



Clinton's Burn Book

Seven Years After Her First Presidential Campaign Began, Clinton's Next Campaign May Still Be Burned By Her Own Party

Clinton Announcing Her Bid For President On January 20, 2007: “I’m In. And I’m In To Win.” (Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-NY), [Statement On Her Candidacy For President](#), 1/20/07)

THE INEVITABLE CANDIDATE OF 2008, CLINTON’S MESSAGE AND CAMPAIGN FAILED TO CONNECT WITH THE DEMOCRATIC BASE

In 2008, Clinton “Occupied The Race’s Top Perch Virtually Until The Voting Started. “It was a rejoinder that fit the ‘inevitable’ candidate — and for a long while, the response fit the facts. Clinton, D-N.Y., occupied the race's top perch virtually until the voting started, with a campaign that was designed to hover above the opposition and breakthrough with dramatic early victories that would end the campaign cleanly and quickly.” (Rick Klein, “What Went Wrong? How Hillary Lost,” [ABC News](#), 6/3/08)

- **Clinton’s Campaign “Was Based On A Series Of Fundamental Miscalculations – About The Mood Of The Electorate, The Threat Posed By Sen. Barack Obama And Even The Basic Rules Of The Democratic Primary Process.”** “But her campaign, it would turn out, was based on a series of fundamental miscalculations — about the mood of the electorate, the threat posed by Sen. Barack Obama and even the basic rules of the Democratic primary process. In retrospect, the mistakes started with a faulty assumption: That inevitability itself could underpin the rationale for a presidential candidacy, even in the face of a deep Democratic desire for change and the wide enthusiasm that greeted a first-term senator from Illinois.” (Rick Klein, “What Went Wrong? How Hillary Lost,” [ABC News](#), 6/3/08)

The Clinton Machine Sent The “Message That Democrats Had Better Fall In Line Or Get Out Of The Way.” “Armed with the best brand name in a generation of Democratic politics, Clinton and her aides could afford to be glib early on: She had the wide edge in polls and had the party's top strategists and money folks locked down early — a signal, she hoped, that her candidacy could not be stopped. Clinton called her campaign a ‘conversation,’ yet it was really always more of a machine: The accumulated muscle of the Democratic Party was powering a formidable messaging and fundraising operation on behalf of a skilled, determined candidate — all helping deliver the message that Democrats had better fall in line or get out of the way.” (Rick Klein, “What Went Wrong? How Hillary Lost,” [ABC News](#), 6/3/08)

Clinton Supporter Democratic Strategist Chris Lehane: “You Did Not Necessarily Have A Message That Was Consistent With What People Were Looking For In A ‘Change’ Election.” “You did not

necessarily have a message that was consistent with what people were looking for in a 'change' election,' said Chris Lehane, a Democratic strategist who supported Clinton's presidential bid. 'It was inherently limiting — and, as the first female presidential candidate, she could have been the candidate of 'change.'" (Rick Klein, "What Went Wrong? How Hillary Lost," [ABC News](#), 6/3/08)

Clinton Is Setting Herself Up For Another Presidential Run Where She's Already Facing Similar Skepticism

"The Obama-Clinton Divide Of 2008 May Be Hidden Of Late, But Some Similar Fissure May Well Reemerge In 2016." "Political factions rarely die. They fade away for a while only to reappear in new forms. The Obama-Clinton divide of 2008 may be hidden of late, but some similar fissure may well reemerge in 2016." (Larry J. Sabato, "Hillary's No Slam Dunk In 2016," [Politico](#), 1/20/14)

- **"Clinton's Scars From The Political Wars" And Her Previous Policy Positions Could "Prevent An Unimpeded Coronation And Produce A Difficult Fall Campaign."** "Odds are also great that, as with Nixon, Clinton's scars from the political wars would prevent an unimpeded coronation and produce a difficult fall campaign. Despite enthusiasm over the possible election of the first woman president and appreciation for her long record of service, many progressive Democrats will focus yet again on her vote to authorize the Iraq war and, in a party that has unmistakably moved leftward in the last decade, the ties to her husband's more moderate philosophy, at least as it was articulated in the 1990s." (Larry J. Sabato, "Hillary's No Slam Dunk In 2016," [Politico](#), 1/20/14)

In Iowa, "Familiar Pitfalls Might Await Clinton Should She Decide To Run." "But beneath the surface here, familiar pitfalls might await Clinton should she decide to run: A restive and emboldened progressive base long suspicious of Clintonian moderation, a hunger for fresh Democratic voices, and a caucus electorate that boasts a cherished tradition of voting with its heart rather than its head." (Peter Hamby, "Hillary Clinton's Iowa Problem," [CNN](#), 1/14/14)

- **"Widespread Passion For Clinton Remains Wanting."** "A common theme emerged in conversations about Clinton with more than two dozen Democratic activists, strategists and elected officials during a recent winter week in Iowa: Respect for her within the party runs deep, burnished since 2008 by her tour of duty at the State Department, but widespread passion for Clinton remains wanting." (Peter Hamby, "Hillary Clinton's Iowa Problem," [CNN](#), 1/14/14)

Democratic Operatives Note The "Lack Of Pervasive Grass-Roots Enthusiasm For Clinton" In Iowa. "The state's Democratic operatives reveal a curious paradox when handicapping the 2016 race. They note a lack of pervasive grass-roots enthusiasm for Clinton, while at the same time waving off the suggestion that she could lose to another Democrat." (Peter Hamby, "Hillary Clinton's Iowa Problem," [CNN](#), 1/14/14)

In The "Grass-Roots Corners" Of The Iowa Democratic Party, "There Remains A Palpable Sense Of Unease With Clinton." "Yet despite having the Democratic establishment at her back, there remains a palpable sense of unease with Clinton in grass-roots corners of the party, even as those very same activists promise to support her if no one else runs (Peter Hamby, "Hillary Clinton's Iowa Problem," [CNN](#), 1/14/14)

And Clinton's New Message - Her Accomplishments As Secretary Of State - Is Already In Doubt

While John Kerry Has Engaged In "Frenetic Globe-Trotting," Clinton's State Department Tenure Was Marked By "Modest Diplomatic Achievements." "Recent comparisons of Secretary of State John Kerry's frenetic globe-trotting to Clinton's arguably modest diplomatic achievements have tended to

overlook this less visible aspect of her tenure. But no assessment of her time in Obama's administration would be complete without noting the way Clinton hewed to the liberal hawk philosophy she adopted during her husband's presidency in the 1990s, and which contributed, less happily, to her 2002 vote to authorize force against Iraq." (Michael Crowley, "Hillary Clinton's Unapologetically Hawkish Record Faces 2016 Test," [Time](#), 1/14/14)

- **Clinton "Left Office Without A Signature Doctrine, Strategy, Or Diplomatic Triumph."** "But neither Obama's gratitude nor Clinton's graciousness should cloud history's judgment. By any standard measure of diplomacy, Clinton will be remembered as a highly competent secretary of state, but not a great one. Despite her considerable star power around the world, her popularity at home, and her reputation for being on the right side of most issues, she left office without a signature doctrine, strategy, or diplomatic triumph. It is a stretch to include Clinton in the company of John Quincy Adams, George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and Henry Kissinger -- some of the great secretaries of state who profoundly changed U.S. foreign policy." (Michael Hirsh, "The Clinton Legacy," [Foreign Affairs](#), May/June 2013)

"Yet Even Some Clinton Admirers Acknowledge The Absence Of A Breakthrough, Headline-Grabbing Accomplishment—No Marshall Plan, No Détente With The Soviets, No Dayton Accords."

(Jill Lawrence, "What If John Kerry Outperforms Hillary Clinton As America's Top Diplomat?" [National Journal](#), 8/1/13)

"The Most Important And Toughest Foreign Policy Issues Of The Day" Were Not Resolved Under Clinton's Watch And "Some Grew More Intractable." "At the same time, the most important and toughest foreign policy issues of the day — Iran, North Korea, Afghanistan-Pakistan, the Arab-Israeli standoff — weren't resolved during the four years. Some grew more intractable. Though none of that may be Clinton's fault, the lack of diplomatic breakthroughs on her watch limits her legacy." (Paul Richter, "Hillary Clinton's Legacy At State: Splendid But Not Spectacular," [The Los Angeles Times](#), 1/28/13)

Kerry Is Pursuing Foreign Policy Priorities That "Clinton Did Not Achieve." "Republicans are stepping up criticism of her handling of the deadly 2012 attacks in Benghazi, Libya, on the heels of last week's bipartisan Senate report that, while not blaming Clinton directly, said the assault was preventable. In addition, her successor, John F. Kerry, is winning plaudits for diplomatic breakthroughs on Iran and other issues that Clinton did not achieve." (Philip Rucker, "As Clinton Finishes New Memoir, The Battle To Define Her State Department Legacy Heats Up," [The Washington Post](#), 1/19/14)

The Washington Post's Nia-Malika Henderson: "What's [Clinton's] Biggest Accomplishment As Secretary Of State? We Don't Really Know That." NIA-MALIKA HENDERSON: "I think it does get to what Hillary Clinton actually did as Secretary of State, right. Does she have a sort of counter narrative? You know, what's her biggest accomplishment as Secretary of State? We don't really know that. And at this point, Benghazi is standing in for her term as Secretary of State." (NBC's [Meet The Press](#), 1/19/14)

AND HOW DID CLINTON'S LAST CAMPAIGN END? DEMOCRAT DEFECTIONS AND A "HIT LIST" OF ENEMIES

In 2008, The Clintons Were "Shocked At How Many Democrats Had Abandoned Them To Hook Up With The Fresh Brand Of Barack Obama." "Bill and Hillary were shocked at how many Democrats had abandoned them to hook up with the fresh brand of Barack Obama. The injuries and insults were endless, and each blow hurt more than the last, the cumulative effect of months and months of defections. During the spring and summer, the Clinton campaign had gone days on end without a single endorsement."

(Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, "Hillary's Hit List," [Politico](#), 1/12/14)

During Her 2008 Presidential Campaign, The Clinton Campaign Created A "Political Hit List." "Inside a cramped third-floor office of Hillary Clinton's once-bustling presidential campaign headquarters

in the Ballston neighborhood of Arlington, Va., Kris Balderston and Adrienne Elrod put the finishing touches on a political hit list. It was late June 2008, and Hillary had dropped her bid for the presidency earlier that month. The war room, where her brain trust had devolved into profanity-laced shouting matches, was empty. The data crunchers were gone. The political director had drifted out. A handful of Hillary's aides had already hooked up with Sen. Barack Obama's campaign in Chicago." (Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, "Hillary's Hit List," [Politico](#), 1/12/14)

- **Hillary Campaign Aide: We Kept A Record Of Who Endorsed Obama "But Really Should Have Been With Her...That Burned Her."** "We wanted to have a record of who endorsed us and who didn't, a member of Hillary's campaign team said, 'and of those who endorsed us, who went the extra mile and who was just kind of there. And of those who didn't endorse us, those who understandably didn't endorse us because they are [Congressional Black Caucus] members or Illinois members. And then, of course, those who endorsed him but really should have been with her ... that burned her.'" (Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, "Hillary's Hit List," [Politico](#), 1/12/14)

The Clintons Were Frustrated With Those Who Hillary Clinton "Worked Hard To Win Over" But Who Ended Up Supporting Obama. "Then there are those whom Mrs. Clinton worked hard to win over but who have actually taken the step of endorsing Mr. Obama. These would include newer senators like Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota and Bob Casey of Pennsylvania, or older colleagues, like Senator John D. Rockefeller IV of West Virginia." (Mark Leibovich, "Clinton's Sort Friends: Past And Present," [The New York Times](#), 4/30/08)

- **Then There Was The "Large Class Of Obama Supporters In The Senate For Whom The Clintons Raised Considerable Amounts Of Money."** "There is also a large class of Obama supporters in the Senate for whom the Clintons raised considerable amounts of money. This includes Claire McCaskill of Missouri, who upset Mrs. Clinton in a 2006 appearance on 'Meet the Press' when she told Tim Russert that while Mr. Clinton was a great leader, 'I don't want my daughter near him.'" (Mark Leibovich, "Clinton's Sort Friends: Past And Present," [The New York Times](#), 4/30/08)

Clinton's "Hit List" Contained Some Of The Most Prominent Members Of Her Party

Lawmakers Were Assigned A Numerical Grade Measuring Their Contribution To The Clinton Campaign, 1 Being The Most Helpful And 7 Being The Least. "On one early draft of the hit list, each Democratic member of Congress was assigned a numerical grade from 1 to 7, with the most helpful to Hillary earning 1s and the most treacherous drawing 7s." (Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, "Hillary's Hit List," [Politico](#), 1/12/14)

- **"The Set Of 7s Included Sens. John Kerry (D-Mass.), Jay Rockefeller (D-W.Va.), Bob Casey (D-Pa.) And Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), As Well As Reps. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.), Baron Hill (D-Ind.) And Rob Andrews (D-N.J.)."** (Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, "Hillary's Hit List," [Politico](#), 1/12/14)
- **"Yet Even A 7 Didn't Seem Strong Enough To Quantify The Betrayal Of Some Onetime Allies."** (Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, "Hillary's Hit List," [Politico](#), 1/12/14)

In A "Timely Slap" To Clinton, Former Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) Endorsed Obama After Obama Suffered An "Upset Loss" In The New Hampshire Primary. "Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts, the 2004 Democratic presidential nominee, endorsed Sen. Barack Obama for the White House Thursday in a timely slap at Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton as well as his own vice presidential running mate. Quoting a black American hero in endorsing the man who hopes to be the first black president, Kerry declared, 'Martin Luther King Jr. said the time is always right to do what is right. And I'm here in South Carolina because this is the right time to share with you, to make sure that we know that I have the confidence ... and that Barack Obama can be, will be and should be the next president of the United States.' 'This is a

well-timed endorsement for Obama,' said CBSNews.com senior political editor Vaughn Ververs. 'After an upset loss in New Hampshire, it helps to reinforce his effort and demonstrate his ability to still attract a measure of institutional support.'" (John Kerry Endorses Barack Obama," [CBS News](#), 1/10/08)

- **Kerry: "I Believe More Than Anyone Else, Barack Obama Can Help Our Country Turn The Page."** "Kerry said there were other candidates in the race whom he also had worked with and respected. 'But I believe more than anyone else, Barack Obama can help our country turn the page and get America moving by uniting and ending the division we have faced,' Kerry said." (John Kerry Endorses Barack Obama," [CBS News](#), 1/10/08)

Sen. Claire McCaskill (D-MO) Was "Aggressively" Courted By Clinton, But Endorsed Obama Because She Wanted To Fight "For What I Think Is So Important For Our Country." "So why did she support Mr. Obama over Mrs. Clinton? During the conference call today, she pointed out more than once that it was a difficult decision to make. Turns out, it was partly because of her daughter. 'At the fierce urging of my 18-year-old daughter, I could not sit in the bleachers any longer,' Ms. McCaskill explained. 'I felt like I needed to get down on the field, fighting for what I think is so important for our country.' It was an endorsement that was aggressively sought by Mrs. Clinton, particularly because Missouri is among the states holding a primary on Feb. 5. The Obama campaign hopes Ms. McCaskill's organization from her 2006 Senate race will be helpful to his candidacy. As with all endorsements, it is impossible to know whether they motivate voters – or not." (Jeff Zeleny, "Missouri Senator Endorses Obama," [The New York Times](#), 1/13/08)

- **McCaskill, Who Faced Strong Pressure To Support Clinton Or "At Least" Remain Neutral, Said She Felt "Very Strongly" About Her Decision To Back Obama.** "McCaskill called Clinton 'a smart woman...a strong leader' and acknowledged that she had faced strong pressure from her women's group allies to support the former first lady, or at least stay neutral. But she added, it's 'important we look forward' and said of her decision, 'I feel very strongly about it.' The senator said it was her 18-year-old daughter, an Obama supporter, who ultimately urged her off the fence." (Shailagh Murray, "At Daughter's Urging, McCaskill Backs Obama," [The Washington Post](#), 1/13/08)

Sen. Bob Casey (D-PA), Who Had Vowed To Remain Neutral In The Democratic Primary, Endorsed Obama Ahead Of His State's Primary. "In a surprise move, Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania has endorsed Senator Barack Obama in advance of the April 22 Democratic primary. Mr. Casey had said he would remain neutral in the race in part because he wanted to help broker a reconciliation between Mr. Obama and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton afterward. Mr. Casey is going against the grain in his state, where polls show Mrs. Clinton ahead by at least 12 percentage points and where she has the endorsement of most of the state's major Democratic figures." (Katharine Q. Seelye, "The Casey Endorsement," [The New York Times](#), 3/28/08)

- **Sen. Bob Casey (D-PA): "I Believe In My Heart That There's One Person Who's Uniquely Qualified To Lead Us In That New Direction, And That Is Barack Obama."** (Sen. Bob Casey, Endorsement Of Sen. Barack Obama, [Pittsburgh, PA](#), 3/28/08)

Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT) Endorsed Obama In January 2008, Noting That He Was The "Best Person" To "Reintroduce America To The World And Actually Reintroduce America To Ourselves." "Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont is the latest Democratic US senator to pick Barack Obama over fellow colleague Hillary Clinton. Leahy, who has been in the Senate since 1974 and is now chairman of the Judiciary Committee, endorsed Obama today. 'We need a president who can reintroduce America to the world and actually reintroduce America to ourselves,' Leahy said in a conference call with reporters, according to the Associated Press. 'I believe Barack Obama is the best person to do that.'" (Foon Rhee, "Senator Leahy Endorses Obama," [Boston Globe](#), 1/17/08)