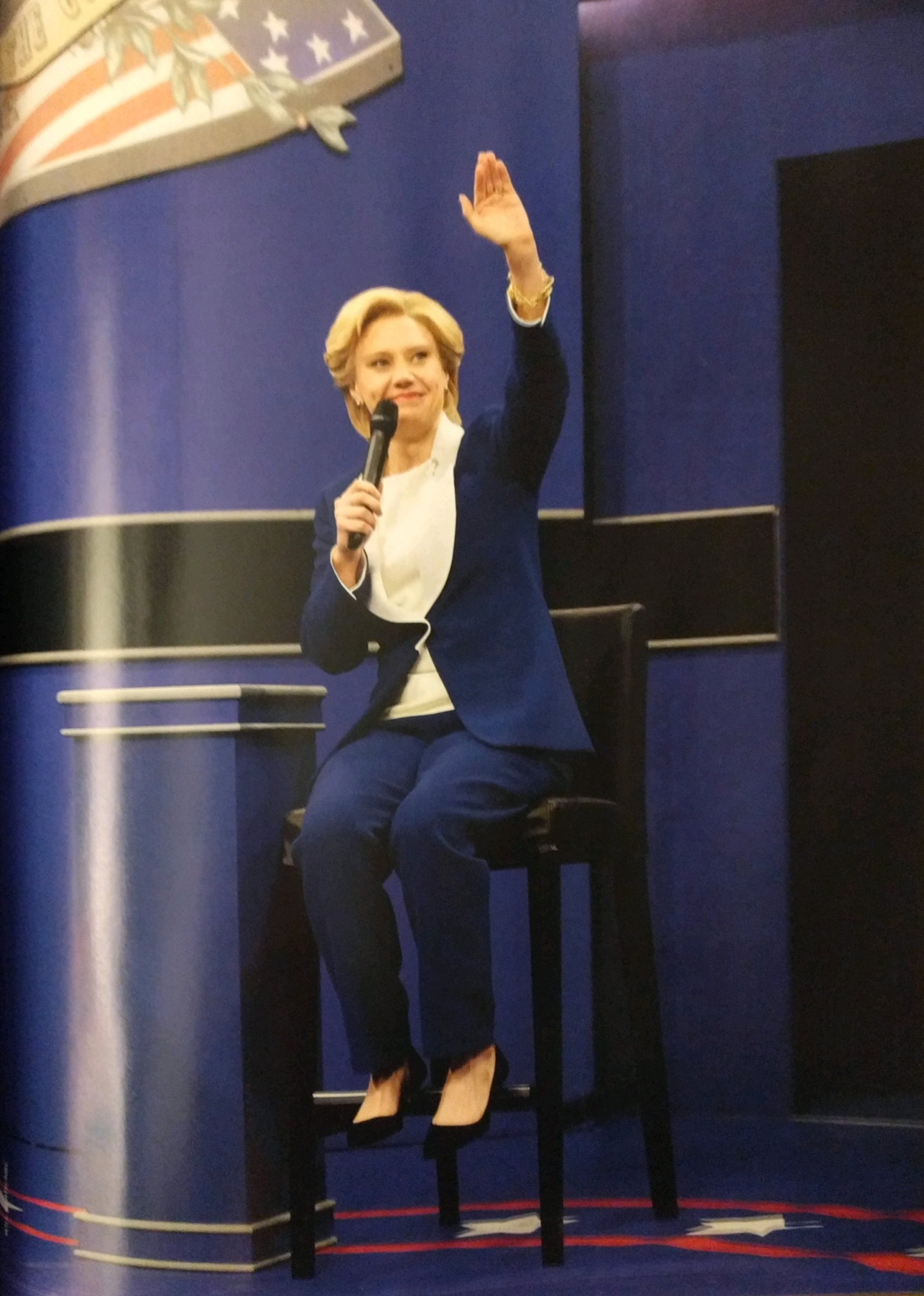
FROM THE *NEWSWEEK* ARCHIVE,  
BY MATTHEW COOPER, 10/20/16



A full-page photograph of Alec Baldwin dressed as Donald Trump. He is standing at a dark wooden podium, holding a microphone with both hands. He is wearing a dark navy blue suit, a white shirt, and a bright red tie. His hair is styled in a light blonde, swept-back manner. He has a serious expression on his face. The background is a deep blue wall. To the right, a portion of a large, ornate crest or seal is visible, featuring a shield with red and white stripes and several arrows pointing outwards. The floor is covered with a blue carpet that has white stars and red stripes, mimicking the American flag.

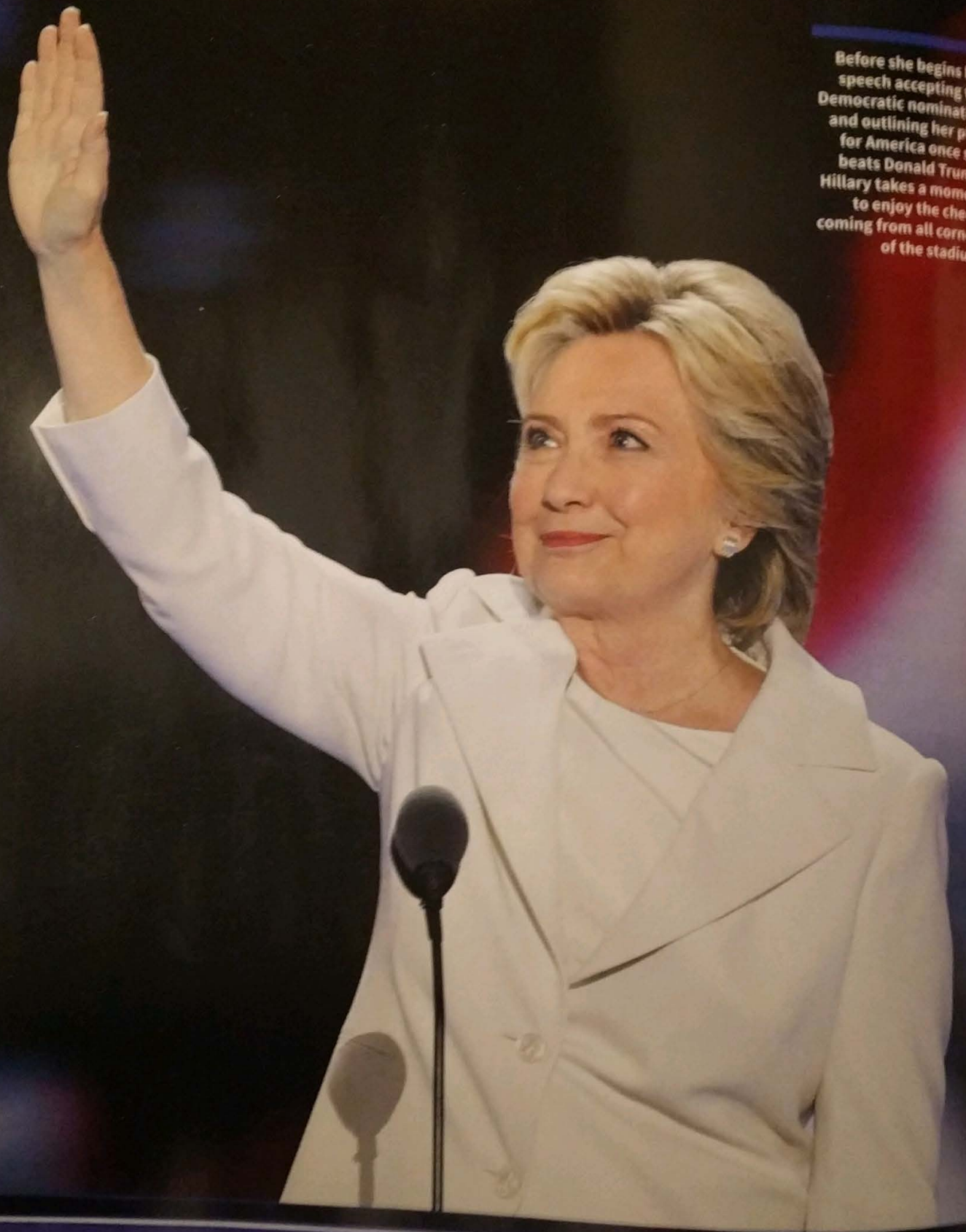
Alec Baldwin portrays Donald Trump as Kate McKinnon plays Hillary Clinton on one of *Saturday Night Live*'s debate parodies. Clinton herself once appeared on the show as McKinnon's Hillary's bartender, while in contrast, Trump—who hosted the show in 2015—characteristically claimed that the skits had been an example of the media's bias toward Clinton. In one especially poignant moment after the second presidential debate, McKinnon and Baldwin were prompted to say something nice about each other's characters: Hillary thanks Donald for his generosity in "Handing [her] the election" through his mounting pile of scandals and alleged assaults. For her part, the real Hillary Clinton was very impressed with McKinnon's satirical work during the election. "Oh, my gosh, she was amazing," Clinton told *Time* before singling out McKinnon's Willy Wonka-style entrance to the first debate sketch, poking fun at the Trump campaign's fascination with Clinton's health. "I wish I could do the jumps, the splits, the somersault. I've been working on it."







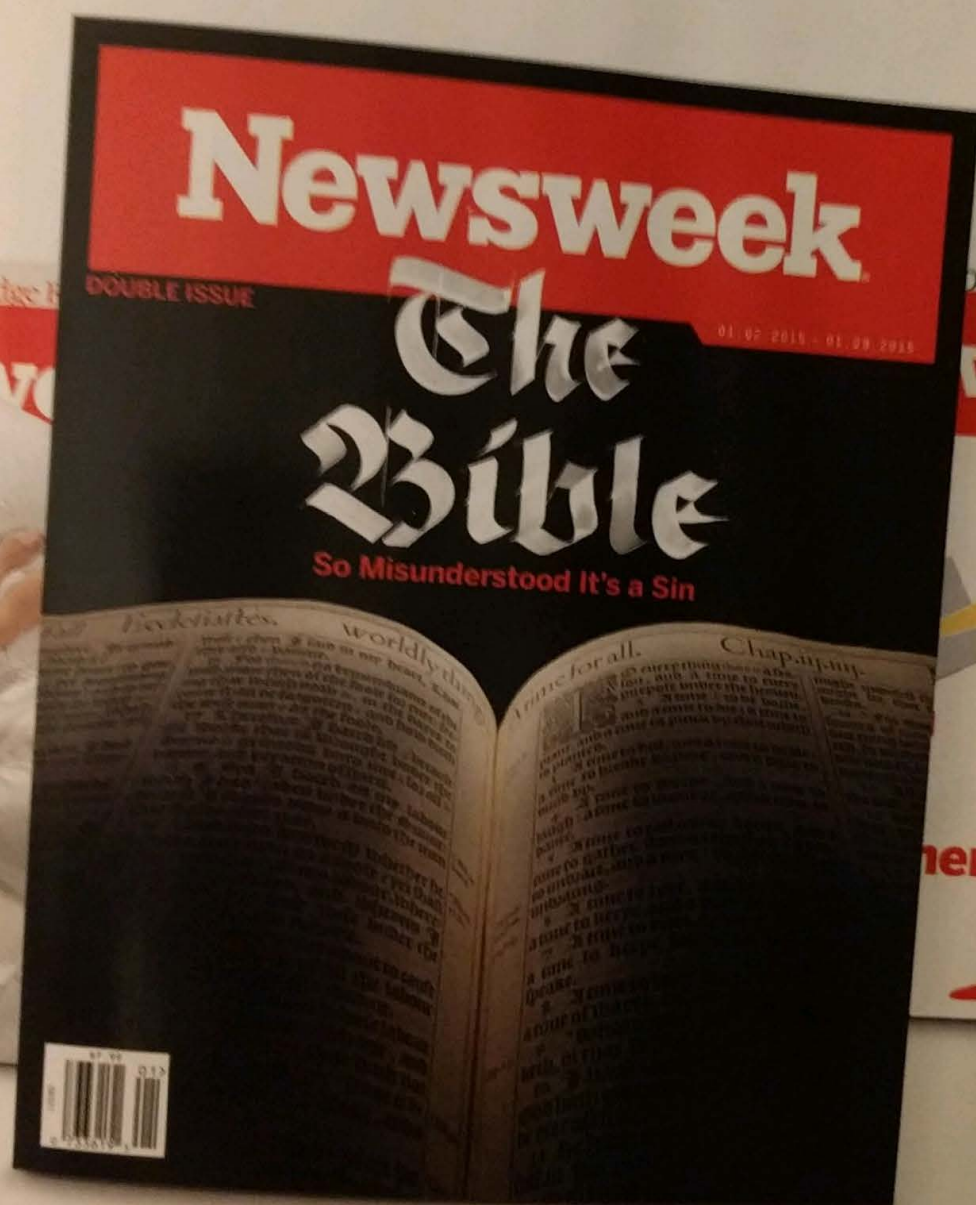
Before she begins her speech accepting the Democratic nomination and outlining her plan for America once she beats Donald Trump, Hillary takes a moment to enjoy the cheers coming from all corners of the stadium.





# Newsweek

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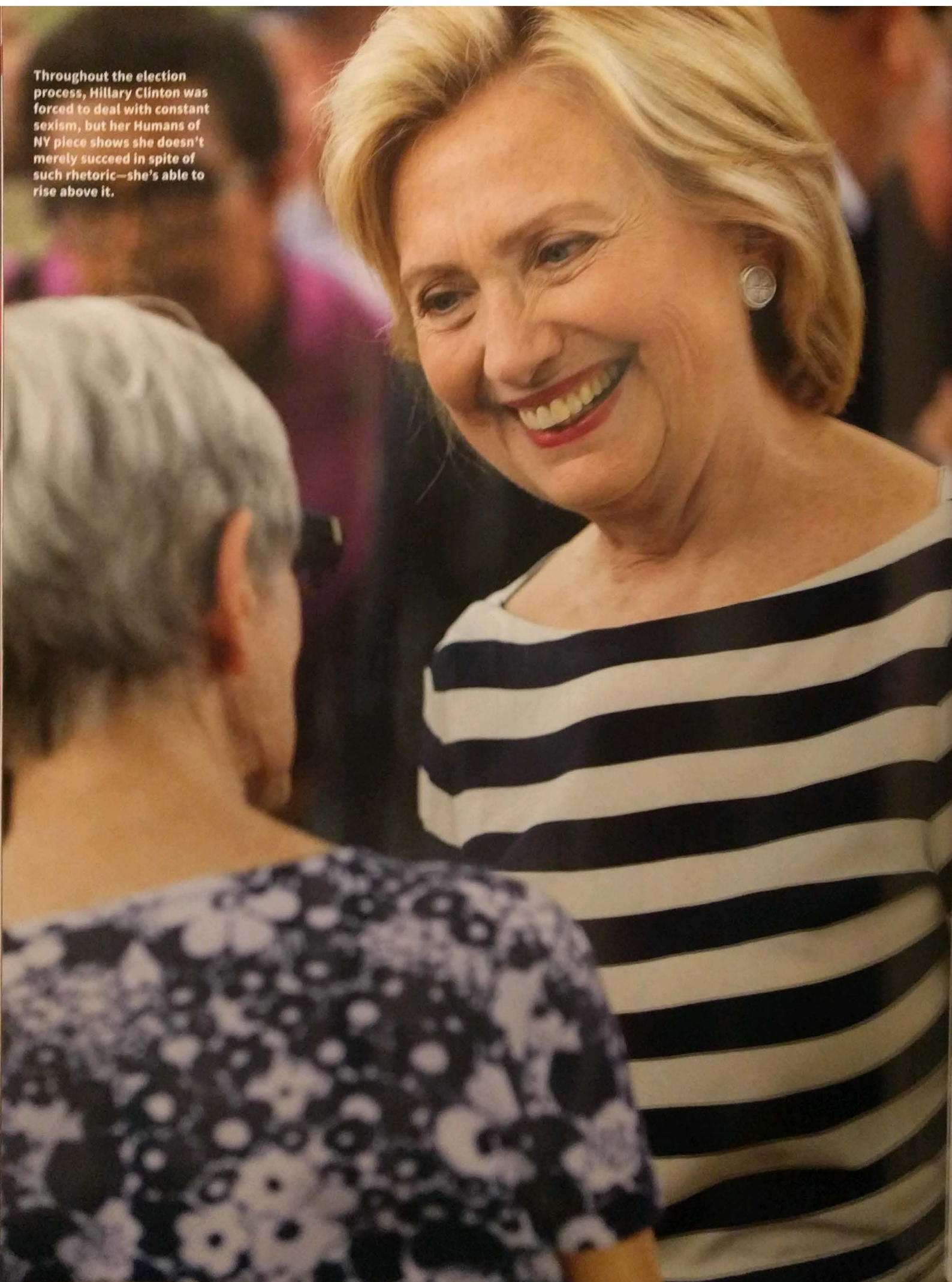


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Throughout the election process, Hillary Clinton was forced to deal with constant sexism, but her *Humans of NY* piece shows she doesn't merely succeed in spite of such rhetoric—she's able to rise above it.





# HILLARY: THE HUMAN

One of Hillary Clinton's most brilliant campaigning moves was simply telling her story.

**T**hrough the stories of—mostly—everyday denizens of the city, Humans of New York, an online photo project started by Brandon Stanton, sheds light on the Big Apple's eight million stories one at a time. But as the election reached a fever pitch of chauvinism, Hillary Clinton was able to use the forum to make a rare departure from politics and into her emotional past. As Donald Trump's supporters crassly tried to infuse subtle hints that Hillary couldn't possibly have the "stamina" or the "judgment" to be president, Hillary revealed a story to Humans of New York that simultaneously proved her class in dealing with sexism and explained her tendency to appear distant sometimes in public. Her performance in the debates may have sealed her win, but the Humans of New York piece was a genius revelation at exactly the right time.

*"I was taking a law school admissions test in a big classroom at Harvard. My friend and I were some of*

*the only women in the room. I was feeling nervous. I was a senior in college. I wasn't sure how well I'd do. And while we're waiting for the exam to start, a group of men began to yell things like: 'You don't need to be here.' And 'There's plenty else you can do.' It turned into a real 'pile on.' One of them even said: 'If you take my spot, I'll get drafted, and I'll go to Vietnam, and I'll die.' And they weren't kidding around. It was intense. It got very personal. But I couldn't respond. I couldn't afford to get distracted because I didn't want to mess up the test. So I just kept looking down, hoping that the proctor would walk in the room. I know that I can be perceived as aloof or cold or unemotional. But I had to learn as a young woman to control my emotions. And that's a hard path to walk. Because you need to protect yourself, you need to keep steady, but at the same time you don't want to seem 'walled off.' And sometimes I think I come across more in the 'walled off' arena. And if I create that perception, then I take responsibility. I don't view myself as cold or unemotional. And neither do my friends. And neither does my family. But if that sometimes is the perception I create, then I can't blame people for thinking that." —First posted at humansofny.com*



Former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton visits FirstStepNYC, an early childhood development center in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn in New York on April 1, 2015. In 2010, Brownsville and the bordering neighborhoods of East New York, Bed-Stuy, Crown Heights and East Flatbush, accounted for 25 percent of the city's homicides.











# QUEENMAK

**In Hillary's inner circle, some came for Bill but left with Hillary.**

**S**AN FRANCISCO philanthropist Susie Tompkins Buell says the first time she was in the same room with Hillary Clinton was at a fundraiser for Bill Clinton, in the early 1990s. Hillary was there to deliver the introduction, and Buell was instantly smitten—but not by the candidate. “I remember thinking, ‘She is going to run for president someday—it should be her,’” Buell, the founder of Esprit clothing, recalls. “I could feel her dedication.”

Philanthropist Swanee Hunt, who spends much of the money she inherited from her Texas oilfield

magnate father, a conservative, on progressive causes and candidates, has a similar memory. In October 1992, she organized a fundraiser in Denver called “Serious Women, Serious Issues and Serious Money,” aiming to raise \$1 million for Bill Clinton’s presidential campaign. Hillary was one of the key speakers. “I sat there in the audience listening to Hillary talking about the economy, and I thought, Holy Toledo, how can someone stand up there with no notes and sound like the head of the World Bank or Federal Reserve?” Judith Hope, who was New York state Democratic chairwoman



At a West Virginia rally in 2008, Hillary Clinton confers with longtime aide Huma Abedin. Abedin was one of many staffers who remained with Clinton from one presidential campaign to the next.

# ERS

at the time, first realized Clinton's potential at a Manhattan women's leadership luncheon in 1996. "I looked at the women in the room, and I saw that she absolutely captivated them with her intelligence and her humor."

For the past 40 years, Hillary Clinton has surrounded herself with deeply loyal women—political pros, many of them a little younger than her—and they often seem to have been selected for their diversity—black, brown, Latino, Muslim, Jewish—as much as their gender and brains. Among the closest longtime female politicians are ad guru Mandy Grunwald, lawyer

Cheryl Mills, former Chief of Staff Maggie Williams and aide Huma Abedin.

In addition to the swarm of strategists and pollsters constantly calibrating her look and message, Hillary relies for advice—and unconditional love and money—on a kitchen cabinet of close friends who idolize her, who believe she is a force for moral good in American politics and who dearly want to see a female president. "Like their candidate, most came of age in the 1960s. Leaf through their yearbooks and wedding albums and you find bell-bottoms, long hair and granny glasses—the same look Hillary rocked at Wellesley. Flip forward a few pages and there they are in shoulder pads, often the only woman in sight at the law firm or corporate office. They started getting jobs before 1980, when more women identified as housewives than as workers, and were part of the social revolution that has led to women now making up almost 50 percent of the American workforce.

Many in the Clinton circle were, like her, "firsts." A close high school buddy was the flight attendant who led the fight against airline gender discrimination. Another was the first in her business school.

Some made their own fortunes, some inherited money or married rich, but all started writing big checks at a time—not that long ago—when men handled that dirty business. Clinton's top female donors now rank among the 150 most generous givers—who are still mostly male—to Clinton super PACs. That is a mark of dubious distinction in the era of Citizens United, but a milestone in the rise of female political power.

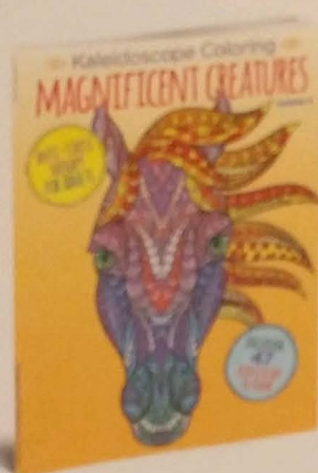
If they were men, they might be called kingmakers. Reporters would have encountered them in hotel lobby bars, tossing back scotch as they tried to spin the media. But these queenmakers drink herbal tea (and the occasional martini) and pepper their talk with New Age-isms like.

"We are the wind beneath her wings," says Buell, a graduate of the very '60s, very New Age Esalen Institute, in Big Sur, California. "We will do anything for her, and she knows it."

FROM THE NEWSWEEK ARCHIVE,  
BY NINA BURLEIGH, 8/16/16



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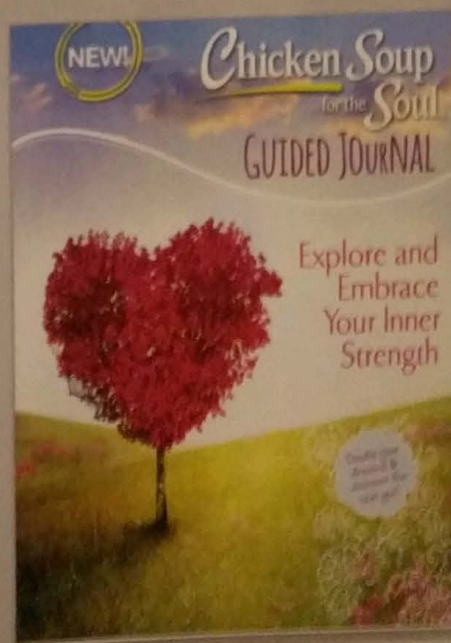
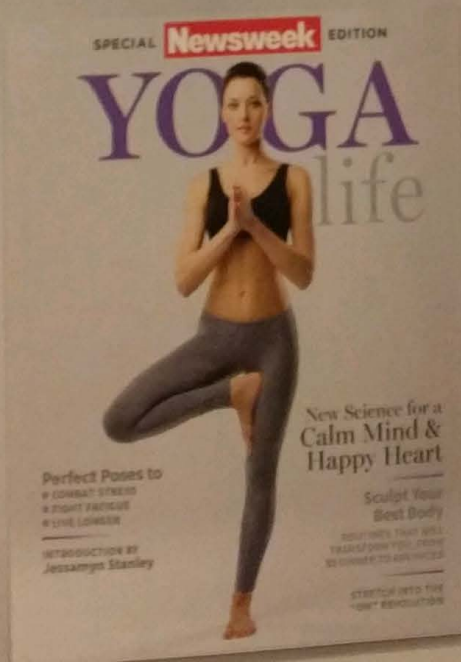
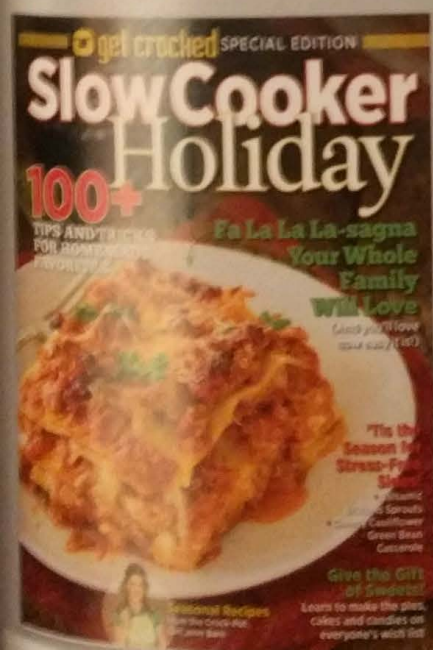
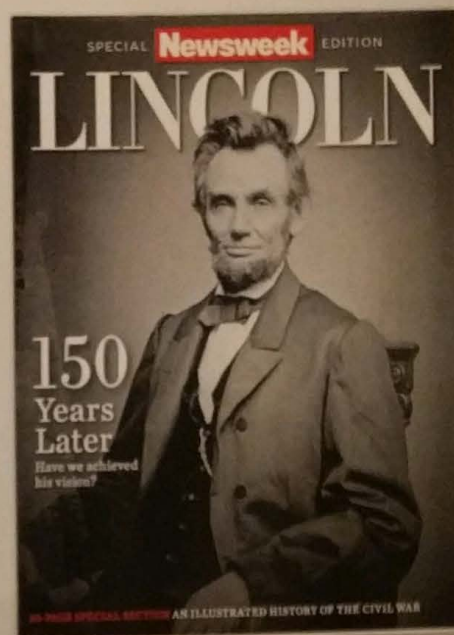
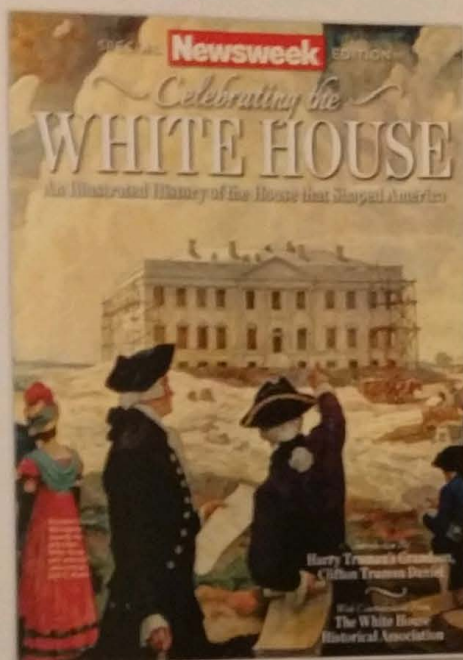
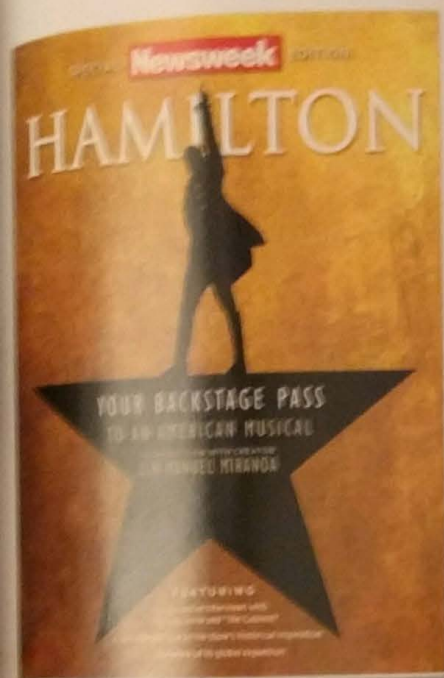
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A photograph of Vice President Joe Biden in the Oval Office, laughing heartily. He is wearing a dark suit, a striped shirt, and a red tie. In the background, a man in a dark suit stands with his arms crossed near a window. The room features wood paneling and a large wooden desk.

Vice President Joe Biden reduces Hillary Clinton to hysterical laughter as the pair wait for a press statement by President Barack Obama and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in the Oval Office on August 18, 2009.









Hillary Clinton accepts the nomination of the democratic party for the presidency of the United States. Though Clinton was the first major party female nominee, but Victoria Woodhull ran for a third party in 1872.







