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**ESTUDIO DEL MARKETING POLÍTICO DE LA CAMPAÑA POR EL
PARTIDO DEMÓCRATA DE HILLARY CLINTON PARA EL PERÍODO
PRESIDENCIAL 2017-2021**

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A nuestro país, en la esperanza de que el conocimiento adquirido en este trabajo de grado le sea útil en un futuro muy próximo.

A nuestras madres, nuestro mejor ejemplo de constancia, disciplina y de cómo el trabajo y el esfuerzo son el mejor ejemplo de cariño y amor.

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RESUMEN

La presente investigación estudia la manera en la que el mercadeo político y la estrategia comunicacional empleada por la candidata demócrata, Hillary Clinton, durante el proceso de campaña electoral de la elección presidencial del 8 de noviembre de 2016 para el período presidencial (2017-2021), fue implementado y adaptado a través del análisis de piezas comunicacionales pertenecientes a su campaña tales como discursos, propaganda política y el uso de herramientas digitales como las redes sociales y aplicaciones para teléfonos web.

El análisis permite determinar el foco y objetivo de la candidata en cada una de las piezas y estrategias comunicacionales utilizadas, la segmentación que fue empleada por el equipo de campaña de la misma, las herramientas digitales empleadas, los canales de comunicación y el tono comunicacional. El análisis se llevó a cabo con la utilización de dos matrices de análisis para campañas de mercadeo político pertenecientes a Jennifer Lees Marshment (2009) y Bruce Newman (1994). Se utilizó el Modelo *Market Oriented Party (MOP)* para el análisis general de la campaña y el Modelo de Newman para el estudio de las piezas comunicacionales.

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INTRODUCCIÓN

Las elecciones presidenciales estadounidenses son reconocidas a nivel mundial por las técnicas de mercadeo político que llevan a cabo los partidos oficiales de este país y por el impacto mundial que suelen tener estas estrategias y sus candidatos. De igual forma, para las elecciones pertenecientes a este período (2017-2021), 41% de los adultos estadounidenses decidieron seguir de cerca las noticias y situaciones relacionadas a los candidatos y sus campañas electorales (Gallup, 2016).

Lees-Marshment, Conley y Cosgrove (2014) en su libro *Political Marketing in the United States* establecen que el mercadeo político se ha desarrollado a medida que la política estadounidense se ha vuelto más profesional. Adicionalmente, resaltan la perspectiva académica que posee la esfera del mercadeo desde la política y la importancia de que los académicos comprendan los procesos y herramientas del mercadeo político y cómo estos afectan distintas áreas de estudio del mercadeo. Finalmente, los autores y dedicados a esta ciencia comprenden el beneficio práctico que puede suponer entender los conceptos del mercadeo político y cómo esto genera un impacto sobre la organización de la campaña hasta la creación de políticas y prácticas de gobierno (Traducción propia).

Coto y Alonso (2000) en *Marketing Político 2.0* afirman que a inicios del siglo XXI los equipos de campaña:

Han comenzado a utilizar casi todas las técnicas del marketing político, como sondeos de opinión vía encuesta, focus groups, anuncios de televisión, campañas de imagen en los medios, telemarketing, marketing directo y, cada vez más, Internet en todas sus formas: marketing móvil, redes sociales, etc. Es por ello que cualquier agrupación política o candidato que se presente a unas elecciones (...) debe conocer todo lo que el marketing político le puede ofrecer si no quiere partir en una posición de clara inferioridad con respecto a sus competidores (p. 69).

La campaña electoral a analizar en este trabajo de investigación no es cercana a lo común y posee una serie de factores que la distinguen de otras elecciones de los Estados Unidos de América. Hillary Clinton es la primera mujer en ser la candidata oficial para las elecciones presidenciales de un partido importante en este país. Asimismo, su campaña, al igual que la de sus oponentes, reflejaron un interés mayor por las herramientas de la mercadotecnia política que la de sus antecesores. El uso de la tecnología, el mercadeo directo, las redes sociales y los instrumentos de inteligencia de mercado son claves para este análisis y otorgan puntos relevantes de estudio para este trabajo de investigación. Adicionalmente, los distintos modelos de análisis y matrices de mercadeo político, que distintos académicos y expertos en esta área han delineado para estudiar a fondo las campañas estadounidenses, son el marco de investigación de este análisis y ofrecen los elementos claves a estudiar y desarrollar en la campaña de la candidata demócrata.

Finalmente, las piezas comunicacionales pertenecientes a la campaña de Clinton para este período electoral poseen un carácter central en este trabajo de investigación. El alcance que la candidata ha logrado tener; y los elementos responsables, en gran parte, del éxito o no de su campaña son sus piezas comunicacionales y el objetivo de las mismas. Este estudio se dedicó al análisis de estas piezas, de su campaña hasta el mes de agosto (a 68 días del cierre de campaña) y de sus estrategias y enfoques a través del año de campaña electoral.

CAPÍTULO I

1.1 Planteamiento Del Problema

- Descripción del problema

Las nuevas tecnologías modifican constantemente los aspectos y características de la esfera política de las sociedades. La creación de nuevos instrumentos, estrategias de mercadeo y medios sociales introducen interrogantes y problemas jamás planteados en el foco de las campañas políticas. La visión comercial e ideológica del mercado está sufriendo una evolución hacia una perspectiva orientada por y hacia los consumidores.

De igual forma, es importante comprender cómo el mercadeo puede ser aplicado a la política y la importancia de una buena estrategia de mercadotecnia para una campaña electoral. Lo que hace la política sujeto del mercadeo es el estudio de la relación entre élites (como lo son oficiales y líderes políticos) y su mercado (...). La política estudia el electorado, los partidos y/o candidatos, los voluntarios, la audiencia y los medios de difusión. Ambas disciplinas comparten principios similares: el objetivo de comprender cómo una organización o élite actúa con relación a su mercado y viceversa (Marshment, 2009, traducción propia).

La necesidad de actualización y reorganización es inminente para los agentes encargados del mercadeo político actual. El entusiasmo por llevar a cabo campañas electorales que se adapten al contexto globalizado y digital de las nuevas formas de hacer política, se ve reflejado en los candidatos presidenciales para las elecciones de los Estados Unidos, período 2017-2021, especialmente en la campaña de la demócrata Hillary Clinton.

El alcance del mercadeo político va mucho más allá de la comunicación. Los partidos políticos de hoy en día actúan como empresas y utilizan la inteligencia de mercado para

informarse y diseñar un producto que responda a las necesidades de su audiencia. Tal y como lo apunta Newman (1999), la investigación de mercado es utilizada por líderes políticos para delinear sus políticas (Traducción propia).

Es importante tomar en cuenta que las piezas analizadas se escogieron con base en un criterio que incluía el alcance, relevancia del tema, marco de tiempo e impacto de la pieza a analizar. Es por esto que el marco referencial y contextual se encargan de definir aquellas situaciones de mayor relevancia para la campaña de Clinton a nivel de mercadeo y político, y también de soportar con distintos estudios los principales temas de preocupación y cobertura de la candidata y de su equipo de campaña.

Finalmente, desde los inicios de la campaña de Clinton para el período presidencial (2017-2021) los elementos, herramientas y adaptaciones de campaña mencionados anteriormente han sido aplicados a su audiencia y observados por los medios de comunicación tradicionales y digitales. Es por esto que esta campaña, al igual que la de sus rivales intra e inter partido, es objeto de estudio y ejemplo del matrimonio entre el mercadeo y las ciencias políticas.

- **Formulación**

Este trabajo de investigación busca comprender las nuevas estrategias comunicacionales que utilizará la candidata a la presidencia de los Estados Unidos, Hillary Clinton, para el período (2017-2021) del partido demócrata. Asimismo, se pretende responder la siguiente pregunta: ¿cuáles son las herramientas de *marketing* y propaganda política utilizadas por la candidata a la presidencia de los EE.UU. período (2017-2021)? Adicionalmente, en la investigación no solo se propone la identificación de las tácticas empleadas por Clinton, sino su estudio, comparación y nivel de efectividad y coherencia con base en los respectivos objetivos comunicacionales.

- **Justificación**

Resulta inminente destacar la importancia que tiene el proyecto para la carrera de las autoras puesto que comprende elementos comunicacionales, noticiosos y estratégicos que son básicos para el comunicador social de la actualidad y que a su vez ponen a prueba sus

capacidades de investigación y de análisis comunicacional. Adicionalmente, las herramientas de *marketing* político a utilizar por la candidata son también objeto de estudio dentro de la carrera de las redactoras, como lo son el manejo de las redes sociales y el empleo del discurso adaptado al *target* político.

La trascendencia del proyecto yace en el análisis de nuevas técnicas propagandísticas a nivel político; la diversidad y novedad de temas sociales, internacionales y económicos que toman lugar en esta contienda política y que se ven reflejados en las comunicaciones de la respectiva campaña. Además, las particularidades de la candidata como lo es su sexo, descendencia cultural, profesión o carrera proporcionan un tono controversial que aporta nuevos focos de atención sobre los cuales se deben realizar distinciones y comparaciones.

Por último, el carácter mediático que tienen las elecciones a la presidencia de los EE.UU. período (2017-2021) es una de las bases más importantes para realizar el estudio, puesto que no solo servirá como medio de búsqueda de información, sino que refleja la importancia de este evento electoral para dicho país y para el mundo como fue mencionado anteriormente.

Este trabajo de investigación posee dos focos de importancia, uno relacionado con la política nacional de los EE.UU. y los efectos que la elección del nuevo Jefe de Estado podrían tener sobre la agenda internacional, y un segundo foco en la evolución de las estrategias comunicacionales y de propaganda política que han tenido consecuencias en las campañas de demás candidatos políticos a nivel nacional y universal. De igual forma, el objeto de estudio establece un precedente para el *marketing* político que busca adaptarse y ajustarse a las necesidades y estilos comunicacionales de la mayoría de la población electoral actual. Por lo tanto, el análisis y estudio de dichas estrategias poseen un alcance que puede ser considerado u observado en la propaganda política de la candidata Hillary Clinton, por el partido demócrata.

Finalmente, las estrategias utilizadas durante la campaña electoral guardan especial relación e importancia con los medios sociales y por consiguiente con la comunicación social, ya que las herramientas principales de dicha campaña se encuentran enfocadas hacia el mundo digital que comprenden las redes sociales y diferentes medios de comunicación. El análisis de

las tácticas, acciones y mensajes transmitidos a través de mecanismos e instrumentos particulares por la campaña de Hillary Clinton permitirán entender los procesos sociales y cognitivos en los cuales los votantes potenciales basan sus decisiones y percepciones. De esta manera, se podrá inferir los niveles de influencia que determinados medios de comunicación ejercen sobre los estadounidenses y cómo dichos niveles se comportan entre diferentes plataformas digitales y comunicacionales.

CAPÍTULO II

MARCO CONCEPTUAL

2.1 Política

Manuel Ossorio en el *Diccionario de Ciencias Jurídicas, Políticas y Sociales* define el concepto de política a través de tres conceptos de distintos autores:

La política se ha definido por García Pelayo como realidad social específica caracterizada por la conversión, mediante un proceso integrador, de una pluralidad de hombres y de esfuerzos en una unidad de poder y de resultados, capaz de asegurar la convivencia pacífica en el interior y la existencia autónoma frente al exterior; por Carlos Ollero, como la actividad que se propone la realización, mediante el poder, de un orden de convivencia libre y voluntariamente admitido, y por George Burdeau, como una actividad ya desarrollada por los gobernantes, ya por la sociedad con miras a ocupar funciones de dirección, de donde se deriva que la política capta los fenómenos en su aspecto dinámico, en lo que atañe a la actividad dirigida tanto a la conquista como al ejercicio del poder (Ossorio, 2015, p.744).

2.2 Sistema Electoral De Los Estados Unidos

Las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos se basa en el sufragio indirecto, es decir:

Método de elección seguido cuando la misma se confía a un colegio a su vez electivo; se llama «de primer grado» la elección de los integrantes de ese colegio y «de segundo grado» la que el mismo hace, de entre sus miembros o no, del titular del órgano de elección indirecta (Enciclopedia Jurídica, 2016, parra. 1).

El proceso electoral de las elecciones de los Estados Unidos establece lo siguiente:

El Presidente y el Vicepresidente son elegidos al mismo tiempo, cada cuatro años, en una elección a nivel nacional. A partir de febrero y hasta el final de junio del año de elecciones, los estados realizan elecciones primarias presidenciales o asambleas electorales (caucuses en inglés) según la costumbre de cada estado. El resultado de esos comicios determina los

candidatos en las convenciones de nominación de su partido en todo el país, que se realizan en julio o agosto del año de elecciones (Proceso Electoral Elecciones Estados Unidos, 2016, parra. 9).

Las elecciones estadounidenses para presidente, senadores y representantes se realizan en el mes de noviembre todos los años pares, es decir, los períodos de servicio y elecciones de cada una de estas figuras se traslapan. Debido al hecho de que este trabajo de investigación se dedica a estudiar la campaña de una candidata presidencial, solamente se analizará el proceso electoral para esta figura.

El proceso de elecciones presidenciales primarias es diferente de las elecciones para el Congreso. A partir de enero y hasta el final de junio del año de elecciones, los estados realizan elecciones primarias presidenciales o caucus. El resultado de esos comicios determina cuántos delegados representarán a cada uno de los candidatos en las convenciones de nominación de su partido en todo el país, que se celebran de ordinario en julio o agosto. En esas convenciones políticas es donde los candidatos de cada partido son elegidos en realidad. En las elecciones presidenciales, a cada estado se le asigna cierto número de votos electorales igual a la suma de los representantes y los senadores de la república con los que ese estado cuente (...). El candidato presidencial que se impone en el voto popular de un estado gana los votos electorales de esa entidad (...) (USA Embassy, 2008, parra. 8,9).

Esta es la razón por la cual es posible que un candidato logre la mayoría relativa del voto popular en un estado y pierda su elección. Por lo tanto, si un candidato recibe la mayoría de los votos electorales, es decir 270 votos, será declarado ganador o ganadora.

- Sistema de Gobierno de los Estados Unidos

Si bien el sistema de gobierno de los EE.UU. se ha definido como una democracia es más acertado considerarlo una república federal constitucional.

Constitucional se refiere al hecho de que el gobierno de este país se basa en una Constitución que es la ley suprema de la nación. La Constitución no sólo provee el marco que define cuál debe ser la estructura del gobierno federal y los gobiernos estatales, sino también impone límites significativos a los poderes de todos ellos. Federal significa que al lado del gobierno nacional existen los gobiernos de los 50 estados. La república es una forma de gobierno en la que el pueblo detenta el poder, pero elige representantes para que lo ejerzan (Arnold, 2010, p.3).

De igual forma, la Constitución estadounidense, ratificada en 1788, funciona como un sistema de balances entre los tres poderes existentes: el legislativo (conformado por el Senado y la Cámara de Representantes); el poder judicial (constituido por la Corte Suprema y los juzgados federales menores) y ejecutivo (conformado por el presidente y su gabinete), siendo interdependientes entre sí. No obstante, cada entidad estatal de los EE.UU. posee su propia constitución y leyes que son aplicables a los gobernadores y/o alcaldes de cada estado.

Finalmente, debido al carácter federal del tipo de gobierno de este país, los gobiernos estatales y locales conforman una parte importante del aparato gubernamental de EE.UU.

Los gobiernos estatales no son unidades subordinadas del gobierno federal; cada estado es soberano y no es subalterno del gobierno federal en sentido constitucional alguno. No obstante, la Constitución de Estados Unidos y la ley federal reemplazan a las constituciones y las leyes estatales en los puntos donde hay discrepancias (Arnold, 2010, p. 21).

- **Mercadeo Político como herramienta para la democracia**

El mercadeo político posee ramificaciones profundas con el sistema político a través de una perspectiva ética, normativa y democrática. Si bien los autores han criticado el papel del mercadeo en la democracia, se afirma que su rol es relativo y depende de cómo se utilicen las distintas herramientas de *marketing* en las campañas electorales. Prácticas como la segmentación pueden ser utilizadas para tener alcance sobre poblaciones muy alejadas o apáticas al proceso electoral. De igual forma, al segmentar e identificar las distintas comunidades con base en sus características y problemas específicos, los candidatos políticos pueden conocer claramente las necesidades de estas comunidades ignoradas e incluirlos en su plan de gobierno (Lees-Marshment, 2009, traducción propia).

2.3 Partidos Políticos

Un partido político “es cualquier grupo político identificado por una etiqueta oficial que presenta a las elecciones y puede sacar en elecciones (libres o no) candidatos a cargos públicos” (Sartori, 1980 cp. Gangas, s/f). Sin embargo, Francisco José de Andrea Sánchez (2002) establece, al igual que Sartori, que el concepto de partido político es esencialmente moderno

debido a sus características fundamentales: “a) ser una organización permanente, completa e independiente; b) tener voluntad para ejercer el poder y c) conllevar una búsqueda del poder popular para poder conservarlo” (p.58).

Los partidos institucionalizados y programáticos tienden a ser actores congruentes en las políticas de largo plazo. Un sistema político con un número relativamente pequeño de partidos (o coaliciones) institucionalizados tiene más probabilidades de generar cooperación intertemporal y de propiciar una orientación consensual y sostenida de las políticas en cuestiones cruciales (políticas de Estado) (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, 2006, p.9).

- Partido Demócrata

Desde 1948, el Comité Nacional Democrático (Democratic National Committee) ha sido el hogar del Partido Demócrata, el partido más antiguo de los Estados Unidos. Los principios del partido se basan en la unidad, en la igualdad de oportunidades y de trabajo para todos los ciudadanos y en que todos los estadounidenses vivan bajo las mismas leyes y reglas (Democrats, 2016, traducción propia). Hoy en día el líder del partido es el presidente actual de EE.UU., Barack Obama, cuyo período está por culminar.

El símbolo del partido demócrata es un asno de color rojo y azul, el color azul toma la mayor parte de la figura y a su vez representa el apoyo estatal del partido en el país. Desde su fundación en 1829, los EE.UU. han tenido 15 presidentes demócratas incluyendo al actual Jefe de Estado, Barack Obama.

- Ideología

La profesora y consultora política, Robyn Quin (2002), de la Universidad de Curtin en Australia le otorga dos definiciones al concepto de ideología. El primer concepto entiende que “la ideología es un conjunto de ideas, normalmente políticas, formuladas deliberadamente, coherentes y racionales, empleadas para delimitar y comprender la forma en que puede organizarse la sociedad” (parra. 2). Asimismo, Quin establece que al utilizar esta definición se le confiere a la ideología lo siguiente:

Un carácter peyorativo, buscando denigrar y anular las ideas de aquellos a

quienes se refiere. Este uso del término sugiere que las ideas, de alguna forma, son inherentemente falsas e imperfectas puesto que no son realistas (en el sentido de que son inalcanzables) o no reflejan la realidad. Es habitual que la gente se refiera a la filosofía de un cierto movimiento político como si se tratara de una ideología: ideología nazi, fascista, socialista, de derechas, de izquierdas, etc. Las ideologías son, en este sentido, algo que alguien trata de imponernos (parra. 3).

2.4 Discurso

- Discurso Político

Diversos estudios del lenguaje desde la filosofía, la pragmática y la semiótica han dejado entrever la capacidad de un medio que permite a los individuos interactuar en el mundo social; revaluando su categoría de sistema de signos encargados simplemente de describir el entorno. El lenguaje ya no es considerado solo como un medio para intercambiar información, sino como una herramienta capaz de modificar las relaciones entre sus dialogantes. De esta manera se reconoce al discurso como un medio de acción y participación política.

Según Austin (1962) para introducir el significado de discurso político, se debe entender primero las relaciones ideológicas y la potestad que tiene el individuo sobre lo que promulga, ya sea institucional o social. De igual forma señaló que hablar constituye una manera de actuar, estableciendo una interacción dotada de cualidades únicas atribuibles exclusivamente al individuo en acción. De esta manera, el discurso se separa de su comprensión comunicacional para apropiarse de una definición mucho más amplia y sociológica.

La definición de discurso político se ha convertido en un concepto polisémico rodeado de cierta ambigüedad aun no resuelta hasta la fecha. Esto se debe a la dificultad que supone caracterizar dentro de parámetros generales la especificidad del discurso político. Una primera aproximación supone comprender el texto desde el marco interpretativo del mismo y evaluar el mensaje como una dimensión superior, global. Una segunda perspectiva, considera al discurso como un modelo de comunicación determinado por el lugar, el sujeto y el destinatario.

Verón (1987) señala otra serie de dificultades al momento de formalizar alguna definición

general del discurso político. Sugiere que en realidad nunca se trata de conceptualizar un discurso, sino un campo discursivo enfocado en el proceso de intercambio que se realiza. Asimismo, explica que la definición de un “tipo” de discurso supone la determinación de una serie de variantes del mismo, y la de un núcleo invariable sin el cual la definición sería imposible.

Los intercambios discursivos ocurren en el tiempo; la descripción de un “tipo” supone la descripción de múltiples estrategias, pero cada una de ellas tiene la capacidad de variar a lo largo de un periodo determinado. De esta manera, se presenta el dilema de diferenciar un núcleo invariante a un sistema modificable. De acuerdo a Verón, es necesario encontrar las variaciones entre lo específico (el núcleo) del discurso político y los elementos que participan tanto en este género discursivo, como en los demás.

En la actualidad, otro componente importante a evaluar en la determinación de lo que es un discurso político es el rol que representan los medios sociales en la proyección y divulgación de alocuciones políticas. Por ello Gutiérrez (2000) citando a Bonnafus (1998) se pregunta: “¿Existe hoy en día algún discurso político ‘puro’ que no pase por los medios de comunicación? (p.6). La autora señala que en realidad muy pocos, razón por la cual enfatiza que trabajar hoy en día con el discurso político es como trabajar con el discurso filtrado, por lo tanto se debe tener en cuenta su contexto y lógica comunicacional (Gutiérrez, 2000).

2.5 Mercadeo

- Mercadeo Político

El concepto de mercadeo político es relativamente nuevo dentro de la literatura de las ciencias políticas. El término está compuesto por dos palabras cuyos significados son relevantes en sí mismos. La política viene derivada de la palabra polis de origen griego y significa la constitución de un Estado autónomo por una ciudad en un determinado territorio (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española). Por el otro lado, *The American Marketing Association* (AMA) define al mercadeo como la actividad, conjunto de instituciones, y los procesos por crear, comunicar, entregar e intercambiar ofertas de valor para los consumidores, clientes, socios y para la sociedad en general (traducción propia).

Levy y Kotler (1969) ampliaron la definición de mercadeo sugiriendo que en adición a los productos económicos y a los servicios, el término es aplicable al *marketing* de personas, organizaciones e ideas. De esta manera, dentro del mercadeo político la “idea” se convierte en el objeto de intercambio entre agentes gubernativos como vendedores, y el electorado como consumidores.

Según Lock y Harris (1996), el mercadeo político puede entenderse desde dos puntos de vista diferentes: como una actividad en la que el mercadeo está relacionado con estrategias para posicionarse; comunicaciones y los métodos a través de los cuales estas estrategias podrían realizarse, incluyendo la búsqueda de información en aptitudes, percepción y respuesta de la audiencia. Otra definición viene desde el área de la investigación, en donde el mercadeo político es el estudio de intercambios entre entidades políticas y el entorno que los rodea, con especial referencia a la posición de esas entidades y sus comunicaciones (Lock and Harris, 1996, cp. Lees 2009).

Finalmente, el profesor, PhD, Bruce L. Newman (1999) define al *marketing* político como la aplicación de principios, procedimientos y herramientas de mercadeo en campañas políticas por distintos individuos y/u organizaciones. Este procedimiento incluye el análisis, desarrollo, ejecución y manejo de campañas estratégicas por candidatos, partidos políticos, gobiernos y grupos de interés que buscan manejar la opinión pública, avanzar sus propias ideologías, ganar elecciones y lograr una legislación en respuesta de las necesidades de un grupo selecto de personas y grupos en una sociedad (Newman, 1999, traducción propia).

De esta manera el mercadeo político acopla aspectos filosóficos e ideológicos con una de las más sencillas formas de comercializar, ya sea a través de bienes de consumo o de servicios. Las herramientas de mercadeo son utilizadas a menudo por candidatos y partidos políticos en forma de *polls* o *focus groups*, para elaborar y rectificar las estrategias utilizadas en sus campañas. Como señaló Newman (1999), el estudio de mercadeo es usado por líderes políticos para moldear la política. Bill Clinton y presidentes anteriores a él se han basado en *polls* de opinión para ayudarlos determinar la dirección de sus presidencias (Newmann 1999, cp. Lees

Marshment, 2009, traducción propia).

- Marketing Directo

La tendencia actual apunta a un mercadeo dirigido a la individualidad de cada persona, incluso algunas veces termina siendo de uno a uno. Las tecnologías actuales permiten crear bases de datos que mantienen una comunicación constante con el individuo, convirtiéndose en la herramienta más poderosa al momento de crear relaciones con los clientes o el segmento meta. El *marketing* directo, también ofrece una alternativa más directa y eficaz, a un costo mucho menor, lo cual proporciona en general mejores resultados.

Según Kotler y Armstrong (2004) el *marketing* directo consiste en conexiones directas con consumidores previamente seleccionados de manera minuciosa, a menudo basados en una interacción personal. De esta manera, las compañías adaptan sus ofertas y comunicaciones de mercadeo a las necesidades de segmentos definidos o incluso, de consumidores individuales. Sin embargo, más allá de establecer relaciones directas, los mercadólogos buscan una respuesta directa, inmediata y medible por parte de los consumidores.

La *Direct Marketing Association* (DMA) presenta esta forma de mercadeo como la de mayor crecimiento anual de los últimos años. El *marketing* directo cada vez está más orientado hacia la web, y el *marketing* en Internet está obteniendo una creciente porción de los gastos y ventas de *marketing*. Para los candidatos, el *marketing* directo es una herramienta poderosa para comunicarse con los ciudadanos, debido a la naturaleza personalizada del mercadeo directo, los partidos pueden interactuar con los individuos por teléfono o en línea, conocer más sobre sus necesidades y adaptar sus campañas a los deseos del segmento meta.

La importancia de esta herramienta para la esfera política radica en la posibilidad de evaluar los resultados de manera rápida y directa. Asimismo, la explotación digital intensiva de la comunicación, el crecimiento de la Internet y el auge de las redes sociales facilita el enlace entre varias plataformas virtuales, que contienen cada una en sí mismas, características y audiencias definidas que podrían formar parte del segmento objetivo del candidato.

- Marketing Pull

El *marketing pull* es considerado como una estrategia promocional en donde las empresas o marcas buscan transmitirle sus productos a los segmentos potenciales de consumidores que no están buscando dichos productos activamente, pero a quienes se les introducen los productos a través de técnicas y herramientas de promoción como vayas publicitarias, comerciales de televisión, etc.

Dentro de los medios digitales, el *marketing pull* es representado a través de herramientas de promoción digital, ya sea por medio de *emails*, vídeos o anuncios tipo *banners* dentro de las redes sociales y páginas web; que posicionan al producto directamente en frente del consumidor con la intención de aumentar el conocimiento de marca. (<http://passion.digital.com>)

La principal estrategia del *marketing pull* consiste en distribuir y producir números elevados de publicidad para crear una demanda que incite a los consumidores a comprar y a conocer el producto. (<http://businessdictionary.com>)

2.6 Medios De Comunicación

- Medios Masivos

Partiendo del trabajo narrativo de Marshall McLuhan y Fiore Quentin (1967, p.26), los medios de comunicación de masas “son prolongaciones de alguna facultad humana, psíquica o física”, son extensiones de los sentidos del individuo. Según McLuhan y Quentin, los medios modifican el ambiente constantemente, y la prolongación de cualquier sentido modifica la manera de pensar y de actuar de las personas. De igual forma, los medios de comunicación también son una industria que canalizan y crean una opinión pública, a través de los cuales los individuos perciben, conocen y entienden el mundo que los rodea.

En la actualidad, los medios de comunicación cumplen un papel cada vez más importante en el cumplimiento y funcionamiento del sistema político, es a través de ellos que los ciudadanos

pueden relacionarse e involucrarse en las actividades de los órganos gubernamentales. Asimismo, los medios de comunicación conforman una herramienta sobre la cual se transmiten diversas ideas, ya sea por medio de mensajes visuales, textuales o audiovisuales.

Harold Lasswell (1948) apuntó tres funciones de los medios de comunicación de masas con relación a la sociedad: vigilancia, correlación y transmisión de la cultura.

La primera función, la “Vigilancia del medio” habla sobre el servicio periodístico que constituye en la recolección y difusión de información a los ciudadanos sobre lo que ocurre en la sociedad. Los medios sociales se convierten en vigilantes tanto de la vida privada como de la esfera política nacional, ejerciendo presión y control sobre los poderes públicos y gubernamentales.

La “Correlación de partes”, explica la tarea que tienen los medios de proporcionar explicaciones e interpretaciones que ayuden a los ciudadanos a comprender la información que les ha sido proporcionada. Una noticia que no gozara de cierta correlación entre las partes sería completamente descriptiva, mientras que si la misma brindara cierta información adicional, los individuos serían capaces de tomar decisiones más congruentes.

El tercer papel que tienen los medios de comunicación es la “Transmisión de la herencia cultural”. Los medios no son únicamente capaces de transmitir información, sino que difunden la cultura, normas y valores de cada sociedad a la cual pertenecen, de generación en generación y hacia otras fronteras.

Los medios desarrollan tres papeles sustantivos en cualquier sistema político moderno: son eco, comparsa y protagonistas (Freidenberg, 2000, c.p. Vallès, 2004). En su mayoría, los medios son responsables de transmitir el eco de lo que comunican otros individuos, dirigentes, partidos y gobiernos. Otras veces los medios actúan como comparsas de otros actores, ya sea de manera crítica o en su defensa. En algunos casos, los medios son los protagonistas cuando desarrollan estrategias propias o promueven determinados candidatos o partidos. En este sentido, no todos los medios asumen estas tres funciones de manera simultánea, pero cuando lo

hacen, poseen una influencia cuantiosa sobre la esfera política de alguna sociedad determinada (Freidenberg, 2000).

- Redes Sociales

El origen de las redes sociales proviene del concepto Web 2.0 que comprende todos los sitios web que facilitan o permiten la reciprocidad de comentarios, mensajes y el intercambio general de información. Gallego (2010) define red social como un conjunto de individuos que se encuentran relacionados entre sí en una comunidad virtual, compartiendo información, generando contenido y participando en movimientos sociales.

Son estructuras de interacción social que permiten el intercambio dinámico entre personas, grupos e instituciones en diferentes contextos sociales que superan las fronteras de espacio-tiempo. Christakis y Fowler (2010), aseguran que las redes sociales conforman conjuntos organizados de individuos conectados a través de relaciones interpersonales.

Entre las principales y más grandes redes sociales, con el mayor número de usuarios afiliados, se encuentran las siguientes:

- *Facebook*: es un SNS (*Social Networking Site*) que le permite a las personas estar en contacto con amigos, colegas e individuos de su entorno. Los usuarios pueden compartir contenido a través de fotos, vídeos o mensajes con otros usuarios pertenecientes a sus listas de amigos. (<http://techterms.com>)
- *Twitter*: es una herramienta gratuita que proporciona el servicio de *microblogging*, el cual permite a sus usuarios registrados, la emisión de pequeños mensajes de 140 caracteres llamados “*tweets*”. (<http://techterms.com>)
- *Instagram*: es el nombre de un servicio en línea que le permite a sus usuarios compartir fotos y vídeos instantáneos, capturados a través de un celular. (<http://techterms.com>)

- Videopolítica

Desde mediados de los años cincuenta, la televisión ha sido uno de los principales medios de mayor influencia de la opinión pública. El término videopolítica es cada vez más relevante

al analizar los vínculos entre conglomerados mediáticos, campos profesionales periodísticos, la opinión pública y los panoramas políticos. Las últimas tecnologías han planteado nuevos fundamentos sobre la soberanía nacional y han creado nuevos medios para monitorear y establecer las agendas políticas nacionales.

Con frecuencia, los aspectos políticos dominan los canales de información tradicionales, especialmente la prensa y la televisión. De esta segunda, cabe destacar su importancia dentro de la vida política de las sociedades, a través de la cual los ciudadanos pueden seguir acontecimientos en directo que se producen en zonas geográficamente alejadas; medio al cual McLuhan (1964) califica de generador de anestesia política, de uniformizar los gustos y los intereses, de trivializador de los problemas políticos ofreciendo información-espectáculo, y de hacer de los ciudadanos seres manipulados y pasivos, cuando no se hace referencia a la noción de la participación imaginaria (McLuhan, 1964 cp. Casado, s/f.).

Sartori (1992) define a la videopolítica como “un reflejo, pero también espejo del videopoder más general que es el poder de la imagen”. Subraya además, los aspectos negativos de un mundo progresivamente dominado por las imágenes, en el que:

El ojo se come a la mente: el puro y simple ver no nos ilumina en absoluto sobre como enmarcar los problemas, adecuarlos, afrontarlos y resolverlos. En realidad, sucede lo contrario: todo pierde su proporción y tampoco se comprende qué problemas son falsos y cuáles verdaderos (Sartori cp. Lenin Carrera parra.3).

De igual forma los políticos han adaptado sus mensajes a la lógica del lenguaje televisivo, generando discursos simples, produciendo entretenimiento y generando una imagen complaciente ante el público que más adelante se convertirá en elector. Asimismo, la televisión le permite al espectador ser y sentirse parte de algo, y realizar menos esfuerzos de comprensión al ser un medio caracterizado por su sencillez comunicativa.

Rodrigo Borja en su enciclopedia de la política (s.f.) destaca a la televisión como un factor de primera importancia en la videopolítica contemporánea, donde recalca su supremacía en muchas de las actividades públicas de la esfera de comunicación de masas. Borja señala que la conquista del voto ya no se hace desde los balcones ni tribunas levantadas en las plazas públicas, sino principal y casi únicamente desde los estudios de televisión.

El papel de otros medios sociales como *YouTube* ha contribuido a la imperante tendencia por seguir el camino de la videopolítica. Resulta más interesante ver qué hizo alguien, que leer sobre ello. Sin embargo, esta nueva masificación de la imagen tiene consecuencias negativas y positivas; por un lado, los ciudadanos tienen más acceso e información a los candidatos; pero por el otro, los candidatos y políticos deben cuidar con mayor precisión sus comunicaciones, debido a la naturaleza masiva de estos medios.

MARCO REFERENCIAL

2.7 Campaña Electoral

La candidata del partido demócrata Hillary Clinton propuso cuatro objetivos generales, con lo cuales identificó su campaña a la presidencia de los Estados Unidos para el período presidencial (2017-2021). La siguiente información fue tomada de la página web de la candidata (<https://www.hillaryclinton.com>) y fue traducida por las autoras:

1. “Construir la economía del mañana”: la candidata propone un plan económico para aumentar los salarios de los americanos. Señala que los estadounidenses trabajan arduamente sin recibir retribuciones justas. Asimismo, Clinton destaca la necesidad de crear un crecimiento económico fuerte justo y a largo plazo.
 - Crecimiento fuerte: para lograr un desarrollo sustentable de la economía se debe invertir en infraestructura, energía verde y en investigaciones médicas y científicas que generen empleos y refuercen la economía americana. Adicionalmente, Clinton plantea la reducción fiscal para las familias trabajadoras y los negocios pequeños; con beneficios fiscales hasta de 2.500 dólares por estudiante en contribución a las matrículas universitarias como parte de su programa “*New College Compact*”. De esa manera, se comenzará el proceso hacia una economía proveedora de empleos y de mejores ingresos.
 - Crecimiento justo: la desigualdad es una carga para la economía, donde

actualmente se presenta un récord de ingresos para las corporaciones en contra de salarios paralizados de la clase trabajadora estadounidense. La candidata propone asegurarse de compartir parte de esas ganancias, otorgando mejores salarios y beneficios. Para lograrlo, se plantea un crédito fiscal de 15% para todas las compañías que compartan las ganancias con sus trabajadores. Asimismo, Clinton propone un aumento del salario mínimo de \$12 a \$15 por hora en ciudades como Nueva York y Los Ángeles.

- Crecimiento a largo plazo: se necesita una economía en donde las compañías planifiquen a largo plazo e inviertan en sus trabajadores a través de mejores salarios y mejores entrenamientos, que aumenten la productividad, mejoren el servicio e incrementen las ganancias. Para lograrlo esto, Hillary propone reformar la compensación ejecutiva alineando los intereses de ejecutivos con valores a largo plazo.
2. “Fortalecer a las familias americanas”: Clinton declaró que establecerá programas de educación infantil para familias con dificultades económicas, a través de la expansión del acceso a la educación preescolar. De igual forma, defenderá el acceso a la asistencia médica gratuita mediante el *Affordable Care Act (ACA)* y reducirá el costo de medicinas y drogas recetadas. Adicionalmente, se asegurará que todas las familias con bajas por maternidad o por enfermedades, reciban al menos el salario mínimo.
3. “Resguardar el poder y los valores americanos para asegurar el liderazgo mundial”: Clinton cree en la alta posición que tiene Estados Unidos en la economía y esfera mundial, de esta manera plantea dos objetivos a cumplir durante su candidatura:
- Convertir al país en una superpotencia en materia de energía ecológica, a través de la instalación de más de mil quinientos millones de paneles solares a lo largo del territorio; y la producción de suficiente energía renovable para alimentar cada casa en EE.UU. a un plazo de diez años.
 - Estableciendo fuertes cimientos mediante una economía estable, tecnologías de vanguardia y manteniendo la seguridad nacional a través de programas

antiterroristas, y de un ejército ejemplar.

4. “Reformar al gobierno y revitalizar a la democracia”: Hillary aseguró que eliminará el flujo de dinero invisible del sector privado a campañas electorales en un esfuerzo de mantener un sistema político más transparente. Adicionalmente, la candidata señaló su labor para combatir la desigualdad de cifras en los salarios dirigidos a hombres y mujeres. La preocupación por mejores y más fáciles maneras de ejercer el sufragio universal y su defensa de la igualdad federal de las comunidades LGTB (*lesbian, gay, transgender and bisexual*).

- Segmento Objetivo

Philip Kotler (2006) en su libro *Dirección de Mercadotecnia* define al mercado meta como: “La parte del mercado disponible calificado que la empresa decide atender” (p.126). De igual forma lo señala como: “El mercado disponible calificado como el conjunto de consumidores que tiene intereses, ingresos, acceso y cualidades que concuerdan con la oferta del mercado en particular”. (Kotler, 2006, p. 126)

Una campaña política no puede alcanzar a todos los ciudadanos de la misma manera. Los recursos disponibles, tanto en materia de trabajadores como financieros, son limitados. Los costos de ocupar medios de comunicación masivos, como la radio, la televisión y el cine son altos y alejados de los presupuestos. Asimismo, resulta mucho más efectivo comunicar un mensaje repetidamente al mismo grupo, que intentar alcanzar un mayor número de personas. De esta manera, la identificación de un segmento objetivo ayuda a conservar los recursos mientras se maximiza el impacto de los mensajes. Lo más importante es hayar el mensaje correcto para el votante correcto. (Schier, 2006, traducción propia)

Al observar los mensajes, anuncios y comunicaciones que transmite el equipo de campaña de Hillary, se puede inferir que el segmento meta identificable son los ciudadanos, hombres y mujeres pertenecientes a la clase media estadounidense, estrato social B, C y D; de tendencia política demócrata.

- Identidad Visual

Michael Beirut fue el diseñador detrás del logo de la campaña de la candidata Hillary Clinton (*Ver Anexo A*). El mismo, sigue la simplicidad y la lógica detrás de la “O” de Obama (la inicial de su nombre), representando la “H” de Hillary. Sin embargo mientras que la letra de Obama era fluida y dinámica, la “H” de Clinton es fuerte y esbelta.

Beirut, diseñador gráfico, señaló en un artículo titulado *Michael Beirut on the art of the logo* para la página web de la emisora de radio KCRW, que la razón detrás del diseño de un logo no debe necesariamente, tener la misma razón que el negocio al cual representa. La única norma detrás del diseño de un logo es que el mismo sea distintivo, memorable y claro. Mientras el logo sea capaz de resaltar por sí solo, sea simple y fácil de recordar, este estará cumpliendo con su trabajo.

Aunque el logo está ausente de símbolos americanos como la bandera o el águila, y no posee connotaciones simbólicas, sigue siendo un gráfico fuerte, representando los colores emblemáticos americanos por excelencia. Asimismo, el simbolismo de la flecha hacia la derecha representa el carácter progresista de la sociedad norteamericana, especialmente demócrata, de la cual Clinton busca obtener votos principalmente.

La utilización de una sola letra es excepcionalmente amigable para las redes sociales, lo cual facilita la identificación rápida del logotipo. Es moderno, juvenil y versátil, creando una marca que sobrepasa la frontera de la campaña política y los límites del tiempo, perdurando por sí solo. De igual forma, el hecho de que el logotipo no se encuentre acompañado de ninguna frase o inclusive, el nombre de la candidata, indica un compromiso ilimitado con sus votantes.

- Concepto Creativo

Con el vídeo de su postulación, Hillary Clinton estableció los nuevos parámetros que moldearían su campaña. Definitivamente se puede considerar que, tras los errores aprendidos en el 2008, la “Hillary 2.0” busca hablarle a todos los consumidores políticos. El principal concepto de su campaña: “Todos los días América necesita un defensor, yo quiero ser ese

defensor”, tiene un tono menos aspiracional que el de Obama en el 2008 y mucho más conectado con los *insights* de la vida diaria de cada segmento de la población votante estadounidense. Asimismo, las imágenes que aparecen en la mayoría de los vídeos presentados en la campaña buscan defender el concepto de la diversidad ya sea racial, económica o social.

El objetivo principal de la campaña electoral de Clinton es crear una imagen positiva que exponga una característica particularmente necesaria para la candidata: la espontaneidad. La mayoría de las comunicaciones, mensajes, anuncios y comerciales denotan a Hillary con una imagen unificadora y accesible; contrarrestando la creencia o la idea que poseen los ciudadanos americanos de considerarla como una mujer fría, articulada y distante.

- Slogan

El *slogan* empleado en la campaña electoral de las primarias de Clinton fue “*Hillary for America*” (Hillary por América, traducción propia); sin embargo a partir del mes de mayo de 2016 la candidata decidió cambiar su *slogan* por uno que hiciese mayor referencia al trabajo en conjunto, sin importar distinciones partidistas o ideológicas, que deben llevar a cabo los estadounidenses para poder solucionar problemas como la economía y el desempleo, entre otros, en los Estados Unidos: “*We’re Stronger Together*” (Somos más fuertes juntos, traducción propia).

Paul Waldman (2016) en su artículo para el Washington Post titulado *What Hillary Clinton’s latest slogan — ‘we’re stronger together’ — really says about her candidacy* explica cómo los *slogans* para campañas políticas buscan guiar y conglomerar los planes complejos y las políticas de un candidato en una sola frase. Básicamente, Waldman establece que un *slogan* le explica al público por quién y por qué están votando. Asimismo, el periodista afirma que el *slogan* de Clinton refleja una candidata fundamentalmente tecnócrata.

- Piezas

Las Redes Sociales (RR.SS.) poseen el papel principal en el tipo de piezas para esta campaña electoral. La plataforma de *YouTube* y *Twitter* fueron los testigos de su postulación,

siendo la primera candidata en anunciar su carrera a la presidencia a través de las RR.SS. Asimismo, los comerciales y anuncios en todos sus perfiles como *Facebook*, *Instagram* y *Twitter* conllevan un gran enfoque en la campaña de Clinton. No obstante, la publicidad tradicional ATL no está vetada de esta carrera política, el uso de afiches, pósters, tabloides, anuncios en televisión y radio son de carácter natural para esta candidata.

- Principales temas de cobertura

La página web dedicada al estudio de la política estadounidense y encuestadora, ballotpedia.com, llevó a cabo un estudio para definir los 10 temas más tratados por la candidata durante su campaña en sus discursos y entrevistas. El estudio se realizó en enero del año 2016 y utilizó 230 piezas que incluían entrevistas y discursos anteriores de Clinton, eventos en donde aparecía la candidata, temas controversiales, su presencia en los medios, sus políticas e ideología, sus propuestas de campaña y debates en los que había aparecido, hasta la fecha. El estudio de la encuestadora arrojó los siguientes temas como principal objeto de cobertura por la candidata.

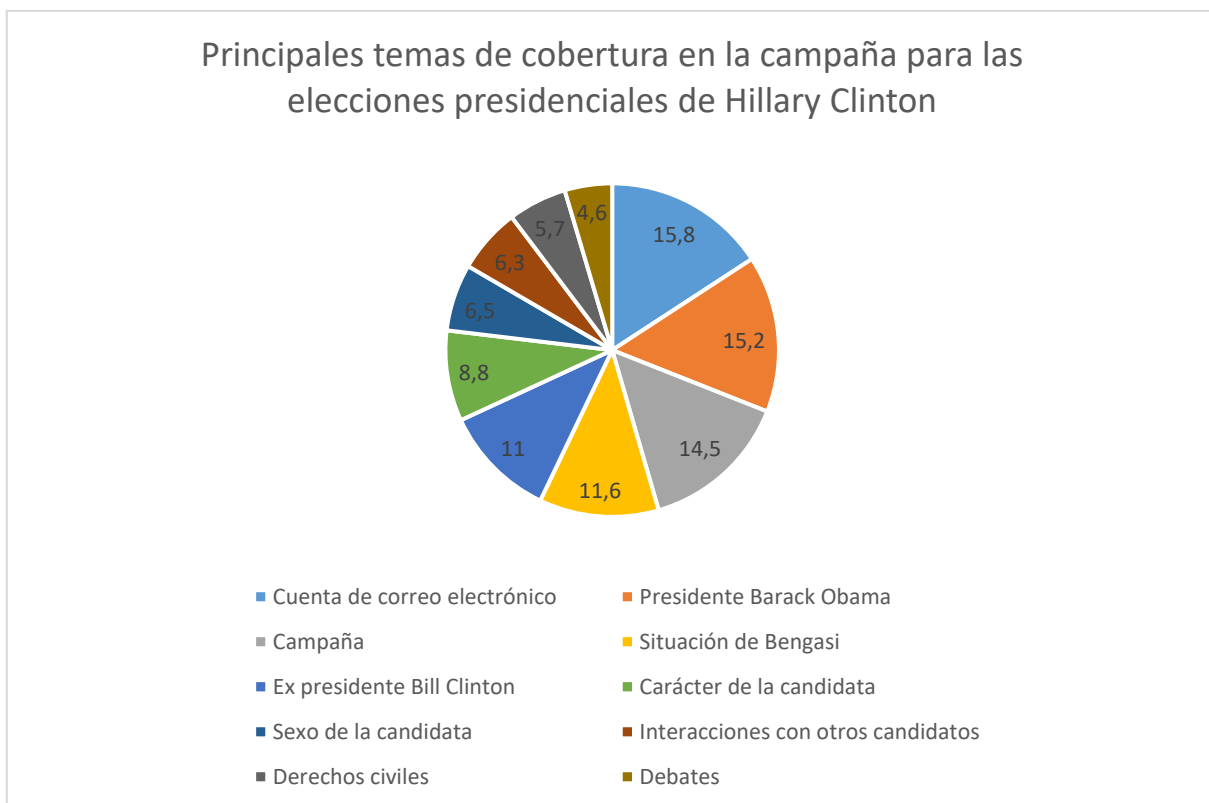


Figura #1 Principales temas de cobertura en la campaña de Hillary Clinton para las elecciones presidenciales (ballotpedia.com, 2016)

El tema más cubierto por la candidata, según ballotpedia.com, es la situación relacionada con el uso de la cuenta personal de correo electrónico mientras servía como Secretaria de Estado para el gobierno de Barack Obama con un porcentaje del 15.8%. El segundo y tercer lugar lo ocupan el presidente Barack Obama (15.2%) y temas referentes a su campaña (14.5%) respectivamente. El cuarto tema más nombrado por Hillary Clinton durante su campaña según este estudio es la situación en Benghazi (11.6%); y el quinto se refiere al expresidente y esposo de la demócrata, Bill Clinton (11%). El sexto tema comprende al carácter de la candidata y su personalidad (8.8%); y el séptimo tema más nombrado por la candidata es su sexo y el hecho de que es la primera mujer en ser nominada oficialmente por un partido para la candidatura a las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos con 6.5% del porcentaje de la cobertura. Los últimos dos temas que tuvieron mayor protagonismo durante la campaña de Hillary Clinton, según el análisis de ballotpedia.com y hasta la fecha en la cual se llevó a cabo el estudio son sus

interacciones con otros candidatos (6.3%) en el noveno lugar, y en el décimo puesto el tema de las libertades civiles con 5.7% de protagonismo.

2.8 Elecciones Primarias

Cada partido en los Estados Unidos posee sus propias reglas para decidir la nominación de su candidato para las elecciones presidenciales. El partido republicano posee 2472 delegados y el partido demócrata posee 4762 delegados. Un candidato se convierte en el nominado de su partido cuando obtiene la mayor cantidad de delegados respectivamente (Bloomberg, 2016).

Los partidos le otorgan un número determinado de delegados a cada estado con base en su cantidad de habitantes. En la mayoría de los estados, los candidatos ganan delegados de acuerdo a los votos que reciben en elecciones primarias o *caucus*. El partido demócrata llama a estos delegados comprometidos (*pledged delegates*). De igual forma, el conteo demócrata también incluye los súper delegados (*super delegates*) o delegados no comprometidos, estos son líderes electos del partido que tienen libertad de apoyar al candidato de su preferencia (Bloomberg, 2016).

Desde el año 2015, la campaña de la candidata Hillary Clinton se enfocó en su primer objetivo: ganar las primarias de las elecciones presidenciales. De 4763 delegados pertenecientes al partido demócrata, Hillary Clinton obtuvo 2814 delegados demócratas, número que le aseguró la nominación del partido en la Convención Demócrata Nacional, ya que el mínimo necesario para obtener la nominación es de 2382 (politico, 2016). Su principal oponente fue el senador de Vermont, Bernie Sanders, quien obtuvo 1893 delegados.

2.9 Perfil Del Candidato

Hillary Rodham Clinton nació en Park Ridge, Chicago, Illinois en una familia de clase media. Sus padres eran miembros del partido republicano y la criaron bajo la tutela de la escuela pública y la iglesia metodista. Asimismo, Hillary se graduó de la Universidad de Wellesley y después fue a la Escuela de Derecho en la universidad de Yale.

Una vez graduada como doctora en derecho en el año 1974, comienza a trabajar en Cambridge para la Children Defense Fund. Desde entonces dedica

gran parte de su tiempo al apoyo y mejora de la calidad de vida de la infancia. Al mismo tiempo también ingresa en el consejo directivo de la compañía Wall-Mart, cuyas responsabilidades las compaginaba con otras actividades empresariales. En 1975 se casó con Bill Clinton. Tuvo su primera y única hija, Chelsea. Poco después el matrimonio Clinton se traslada a vivir al estado de Arkansas, donde comenzó la vida política de su esposo, Bill Clinton. En Enero de 2007 decide convertirse en la primera mujer presidenta de los Estados Unidos, y durante todo el año estaba como favorita en las encuestas nacionales. Al comenzar las primarias de las elecciones de 2008, tuvo unos resultados similares en el estado de Illinois con Barack Obama. Tras su derrota en Iowa, recibe una asombrosa victoria en el estado de Nuevo Hampshire. Aun así, y siendo una competición por la presidencia de los Estados Unidos con Barack Obama, no consigue llegar a la presidencia, aún siendo muy reñido. El 1 de Diciembre de 2008 fue nombrada 67ª Secretaria de Estado. Estableció récords como secretaria con el mayor número de viajes mientras está en el cargo. (Diario Oculto. EU, 2016)

2.10 Comunicación Política

La comunicación política es toda actividad organizada, dirigida a transmitir un mensaje que permita llegar a los electores con el fin de influir sobre ellos buscando persuadirlos, orientarlos, educarlos e informarlos. El objetivo central de toda campaña política electoral es ganar las elecciones. Este objetivo debe ser claramente establecido pues, en el estallido de una campaña, el candidato presidencial, el jefe de campaña, los voceros y los candidatos al Congreso suelen olvidarse de él, perdiendo el valioso tiempo en actividades secundarias. En una campaña política democrática la comunicación estará siempre presidida por una estrategia que busca captar los votos necesarios para ganar la elección (*International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*, 2006, traducción propia).

2.11 Marco Contextual EE.UU. 2015-2016

El marco contextual a nivel político, económico, internacional, social y militar que gira alrededor de las elecciones presidenciales para el período ya mencionado es considerado el principal factor a evaluar en la estrategia comunicacional de la candidata. Para llevar a cabo este análisis se desarrollará el siguiente punto:

- Situación en la Embajada de Estados Unidos en Bengasi

El 11 de septiembre de 2012, militantes islamitas atacaron la Embajada de los Estados

Unidos en Bengasi, Libia. El ataque resultó en la muerte del Embajador estadounidense J. Christopher Stevens y 3 personas norteamericanas adicionales. La entonces Secretaria de Estado, Hillary Clinton, fue la responsable en responder por los ataques, especialmente por el bajo nivel de seguridad que sostenía la Embajada.

La Casa Blanca explicó en un primer lugar que el ataque derivó de una protesta por un vídeo publicado en Internet con lenguaje ofensivo contra los musulmanes y desde entonces los republicanos han acusado a la Administración Obama de mentir al pueblo estadounidense. Horas después se supo que se trataba de un ataque terrorista, como ya demostró la documentación con la que ha trabajado el comité. En uno de los mensajes que Clinton escribió a su hija esa misma noche, afirmó que EE. UU. había sufrido un ataque terrorista, lo que alimentó aún más las críticas republicanas (El País, 2016, par. 9).

Los demócratas, por su parte, publicaron un documento con conclusiones propias horas antes de que los republicanos sacaran el suyo a la luz. Se trata de una indicación más de lo politizado que ha llegado a estar este proceso. Sus conclusiones son que ninguna reacción por parte del Departamento de Defensa hubiera podido salvar las vidas de los cuatro estadounidenses muertos en Bengasi. Según su versión, Clinton estuvo además, “muy implicada” en la respuesta al ataque y ni ella ni ningún miembro del Gobierno mintió a los ciudadanos norteamericanos (parra. 11).

En octubre de 2015, Clinton compareció ante el Comité para Bengasi de la Cámara de Representantes por 11 horas en una audiencia sobre el atentado. En dicha audiencia, Clinton asumió la responsabilidad y consecuencias tras el ataque a la Embajada de los Estados Unidos en Bengasi y estableció que, durante su período como Secretaria de Estado, se dedicó a impulsar una serie de reformas que tendrían como objetivo proteger el personal diplomático estadounidense en otras fronteras (BBC Mundo, 2015). De igual forma, el representante del partido demócrata, Elijah Cummings, denunció que el partido republicano utilizó este incidente como un esfuerzo para afectar la campaña de Clinton a la presidencia.

CAPÍTULO III

MÉTODO

3.1 Modalidad

La modalidad del presente trabajo de grado es de Análisis de medios y mensajes, la cual consiste en aplicar distintos conceptos metodológicos de la comunicación social para estudiar distintos tipos de mensaje o los canales pertinentes para transmitirlos (Universidad Católica Andrés Bello – Modalidades del Trabajo de Grado, 2016).

El presente se considera de esta modalidad ya que se utilizan herramientas y distintas concepciones de la comunicación social, tales como el mercadeo político, instrumentos de inteligencia de mercado, objetivo del mensaje, entre otros, para analizar los mensajes de campaña de la candidata demócrata, Hillary Clinton, para las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos. Asimismo, el análisis del mensaje se hace desde la perspectiva del mercadeo político y se utiliza una metodología diseñada para el estudio de campañas de *marketing* político.

Finalmente, el trabajo de grado se considera de esta modalidad ya que se analizan los mensajes y distintas piezas de la campaña de la candidata, mientras también se busca conocer e identificar los medios utilizados para transmitir dichos mensajes, su objetivo y la estrategia de la campaña de mercadeo político de Clinton para las elecciones período (2017-2021).

3.2 Tipo De Investigación Y Diseño

El tipo de investigación a realizar es de carácter descriptivo puesto que tiene como objetivo especificar las características y propiedades importantes de la campaña electoral de la candidata Hillary Clinton a la presidencia de los Estados Unidos, en el contexto político-social

estadounidense. Asimismo, este tipo de investigación permite detallar y describir el comportamiento del partido demócrata, es decir, las estrategias propagandísticas aplicadas por su candidata, para poder someterlo posteriormente a análisis.

Hernández Sampieri (2006) en *Metodología de la Investigación* explica que:

Los estudios descriptivos miden o evalúan diversos aspectos, dimensiones o componentes del fenómeno o fenómenos a investigar. (...) en un estudio descriptivo se selecciona una serie de cuestiones y se mide cada una de ellas independientemente, para así —y valga la redundancia— describir lo que se investiga (p.102).

De esta manera, la investigación nos permitirá delinear el crecimiento del segmento de potenciales votantes del partido político demócrata, los niveles de popularidad de la candidata, y cómo es la imagen o el nivel de aceptación de la candidata ante los ciudadanos estadounidenses.

Hernández Sampieri (2006) también explica que los estudios descriptivos miden de manera independiente los conceptos o variables a los que se somete la investigación. El objetivo no es indicar cómo se relacionan las variables medidas sino explicar cómo se manifiesta el fenómeno de interés.

El diseño del proyecto de investigación es de tipo no experimental documental ya que en la misma no se manipula ningún tipo de variable independiente por parte de las autoras. De igual forma, son variables que ya ocurrieron y no tuvieron intervención alguna. La investigación no experimental permite analizar y observar los fenómenos en su contexto natural. Como señalan Kerlinger y Lee (200) en su libro *Investigación del Comportamiento* señalan que “En la investigación no experimental no es posible manipular las variables o asignar aleatoriamente a los participantes o las tratamientos debido a que la naturaleza de las variables es tal que imposibilita su manipulación”. Las estrategias a analizar quedan a la manipulación del equipo comunicacional y de *marketing* político de la candidata y el objetivo de las autoras es comprenderlo y analizarlo, por lo tanto el sujeto de estudio no se encuentra condicionado por motivaciones o estímulos provenientes de las autoras. Los hechos a estudiar son observados en su contexto inmediato político y social.

Según Baena (2014) la investigación de tipo documental es la “búsqueda de una respuesta específica a partir de la indagación en documentos” (p.12). Es una técnica que permite recopilar información a través de un análisis crítico de materiales bibliográficos, como revistas, periódicos, libros, sistemas de información computarizada (redes, Internet, correo electrónico), estadísticas, etc. De esta manera, en el siguiente estudio se analizaron diferentes fenómenos y datos a los cuales se tuvo acceso con la finalidad de obtener resultados que permitieran establecer un análisis que pudiera ser base para el desarrollo de la creación científica.

El tipo de información a recolectada debe ser categorizada de acuerdo al objetivo de cada ítem analizado y el modo de aplicación del mismo en la campaña electoral. Las categorías utilizadas fueron: informativa y emocional, entendiéndose de ambas lo siguiente:

- Mensajes Informativos: consiste en toda aquella producción de contenido que permite al lector obtener información sobre un acontecimiento actual o pasado o cualquier otro asunto o tema percibido en periódicos, revistas, enciclopedias, etc. Asimismo, el texto informativo debe contener información precisa y veraz. (<http://significados.com>)
- Mensajes Emocionales: el voto es, ante todo, emocional, es decir la emoción, el gesto, la actitud, los símbolos y las imágenes que se recrean en el inconsciente del elector son decisivos. De hecho, en las últimas décadas, los electores han estado a la espera —y han votado— por un salvador, un mesías, un *outsider*, candidatos con propuestas más bien pobres pero que lograron tocar las fibras emocionales (*International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*, 2006, traducción propia).

3.3 Objetivo General

Estudiar las comunicaciones utilizadas en el mercadeo político y propaganda de la campaña de Hillary Clinton a la presidencia de los Estados Unidos de América, período (2017-2021).

3.4 Objetivos Específicos

1. Analizar el objetivo comunicacional de la candidata, con base en su target político.
2. Comparar la estrategia comunicacional y de *marketing* político de la candidata con la ideología base de su partido.
3. Comparar el manejo de crisis, en el caso de que sucedan, por parte de la candidata en sus estrategias comunicacionales.
4. Analizar el papel de los medios de comunicación digitales y audiovisuales para la candidata, específicamente en términos de apoyo, información, tiempo de cobertura y de publicidad.
5. Analizar el manejo de las redes sociales en la campaña de la candidata.
6. Estudiar las herramientas comunicacionales empleadas por el equipo de campaña de Hillary Clinton para el manejo de su competencia.

3.5 Matriz De Análisis De La Campaña

La matriz utilizada para desarrollar el análisis de la campaña de Hillary Clinton será la misma creada y utilizada por el profesor, PhD, Bruce Newman para la campaña de Bill Clinton en 1992 y hecho público años después. En este modelo Newman argumentaba que al construir un modelo enfocado en el mercado y en las necesidades y preocupaciones de los votantes se podía lograr la mayor efectividad del mensaje y discurso.

De igual forma, Lees-Marshment sostiene que el modelo de Newman utiliza una amplia gama de herramientas de mercadeo y por lo tanto encaja perfectamente con el sistema estadounidense de las primarias al igual que con las elecciones finales (Lees-Marshment, 2008). Asimismo, Newman (1994) establece que el proceso de manejo de la campañas políticas involucra dos campañas: una campaña política y una de mercadeo y que ambas están afectadas por su ambiente y por su tipo de enfoque, ya sea las políticas, el candidato o la promoción del partido.

Sin embargo, otros autores han creado modelos de mercadeo político para analizar las campañas de distintos candidatos. En este trabajo de investigación, como se mencionó anteriormente, se decidió utilizar el del professor Bruce Newman, pero de igual forma se

nombrarán aquellas matrices de análisis que no se utilizarán y se compararán con aquella utilizada en este trabajo de investigación. Baines, Lewis y Yorke (1999) crearon un modelo de mercadeo político que sostiene que los partidos nacionales determinan cuales sectores del electorado requieren más recursos y a partir de esto llevan a cabo la segmentación, ejercicios de posicionamiento y *targeting* requerido utilizando herramientas como investigación del mercado electoral, historial de votaciones y las estadísticas de los censos. Por otro lado, Maarek (1995) sugiere que el proceso del mercadeo político es una campaña comunicacional con un nivel de retroalimentación en la políticas y en la plataforma de la campaña por parte de los votantes y a través de los sistemas de encuestas.

En conclusión, Baines (2001), en su estudio *Marketing and Political Campaigning in the US and the UK: What Can the UK Political Parties Learn for the Development of a Campaign Management Process Model?* establece que estos tres modelos se enfocan en distintos aspectos del mercadeo político, el modelo de Maarek se enfoca en la comunicación política; el de Baines, Lewis y Yorke se dedica a estudiar campañas coordinadas de forma local y Newman describe el proceso del mercadeo político pero en un contexto que nada más se puede relacionar a las elecciones estadounidenses. Por lo tanto, resulta el modelo de Newman ya utilizado para el análisis de la campaña de Bill Clinton (esposo de la candidata y expresidente demócrata), el más dedicado al estudio de las elecciones estadounidenses.

Asimismo, para llevar a cabo el análisis se confía en lo siguiente:

Para que el marketing político resulte de utilidad práctica para los políticos y partidos interesados en aplicarlo, es fundamental desarrollar un modelo de puesta en marcha que les permita trazar un plan que les ayude a alcanzar sus objetivos: de lo contrario corremos el riesgo de que todo se quede en un interesante pero inaplicable planteamiento teórico. A tal efecto arrancaremos con un sencillo pero efectivo modelo generalista para partidos y candidatos que a continuación parametrizaremos (Coto, 2011, p.79).

El modelo de Newman a utilizar para el análisis es el siguiente y fue extraído del libro *Marketing Político 2.0* de los autores Manuel Coto y Angel Adell (2011) en donde los mismos establecen que:

Siguiendo este modelo, Newman definió para (Bill) Clinton una campaña basada en las necesidades del mercado de electores haciéndole ver que debía centrarse en las preocupaciones y deseos de éstos y no tanto en sus puntos de vista personales (que funcionaron como un punto de partida y no como un fin en sí mismos), lo cual le permitió maximizar la eficiencia de sus mensajes fundamentando la comunicación política en la inteligencia de marketing (p. 81).

Es importante aclarar que, para el análisis de piezas, no todos los elementos estarán siempre presentes. Los elementos identificados para evaluar son aquellos que aparezcan en la pieza.

- Modelo de Marketing Político de Bruce Newman

1. Foco en el candidato:

- a. Definir el concepto de partido.
- b. Definir el concepto de producto político.
- c. Definir el concepto de venta a los votantes.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

- a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:
 - i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes.
 - ii. Caracterizar a los votantes.
 - iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes.
- b. Posicionamiento del candidato:
 - i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato.
 - ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia.
 - iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés.
 - iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores.
- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
 - i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado.
 - iii. Producto político.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.

- i. Fuerzas externas:
 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.).
 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.).
 3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.).

Por último, Lees-Marshment (2001) explica que, dentro de las campañas de mercadeo político, existen tres marcos que definen la orientación de las mismas: orientado al mercado, a las ventas o al partido. García Gómez (2015, p. 17) en su Trabajo de Grado titulado *Marketing Político* establece que “el modelo de Newman es muy eficaz por su sencillez pero se necesita un modelo más detallado y que lo complementa, ese modelo es el llamado Modelo MOP”.

Lees-Marshment define las campañas orientadas al mercado (*market-oriented party – MOP*) como aquellas que buscan complacer las necesidades del votante para alcanzar su meta. Utiliza la inteligencia de mercado para identificar las demandas de los votantes y luego diseña un producto que satisfaga estas necesidades. Este marco de orientación no busca cambiar la opinión del electorado pero sí entregarles y/o prometerles lo que necesitan. Este concepto es muy distinto al de campañas más tradicionales que buscan perseguir sus ideologías y conseguir votos a través de su visión. El marco orientado en el mercado (*MOP*) desarrolla un producto e inteligencia de mercado y no se enfoca en las comunicaciones políticas. El segundo marco de orientación es aquel dedicado a las ventas (*sales-oriented party –SOP*), utiliza estrategias de mercadeo para identificar a votantes potenciales y diseña estrategias de comunicación efectivas para convencer a los votantes. Finalmente, según Lees-Marshment, existe un último marco de orientación de campañas políticas: el enfocado en el producto (*product-oriented party –POP*). Este es el más tradicional y confía en su producto (el candidato y/o partido) y en que el electorado votará por el mismo por su valor, es decir, no utiliza estrategias de mercadeo para cambiar el comportamiento u opinión de los votantes.

La campaña de Hillary Clinton se puede caracterizar como una orientada al mercado (*MOP*) puesto que la candidata llevó a cabo estudios de mercado para definir las necesidades de los votantes y, de forma constante, busca resaltar el cumplimiento de estas necesidades en sus discursos. Asimismo, se puede decir que la campaña de Clinton fue diseñada específicamente para adaptar el producto (la candidata) y sus propuestas de acuerdo al contexto social, económico, político e internacional de los Estados Unidos y de esta forma construir una estrategia de mercadeo basada en las necesidades y expectativas del público electoral. En conclusión, las dos herramientas a utilizar para el análisis de la campaña de Hillary Clinton para las elecciones presidenciales para el período (2017-2021) son el Modelo MOP de Lees-Marshment y el Modelo de Newman, específicamente para el análisis de las piezas escogidas de su campaña.

3.6 Matriz De Análisis De Campaña Mop

El modelo MOP de Lees-Marshment consta de ocho etapas y analiza el proceso de la campaña orientada al mercado paso a paso. La explicación de este modelo se realizó con el apoyo del libro *Political Marketing* de la autora y creadora del modelo MOP (Lees-Marshment) y fue complementada con una explicación del mismo modelo que realiza García Gómez (2015) en su trabajo de grado *Marketing Político*.

1. Inteligencia del mercado: se basa en estudios de mercado para definir las necesidades y demandas reales del electorado. Se apoya en herramientas de *marketing intelligence* y es útil puesto que aporta un alto nivel de información al partido sobre la opinión pública y sus demandas.
2. Diseño del producto: con base en los resultados de la primera etapa, el equipo de campaña diseña el producto de acuerdo a la información recopilada y analizada para atender correctamente las necesidades del mercado electoral.
3. Ajuste del producto: en esta etapa se corrigen y evalúan detalles finales del producto.
 - a. Posibilidades del producto: se asegura de que las promesas que haga el candidato puedan ser cumplidas por el gobierno del mismo. Los factores que influyen en esta etapa son el liderazgo del equipo, manejo económico, capacidad, la unidad

- del partido y la percepción de los votantes hacia la habilidad del partido de cumplir con las promesas hechas.
- b. Reacción de los miembros del partido: confirmar el apoyo de los miembros del partido y sus colaboradores y/o voluntarios.
 - c. Competidores: identifica las debilidades de la competencia y resalta las fortalezas del partido propio para lograr una diferenciación positiva.
 - d. Apoyo: consiste en un proceso de segmentación del mercado electoral y en desarrollar puntos estratégicos del producto para que atiendan directamente y de forma eficiente los distintos segmentos del mercado.
4. Implementación: la implementación se lleva a cabo a través de una planificación rigurosa de tiempos y objetivos.
 5. Comunicación: el proceso de comunicación es de alta importancia ya que debe ser estratégica y debe estar alineada con los objetivos de la campaña y todos los miembros del partido deben colaborar para dar a conocer el mensaje principal del partido.
 6. Campaña: el proceso de comunicación se repite de forma más intensa y le recuerda a los votantes los aspectos positivos de su producto.
 7. Elección: las campañas no solamente deben lograr conseguir votos sino atraer una percepción positiva hacia los votantes desde aspectos como políticas, líderes, unidad del partido, capacidad, entre otros.
 8. Entrega: el partido o candidato ganador debe entregar el producto prometido como gobierno.

3.7 Determinación De Las Unidades De Análisis

Hernandez Sampieri (2006) en su libro *Metodología de la Investigación* define a la muestra como “un subgrupo de la población de interés sobre el cual se recolectarán datos (...) que deberá ser representativo de la población” (p. 236). Para la determinación de las unidades de análisis es adecuada una muestra no probabilística ya que, como lo determina Sampieri (2006), se trata de un estudio con un diseño de investigación descriptivo y un enfoque fundamentalmente cualitativo; es decir, no es concluyente, sino que su objetivo es documentar ciertas situaciones y actividades específicas.

Los medios de comunicación masivos y las redes sociales son las principales fuentes de material político, informativo y comunicativo utilizados por la campaña política de Clinton. El análisis de los mensajes, la propaganda y la cobertura que la candidata posee en canales determinados de información forman parte del estudio realizado a su campaña. De esta manera se prestó especial importancia al canal de *YouTube* de la candidata, medio por el cual se publica semanalmente y en donde se transmitió el primer mensaje publicitario de la campaña.

Las redes sociales conforman otro foco de análisis importante de las comunicaciones de la candidata, en especial su cuenta de *Twitter*, en donde se han realizado estrategias políticas adecuadas a ese medio en específico y por donde la candidata comunica diariamente. De igual forma, las RR.SS. son de crucial importancia ya que poseen un alto nivel de alcance dentro de la población electoral estadounidense. El alcance en la red social *Facebook* es de 5,579,540 (*page likes*), en *Twitter* es de 8.37 millones de seguidores y en *Instagram* es de 1.9 millones de seguidores.

Dentro de los medios de comunicación masivos, se recolectó información de dos cadenas televisoras populares en el país que han seguido a la campaña de la candidata desde el comienzo, proporcionando puntos de análisis distintos basados en las posturas e inclinaciones de dichos canales de televisión y de una cobertura detallada. Los canales estudiados son: Fox y CNN, considerando a Fox como un canal que favorece al partido republicano; y al canal CNN partidario de una cobertura más exhaustiva del partido demócrata.

Durante la investigación se determinaron 14 unidades de análisis relevantes para el estudio y entendimiento de las estrategias de *marketing* político empleadas por la candidata Hillary Clinton en su campaña electoral. Dichas unidades explican determinadas tácticas y estrategias empleadas a lo largo de la campaña con la finalidad de cumplir los objetivos propuestos y subir el nivel de alcance a propósito de aumentar el número de votantes potenciales.

La primera pieza de análisis evaluada consiste en la totalidad de la campaña electoral de Clinton desde el mes de abril del 2015 hasta agosto del 2016. Resulta importante evaluar la campaña global para así lograr establecer un parámetro dentro de las comunicaciones y

estrategias empleadas por la candidata. De esta manera, se conoce el concepto creativo y se crea un precedente general, el cual será tomado como referencia en el análisis de las piezas individuales de la campaña, ya sean discursos, comerciales, debates o vídeos.

Se analizaron 5 comerciales transmitidos tanto en medios masivos como digitales. El primer comercial a evaluar lo conforma el vídeo de lanzamiento de campaña de la candidata, por esto la razón de su importancia. En él se expone por primera vez el concepto creativo de la campaña que marcará el tono del resto de los comerciales. El segundo comercial seleccionado es el primer vídeo de crítica dirigido al candidato Trump por el partido republicano y en el se disponen nuevas tácticas, además del primer cambio de tono de la campaña de Hillary, ahora enfocada a un solo candidato opositor. Como tercer comercial, se escogió al anuncio publicitario más popular de la campaña electoral. Finalmente, el cuarto comercial recopilado resulta relevante por ser el anuncio de la campaña general a la presidencia; y el quinto comercial, dirigido a Trump, es notable por su alto nivel de alcance y popularidad.

El primer discurso de apertura de campaña realizado por la candidata en Nueva York también resulta sumamente relevante para el análisis, ya que es donde Clinton explica por primera vez las propuestas económicas, sociales y políticas de su campaña electoral. Otro discurso importante para el estudio y también evaluado en el trabajo, es el expuesto en Cleveland un día después del atentado terrorista en Orlando a un grupo perteneciente a la comunidad LGTB, votantes que conforman parte del segmento objetivo de la campaña electoral. Por último, el discurso dictado por Hillary luego de haber perdido las primarias del estado de New Hampshire contra el candidato Bernie Sanders, es notable por la estrategia empleada por la candidata.

Es tomado también como unidad de análisis, el discurso final dictado por la candidata en la Convención Nacional Demócrata (*DNC*), al momento de aceptar su nominación y dar inicio a la segunda etapa de su campaña política luego de haber vencido las primarias. Otro factor importante para la evaluación de dicho discurso, es la nominación de Tim Kaine como su Vicepresidente y *Running Mate*.

La respuesta otorgada por la candidata al tema relacionado con el uso de sus cuentas de correo electrónico personales para tratar temas referentes a su trabajo como Secretaria de Estado, resulta sustancial para el análisis de la campaña de la candidata; ya que ha sido uno de los problemas que más ha afectado la imagen de Clinton y ha sido también, uno de los asuntos más controversiales que rodean la campaña electoral.

Finalmente como últimas dos unidades de análisis seleccionadas, se evaluará la aplicación móvil para celulares lanzada por la candidata luego de su nominación demócrata; y cuáles han sido las estrategias, tácticas y mensajes compartidos por Clinton en su cuenta de *Twitter* con la finalidad de analizar el alcance de la campaña y la percepción de imagen de la candidata.

CAPÍTULO IV

4.1 Análisis De Campaña De Hillary Clinton

Para la elaboración del siguiente análisis se utilizó el Modelo *MOP* de Lees-Marshment

1. Inteligencia del mercado: Gorbounova y Lees Marshment (2009) afirman que la primera campaña de Hillary Clinton se vio claramente influenciada por estudios de inteligencia de mercado ya que el producto de Clinton siempre estaba correctamente informado y respondía a las principales necesidades del electorado en esa época. La encuestadora estadounidense Gallup llevó a cabo un estudio en el cual le preguntaba a una muestra de 1.021 adultos, mayores de 18 años y habitantes de los 50 estados que conforman los Estados Unidos, del 3 al 7 de febrero del año 2016 cuáles eran los principales problemas para el estadounidense promedio. De los encuestados, 17% contestó que la economía era el principal problema, en segundo lugar se encuentra el gobierno con 15% de respuestas y en tercer lugar temas relacionados con la inmigración (9%), y el desempleo (7%) en cuarto lugar. El quinto problema más importante para los estadounidenses, según la encuesta de Gallup, es la seguridad nacional (3%) y el sexto el terrorismo. Finalmente el déficit del presupuesto fiscal y el alto costo del cuidado médico ocuparon el séptimo y octavo lugar.

Clinton, en su campaña actual, ha demostrado un esfuerzo por responder constantemente, a través de sus propuestas de gobierno y piezas de campaña, a estas necesidades, sobretodo a los temas relacionados a la inmigración, la economía, los salarios para las mujeres y la seguridad médica. Esto se demostrará en el análisis de discursos y piezas en la segunda parte de este capítulo.

2. Diseño del producto: el diseño del producto, es decir, de Hillary Clinton se llevó a cabo de acuerdo a la primera etapa. La candidata, en la mayoría de sus discursos y piezas de campaña, busca responder a las principales necesidades del público electoral, razón por la cual la campaña es enfocada al mercado.
3. Ajuste del producto: En esta etapa se corrigen y evalúan detalles finales del producto.
 - a. Posibilidades del producto: esta etapa se desarrolló sobretodo al inicio de la campaña para las primarias en donde el equipo de Clinton buscó responder a las necesidades del público electoral y luego se ajusta a cambios estructurales o contextuales para diseñar respuestas estratégicas y eficientes a temas que pudieran perjudicar a Clinton como la situación irregular con el manejo de su cuenta de correo electrónico mientras funcionaba como Secretaria de Estado y/o el hecho de que Trump se convirtió en el nominado oficial del partido republicano.
 - b. Reacción de los miembros del partido: esta etapa se observó sobretodo cuando el senador Bernie Sanders endosó su candidatura a la de Clinton y en la Convención Nacional Demócrata, cuando demás miembros del partido y personalidades importantes en el mundo de la política expresaron su apoyo a la candidata.
 - c. Competidores: a partir de la nominación oficial de Donald Trump como el candidato republicano para las elecciones presidenciales, Clinton y su equipo de campaña buscaron crear anuncios que reflejaran las principales debilidades de su oponente y resaltar sus propias fortalezas. Este análisis se desarrollará de forma más completa en las piezas de la campaña en la segunda parte de este capítulo.
 - d. Apoyo: consiste en un proceso de segmentación del mercado electoral y en desarrollar puntos estratégicos del producto para que atiendan directamente y de forma eficiente los distintos segmentos del mercado.
4. Implementación: este punto se observa en los cambios que han tenido las piezas y el discurso de Clinton a través de su campaña y con base en los cambios estructurales y contextuales de la misma. Por ejemplo, el cambio del discurso y de las piezas de campañas para llevar a cabo una campaña en contra de Trump básicamente, la

segmentación de votantes para lograr una mayor aceptación del público latino (la creación de un anuncio en español), el cambio de slogan de la campaña para las elecciones primarias a las elecciones generales, etc.

5. Comunicación: el proceso de comunicación de la candidata se desarrolló adaptándose a los cambios del contexto y respondiendo de forma estratégica a cada necesidad del público electoral. El análisis de las piezas refleja cómo el diseño del producto se llevó a cabo con base a un estudio de mercadeo.
6. Campaña: La candidata se dedicó a mantener una línea de mensaje coherente y repetida de forma estratégica en los siguientes temas:
 - a. Situación del manejo de su cuenta de correo electrónico personal.
 - b. Respuestas a las necesidades de los votantes.
 - c. Proceso para deslegitimar a Donald Trump como presidente.
 - d. Respuesta a los partidarios del senador Sanders.
 - e. Valores familiares, sobretodo a través del apoyo de Chelsea y Bill Clinton.
 - f. Críticas durante su período como Secretaria de Estado.
 - g. Uso estratégico de su experiencia como servidora pública.
7. Elección: este estudio no comprende las elecciones presidenciales sino el análisis de su campaña y las piezas de la misma hasta el mes de agosto de 2016, razón por la cual este punto no se tomó en cuenta en este trabajo de investigación.
8. Entrega: al igual que le punto anterior, el período de gobierno de Clinton, en el caso de obtener la presidencia, no es comprendido por temas de tiempo en este trabajo de investigación.

4.2 Análisis De Piezas De Campaña

Como se mencionó anteriormente, el análisis del marco y de la orientación de la campaña se llevará a cabo con el Modelo MOP de Lees-Marshment y el análisis de las piezas se llevará a cabo siguiendo la matriz del profesor Newman por su alto nivel de relación con las elecciones

de los Estados Unidos y por la orientación al mercado de la campaña de Hillary Clinton.

A continuación el análisis de las piezas determinadas para este trabajo de investigación.

Pieza #1: anuncio para televisión y medios digitales de lanzamiento de campaña: “*Getting Started.*” (Ver anexo B, <https://youtu.be/0uY7gLZDmn4>)

Fecha: 12 de abril de 2015.

Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El foco de la candidata en el primer vídeo de su campaña electoral se basa en la representación gráfica de los valores, aspiraciones y actividades de los votantes afines al partido demócrata en sus vidas como ciudadanos americanos. Asimismo, se resalta la diversidad de género, edad y clase social de los votantes. Se establece una relación directa entre dos pilares específicos y relevantes dentro de la cultura estadounidense, como lo son el trabajo y la familia. De esta manera, la candidata determina una comparación directa entre su próximo recorrido hasta llegar a la presidencia de los Estados Unidos, denotándole un carácter de esfuerzo hacia un cambio necesario en las políticas americanas y relacionándolo con la rutina cotidiana de los americanos, cuando se muestran dos hermanos trabajando, nuevos integrantes para una familia, entre otros. El trabajo de Hillary Clinton como personaje de la esfera política del país, sus cualidades personales y sus proposiciones futuras se convierten en el principal producto político de su campaña. Finalmente, el concepto de venta a los votantes se incorpora a los ideales del segmento objetivo de la campaña: la clase media trabajadora estadounidense.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: a lo largo del vídeo se identifican varias necesidades y problemas comunes que enfrenta la clase media americana a través de testimonios personalizados entre los diferentes

protagonistas, como la madre que se está mudando para darle una mejor educación a su hija o una adolescente buscando trabajo para pagar sus estudios universitarios. Existe un énfasis particular en demostrar la positiva resolución de los problemas que enfrenta cada ciudadano, con la idea de nunca rendirse o detenerse y continuar con el trabajo constante para obtener cambios efectivos.

- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: la vida común americana es el foco principal del vídeo ya que se establecen personalidades, contextos y problemas específicos, como los hermanos que desean empezar un nuevo negocio, o el hombre que está a punto de casarse y comenzar una nueva vida, en busca de establecer una conexión directa entre lo que se representa y los votantes reales afines al partido, con el fin de humanizar a la campaña electoral, y por consiguiente a la candidata.
 - iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: debido a la característica general, abstracta y diversa de los problemas y los protagonistas del vídeo, se logra un alcance mayor dentro del segmento de potenciales votantes, inclusive aquellos afines al partido republicano.
- b. Posicionamiento del candidato:
- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: en esta pieza solamente se identifican las fortalezas de la candidata y se destacan además, los valores y las aspiraciones positivas de Clinton. Siempre en concordancia con los ideales comunes de la clase media estadounidense, Clinton se presenta como trabajadora, audaz y constante.
 - ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: al ser este el vídeo del lanzamiento de su campaña, no se hace referencia alguna a la competencia. El objetivo del mismo consiste en crear una imagen positiva de la candidata que se relacione con los ideales y aspiraciones del segmento meta, atrayendo la mayor cantidad de votantes potenciales.
 - iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: la narrativa del video de lanzamiento se caracteriza por la representación de la clase media americana, sus problemas, sus valores y aspiraciones

con la finalidad de personificar al segmento objetivo de la campaña de la candidata.

- iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: la imagen global de la campaña es la relación directa que se establece entre los problemas que enfrentan los ciudadanos día a día y cómo éstos son de gran interés para Clinton. El concepto del vídeo se basa en demostrar el conocimiento y la preocupación que posee la candidata de resolver dichas dificultades de los votantes una vez asumida la presidencia.
- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: la pieza personaliza a una pequeña muestra de ciudadanos estadounidenses, que forman parte del segmento objetivo de la campaña a través del medio digital *YouTube* gracias a su alcance y nivel de *engagement* con el público. De esta manera se establece además un precedente característico de la campaña de Hillary Clinton: su gran participación y utilización de las redes sociales como herramienta participativa.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: la pieza sí refleja herramientas de estudio de mercado ya que se construyen personajes específicos que buscan representar segmentos de la población estadounidense, como lo es la clara utilización de un latino hablando en español, una madre soltera y una asiático-americana.
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político en esta pieza es la humanización de la candidata y su conocimiento exhaustivo de los problemas que afectan a los ciudadanos americanos.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: el *marketing pull* de esta pieza fue principalmente el canal de *YouTube* y las redes sociales.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
- i. Fuerzas externas:
 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): la pieza no incluye ninguna herramienta tecnológica o especial que defina la

narrativa o caracterice alguna acción específica.

2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se demuestran cambios en las convenciones o reglas de la cultura estadounidense, al contrario, se fortalecen los ideales comunes de los ciudadanos y la clase media.
3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): no existen factores u actores externos que se encuentren relacionados o que posean algún grado de representación en la pieza.

Pieza #2: primer discurso de lanzamiento de campaña en el parque *Four Freedoms* de la isla Roosevelt, en Nueva York. (Ver anexo C, <https://youtu.be/-i8vdM15K6c>)

Fecha: 13 de junio de 2015.

Fuente: cuenta de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El discurso denominado “*Four Fights*” (cuatro peleas) es el primer discurso realizado por la candidata luego del lanzamiento de su campaña electoral en el mes de abril. En él, la candidata hace referencia a sus experiencias pasadas como abogada, Senadora y Secretaria de Estado. Asimismo, Clinton describe su experiencia como madre y posteriormente como abuela. La promesa de venta del discurso se basa en la prosperidad de los americanos, la candidata utiliza historias y anécdotas como la referencia a la situación de su madre, quien tuvo que seguir adelante por sí misma luego de ser abandonada por sus propios padres y quien tuvo la fortuna de encontrar la amabilidad de alguien a quien sí le importaba; para acentuar y explicar puntos específicos de sus ideas y aspiraciones: a Clinton le importa el país. De igual forma, la candidata utiliza el ejemplo de una madre soltera de tres hijos que lucha entre trabajar y estudiar para introducir sus propuestas políticas y económicas; de esta manera Clinton crea un contexto personal y

relacionable sobre los problemas que afectan a la clase media, que ella conoce y que podría resolver. Como producto político, Clinton explica los cuatro mayores puntos en los cuales se basa su campaña electoral: la economía, la familia, el liderazgo americano y la reforma del gobierno. La candidata utiliza un juego de palabras de quién llama su inspiración: el Presidente Roosevelt con su propuesta de “*Four Freedoms*” (cuatro libertades). De esta manera Clinton es capaz de relacionar su campaña electoral con los ideales de un presidente muy recordado y querido por la sociedad americana.

El concepto de venta para los votantes se basa en el compromiso de la candidata con los ciudadanos americanos; identifica a la clase media como su segmento objetivo y propone un plan de soluciones a los problemas económicos y cotidianos de los potenciales votantes. También critica a los Republicanos por no velar por los intereses de la sociedad y promete políticas basadas en la igualdad de derechos. Finalmente, la candidata utiliza estratégicamente ejemplos de las candidaturas previas de Obama y de su esposo Clinton, como modelos a seguir, relacionando los valores y estrategias de ambos como fuentes de inspiración positiva a sus ideas e ideales.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

- a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:
 - i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: durante el discurso Clinton utiliza ejemplos específicos personales cuando habla sobre la pequeña compañía textil de su abuelo que les proporcionó un módico ingreso de clase media y con el cual formó adecuadamente a su familia; al mencionar también su defesensa como Senadora de los bomberos, policías y voluntarios que actuaron en el atentado del 11 de septiembre de 2001, para que recibieran cobertura médica de por vida. Asimismo, la candidata menciona problemas de terceros, como el de la madre soltera mencionado anteriormente, donde ejemplifica algunos de los problemas que afectan la vida diaria de los ciudadanos americanos. De esta manera, Clinton logra introducir de forma coherente sus promesas y soluciones creando una estructura congruente de propuestas.

- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: la candidata realiza una excelente demostración de humanización de los problemas evaluados y planteados en su campaña, a través de la ejemplificación de situaciones específicas tanto personales como generales, que afectan a la sociedad estadounidense.
 - iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: al ejemplificar y sentenciar problemas específicos de determinados ciudadanos, como su ejemplo de una madre soltera, la candidata establece e identifica el segmento objetivo de su campaña: la clase media.
- b. Posicionamiento del candidato:
- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: la candidata utiliza ejemplos personales para explicar sus actos en situaciones específicas. Aunque dichas ejemplificaciones sean la antesala de resoluciones positivas que elevan el carácter y resaltan los valores de Clinton, el hecho de contar anécdotas personales humanizan a la candidata y conceden un sentido mucho más cercano a su imagen personal.
 - ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: en el discurso se realizan fuertes críticas al partido contrario, los republicanos, a través de referencias y ejemplos que acentúan resoluciones o actividades negativas realizadas por dicho partido.
 - iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: a lo largo del discurso, Clinton busca establecer o demostrar una imagen más accesible al grupo de votantes. La candidata establece ejemplos en donde ella también ha sufrido o experimentado los mismos problemas comunes que afectan a la clase media; ya que ella también ha sido parte de la clasificación.
 - iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: a través del discurso se continúa el concepto general de la campaña electoral, ya antes representado en el vídeo de lanzamiento, en donde se establece la comparación de los ideales de la candidata con los de la clase media americana y consecuentemente, su esfuerzo y dedicación por

cumplir sus propuestas de cambio.

c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:

- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: el discurso continúa el concepto de campaña establecido hasta la fecha y propone nuevas estrategias y tácticas que serán consecuentemente el foco del resto de la campaña electoral.
- ii. Investigación de mercado: el uso de anécdotas, y ejemplos de gente particular denota un estudio de los problemas actuales que afectan al segmento objetivo de la campaña.
- iii. Producto político: el producto político en esta pieza es la ejemplificación de problemas generales a través de historias individuales de la candidata, lo cual permite crear un concepto de imagen personal mucho más accesible entre los votantes.
- iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: el *marketing pull* de esta pieza está conformado por la utilización de las redes sociales y los medios masivos como herramientas de expansión.

d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.

i. Fuerzas externas:

1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): durante la transmisión del discurso no se utilizó ningún elemento tecnológico que afectara el enlace del discurso.
2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se demostró ningún cambio estructural de las convenciones y cultura estadounidense. Al contrario, se enfatizó la rivalidad de partidos cuando la candidata apuntó referencias negativas hacia los republicanos. Clinton señaló las promesas que hacen candidatos afines a dicho partido de rebajarle impuestos a las grandes corporaciones y a la élite del país, creando una mayor desigualdad de ingresos.
3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités

de acción política, votantes, etc.): no se refleja la influencia de factores externos en las declaraciones realizadas por la candidata.

Pieza #3: discurso después de perder las elecciones primarias en el estado de New Hampshire.

(Ver anexo D, <https://youtu.be/QPQ-g2iPh5E>)

Fecha: 9 de febrero de 2016.

Fuente: Canal de *YouTube* de ABC News.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El foco de la candidata en este discurso se basó en resaltar el concepto de producto político, es decir, el hecho de que ella, a pesar de que acababa de perder las elecciones, es la mejor opción como presidente. Es por esto que a mitad del discurso Clinton realiza la pregunta: ¿Quién es la mejor persona para lograr el cambio que necesitamos? Porque se está enfocando en vender su experiencia, su carácter y sus propuestas como las más aptas para lograr satisfacer las necesidades de los votantes. De igual forma define lo que debería ser un presidente, las razones por las cuales ella es la indicada y además utiliza herramientas como su experiencia y las enseñanzas de su familia. Asimismo, explica cómo ella se siente identificada con los votantes y cómo le preocupan las mismas situaciones, como el seguro social y el salario para las mujeres, que a los votantes. Hillary en este discurso define el concepto de venta a los votantes: el trabajo que ella promete como producto político para satisfacer a los ciudadanos, el cambio por el que ella quiere trabajar es su promesa a los votantes. Finalmente, en el discurso también se enfoca en vender estas promesas de cambio, sobretodo en términos de reformas sociales.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: la candidata identifica claramente las necesidades de los votantes al resaltar en su discurso ejemplos de personas que poseen problemas con su seguro médico, compañías de medicamentos que sostienen precios de medicinas muy altos, el tema del

salario para las mujeres y la negligencia que han tenido demás funcionarios ante estas necesidades.

- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: Clinton caracteriza a los votantes en este discurso en el momento en que puntualiza a madres trabajadoras, a niños que sufren por la falta de medicinas, homosexuales que sufren despidos injustificados y personas que sufren de hambre extrema.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: el proceso de segmentación de potenciales votantes no se lleva a cabo en este discurso ya que la candidata no habla de hacer un llamado a esas personas que no están totalmente convencidas de sus propuestas, ni de que ella es la candidata ideal para el puesto como sí lo hace en otras piezas. Los segmentos que sí menciona en el discurso, como por ejemplo la comunidad LGBT y personas afroamericanas, se utilizan para mencionar las propuestas a las principales necesidades de los mismos y sus problemas, es decir, las soluciones que propone la candidata a problemas relacionados con el racismo, despidos injustificados, abusos corporativos, etc.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: en esta pieza se refleja claramente una debilidad, la candidata acaba de perder las elecciones primarias en un estado relativamente importante (New Hampshire), que sí logro ganar en el pasado, en las primarias para el período (2008-2012).
- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: sin embargo, Clinton busca convertir esta debilidad en una fortaleza al hablar del trabajo que ahora necesitan llevar a cabo para lograr ganar los demás estados. Algo importante a resaltar en esta pieza, y una de las razones por las que fue escogida para el análisis, es el carácter de la candidata ante la pérdida de un estado como New Hampshire. Su ánimo es positivo, agradece a los que votaron por ella y felicita a su contricante intra partido, Bernie Sanders, son un reflejo de lo que Lees-Marshment llama como la percepción positiva que deben tener los candidatos y su partido en el

- momento de las elecciones.
- iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés.
 - iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores.
- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: como una campaña orientada al mercado (*Market-oriented Party*), Clinton resalta en esta pieza experiencias de mercado reales con casos conocidos, tales como la situación de los niños envenenados por el agua contaminada en Flint, Michigan y la negligencia de su gobernador o las consecuencias que generó el incremento de precio de una medicina por parte de una farmacéutica, ayudan a reflejar que la candidata y su equipo saben identificar las necesidades principales de los votantes y cómo satisfacerlas.
 - iii. Producto político: como se especificó anteriormente el producto político en este discurso son las cualidades de la candidata, su experiencias y sus soluciones concretas ante los problemas que ella especifica en el discurso. En este caso el producto político no es el partido o una ideología, sino sus propuestas, inclinaciones y su persona. Asimismo, es coherente que el principal producto político en este discurso sea ella misma y soluciones concretas puesto acaba de perder una elección de primarias en un estado y es imprescindible demostrar un liderazgo positivo.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: esta pieza fue publicada en medios digitales, redes sociales, canales *YouTube* de cadenas de televisión y en el propio de la candidata. De igual forma, por ser una transmisión de interés político y nacional, el discurso fue transmitido en las cadenas de televisión más importante del país como ABC, CNN y Fox News.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
- i. Fuerzas externas:
 - 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): el discurso, a parte de ser transmitido en los medios de comunicación, tuvo cobertura en

vivo y *streaming* en las redes sociales y campañas de *live Twitter* para incrementar el alcance del discurso de Clinton y aprovechar la tecnología y las herramientas de mercadeo que proporciona.

2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): los cambios estructurales identificados en este discurso es el hecho de que, el contrincante demócrata, Bernie Sanders le gana un estado importante a Clinton (New Hampshire) y la candidata tuvo que adaptar su discurso a la pérdida de este estado.
3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): de igual forma, también se percibe en el discurso la influencia del contrincante de Clinton, Sanders. Sobretudo en las partes en las cuales Clinton compara su enfoque de campaña con el de Sanders, su forma de recolectar fondos y cómo las mismas son similares; el llamado al voto en otros estados y a la mejora del partido para no perder los estados que faltan por las elecciones primarias.

Pieza #4: análisis del debate demócrata entre Hillary Clinton y Bernie Sanders en Brooklyn, Nueva York. (Ver anexo E, <https://youtu.be/YrFurUjvXRU>)

Fecha: 14 de abril de 2016.

Fuente: canal de televisión CNN – (Anexo: Canal de *YouTube* 2016 US Presidential Debates).

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El producto político en las respuestas y opiniones dictadas por la candidata durante el debate contra Sanders, se basa en la exposición de sus capacidades, juicios y carrera política como arma irrefutable de su veteranía lidiando con problemas concernientes a toda la nación. Hillary emplea la experiencia que ha obtenido durante los años y a lo largo de sus cargos políticos como ejemplos de espacios y momentos aprovechados para luchar

por las causas y problemas que afectan la vida del estadounidense promedio. La candidata menciona su trabajo como Senadora contra los bancos, sus privilegios en el pago de impuestos, sus comportamientos hipotecarios y su proyecto de ley “*Dodd-Frank*” realizado junto a Obama en su período de Secretaria de Estado. Asimismo, el primer concepto de venta a los votantes se define por las acciones realizadas que generaron cambios positivos y que se encontraban destinados a resolver situaciones de preocupación ya sea de clase económica, política o social; a lo largo de toda la carrera política de la candidata. Clinton ejemplifica su trabajo en Libia y su involucramiento en la caída de la dictadura de Gaddafi, también destaca sus esfuerzos en la aprobación de leyes que regulen de manera más efectiva y segura el porte de armas. Por último, la candidata demuestra su apoyo al aumento del salario mínimo nacional a 12 dólares, a través de su trabajo en el Congreso y cómo ha votado a favor de leyes que tratasen dicho tema.

El segundo concepto de venta manejado por la candidata durante el discurso se caracterizó en la comparación de las propuestas económicas y sociales planteadas en su campaña frente a los planes y soluciones presentadas por Bernie Sanders. Clinton evoca críticas a decisiones y votos concedidos por Sanders a legislaciones que la candidata redime como negativas comparando directamente su postura y decisión opositora a través de ejemplos que justifican dichas opiniones. Clinton destaca el involucramiento de Sanders en el rechazo del proyecto de ley “*Brady*”, el cual Sanders rechazó 5 veces otorgándole inmunidad a los vendedores y fabricantes de armamento. De igual forma, la candidata menciona el voto a favor emitido por Sanders en todas las decisiones propuestas al Congreso sobre el derecho de libertad y democracia en Libia, luego de que Sanders inculpara a Clinton por la crisis consecuente a la caída de la dictadura de Gaddafi; demostrando que Sanders en realidad apoyó la decisión de Obama y su propuesta, desde un principio. La candidata critica también, la sugerencia emitida por Sanders de subir el salario mínimo a 15 dólares en todo el país y propone un aumento nacional general a 12 dólares y a 15 en las ciudades donde la vida sea más costosa. Finalmente, Clinton expone un plan a favor de la energía renovable que tiene como objetivo disminuir la influencia y dependencia de las corporaciones grandes petroleras sin la necesidad de cambiar leyes, regulaciones, o de recurrir a la toma de decisiones en el Congreso, que podría no

aprobarlo; mientras que Sanders propone exigirle mayores impuestos a dichas corporaciones.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: a lo largo del debate se discutieron temas sobre la seguridad nacional, el sistema de salud americano propuesto por el Presidente Obama (*Obamacare*), las legislaciones sobre el control de porte de armas y los problemas concernientes a las importaciones, exportaciones y extracción del petróleo y energía combustible. Cada uno de los problemas debatidos por ambos candidatos son parte de las inquietudes generales y compartidas por la mayoría de los ciudadanos estadounidenses.
- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: a pesar de que Clinton utiliza anécdotas y presenta ejemplos corroborables sobre determinadas situaciones y problemas, son siempre individuales y personales. Se identifican situaciones que afectan a la clase media pero, no se presentan historias o particularidades de agentes externos a la candidata.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: la candidata establece críticas a diferentes sectores y segmentos de la población estadounidense, como a diferentes grupos de *Wall Street*, a las grandes corporaciones y a la clase alta. Asimismo, expresa las preocupaciones y los problemas que afectan específicamente a la clase media, como el problema del salario mínimo mencionado anteriormente, proponiendo soluciones dirigidas a la ayuda del mismo sector. De esta forma, se aumenta el alcance con la finalidad de atraer un mayor número de votantes que no apoyen necesariamente a Clinton.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: la particularidad y dinámica intrínseca de un debate, que le permite a sus exponentes atacar y defenderse mutuamente, trae como consecuencia la exposición

negativa y positiva de las posturas u opiniones presentadas por cada candidato. En el caso de Hillary Clinton, la mayoría de las intervenciones constataron aspectos efectivos de sus propuestas e ideas, solo con pocas intervenciones dirigidas a defender o rectificar decisiones tomadas en el pasado y cuestionadas en el momento.

- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: la dinámica combativa del debate le permitió a ambos candidatos resaltar los errores cometidos hasta la fecha. Se cuestionaron también las decisiones y habilidades de cada uno para llevar a cabo la campaña y en un futuro la presidencia de los Estados Unidos. Clinton critica la incapacidad de Sanders de crear propuestas adaptables a la verdadera situación económica y política nacional, juzgando de irrealizable su propuesta hacia el tema de la energía y el petróleo, igualmente al aumento nacional a 15 dólares en todas las ciudades del país sin hacer diferenciación alguna a los diferentes costes de vida o a cómo un salario de tal magnitud afectaría a compañías y comerciantes pequeños en zonas rurales. Sanders por el contrario, duda de la capacidad juiciosa de la candidata como su mayor argumento, utilizando la situación negativa actual en Libia como ejemplo de errores cometidos por la candidata.
- iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: no se aprecia algún cambio al momento de establecer las críticas u opiniones a segmentos determinados de votantes durante las intervenciones de la candidata.
- iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: en cuanto a la imagen visual que mantuvo la candidata durante el discurso, su atuendo se mantuvo dentro de una gama de colores neutrales, donde resaltó el color blanco que representa paz, tranquilidad y unidad. En el área de la comunicación, los discursos, opiniones y propuestas siguieron el concepto ya establecido por la campaña desde el inicio de la misma.

- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
 - i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: el debate fue transmitido por medios de comunicación masivos como la radio y la television; de igual forma se compartió a través de las redes sociales y en tiempo real en la página web del canal de noticias CNN.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: se observa una inteligencia de mercado tanto en la decisión de realizar el debate entre ambos candidatos, ya que no era el primero en donde ambos se enfrentaban; como en las cuestiones y problemas expuestos por cada uno.
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político manejado por la candidata durante sus intervenciones se caracterizó por la ejemplificación de sus años de experiencia en la vida política americana.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: se utilizaron las redes sociales; al igual que diferentes medios masivos de comunicación como la radio, la prensa y la television para publicitar y generar interés en el debate.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
 - i. Fuerzas externas:
 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): se utilizaron los medios digitales como medios de transmisión directa, aparte de la televisión, para lograr obtener un mayor alcance.
 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se identifican cambios estructurales o convencionales en toda la duración del debate.
 3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): el debate contó con la participación del ancla de noticias de CNN, Wolf Blitzer; la corresponsal política Dana Bash; y el ancla político de NY1, Errol Louis, como moderadores.

Pieza #5: anuncio para televisión y medios digitales: “*Republican party unifier: Donald Trump?*” (Ver anexo F, <https://youtu.be/8DbsCgwVVIc>).

Fecha: 4 de mayo de 2016.

Fuente: canal de *YouTube* Hillary Clinton – The Briefing.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El foco de Clinton en este discurso es de promoción a su partido político ya que busca reflejar el poco apoyo, casi nulo, que recibió su contrincante, Donald Trump, de los demás candidatos republicanos. Asimismo, se puede concluir que Clinton busca resaltar el hecho de que ella sí fue apoyada por Sanders durante la Conferencia Nacional Demócrata y que Trump no funciona como una persona consiliadora sino como un candidato que generó separación dentro del partido republicano, tal y como refleja una parte de la pieza al cuestionar la unificación del partido republicano y al colocar “*A unified party?*” (¿un partido unificado?). Finalmente, en el anuncio se pueden observar a distintos candidatos republicanos realizando fuertes declaraciones en contra de Trump que sirven a la campaña de Clinton para deslegitimar a su competencia. Por ejemplo, el excandidato Jeb Bush le comenta a una reportera que Trump necesita terapia y en otra parte de la pieza el exgobernador del estado de Massachussetts y miembro del partido republicano, Mitt Romney, rechaza el comportamiento del candidato al burlarse de un reportero con discapacidades físicas y el comentario misógino a la reportera Megyn Kelly.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: no se identifican elementos que hagan referencia a las necesidades de los votantes.
- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: este elemento no se encuentra presente en el anuncio.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: ya que es un anuncio dedicado a delegitimar la imagen de Trump, se puede establecer que esta pieza busca convencer a votantes republicanos a no votar por Trump y a

cambiar su voto por Clinton.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: en esta pieza solamente se identifican debilidades del candidato oponente a Clinton y no se exponen fortalezas de la candidata.
- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: al igual que la pieza anterior, es el punto principal de esta pieza. El anuncio busca degradar a la competencia con testimonios de candidatos del partido republicano sobretudo cuando Clinton logró que, su contricante demócrata Bernie Sanders, le endosara la candidatura oficial y que el presidente Barack Obama, demócrata, también la apoyara al igual que la Primera Dama y ex presidentes demócratas.
- iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: se puede afirmar que el segmento de interés en esta pieza son los republicanos que no se sienten cómodos con Donald Trump como candidato oficial y la imagen que se decide mostrar ante ellos es la de una candidata demócrata, que se diferencia de Trump, al sí tener un partido oficial que la apoya.
- iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: la imagen global de la campaña es la de Clinton postulándose como la mejor candidata ante Trump. Como se mencionó anteriormente, la campaña de Clinton toma un foco distinto cuando Trump se convierte en el candidato oficial del partido republicano, puesto que se enfoca en deslegitimar a su oponente a través de piezas comunicacionales y propaganda.

c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:

- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: la pieza se dedica a mostrar a candidatos republicanos como Jeb Bush, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio y demás contricantes intra partido de Trump denigrando y desautorizando al mismo para el cargo de presidente.
- ii. Investigación de mercado: la pieza no refleja herramientas de inteligencia

de mercado.

- iii. Producto político: el producto político en esta pieza es la unión del partido demócrata y la explotación de las debilidades de Trump como candidato del partido republicano.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: el *marketing pull* de esta pieza fue principalmente el canal de *YouTube*, redes sociales y televisión nacional.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
- i. Fuerzas externas:
 - 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): no se observa ninguna herramienta tecnológica que defina de forma especial el curso o el objetivo de la pieza.
 - 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se perciben cambios estructurales en esta pieza más allá de que la misma está enfocada en reflejar a la competencia como negativa. Los candidatos republicanos siempre reflejaron su descontento ante la candidatura de Trump, desde el inicio de las campañas para las elecciones primarias, razón por la que no se considera un cambio estructural.
 - 3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): los actores externos que influyen en esta pieza son los demás candidatos republicanos y cómo estos pueden ser herramienta para la campaña de la demócrata, Hillary Clinton.

Pieza #6: anuncio para televisión y medios digitales: “*Role Models.*”

(Ver anexo G, <https://youtu.be/mrX3QI31URA>)

Fecha: 6 de junio de 2016.

Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El foco de Clinton en este discurso es el producto político ya que la pieza muestra a niños observando declaraciones y discursos de su contricante, Trump, y como los mismos pueden verse afectados o impresionados por las palabras del republicano. Por ejemplo, muestran a una niña latina observando a Donald Trump hablar sobre cómo las personas que vienen de México son narcotraficantes, criminales o violadores. También se observa al candidato decir groserías y a un niño impresionado al escuchar esto de un candidato a las elecciones presidenciales o burlándose de un reportero con discapacidades. Asimismo, es el producto político de Clinton haciéndose ver como la mejor candidata para dar el ejemplo a los niños quienes serán aquellos que sufran las consecuencias en un futuro, sobre las decisiones del presente. El concepto de venta a los votantes refleja la idea del “modelo a seguir”, donde se toma a Hillary Clinton como una persona de gran estima y mérito, con las capacidades adecuadas para cumplir con el trabajo de crear una nación atractiva para la juventud estadounidense. Finalmente, Clinton puede estar utilizando la herramienta de su sexo y reflejándose como mejor material maternal que Trump ya que explotan los valores familiares en la pieza como lo son la educación, el ejemplo que los adultos deben ser para los niños, los principios que se deben inculcar y bajo los cuales deben vivir los estadounidenses, etc.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: la segmentación de votantes es clara en esta pieza ya que cada ejemplo de discurso de Trump busca representar cómo actuaría el contrincante de Clinton con distintos segmentos del público electoral. Por ejemplo, al hablar de un periodista con discapacidades físicas, los inmigrantes mexicanos, entre otros.

- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: la caracterización de los votantes se lleva a cabo cuando Hillary Clinton los identifica como padres que tienen la responsabilidad de tomar buenas decisiones por sus hijos.
 - iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: se puede establecer que, debido al foco principal del anuncio (Trump) y el esfuerzo que hace la pieza por hacer ver al oponente de Clinton como un candidato negativo y agresivo, el segmento de potenciales votantes, a los que la demócrata busca hablarles, son republicanos que no están del todo convencidos con Trump y pueden llegar a votar por Hillary Clinton.
- b. Posicionamiento del candidato:
- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: en esta pieza se reflejan las fortalezas de Clinton como consiliadora, madre y ejemplo a seguir para niños. Esta fortaleza se hace más evidente a propósito en el anuncio pues básicamente logran comparar un candidato agresivo como Trump con una conclusión que busca la unión de Clinton.
 - ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: es el punto del análisis que más tiene protagonismo en esta pieza. El anuncio es básicamente comparativo y busca emplear una fórmula de mercadeo en donde se explotan las debilidades del competencia y se crea una ventaja con las fortalezas propias. Las debilidades de Trump, por lo menos en este anuncio, son las declaraciones agresivas y a veces fáciles de malinterpretar fuera de contexto y las fortalezas de Clinton son el hecho de que es madre, de que ha tenido experiencia y sabe cómo ser un buen ejemplo a seguir y que busca, en vez de insultar a demás posibles votantes, la unión tal y como cierra el anuncio con su slogan.
 - iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: la imagen a mostrar está estratégicamente diseñada como aquella de madre, consiliadora y modelo a seguir con experiencia, sobretodo por el elemento comparativo antes mencionado con Trump.
 - iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: la imagen global también se identifica porque la pieza logró llevar una

imagen específica para una audiencia particular en uno de los anuncios más esenciales para la campaña de Clinton. Adicionalmente, a partir de estos anuncios el foco de la campaña de la demócrata cambia a ser muy comparativa con Trump y a posicionarse ella misma como una persona que busca la unión y representación de demócratas y republicanos.

- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
 - i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: se trata de un anuncio dedicado a mostrar a niños viendo discursos y declaraciones agresivas del oponente de Clinton, Trump, y reflejando el modelo a seguir negativo que sería como presidente.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: como se mencionó anteriormente, no se hace referencia a las necesidades del público electoral y por lo tanto no se utilizaron herramientas de inteligencia de mercado pero si se pudieron utilizar ciertas herramientas de inteligencia de mercado para demostrar el rechazo hacia ciertas actitudes como por ejemplo, las declaraciones de Trump en contra de los inmigrantes, los comentarios sobre personas, en este caso un reportero, con discapacidades y entrevistas en las cuales Trump ha hecho comentarios ofensivos para las mujeres que hace entender una referencia a la menstruación (el caso de la periodista Megyn Kelly).
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político en esta pieza es la candidata y sus esfuerzos por explotar su ventaja competitiva ante Trump.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: el *marketing pull* de esta pieza fue principalmente el canal de *YouTube* y las redes sociales.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
 - i. Fuerzas externas:
 - 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): no se observa ninguna herramienta tecnológica que defina de forma especial el curso o el objetivo de la pieza.
 - 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se perciben cambios estructurales

en esta pieza más allá de que la pieza está enfocada en reflejar a la competencia como negativa.

3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): el actor externo que más influye en esta pieza es evidentemente Trump por ser el candidato opositor de Clinton.

Pieza #7: anuncio para televisión y medios digitales de la campaña general “*Who We Are.*”
(Ver Anexo H, <https://youtu.be/mrX3QI31URA>)

Fecha: 11 de junio de 2016.

Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El foco de la candidata en esta pieza es su propuesta de venta a través de un discurso comparativo con Trump. El producto político en el primer comercial de campaña general de Clinton se basa en la representación de la candidata como una fuerza unificadora entre los ciudadanos estadounidenses y los problemas que afectan su vida cotidiana. Hillary Clinton se presenta como el vínculo necesario para alcanzar los cambios que considera necesarios con éxito, mientras establece una comparación de mensajes transmitidos por Trump. La comparación se basa en la pregunta “¿quiénes somos?” (“*Who We Are?*”) y cuestiona quiénes son los estadounidenses como nación. Al llevar a cabo la pregunta en la pieza, se muestran cortos de Trump diciendo comentarios como “me gustaría pegarle en la cara” (“*I’d like to punch him in the face*”) o la burla que el contrincante republicano hizo acerca de un reportero con discapacidades. Luego de los cortos de Trump y sus declaraciones, Clinton explica en la pieza sus pilares como candidata presidencial y cómo estos pilares son la contrapropuesta a las declaraciones de Donald Trump.

Clinton establece cómo la unidad es un fundamento básico para llevar a cabo sus propuestas como presidente, cómo la división entre partidos debe disminuirse para dar paso

al trabajo y a las soluciones, la importancia de construir una economía sólida que sea útil para todos los estadounidenses, no solamente los de las clases más altas y cómo es de gran importancia trabajar, a nivel internacional, con los aliados de los Estados Unidos para lograr una seguridad nacional fuerte (esta escena en específico porque se muestra otra fortaleza de la candidata: su experiencia como Secretaria de Estado ya que se está bajando del avión presidencial en una visita internacional). El concepto de venta a los votantes se convierte en la idea de ser una mejor sociedad, unida bajo los mismos principios y objetivos por los cuales ella va a trabajar para cumplir y alcanzar. Se puede establecer que posee un foco de propuesta de venta porque la pieza gira alrededor de la candidata dando contrapropuestas al discurso negativo de su oponente y reafirmando los planes que posee con relación en la economía, política exterior, desarrollo y demás temas de importancia para el público electoral.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: sí se identifican elementos que hacen referencia a las necesidades de los votantes ya que Clinton habla sobre los principales temas de preocupación para el público electoral estadounidense (tal como lo establece la encuestadora Gallup y como se demuestra previamente en este análisis) y porque en la pieza aparecen escenas haciendo referencia a las soluciones para estos problemas.
- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: no se observa ninguna caracterización específica a los votantes.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: el anuncio es de carácter comparativo principalmente, razón por la cual se puede entender que Clinton busca disminuir el apoyo de Trump o convencer aquellos votantes republicanos que no se encuentran seguros del candidato de su partido.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: al igual que las demás piezas en donde Clinton compara las principales debilidades de

Trump con sus fortalezas, este comercial identifica y subraya con escenas del oponente republicano sus debilidades y Clinton lleva a cabo un discurso para resaltar sus fortalezas. Asimismo, el *slogan* de la demócrata, frase con la que se termina la pieza, busca ser una contrapropuesta a la desunión que, según el partido demócrata, busca Trump.

- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: este elemento es el más claro en la pieza ya que, a cada escena en donde sale la competencia (Trump) en un discurso o dando una declaración, Clinton responde con una contrapropuesta positiva, por ejemplo: ante el comentario que Trump hace sobre pegarle en la cara a una persona y la burla al reportero con discapacidades, Hillary Clinton responde preguntando si los estadounidenses buscan ayudarse entre ellos, respetarse mutuamente y trabajar juntos. Acto seguido, la candidata explica, como se mencionó anteriormente, sus pilares, valores y creencias como candidata presidencial, los cuales se basan en la unión, sin distinción política, en el trabajo por un economía sólida, en la cooperación por parte de los Estados Unidos con sus aliados y con la comunidad internacional para lograr la seguridad nacional en el país; y en cómo la candidata rechaza cualquier intento de enfrentar o enemistar a los estadounidenses por sus diferencias.
- iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: ya que el comercial es una pieza de campaña muy general no se observa una segmentación específica de la imagen de la candidata.
- iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: esta pieza está dedicada, según el equipo de campaña de Clinton, para ser un comercial para la elección general, es decir, la imagen que la candidata muestra en este comercial es la que se busca que todo el público vea. Esta imagen busca reflejar una candidata con experiencia profesional en materia de Estado, dispuesta a trabajar con cualquier partido, enfocada en los problemas principales de los estadounidenses, como por ejemplo

la economía y sobretodo unificadora, ya que en el final de la pieza la candidata se pregunta si Estados Unidos busca ser un país “peligrosamente dividido” (“*dangerously divided*”), acompañada esta frase con una imagen de Trump, o “fuertemente unidos” (“*strongly united*”) acompañada con una imagen de Clinton y llevando a cabo la comparación final de forma irrefutable.

c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:

- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: este comercial se enfoca en la elección general y por lo tanto posee la estrategia que adquirió el equipo de campaña de Hillary Clinton la cual es comparar las debilidades de Trump con las fortalezas de Clinton y resaltar el discurso negativo de la competencia.
- ii. Investigación de mercado: la pieza no refleja herramientas de inteligencia de mercado.
- iii. Producto político: el producto político en esta pieza es la propuesta de venta de Hillary Clinton ante los principales problemas del público electoral y la contrapropuesta al discurso de Trump.
- iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: el *marketing pull* de esta pieza fue principalmente el canal de *YouTube*, redes sociales y la televisión nacional.

d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.

i. Fuerzas externas:

1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): no se observa ninguna herramienta tecnológica que defina de forma especial el curso o el objetivo de la pieza más allá de las herramientas de redes sociales para obtener un mayor alcance.
2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se perciben cambios estructurales en esta pieza más allá de que la pieza está enfocada en reflejar a la competencia como negativa. El objetivo de Clinton, a partir de la nominación oficial de Trump, ha sido enfocar su campaña en

disminuir la fuerza electoral de la competencia y conseguir los votos de aquellos que no se encuentran convencidos del candidato republicano para lograr ampliar la diferencia en las encuestas.

3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): el actor externo más influyente en esta pieza es evidentemente Trump por el objetivo enfocado hacia la competencia que adquirió el equipo de campaña de Clinton, y que es explicado previamente en este análisis.

Pieza #8: análisis del discurso de Hillary Clinton sobre el terrorismo en Cleveland, Ohio.

(Ver anexo I, <https://youtu.be/YE0OdiTwo6w>)

Fecha: 13 de Junio de 2016.

Fuente: página web de discursos de Hillary Clinton – (Anexo: canal de *YouTube* Donald Trump vs Hillary Clinton Speeches & Events).

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El producto político en el discurso compartido por la candidata se basa en la exposición de los valores y posturas tomadas por Clinton en referencia a determinadas cuestiones, como la defesensa de los derechos de la comunidad LGTB y el control del porte de armas en Estados Unidos. Resulta importante destacar que dicho discurso sucedió un día después del ataque a un grupo de americanos pertenecientes a la comunidad LGTB, en una discoteca en el estado de Florida, donde murieron más de 40 personas en manos de un hombre armado. El concepto de venta para los votantes se fundamenta en la reafirmación y el apoyo a dos temas importantes para dos segmentos específicos de los votantes potenciales de Clinton.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: debido al contexto que se

presentaba en el momento, Clinton tuvo la posibilidad de segmentar su discurso y dirigirlo a un grupo determinado de votantes que conforman una gran parte de su segmento objetivo, la comunidad LGTB y aquellos en favor de un control de armas más riguroso.

- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: la candidata hace referencia a la tragedia sufrida por ciudadanos americanos tan solo pocas horas antes, y la utiliza a manera de prueba para resaltar la necesidad de un cambio inminente en las legislaciones americanas.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: el tono, las ideas y las propuestas expuestas en el discurso se encuentra en su mayoría, dirigidas a segmentos particulares de los votantes potenciales; como lo son la comunidad LGTB y aquellos a favor de leyes de control para porte de armas más estrictas.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: los temas tratados durante el discurso no hicieron referencia alguna a las cualidades de la candidata; sin embargo Clinton, asumió una tarea de compromiso hacia la población estadounidense basada en el cumplimiento de sus deberes como ciudadana y como futura presidente de la nación.
- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: no se establecen comparaciones o referencias hacia el partido republicano, o hacia ninguno de sus candidatos.
- iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: la candidata se enfoca principalmente en el segmento de votantes pertenecientes a la comunidad LGTB. Se viste de luto en honor a las víctimas del atentado y expone palabras de apoyo y aliento a las familias que perdieron algún ser querido.
- iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: el tono del discurso es sombrío y respetuoso por las características de las palabras y el contexto de la situación. La candidata continúa el concepto general de la campaña, pero se enfoca en los asuntos concernientes

específicamente a un segmento determinado, la comunidad LGTB.

- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
 - i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: el discurso se transmitió en vivo por las redes sociales y obtuvo cobertura en medios masivos como la televisión.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: no se observa ninguna investigación de mercado previa que pudiese haber influenciado el discurso.
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político se basa en el apoyo de los valores y en la defensa de los derechos de la comunidad LGTB por parte de la candidata.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: las redes sociales de la candidata, la página web y algunos medios masivos fueron utilizados como herramientas de promoción del evento y por consiguiente, del discurso.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
 - i. Fuerzas externas:
 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): el discurso se transmitió a través de diferentes medios digitales y masivos.
 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se observan cambios estructurales durante la duración del discurso de la candidata.
 3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): el discurso fue expuesto por la candidata durante un evento de campaña en el Centro de Innovaciones Industriales de Cleveland.

Pieza #9: aplicación para celulares de Hillary Clinton. (Ver anexo J, <http://goo.gl/z2KPTr>)

Fecha: 26 de Julio de 2016.

Fuente: página web de Hillary Clinton.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El producto político de la aplicación móvil para celulares es la misma candidata Hillary Clinton. La aplicación está diseñada para establecer un contacto directo entre los potenciales votantes y la candidata. De esta manera se crea un concepto de venta interactivo que le permite a los usuarios recibir noticias en vivo, conocer otros partidarios que se encuentren en las cercanías, alcanzar metas diarias y establecer donaciones directas a la campaña. La aplicación permite crear una red virtual en donde compartir información intra red social resulta muchísimo más sencillo.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: gracias a las opciones que posee la aplicación (*app*) como el registro de votantes, la campaña logra aumentar el compromiso de los ciudadanos. Asimismo, la forma en la que se navega dentro de la *app* y su diseño, permite alcanzar un segmento objetivo de votantes más jóvenes.
- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: gracias al sistema de registro obligatorio al momento de ingresar por primera vez a la aplicación, se establece una conexión inmediata entre la *app* y las redes sociales previas que posea el usuario. De esta manera, es posible crear una base de datos crucial para el manejo y difusión de la campaña electoral.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: el diseño e imagen de la aplicación permite cubrir e integrar un nuevo segmento: adultos jóvenes.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: la aplicación transmite un mensaje positivo de la candidata a través de una sección de noticias que se actualiza diariamente y en donde se comparten discursos

- y eventos realizados por Clinton; con la finalidad de mantener a los usuarios informados e involucrados en las actividades de la campaña.
- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: existe una sección de preguntas a manera de juego dirigidas específicamente a Trump. El nombre del quiz es “*Trump or False*”, realizando un juego de palabras entre la definición inglesa de la palabra verdad (*True*); y el nombre del candidato opositor (Trump). En el cuestionario se colocan frases y comentarios negativos realizados por el republicano a lo largo de los años. El objetivo consiste en adivinar si el candidato fue el autor de dicha frase o comentario o si lo dijo alguien más. Todos los mensajes son negativos y expresan un fuerte rechazo de la candidata hacia Trump.
 - iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: la aplicación se encuentra específicamente diseñada para que resulte agradable dentro de un segmento más joven de votantes. Asimismo, dentro de la app hay secciones desarrolladas para grupos de votantes específicos como las mujeres y la comunidad LGTB.
 - iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: se continúa la misma línea de colores, el mismo logotipo y los mismos mensajes que se han manejado durante toda la campaña.
- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: la aplicación móvil permite crear una excelente conexión interna entre diferentes plataformas y redes sociales, lo cual facilita la expansión digital de la campaña electoral.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: la imagen, el diseño y el formato de la aplicación denotan una clara investigación de mercado, ya que para la realización de dicha aplicación se tomaron como referencia los juegos populares como *Farmville* y *Hay Day*. De esta manera se creó de un producto eficaz e interactivo dentro del segmento objetivo, que les permite a sus usuarios interactuar dentro de un centro de campaña ficticio.

- iii. Producto político: el producto político en esta pieza es la candidata. Todas las interacciones y opciones dentro de la aplicación están destinadas a crear una interacción directa con los mensajes y la imagen de Clinton.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: la aplicación permite establecer un intercambio de información directo entre diferentes redes sociales. De igual forma, el objetivo del juego es conectar con los votantes sin que los mismos tengan que pisar alguna vez algún centro de campaña.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
- i. Fuerzas externas:
 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): es necesario la utilización de Internet y las redes sociales para participar dentro de la comunidad que establece la aplicación.
 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se presenta ningún cambio estructural de las convenciones ya que no es la primera vez que se crea una aplicación como estrategia de campaña.
 3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): la aplicación fue creada por la compañía *Charity: Water and Livestream*.

Pieza #10: aceptación de la nominación como la candidata al partido demócrata en la Convención Nacional Demócrata (*DNC*). (Ver anexo K, <https://youtu.be/HNEIQ8olnro>)

Fecha: 28 de Julio de 2016.

Fuente: Canal de *YouTube* Your Latest Political News.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El foco de Clinton en el discurso de aceptación a la nominación como candidata oficial al partido demócrata para las elecciones de los Estados Unidos tiene los tres marcos

definidos por Newman en este modelo de análisis político: Clinton define el concepto de partido, el concepto de producto político y el concepto de venta a los votantes. Se establece que la demócrata habla del partido político porque acepta y hace evidente la representación que llevará a cabo el partido demócrata bajo su nominación, hace referencia a expresidentes demócratas como sus antecesores, su familia y a amigos como Obama, Bill Clinton y Joe Biden, y le da las gracias al senador Bernie Sanders por haber logrado poner temas de importancia social y económica en el centro de las prioridades de la candidatura demócrata y cómo, con la candidatura de Clinton, las necesidades de aquellos que apoyaron a Bernie también serán atendidas por su equipo porque es un objetivo del partido demócrata.

En segundo lugar, Clinton define el producto político, es decir, ella misma y su candidatura oficial a las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos porque explica, de nuevo, sus propuestas y sus prioridades como equipo de gobierno, vende su experiencia como Secretaria de Estado y el esfuerzo que ha puesto toda su vida por defender los ideales demócratas estadounidenses. Asimismo, complementa el producto político al incluir su fórmula y vicepresidente: Tim Kaine y comentar sobre su experiencia y cómo él mismo es ideal para llevar a cabo la estrategia del equipo de gobierno demócrata. El producto político es definido en este discurso sobretodo porque expresa las más grandes debilidades del contricante republicano de Hillary, Donald Trump, y sus fortalezas ante las debilidades del mismo. Por ejemplo, cuando comienza el discurso haciendo referencia a la maternidad y agradeciendo a su hija por ser su madre, luego habla de Trump y el hecho de que los hijos de todos los estadounidenses están tomando este ejemplo de agresividad y desunión. Finalmente, el producto político y la parte más importante de este discurso, es la aclaratoria que hace Clinton al explicar el por qué dedicó tantos años de su vida al servicio público y cómo ella comprende que su carisma no es su principal fortaleza pero sí las razones por las cuales dedicó su vida a los Estados Unidos.

1. Campaña de mercadeo:

- a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:
 - i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: como en la mayoría de las piezas analizadas y de sus discursos, la candidata identifica las necesidades de

los votantes en este discurso tales como: el desempleo, el salario para las mujeres y el contexto internacional de los EE.UU. y la atención especial que este ámbito necesita.

- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: Clinton caracteriza a los votantes en este discurso en el momento en que ejemplifica a los estadounidenses como un equipo para mejorar de forma unida el país. Cuando establece que los médicos y enfermeras, los bomberos, los policías y los empresarios que creen en los EE.UU. son una parte vital para mejorar el país. Esta caracterización se une a la vez con el *slogan* de la campaña de la candidata “*Stronger Together*” (Unidos somos más Fuertes).
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: El proceso de segmentación de potenciales votantes sí se lleva a cabo porque hace un llamado a aquellos que votaron por Bernie Sanders para que confíe en que ella va a mantener el foco de Sanders, y que deben unirse a su equipo para ganarle las elecciones a Donald Trump.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: este es uno de los puntos más claros en el discurso. Identifica ella misma sus fortalezas como candidata por su experiencia y dedicación al país. En segundo lugar identifica sus propias debilidades como lo es el tema de su carisma y personalidad y cómo los medios de comunicación utilizan esto en su contra.
- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: de nuevo, este punto es de suma importancia en el discurso de Clinton ya que compara el discurso agresivo de Trump y lleno de “odio”, con su sentido maternal y de trabajo en equipo.
- iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: la imagen de la candidata en esta pieza es de victoria y representación demócrata.
- iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: la imagen global se identifica cuando hace un llamado a su futuro equipo

de gobierno, cuando se autodenomina futura presidente de los Estados Unidos.

- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
 - i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: como una campaña orientada al mercado (*Market-oriented Party*), Clinton resalta en esta pieza experiencias de mercado reales con casos conocidos que reflejan que la candidata y su equipo saben identificar las necesidades principales de los votantes y cómo satisfacerlas.
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político en este discurso se apoya en las propuestas de la candidata, el enfoque que su campaña tiene ahora que es la candidata oficial del partido demócrata, y el hecho que su campaña está por dar un cambio de dirección ya que se va a enfocar de ahora en adelante de ganar las elecciones generales y con un nuevo contrincante: Donald Trump.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: esta pieza, al igual que la anterior, por tener un carácter de interés nacional y ser la convención de un partido importante en los Estados Unidos, fue publicada en canales de YouTube, incluyendo el de la candidata, y se transmitió en vivo por internet y cadenas de televisión del estado y privadas a nivel nacional e internacional.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
 - i. Fuerzas externas:
 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): el discurso tuvo cobertura en vivo y *streaming* en las redes sociales y campañas de *live Twitter* para incrementar el alcance del discurso de Clinton y aprovechar la tecnología y las herramientas de mercadeo que proporciona. Asimismo, al igual que todos los discursos de la candidata, se transcribió y publicó en los archivos digitales de Clinton.
 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones

financieras, debates, etc.): hay dos cambios estructurales reflejados en este discurso. Primero el hecho de que Hillary Clinton fue electa como la primera mujer candidata oficial a las elecciones para presidente de un partido importante en los Estados Unidos; y segundo, que su discurso y campaña ahora se va a enfocar en disminuir a Donald Trump.

3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): la influencia más fuerte en este discurso, en este punto determinado, es el énfasis que hace Clinton en llamar la atención de los votantes que apoyaron a Bernie Sanders y resaltar el hecho de que ella va a velar por sus necesidades.

Pieza #11: respuesta al tema relacionado con el uso de sus cuentas de correo electrónico personales para tratar temas referentes a su trabajo como Secretaria de Estado en la Convención conjunta Nacional de Periodistas Afroamericanos y Periodistas Hispánicos.

(Ver Anexo L, <https://youtu.be/J4XNYJstqnA>).

Fecha: 5 de agosto de 2016.

Fuente: Canal de *YouTube* de PBS News Hour.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El foco de Clinton en este discurso es el producto político, es decir, su propósito es defenderse como candidata y demostrarle a los medios de comunicación, por ser este un discurso especialmente de rueda de prensa, que es una candidata confiable y responder a las preguntas referentes a su comportamiento por toda la situación del manejo de correos electrónicos relacionados a su trabajo a través de su cuenta de correo electrónico personal.

Asimismo, Clinton aclara cómo ella entregó todos los correos porque se siente muy orgullosa del trabajo de su equipo y de su persona mientras formó parte del gobierno de

Obama, de nuevo promocionando el producto político. De igual forma, la candidata destaca que se arrepiente, en parte por los problemas que le ha traído, pero que es completamente legal lo que hizo y trae al tema los testimonios y declaraciones del director del FBI, James Comey, que establecen lo cooperativa que fue Hillary Clinton para llevar a cabo las investigaciones.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: en este discurso no se hacen referencias a algunas a las necesidades del público electoral sino que es una respuesta a la pregunta de una periodista relacionada al tema de los correos electrónicos de Clinton.
- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: la única caracterización que se hace, se lleva a cabo con el público expectador, es decir, con los periodistas presentes en la rueda de prensa. La caracterización se realiza cuando Clinton intenta llamar la atención de los mismos cuando les pregunta si alguno de ellos ha trabajado en el gobierno, buscando identificación por parte del público con su situación, y con los ejemplos que establece Hillary Clinton.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: la candidata no hace llamado a potenciales votantes, solamente busca explicar su comportamiento ante la situación de los correos. Es importante resaltar que en la mayoría de las respuestas de la candidata ante el tema de los correos electrónicos, Clinton nunca se desvía del tema y se mantiene firme ante las preguntas.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: en esta pieza se representa la principal debilidad de la candidata durante su campaña y el principal punto de crítica: la situación de los correos electrónicos y cómo la candidata utilizó su cuenta de correo personal para tratar temas confidenciales relacionados a su trabajo como Secretaria de Estado, y el hecho de que la candidata ha sido investigada por distintos departamentos gubernamentales. Ante esta debilidad, Clinton ha explicado con detalle y

- con objetividad cómo se desarrolló la situación.
- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: en esta pieza no se hace referencia alguna a la competencia de Clinton.
 - iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: la imagen de la candidata en esta pieza es de convicción y tranquilidad para reflejar que la información que está dando es veraz.
 - iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: la imagen global no se identifica puesto se está tratando un punto muy específico que no requiere una imagen global.
- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: en este discurso no se define ningún objetivo de la campaña más allá del hecho de que Clinton busca explicar la situación de los correos electrónicos con el objetivo de que no afecte su candidatura a las elecciones presidenciales.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: como se mencionó anteriormente, no se hace referencia a las necesidades del público electoral y por lo tanto no se utilizaron herramientas de inteligencia de mercado.
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político en esta pieza es la candidata y sus esfuerzos por mejorar su imagen ante el tema de los correos electrónicos mientras funcionaba como Secretaria de Estado.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: el *marketing pull* de esta pieza fueron canales de *YouTube* de distintas cadenas de televisión y en el archivo de sus discursos digitales de Clinton.
- d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.
- i. Fuerzas externas:
 1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): no se observa ninguna herramienta tecnológica que defina de forma especial el curso o el objetivo de la pieza.
 2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se perciben cambios estructurales.
 3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores,

encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): la influencia de distintos actores en esta pieza se puede ver representada en comités de acción política que se han encargado de llevar a cabo investigaciones relacionadas con el tema de correos electrónicos como el FBI.

Pieza #12: anuncio para televisión y medios digitales: “*Just One.*”

(Ver anexo M, <https://youtu.be/UqpQ4neS68g>)

Fecha: 20 de Agosto de 2016.

Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

El producto político en el comercial se encuentra enfocado en su totalidad hacia el carácter del candidato Trump por el partido republicano. El mensaje presentado se caracteriza de fuertes críticas hacia frases y mensajes dichos por el republicano en eventos de su campaña electoral, como la amenaza de bombardear a personas, insultos con lenguaje grotesco y referencias a *Isis*. El concepto de venta a los votantes se basa en demostrar las incapacidades mentales y profesionales de Trump frente a un cargo tan importante como es la presidencia de los Estados Unidos; haciendo especial referencia, aunque de manera tácita, al hecho de que quién sea presidente obtendrá los códigos nucleares.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: se identifican claramente las necesidades de los votantes cuando se menciona en el vídeo la necesidad de asegurar el liderazgo de la persona adecuada para resolver y mantener la calma en situaciones de crisis nacional.
- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: no se establecen caracterizaciones específicas de personas a lo largo del vídeo. Sin embargo se demuestra la idea de quién no debería ser presidente de los EE.UU., haciendo una referencia

clara a Trump.

- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: el comercial expone un mensaje general de unidad y análisis que abarca tanto al segmento objetivo de los votantes demócratas, como a los potenciales votantes del partido republicano que no están convencidos del carácter de Trump.
- b. Posicionamiento del candidato:
- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: aunque no se demuestran palabras textuales que hablen específicamente sobre Clinton; el mensaje, la imagen y las frases que se presentan en el comercial fortalecen la imagen positiva de la candidata de forma tácita, mientras al mismo tiempo descomponen el carácter de Trump.
 - ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: se establecen fuertes comparaciones y críticas hacia Trump, con el objetivo de atacar su carácter y establecer una equiparación negativa.
 - iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: el comercial establece un tono de crítica y comparaciones destinadas a ser aceptadas por el segmento objetivo de la campaña.
 - iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: el tono del mensaje, los colores, la imagen y la utilización de grabaciones de Trump con mensajes negativos, demuestra el interés de alcanzar tanto los votantes potenciales del partido demócrata como aquellos indecisos del partido republicano.
- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: el comercial se ha transmitido en varios medios masivos como la televisión, en los canales CNN, MSNBC y TNT. Adicionalmente, se ha compartido a través de sus redes sociales y se encuentra en su canal de *YouTube*.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: el comercial demuestra una clara inteligencia de mercado, al utilizar elementos expuestos previamente por el candidato Trump, durante su campaña electoral.
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político se basa en la transmisión negativa

de ideas y mensajes transmitidos por Trump con la finalidad de entablar una comparación con la candidata Clinton, que deje entrever de manera tácita todos las aptitudes positivas de la misma.

iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: no se aprecia la existencia de estrategias de *marketing pull* del producto.

d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.

i. Fuerzas externas:

1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): el comercial se encuentra en redes sociales, y se ha transmitido a través de canales y programas de televisión.
2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se presentan cambios estructurales o regulaciones dentro de la narrativa del comercial.
3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): el único factor externo que funciona como desenlace y elemento comparativo dentro de la trama del comercial es la candidata Clinton, pero de manera tácita, ella es la conclusión positiva a la cual deben llegar los votantes.

Pieza #13: análisis del manejo de la cuenta en la red social *Twitter* de Hillary Clinton.

Fecha: Abril 2015 - Agosto 2016.

Fuente: cuenta de *Twitter* de Hillary Clinton.

Análisis:

1. Foco en el candidato:

La cuenta de twitter de Hillary Clinton fue activada el 9 de abril del año 2013, mientras la candidata era aún Secretaria de Estado durante el segundo período presidencial de Obama. Según la herramienta de análisis de redes sociales *TwitterCounter*, desde el inicio de la campaña electoral en el mes de abril del 2015, se

han compartido más de 6 mil *tweets*. En promedio, se realizan 20 *tweets* diarios y se aumenta 19.604 seguidores cada día, colocando a la cuenta dentro del *ranking* mundial en el número 246. De igual forma, el análisis realizado por la herramienta de análisis *Twitonomy*, indica que se comparten diariamente 1.395 *links*; 547 *retweets*; se obtienen en promedio 96 respuestas; se comparten 314 *hashtags* y se realizan alrededor de 680 menciones diarias. Por último, todos los *tweets* realizados personalmente por Clinton se encuentran identificados con la firma personal –H, al final de cada mensaje.

El producto político manejado en la cuenta de la red social de Twitter de la candidata está basado en la continua comunicación e interacción de Clinton con los potenciales votantes y ciudadanos americanos. La mayoría de los mensajes publicados hacen referencia a los problemas que enfrenta la clase media y a las resoluciones propuestas por la candidata como parte de su promesa de campaña. Asimismo, desde la elección definitiva de Trump como el candidato por el partido republicano, el tono de los mensajes ha cambiado, con la mayoría de las publicaciones actuales dirigidas a combatir, refutar y señalar aspectos negativos del candidato opositor.

El concepto de venta a los votantes consiste en establecer una imagen accesible de la candidata con sus seguidores y votantes potenciales. La creación de diferentes iniciativas y *hashtags* que permiten compartir contenido de manera más eficaz facilita el intercambio de ideas y comentarios de forma directa e interactiva con los demás usuarios, especialmente con los segmentos identificados dentro de la población estadounidense.

Siguiendo la línea y el concepto creativo que ha establecido todos los parámetros de la campaña electoral de la candidata en cada medio masivo y digital, se han realizado diferentes tácticas e iniciativas dirigidas a establecer conexiones directas con grupos determinados de votantes. La utilización estratégica de mensajes en español buscan reconocer a la comunidad latina y abrir un espacio de debate dentro de la red. El *hashtag* “*I’m with her*” permite establecer un vínculo rápido y fácil de identificar, inclusive a través de diferentes plataformas digitales. Finalmente, la constante humanización de la candidata a través de mensajes, fotos y multimedia personales como *selfies* o referencias

a situaciones culturalmente relevantes en momentos determinados, como el *tweet* de referencia al juego *PokemonGo*, contribuyen a la formación de una imagen cercana de la candidata hacia sus seguidores.

2. Campaña de mercadeo:

a. Segmentación del mercado de votantes para:

- i. Identificar necesidades de los votantes: la mayoría del contenido compartido y de los mensajes publicados en la cuenta de la candidata tratan sobre problemas y situaciones que afectan la vida diaria del americano de clase media.
- ii. Caracterizar a los votantes: las características intrínsecas y propias de la red social *Twitter* brindan la posibilidad de establecer una interacción directa, inmediata y personalizada de la candidata con cada uno de sus seguidores.
- iii. Decidir segmentos de potenciales votantes: Clinton ha empleado tácticas y mensajes dirigidos a subsegmentos específicos dentro del compendio de votantes potenciales. Mensajes adecuados a los latinos, a personas pertenecientes a la comunidad LGTB y a grupos de mujeres, defensoras de los derechos de igualdad.

b. Posicionamiento del candidato:

- i. Identificar las debilidades y fortalezas del candidato: los mensajes compartidos en la cuenta de la candidata comunican las acciones y actitudes positivas ejercidas por la candidata a lo largo de su campaña electoral.
- ii. Buscar diferencias con la competencia: desde la elección de Trump como el candidato por el partido republicano, el foco de los mensajes compartidos en la cuenta de Clinton ha cambiado y se ha establecido un patrón de críticas, referencias negativas y reproches hacia las acciones y discursos compartidos por Trump.
- iii. Decidir la imagen a mostrar para cada segmento de votantes de interés: el tono de los mensajes, la redacción y la utilización de imágenes

específicas han sido utilizados como tácticas al momento de compartir información o interactuar con algún grupo específico de votantes.

- iv. Decidir la imagen global a mostrar integrando lo común de las anteriores: se mantiene el mismo concepto de campaña que se comparte a lo largo de las diferentes plataformas utilizadas por la candidata, tanto a nivel de medios masivos, como a nivel de medios digitales.
- c. Formulación e implementación de la estrategia:
- i. Definición de la campaña y su plataforma: la utilización de las redes sociales y en especial *Twitter*, le ha permitido a la candidata alcanzar un número alto de *engagement* (nivel de interacción entre usuarios y las marcas en las redes sociales) con sus seguidores. Asimismo, el carácter inmediato y personalizado que permite establecer la red social ha ayudado a materializar la idea de presentar a Hillary como una persona accesible.
 - ii. Investigación de mercado: el nivel de respuesta que posee cada mensaje puede ser evaluado de manera inmediata por el equipo de comunicaciones gracias a las herramientas de análisis y a los resultados directos de cada mensaje evaluados en forma de respuestas, *retweets* y del número de favoritos. De igual forma, la creación de mensajes destinados a grupos específicos deja entrever una inteligencia de mercado, ya que la campaña busca establecer una estrategia inclusiva de comunicaciones dirigidas a grupos de segmentos distintos, se comparten mensajes específicamente dirigidos a usuarios pertenecientes a la comunidad LGTB, a los latinos, a las mujeres e incluso al segmento de adultos jóvenes.
 - iii. Producto político: el producto político que se maneja en la mayoría de los mensajes compartidos es la candidata, sus acciones, sus promesas y su recorrido diario de campaña.
 - iv. *Marketing pull* destinado a los medios masivos: *Twitter* permite una interacción directa entre diferentes redes sociales y otras plataformas digitales.

d. Desarrollo y control de la organización.

i. Fuerzas externas:

1. Tecnología (Internet, televisión, SI/TI, etc.): se establece un alto grado de correspondencia e interacción intrared al igual que hacia otros medios audiovisuales y digitales.
2. Cambios estructurales (reglas y convenciones, regulaciones financieras, debates, etc.): no se observan cambios estructurales ni convencionales en las estrategias y tácticas de manejo de la red social.
3. Influencia de los distintos actores (candidatos, consultores, encuestadores, medios, otros partidos, grupos de interés, comités de acción política, votantes, etc.): la mayor influencia externa que posee la red social proviene de los mismos usuarios, ya que estos tienen la posibilidad de interactuar en tiempo real y de manera directa con el contenido que se publique en la cuenta de la candidata.

CAPÍTULO V

CONCLUSIONES Y RECOMENDACIONES

El análisis de la campaña en general, con el modelo MOP de Lees-Marshment, puede establecer las siguientes conclusiones. La campaña de Hillary Clinton se encuentra enfocada en el mercado por la inclinación que poseen todas las comunicaciones y piezas a responder a las principales necesidades del mercado y el apoyo evidente que se observa en herramientas de inteligencia de mercado. Asimismo, el producto político principal (la candidata), fue diseñado para responder a estas necesidades a través de su discurso y a través de herramientas tecnológicas como su página web. Por ejemplo, el hecho de que cada una de sus propuestas posean un marco de tiempo y explicación detallada de los principales problemas para el estadounidense común, mencionados en este trabajo de investigación, son un reflejo de esta orientación hacia el mercado.

Otro punto importante que se concluye en este análisis, es que la candidata y su campaña cambiaron el foco de la misma hacia un proceso de deslegitimar a la competencia republicana una vez decidido el candidato oficial de este partido: Donald Trump. Las piezas especializadas para reflejar a Trump como un candidato negativo, a través de frases en su página web y discursos que tenían como objetivo quitarle autoridad o denigrar al candidato, son ejemplos de este cambio de foco.

Una estrategia básica que se establece en el modelo MOP de Lees-Marshment y que Clinton utiliza en su campaña, específicamente con su oponente republicano, es la de identificar las debilidades de su oponente y explotar sus propias fortalezas. El hacer ver a Trump como un candidato que busca la desunión, la separación del pueblo estadounidense, la agresión y que no posee experiencia alguna y al conjugarlo con una comparación clara en piezas para medios

digitales y TV con Clinton, su capacidad para unir al público estadounidense, incluir a minorías, velar por los derechos civiles y al presentarse como madre y esposa es un ejemplo de esta estrategia. De igual forma, Clinton utiliza la herramienta del sexo y el hecho de que es la primera mujer en ser candidata de un partido importante en los EE.UU. como un mensaje en donde se observa a la candidata como un modelo a seguir para niñas, mientras que en otras piezas Trump es visto como un modelo negativo para niños.

Adicionalmente, se puede concluir del análisis del modelo MOP de Lees-Marshment, que Clinton se ha visto beneficiada del apoyo por parte de miembros del partido demócrata, incluyendo al presidente Barack Obama, el ex presidente Bill Clinton y su previo oponente, el senador Bernie Sanders.

Por último, del modelo MOP se concluye que la implementación de las piezas de la campaña de mercadeo político de Clinton tuvo una organización estratégica y coherente. Las respuestas ante temas críticos como la situación en Bengasi, la economía y la investigación por el uso de su cuenta de correo electrónico personal mientras era Secretaria de Estado y demás, tuvieron siempre la misma línea y nunca se contradijo la candidata. El uso de la tecnología también fue un punto clave en la implementación de la campaña de Clinton. Sus campañas y anuncios en redes sociales le hablaban al *target* que es normalmente alcanzado en este tipo de medios, donde el desarrollo de una aplicación, de temas musicales y de una plataforma digital definieron puntos claves en su campaña.

Con relación al análisis de las piezas de la campaña de Clinton, se puede establecer que la gran mayoría tiene como foco el producto político, estrategia que tiene sentido por la orientación hacia el mercado que posee la campaña de la candidata. Asimismo, las piezas durante la campaña de las primarias se relacionaban más con respuestas hacia las necesidades puntuales de los estadounidenses y sus propuestas concretas para solucionar estos problemas. Sin embargo, cuando se oficializa la candidatura de Trump ante el partido republicano, su campaña y discurso cambian a una estrategia para delinear las debilidades de su competencia y explotar su ventaja competitiva como candidata.

El hecho de que es la primera mujer en ser candidata oficial del partido demócrata sí es un punto que el equipo de campaña de Hillary explota, sobretodo con piezas como “Modelos a Seguir” y cuando la candidata, en distintos discursos, afirma que muchas niñas en el futuro podrán ser presidentes, el hecho de que es madre y esposa y el sentido de responsabilidad que esto denota. De nuevo, estos puntos también son utilizados para precisar las debilidades de su competencia. Por ejemplo, el discurso de Clinton también se apoya en el foco de la “unión” (tal y como lo expresa su slogan *Stronger Together*) y en que los Estados Unidos es un país construido por inmigrantes y el rechazo que Trump, como en distintas declaraciones ha demostrado, posee por lo mismos.

Es importante resaltar que Clinton respeta lo establecido por Lees-Marshment ante un momento de elecciones, en este caso primarias. La demócrata en el momento en el que pierde el estado de New Hampshire ante el senador Sanders, se mantiene victoriosa, optimista y llama a la acción para no perder otros estados y reafirma sus propuestas de venta y soluciones concretas a las necesidades del público electoral. De igual forma, una herramienta que utiliza Clinton en sus piezas de campaña es la caracterización de votantes, Clinton ejemplifica situaciones de la vida real con el objetivo de que el público electoral se identifique con ella y la observen como una persona más cercana y que comprende sus problemas. La caracterización no se desarrolla solamente en discursos sino en piezas y anuncios especiales para inmigrantes y minorías. Esta caracterización también funciona como una segmentación de los votantes que hace el equipo de campaña de la candidata y que logra desarrollar un mensaje más específico para estos segmentos.

La influencia de los actores externos es clave en los mensajes de campaña de Hillary Clinton. Desde que el senador Sanders endosa la candidatura a Clinton, hasta el apoyo que recibe la misma por parte de miembros del partido y las críticas por parte de los republicanos hacia Trump; los factores externos fueron una herramienta imprescindible para desarrollar mensajes y legitimar a la demócrata como la mejor opción para la presidencia de los Estados Unidos.

La comunicación personal a través de herramientas digitales como las redes sociales, facilita la interacción directa de la candidata con el segmento de votantes potenciales y permite

establecer un precedente de imagen muchísimo más cercano y accesible ante los ciudadanos estadounidenses. Asimismo, la capacidad de inclusión que brindan los medios digitales le han permitido a Clinton crear estrategias de *marketing* dirigidas específicamente a subgrupos de segmentos objetivos; la campaña creada en *Twitter* donde cualquier ciudadano promedio podía aplicar para tomar control de la cuenta de la candidata durante veinticuatro horas, es un claro ejemplo de ello.

Ahora bien, el reto más grande al cual se enfrenta Hillary al momento de aumentar su alcance y popularidad son las percepciones que poseen las personas hacia su carácter y personalidad. El estadounidense promedio visualiza a la candidata como una persona inaccesible y alejada de los intereses comunes de la población. Es percibida como una persona que carece de espontaneidad y calor humano. Y aunque en la mayoría de las ocasiones la candidata utiliza las ideas y percepciones positivas asociadas a la feminidad como una ventaja; es en la más importante, su impresión personal, donde falla completamente.

Hillary Clinton se encuentra cerca de convertirse en la siguiente Presidente de los Estados Unidos sin embargo, carece de gran popularidad. La primera mujer Presidente sería otro momento importante para la historia, pero hasta ahora, existe poca conmoción sobre el prospecto. Resulta interesante analizar las razones por las cuales una candidata con una excelente trayectoria política nacional, dos veces electa Senadora y luego Secretaria de Estado por la administración de Obama; acompañada de un ex-Presidente de inmensa popularidad, que cumplió dos mandatos consecutivos y de quien se podría decir que aplicó políticas económicas y sociales acertadas; sea tan cuestionada por la sociedad americana.

Existen varias explicaciones por las cuales Clinton es una opción tan desapacible para los votantes. Según la última encuesta realizada el 28 de agosto del 2016 por el *Washington Post*, 56% de los encuestados posee una impresión desfavorable hacia la candidata, mientras que 41% afirma tener una impresión favorable. Dicha encuesta arrojó también resultados de 63% de impresión desfavorable hacia Trump, mientras que solo 35% de los votantes comparten una impresión favorable hacia el candidato republicano. De acuerdo a los resultados expuestos anteriormente, se puede concluir que la imagen de Clinton frente a los estadounidenses no es

beneficiosa para la candidata ya que un gran número de votantes, incluso aquellos afines al partido demócrata, han destacado que consideran a Clinton como una persona rígida, ensayada, y ególatra. No obstante, la razón número uno de su masiva desconfianza viene dada por los problemas legales que involucran los casos sobre Bengasi y los miles de emails compartidos desde un servidor personal para tratar cuestiones de Estado.

Lo cierto es que Hillary no ha dejado de tener un papel en la esfera política estadounidense por más de 25 años. La nación conoce solo un lado personal de Clinton; una personalidad orientada al trabajo, una distinción únicamente profesional, calculada, diligente, afanosa: desconfiable. Es difícil para los ciudadanos considerarla como una persona común o inclusive normal, ya que Clinton ha sido por muchos años, tan solo un papel. Ella es en esencia un rol político.

Esta personalidad tan sombría, fría y seca con la cual se describe a Hillary en infinidad de ocasiones y que parece ser la opinión más popular del momento, desentona con las características de una época mucho más íntima, personal y reveladora gracias a la vulnerabilidad que otorgan las redes sociales y los medios digitales en general.

La verdadera pregunta es ¿Qué sabe la gente sobre lo que hace Clinton en su tiempo libre? Con Obama todo fue diferente ya que su presencia creció a través de las redes sociales, la gente sabe qué hace para divertirse, cuáles son sus aficiones, conocen su sentido del humor. Clinton es cautelosa, moderada y francamente aburrida. Su cuenta en *Twitter* no es más que un calculado archivo sistemático de todos sus discursos, eventos o comerciales compartidos a lo largo de su campaña electoral, con alguna que otra foto o mensaje personal, tan raros de encontrar que se encuentran destinados a obtener un número alto de alcance entre sus seguidores, como si estos estuviesen pidiendo afanosamente más contenido de este tipo mas no se observa ninguna respuesta por parte del equipo de campaña, o de Hillary, a estas necesidades que los votantes parecen tener.

Está claro que sus redes sociales son una herramienta informativa y conforman de hecho, la estrategia más efectiva para obtener un mayor alcance entre diferentes grupos de votantes

potenciales; pero la candidata desperdicia la oportunidad de compartir quién es ella en realidad, quién es Hillary cuando no tiene una cámara en frente. Inclusive las personas excitosas necesitan de este espacio para ser personas reales y algo más que solo un personaje productivo.

Clinton no ha desaparecido de los medios, de la vida política estadounidense, o de la mente de sus ciudadanos por al menos las últimas dos décadas; pasando de un cargo político al siguiente. Las personas no han tenido la oportunidad de no pensar en ella, de comenzar a apreciarla desde otro ángulo, de olvidar. Los estadounidenses no han tenido el tiempo de dejar de verla como la candidata con un escándalo sobre unos correos electrónicos, ni tampoco se han olvidado de Bengasi. Clinton no les ha otorgado en realidad la oportunidad de que la quieran; y disculparse en numerosas ocasiones, hacer referencias de *PokemonGo* y compartir una que otra foto personal de vez en cuando, no hacen la diferencia.

Si el problema que más afecta su imagen y popularidad es la falsedad con la que un número de estadounidenses la define; según una encuesta realizada por la compañía de investigación de mercado *Gallup*, 21% de los votantes la consideran deshonesta; entonces el rey de su contenido debería ser lo real, lo espontáneo, lo indetectable. Clinton tiene que permitirle al mundo conocerla como algo más que una figura política. No es casualidad que su *tweet* más popular hasta la fecha haya sido un mensaje dirigido a Trump en el que le demandaba borrar su cuenta, ¿Por qué ha sido el más famoso? Porque precisamente demuestra que tiene emociones, que es una persona real que puede perder el temperamento y decir lo primero que se le venga a la cabeza sin pensar en las consecuencias. De igual forma, dicho *tweet* remite a lo emocional y desconstruye las estructuras más racionales que caracterizan a los mensajes que se transmiten diariamente a través de las redes sociales de la candidata.

Trump se ha convertido irónicamente en el más grande partidario de Clinton porque no hay ningún otro candidato que hubiese podido generar la misma cantidad de desagrado y desconfianza que inspira Hillary. Mientras que Trump aprovecha el carácter de la candidata como su argumento más fuerte; Clinton ha obtenido el apoyo de nuevos grupos de votantes que a pesar de ser partidarios del partido republicano, no desean a Trump como Presidente.

Adicionalmente, es importante analizar el artículo que Michael Rosenblum (2016) publicó en el *Huffington Post* titulado *Donald Trump Is Going to Be Elected* (“Donald Trump será electo” – traducción propia) en el cual se explica por qué el candidato republicano será escogido como presidente en estas elecciones y tal vez un debate más profundo: ¿El público moldea a los medios de comunicación o los medios de comunicación moldean al público? Rosenblum establece cómo los medios de comunicación han cambiado su programación por una más vanal y menos profunda y cómo Donald Trump es un excelente elemento de entretenimiento que encaja perfectamente en la programación más popular para el público estadounidense. Sin embargo, la encuestadora *RealClear Politics* (agosto, 2016) muestra a Clinton 3.9 puntos sobre Trump, una brecha que la posiciona como la candidata ganadora por el momento pero de igual forma muy cerrada. Por lo tanto, luego de analizar la campaña de Clinton y el enfoque en contra de Trump que le ha dado, se puede establecer que el elemento de entretenimiento sí ha funcionado para el candidato republicano y que la diferencia que la demócrata posee sobre Donald Trump se debe a la contra campaña que la misma ha llevado a cabo, y a la profundización que se ha hecho en la experiencia y propuestas de gobierno de Clinton.

Finalmente, aunque el manejo de las redes sociales, los medios masivos y la campaña global de la candidata, tanto en su época de primarias como en la campaña general, haya seguido un concepto creativo muy acertado: presentar a la imagen de Clinton como una persona accesible, carismática, profesional y dinámica; los esfuerzos por convertir a Hillary en una persona espontánea, no han sido demasiado efectivos. Sin embargo el contexto en el que se ha visto envuelto la campaña, el gobierno anterior y el candidato opositor han sido factores claves en la carrera presidencial y serán aquellos que definan los resultados de las elecciones de noviembre 2016.

Como Joseh de Maistre dijo en *Lettres et Opuscules Inedits*, “Cada nación tiene el gobierno que se merece.” (1811)

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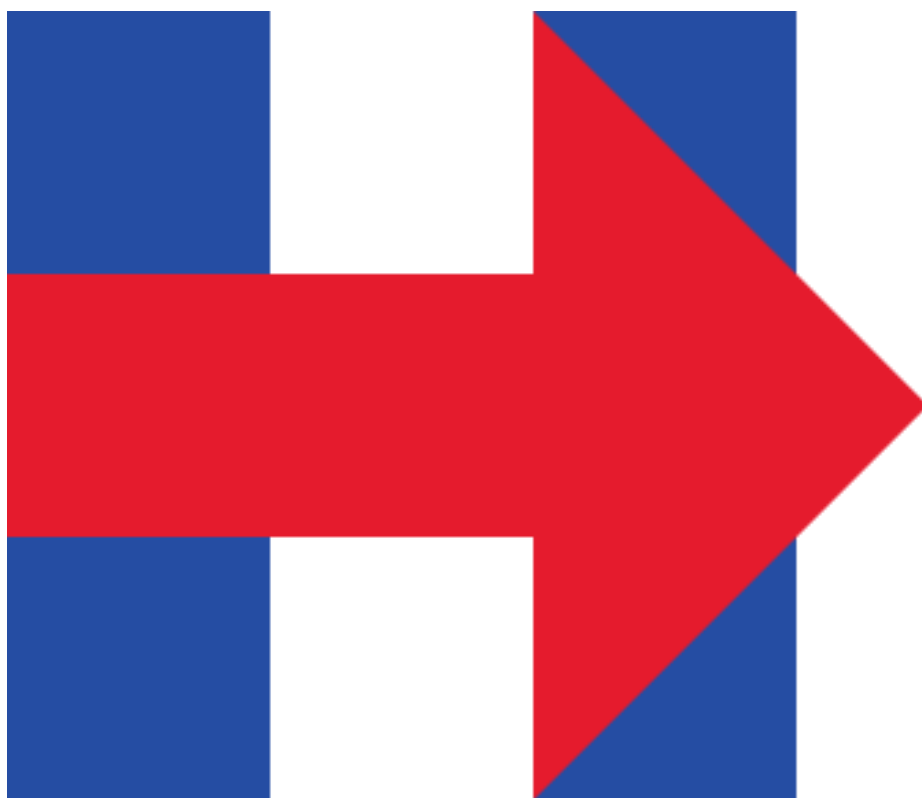
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ANEXOS

ANEXO A

Logotipo de Hillary Clinton de la campaña electoral para las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos período (2017-2021).



ANEXO B

Anuncio para televisión y medios digitales de lanzamiento de campaña: “*Getting Started.*”

- Fecha: 12 de Abril de 2015.

- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0uY7gLZDmn4>

- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 1 – Getting Started.*

ANEXO C

Primer discurso de lanzamiento de campaña en el parque *Four Freedoms* de la isla Roosevelt, en Nueva York (Campaign Rally).

- Fecha: 13 de Junio de 2015.
- Fuente Vídeo: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-i8vdM15K6c>
- Fuente Transcripción: Portal Web de la revista Time.
<http://time.com/3920332/transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/>
- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 2 – Campaign Launch*.
- Transcripción completa:

Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.

It is wonderful to be here with all of you.

To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.

To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times.

Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.

It is wonderful to be here with all of you.

To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.

To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times.

To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt's enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be.

And in a place... with absolutely no ceilings.

You know, President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation's unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton.

Two Democrats guided by the — Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all.

President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there's no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: "Equality of opportunity... Jobs for those who can work... Security for those who need it... The ending of special privilege for the few... The preservation of civil liberties for all... a wider and constantly rising standard of living."

That still sounds good to me.

It's America's basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too.

That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own.

It's what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years.

It's what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did.

When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.

When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash.

But, it's not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy.

We're still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises.

Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else.

What happened?

Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up.

Except it wasn't the end.

As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning.

You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement.

So we're standing again. But, we all know we're not yet running the way America should.

You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged.

While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America's kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate.

So, you have to wonder: "When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?"

"When?"

I say now.

Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers.

Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations.

Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too.

You brought our country back.

Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead.

And, you know what?

America can't succeed unless you succeed.

That is why I am running for President of the United States.

Here, on Roosevelt Island, I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.

I'm running to make our economy work for you and for every American.

For the successful and the struggling.

For the innovators and inventors.

For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases.

For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day.

For the nurses who work the night shift.

For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us.

For the veterans who served our country.

For the small business owners who took a risk.

For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans.

Our country's challenges didn't begin with the Great Recession and they won't end with the recovery.

For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents.

Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut wages for millions of Americans.

The financial industry and many multi-national corporations have created huge wealth for a few by focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value... too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair compensation.

Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they've lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course.

Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.

Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.

At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it.

But we can't do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.

Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away.

Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they're all singing the same old song...

A song called "Yesterday."

You know the one — all our troubles look as though they're here to stay... and we need a place to hide away... They believe in yesterday.

And you're lucky I didn't try singing that, too, I'll tell you!

These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse.

We've heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out.

Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and they'll say: "I'm not a scientist." Well, then, why don't they start listening to those who are?

They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia.

They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative.

They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions.

They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation.

And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other.

Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called "a village" that has a place for everyone.

Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America.

I believe that success isn't measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty...

How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive...

How many young people go to college without drowning in debt...

How many people find a good job...

How many families get ahead and stay ahead.

I didn't learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family.

My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one.

Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going.

You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed she mattered.

The 1st grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share.

The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. That was a bargain she leapt to accept.

And, because some people believed in her, she believed in me.

That's why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American.

To meet every challenge.

To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you.

To solve the toughest problems.

I believe we can do all these things because I've seen it happen.

As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities.

My first job out of law school was for the Children's Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find out how many children with disabilities couldn't go to school, and to help build the case for a law guaranteeing them access to education.

As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped.

In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved.

As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves.

It took years of effort, but Congress finally approved the health care they needed.

There are so many faces and stories that I carry with me of people who gave their best and then needed help themselves.

Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at community college, while raising three kids.

She doesn't expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn't quite so hard for families like hers?

I want to be her champion and your champion.

If you'll give me the chance, I'll wage and win Four Fights for you.

The first is to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those at the top.

To make the middle class mean something again, with rising incomes and broader horizons. And to give the poor a chance to work their way into it.

The middle class needs more growth and more fairness. Growth and fairness go together. For lasting prosperity, you can't have one without the other.

Is this possible in today's world?

I believe it is or I wouldn't be standing here.

Do I think it will be easy? Of course not.

But, here's the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can't stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.

There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal.

Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either.

There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing.

There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow's economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us.

In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to:

Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time.

I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas.

I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns.

We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan.

We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments.

And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century.

Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels...

Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings...

Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment...

And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our fellow Americans.

Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the global fight against climate change.

We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses. Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21st century.

We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements.

Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.

That's why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America.

And I want you to remember this, because to me, this is absolutely the most-compelling argument why we should do this. Research tells us how much early learning in the first five years of life can impact lifelong success. In fact, 80 percent of the brain is developed by age three.

One thing I've learned is that talent is universal – you can find it anywhere – but opportunity is not. Too many of our kids never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them to.

Our country won't be competitive or fair if we don't help more families give their kids the best possible start in life.

So let's staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child.

Let's make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt.

Let's provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success.

Now, the second fight is to strengthen America's families, because when our families are strong, America is strong.

And today's families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home.

I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days.

I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college courses to get ahead.

I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety.

That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it, without breaking the bank.

I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.

And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color often making even less.

This isn't a women's issue. It's a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue.

In America, every family should feel like they belong.

So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status.

And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.

You know, America's diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what's drawn so many to our shores. What's inspired people all over the world. I know. I've seen it with my own eyes.

And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before.

So we have a third fight: to harness all of America's power, smarts, and values to maintain our leadership for peace, security, and prosperity.

No other country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. No other country is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran – and to deal with the rise of new powers like China.

No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents.

As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe.

And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward.

As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's.

And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I'll see to it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they've earned.

I've stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden.

But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong.

Meeting today's global challenges requires every element of America's power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments.

There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there's a lot of good news out there too.

I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them.

And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home. That's why we have to win the fourth fight – reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans.

We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people.

We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen's right to vote, rather than every corporation's right to buy elections.

If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court's decision in Citizens United.

I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting.

I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color.

What part of democracy are they afraid of?

No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for.

Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner.

That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people.

We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.

There's so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago. Many states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up.

To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back, not one overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility.

Now, I'll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I'll also stand my ground when I must.

That's something I did as Senator and Secretary of State — whether it was working with Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve our foster care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that could threaten our cities — and it's something I will always do as your President.

We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other's back.

Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.

People all over the world have asked me: “How could you and President Obama work together after you fought so hard against each other in that long campaign?”

Now, that is an understandable question considering that in many places, if you lose an election you could get imprisoned or exiled – even killed – not hired as Secretary of State.

But President Obama asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country. That’s how we do it in America.

With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights.

We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded.

We can strengthen our families.

We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world.

And we can renew the promise of our democracy.

If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth.

I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own.

Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors.

Text “JOIN” J-O-I-N to 4-7-2-4-6.

Go to hillaryclinton.com and sign up to make calls and knock on doors.

It’s no secret that we’re going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America. But I’ve spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I’m not stopping now.

You know, I know how hard this job is. I’ve seen it up close and personal.

All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow grayer and grayer.

Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President in the history of the United States!

And the first grandmother as well.

And one additional advantage: You’re won’t see my hair turn white in the White House. I’ve been coloring it for years!

So I’m looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I’m not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a President for all Americans.

And along the way, I’ll just let you in on this little secret. I won’t get everything right. Lord knows I’ve made my share of mistakes. Well, there’s no shortage of people pointing them out!

And I certainly haven’t won every battle I’ve fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it.

I think you know by now that I’ve been called many things by many people — “quitter” is not one of them.

Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother.

When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I’d come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are long and the opposition is fierce.

I can still hear her saying: “Life’s not about what happens to you, it’s about what you do with what happens to you – so get back out there.”

She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of the last century — all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back down.

She was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever.

The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us – not just some, but all – should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential.

Not only because we’re a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but because we’re a better, stronger, more prosperous country when we harness the talent, hard work, and ingenuity of every single American.

I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte.

I wish she could have seen the America we’re going to build together.

An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards.

Where we don’t leave anyone out, or anyone behind.

An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States.

Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America.

ANEXO D

Discurso después de perder las elecciones primarias en el estado de New Hampshire.

- Fecha: 9 de Febrero de 2016.
- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de ABC News.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OPQ-g2iPh5E>
- Fuente Transcripción: Portal Web de CNN.
<http://time.com/3920332/transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/>
- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 3 – New Hampshire.*
- Transcripción completa:

Thank you, all, very, very much. My goodness. I don't know what we'd have done tonight if we actually won. This is a pretty exciting event, and I'm very grateful to all of you. I want to begin by congratulating Senator Sanders on his victory tonight, and I want to thank each and every one of you. And I want to say I still love New Hampshire and I always will.

And here's what we're going to do. Now, we take this campaign to the entire country. We're going to fight for every vote in every state. We're going to fight for real solutions that make a real difference in people's lives.

You know, when I started this campaign last spring, I knew we were facing profound challenges as a country. The way too many things were going just wasn't right. It isn't right that the kids I met in Flint on Sunday were poisoned because their governor wanted to save money. It isn't right for a grandmother here in New Hampshire or anywhere else to have to choose between paying rent and buying medicine because a prescription drug company increased the price 4,000 percent overnight. And it isn't right that a cashier that I met here in New Hampshire is paid less than her son for doing the same work even though she's been on the job for more years.

Now, people — people have every right to be angry. But they're also hungry. They're hungry for solutions. What are we going to do? And that is — that is the fight we're taking to the country. What is the best way to change people's lives so we can all grow together? Who is the best change-maker? And here's what I promise. Here's what I promise: I will work harder than anyone to actually make the changes that make your lives better.

In this campaign, you've heard a lot about Washington and about Wall Street. Now, Senator Sanders and I both want to get secret, unaccountable money out of politics, and let's remember, let's remember, Citizens United, one of the worst Supreme Court decisions in our country's history, was actually a case about a right-wing attack on me and my campaign. A right-wing organization took aim at me and ended up damaging our entire democracy.

So, yes, you're not going to find anybody more committed to aggressive campaign finance reform than me. We also agree — we also agree that Wall Street can never be allowed to once again threaten Main Street, and I will fight to rein in Wall Street, and you know what, I know how to do it."

So when I tell you no bank could be too big to fail and no executive too powerful to jail, you can count on it. Now, the real differences in this race are truly over: 'How do we create a future of prosperity, opportunity, and security for all of us?' We need to build a growth and fairness economy with higher wages and more good-paying jobs — including a bold, national mission to create millions of jobs in clean energy, manufacturing, and infrastructure.

And we need — we need to unleash, again, the innovation of our entrepreneurs and small businesses [and] make it easier for parents to balance work and family. Close the loopholes in our tax code. Crack down on

corporations that game the system. Stop other countries from taking advantage of us with unfair trade practices.

But even all that is not enough. We also have to break through the barriers of bigotry. African-American parents shouldn't have to worry that their children will be harassed, humiliated, even shot because of the color of their skin. Immigrant families shouldn't have to lie awake at night listening for a knock on the door. LGBT Americans shouldn't be fired from their jobs because of who they are or who they love.

And let's finally deliver something long overdue, equal pay for women in this economy. So here's how I see it. A president has to do all parts of the job for all Americans to make sure nothing holds you back. Not debt, not discrimination, not a deck that's always stacked for those at the top.

We need to break down those barriers and build ladders of opportunity for every person. That's how we will build a better tomorrow together, and that has been the cause and work of my life. You know, my family and my faith taught me a simple thing, do all the good in all the ways you can for all the people you can. That's what called me to a life of service. Just like millions of teachers and nurses and police officers and firefighters and members of our armed services, who get up every day and do the quiet work, the heroic work for all the rest of us.

But when children anywhere in our country go to bed hungry, or are denied a quality education, or who face abuse or abandonment, that diminishes all of us. That's why I did start my career at the Children's Defense Fund. That's why I went undercover in Alabama to expose racism in schools. That's why I worked to reform juvenile justice in South Carolina. And that is why I went to Flint, Michigan, on Sunday.

When people anywhere in America are held back by injustice, that demands action. That is why I believe so strongly that we have to keep up with every fiber of our being the argument for, the campaign for human rights. Human rights as women's rights, human rights as gay rights, human rights as worker rights, human rights as voting rights, human rights across the board for every single American. Now, that is who I am. That is what I've always done.

I know I have some work to do, particularly with young people, but I will repeat again what I have said this week. Even if they are not supporting me now, I support them. Because I know — I know I've had a blessed life, but I also know what it's like to stumble and fall. And so many people across America know that feeling.

And we've learned it's not whether you get knocked down that matters: It's whether you get back up. So, my friends, please join me in building on the progress we've made under President Obama. Pushing forward every single day for as long as it takes to break down those barriers that hold us back. We've got to believe in the basic proposition of our country when all Americans have the chance to succeed, when each of us has the opportunity to live up to our own God-given potential.

Then and only then can America live up to its potential as well. So let me — let me thank all of you. I am very grateful to my wonderful family, knowing they are by my side. Keeps me going every day. To the thousands of volunteers and organizers who called neighbors and knocked on doors in the New Hampshire snow.

To everyone who went to hillaryclinton.com to give what you could, more than 700,000 people have contributed to this campaign. The vast majority giving less than \$100. I know that doesn't fit with the narrative. I know there are those who want to deny the passion and the purpose you all show every day for this campaign, but you are the reason we are here and you are the reason we are going to win the nomination and then win this election together."

ANEXO E

Análisis del debate demócrata entre Hillary Clinton y Bernie Sanders en Brooklyn, Nueva York.

- Fecha: 14 de Abril de 2016.
- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* 2016 US Presidential Debates
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YrFurUjvXRU>
- Fuente Transcripción: Portal Web de CNN.
<http://edition.cnn.com/2016/04/14/politics/transcript-democratic-debate-hillary-clinton-bernie-sanders/>
- Carpeta de Archivos: debido a la larga duración del evento no se es posible colocar el video en la carpeta de archivos.
- Transcripción completa:

SANDERS: Wolf, thank you very much. CNN, thank you very much. Secretary Clinton, thank you very much. When we began this campaign almost a year ago, we started off at 3 percent in the polls. We were about 70 points behind Secretary Clinton. In the last couple of weeks, there were two polls out there that had us ahead.

(APPLAUSE)

Of the last nine caucuses and primaries, we have won eight of them, many of them by landslide victories.

(APPLAUSE)

Over the last year, we have received almost 7 million individual campaign contributions, averaging -- guess what -- \$27 apiece, more individual campaign contributions than any candidate in American history at this point in a campaign.

The reason that our campaign has done so well is because we're doing something very radical: We're telling the American people the truth. And the truth is that this country is not going to move forward in a significant way for working people unless we overturn this disastrous Citizens United Supreme Court decision...

(APPLAUSE)

... and unless we have real campaign reform so that billionaires and super PACs cannot buy elections.

(APPLAUSE)

This campaign is also determined to end a rigged economy where the rich get richer and everybody else get poorer, and create an economy that works for all of us, not just the 1 percent.

Thank you.

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton? CLINTON: Well, first of all, it's great to be here in New York, and I am delighted to...

(APPLAUSE)

... have this chance to discuss the issues that are important to our future. I was so honored to serve as a senator from New York for eight years...

(APPLAUSE)

... and to work to provide opportunity for all of our citizens to make it possible that we could knock down the barriers that stand in the way of people getting ahead and staying ahead.

And during those eight years, we faced some difficult challenges together. We faced 9/11. We worked hard to rebuild New York. I was particularly concerned about our first responders and others who'd been affected in their health by what they had experienced. We worked hard to bring jobs from Buffalo to Albany and all parts of New York to give more hard-working people a chance to really make the most out of their own talents.

And we worked hard to really keep New York values at the center of who we are and what we do together.

(APPLAUSE)

And that is -- that is exactly what I want to do as your president. We will celebrate our diversity. We will work together, bringing us back to being united, setting some big, bold, progressive goals for America. That's what I'm offering in this campaign, to build on the work, to build on the value that we share here in New York, to take those to Washington, and to knock down those barriers that in any way hold back not only individual Americans, but our country from reaching our full potential. That is what my campaign is about.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

We are going to deal with many of the issues both of you just raised. I want to begin with a question that goes right to the heart of which one of you should be the Democratic presidential nominee.

BLITZER: Senator Sanders, in the last week, you've raised questions about Secretary Clinton's qualifications to be president. You said that something is clearly lacking in terms of her judgment and you accused her of having a credibility gap.

So let me ask you, do you believe that Secretary Clinton has the judgment to be president?

SEN. BERNIE SANDERS (D-VT), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, I've known Secretary Clinton, how long, 25 years?

We worked together in the Senate. And I said that in response to the kind of attacks we were getting from the Clinton, uh, campaign. "Washington Post" headline says "Clinton Campaign says Sanders is Unqualified" and that's what the surrogates were saying.

Does Secretary Clinton have the experience and the intelligence to be a president?

Of course she does.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: But I do question...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- but I do question her judgment. I question a judgment which voted for the war in Iraq...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- the worst foreign policy blunder in the history of this country, voted for virtually every disastrous trade agreement which cost us millions of decent-paying jobs. And I question her judgment about running super PACs which are collecting tens of millions of dollars from special interests, including \$15 million from Wall Street. I don't believe that that is...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- the kind of judgment we need to be the kind of president we need.

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton?

HILLARY CLINTON (D-NY), FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, it is true that now that the spotlight is pretty bright here in New York, some things have been said and Senator Sanders did call me unqualified. I've been called a lot of things in my life. That was a first.

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: And then he did say that...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- he had to question my judgment. Well, the people of New York voted for me twice to be their senator from New York and...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- and...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- and President Obama trusted my judgment enough to ask me to be secretary of State for the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: So, look, we have disagreements on policy. There's no doubt about it. But if you go and read, which I hope all of you will before Tuesday, Senator Sanders' long interview with the "New York Daily News," talk about

judgment and talk about the kinds of problems he had answering questions about even his core issue, breaking up the banks.

When asked, he could not explain how...

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: -- that would be done and...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- when asked...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- when asked about a number of foreign policy issues, he could not answer about Afghanistan, about Israel, about counterterrorism, except to say if he'd had some paper in front of him, maybe he could.

I think you need to have the judgment on day one to be both president and commander-in-chief.

BLITZER: Senator...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And let's talk about judgment.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Yes!

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And let us talk about the worst foreign policy blunder in the modern history of this country...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: I led the opposition to that war. Secretary Clinton voted for that. Well, let's talk about judgment. Let's talk about super PACs and 501(c)(4)s, money which is completely undisclosed.

Where does the money come from?

Do we really feel confident about a candidate saying that she's going to bring change in America when she is so dependent on big money interests?

I don't think so.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, let me...

SANDERS: We have...

CLINTON: -- let me just say...

SANDERS: -- (INAUDIBLE)...

CLINTON: -- let me -- let me say...

BLITZER: Madam Secretary, let him finish.

CLINTON: OK.

SANDERS: Thirdly, we have got to understand that in America, we should be thinking big, not small.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you.

SANDERS: We need to join the rest of the industrialized world and guarantee health care to all people. So I...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- my (INAUDIBLE).

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

Secretary?

CLINTON: Well, make -- make no mistake about it, this is not just an attack on me, it's an attack on President Obama. President Obama...

(BOOS)

CLINTON: You know, let me tell you why. You may not like the answer, but I'll tell you why. President Obama had a super PAC when he ran. President Obama took tens of millions of dollars from contributors. And President Obama was not at all influenced when he made the decision to pass and sign Dodd-Frank, the toughest regulations...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- on Wall Street in many a year.

CLINTON:They should have to pay up through compensation or bonuses because we have to go after not just the big giant institution, we have got to go after the people who are making the decisions in the institutions.

BASH: Thank you, Madam Secretary.

CLINTON: And hold them accountable as well.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Senator Sanders, you have consistently criticized Secretary Clinton for accepting money from Wall Street.

Can you name one decision that she made as senator that shows that he favored banks because of the money she received?

SANDERS: Sure. Sure. The obvious decision is when the greed and recklessness and illegal behavior of wall street brought this country into the worst economic downturn since the Great Recession -- the Great Depression of the '30s, when millions of people lost their jobs, and their homes, and their life savings, the obvious response to that is that you've got a bunch of fraudulent operators and that they have got to be broken up.

That was my view way back, and I introduced legislation to do that. Now, Secretary Clinton was busy giving speeches to Goldman Sachs for \$225,000 a speech.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: So the problem response -- the proper response in my view is we should break them up. And that's what my legislation does.

CLINTON: Well, you can tell, Dana, he cannot come up with any example, because there is no example.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: It is important -- it's always important. It may be inconvenient, but it's always important to get the facts straight. I stood up against the behaviors of the banks when I was a senator.

I called them out on their mortgage behavior. I also was very willing to speak out against some of the special privileges they had under the tax code. When I went to the secretary of state office, the president -- President Obama led the effort to pass the Dodd-Frank bill.

That is the law. Now, this is our ninth debate. In the prior eight debates, I have said, we have a law. You don't just say, we're upset about this. I'm upset about it. You don't just say, go break them up. You have a law, because we are a nation of laws.

BASH: Thank you, Madam Secretary.

CLINTON: So I support Dodd-Frank, but I have consistently said that's not enough. We've got to include the shadow banking sector.

BASH: Thank you. Senator Sanders.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Secretary Clinton called them out. Oh my goodness, they must have been really crushed by this. And was that before or after you received huge sums of money by giving speaking engagements? So they must have been very, very upset by what you did.

Look, here is the difference and here is the clear difference. These banks, in my view, have too much power. They have shown themselves to be fraudulent organizations endangering the well-being of our economy.

If elected president, I will break them up. We have got legislation to do that, end of discussion.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Secretary Clinton, if I may, Senator Sanders keeping bringing up the speeches that you gave to Goldman Sachs. So I'd like to ask you, so you've said that you don't want to release the transcripts, until everybody does it, but if there's nothing in those speeches that you think would change voters' minds, why not just release the transcripts and put this whole issue to bed?

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, first of all -- first of all, there isn't an issue. When I was in public service serving as the senator from New York, I did stand up to the banks. I did make it clear that their behavior would not be excused.

I'm the only one on this stage who did not vote to deregulate swaps and derivatives, as Senator Sanders did, which led to a lot of the problems that we had with Lehman Brothers.

Now, if you're going to look at the problems that actually caused the Great Recession, you've got to look at the whole picture. It was a giant insurance company, AIG. It was an investment bank, Lehman Brothers. It was mortgage companies like Countrywide.

I'm not saying that Senator Sanders did something untoward when he voted to deregulate swaps and derivatives...

BASH: Madam Secretary...

CLINTON: ... but the fact is he did.

CLINTON: And that contributed to the collapse of Lehman Brothers and started the cascade...

(APPLAUSE)

(CROSSTALK)

BASH: Senator Sanders, one second, please. Secretary Clinton, the question was about the transcripts of the speeches to Goldman Sachs.

(APPLAUSE)

Why not release them?

CLINTON: I have said, look, there are certain -- there are certain expectations when you run for president. This is a new one. And I've said, if everybody agrees to do it -- because there are speeches for money on the other side. I know that.

But I will tell you this, there is -- there is a long-standing expectation that everybody running release their tax returns, and you can go -- you can go to my website and see eight years of tax returns. And I've released 30 years of tax returns. And I think every candidate, including Senator Sanders and Donald Trump, should do the same.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Secretary Clinton, we're going to get to the tax returns later, but just to put a button on this, you're running now for the Democratic nomination.

CLINTON: Right.

BASH: And it is your Democratic opponent and many Democratic voters who want to see those transcripts. It's not about the Republicans...

(CROSSTALK)

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, let's set the same standard for everybody. When everybody does it, OK, I will do it, but let's set and expect the same standard on tax returns. Everybody does it, and then we move forward.

BLITZER: Thank you.

SANDERS: Well, let me respond. Secretary Clinton, you just heard her, everybody else does it, she'll do it. I will do it.

(APPLAUSE)

I am going to release all of the transcripts of the speeches that I gave on Wall Street behind closed doors, not for \$225,000, not for \$2,000, not for two cents. There were no speeches.

(APPLAUSE)

And second of all, of course we will release our taxes. Jane does our taxes. We've been a little bit busy lately. You'll excuse us. But we will...

BLITZER: Senator...

SANDERS: We will get them out.

BLITZER: Senator...

CLINTON: Well, you know, there are a lot of copy machines around.

BLITZER: Senator, when are you -- when are you -- you've been asked for weeks and weeks to release your tax returns.

SANDERS: Well, I think we got one that's coming out tomorrow.

BLITZER: Which one?

SANDERS: Last year's.

BLITZER: 2014?

SANDERS: Yes.

BLITZER: What about 2013, all the other ones?

SANDERS: You'll get them, yes. Yeah, look, I don't want to get anybody very excited. They are very boring tax returns. No big money from speeches, no major investments. Unfortunately -- unfortunately, I remain one of the poorer members of the United States Senate. And that's what that will show.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: So, Senator, just to be clear, tomorrow you will release the 2014 tax returns from you and your family?

SANDERS: Yes.

BLITZER: And what about the earlier ones? What's the problem... SANDERS: Yes.

BLITZER: What's taking so long? Because you just have to go to the filing cabinet, make a copy, and release them.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Wolf, the answer is, you know, what we have always done in my family is, Jane does them. And she's been out on the campaign trail. We will get them out. We'll get them out very shortly. It's not a big deal.

BLITZER: Thank you. Senator, Senator, you've slammed companies like General Electric and Verizon for moving jobs outside of the United States. Yesterday, the CEO of Verizon called your views contemptable and said in your home state of Vermont Verizon has invested more than \$16 million and pays millions of dollars a year to local businesses. He says you are, quote, "uninformed on this issue" and disconnected from reality. Given your obvious contempt for large American corporations, how would you as president of the United States be able to effectively promote American businesses around the world?

SANDERS: Well, for a start, I would tell the gentleman who's the CEO at Verizon to start negotiating with the Communication Workers of America.

(APPLAUSE)

And this is -- this is a perfect example, Wolf, of the kind of corporate greed which is destroying the middle class of this country. This gentleman makes \$18 million a year in salary. That's his -- that's his compensation. This

gentleman is now negotiating to take away health care benefits of Verizon workers, outsource call center jobs to the Philippines, and -- and trying to create a situation where workers will lose their jobs. He is not investing in the way he should in inner cities in America.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: All right. Senator, but the question was, the question was, given your contempt for large American corporations, as president, how would you be able to promote American business around the world?

SANDERS: First of all, the word contempt is not right. There are some great businesses who treat their workers and the environment with respect.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Verizon happens not to be one of them.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And what we need to do is to tell this guy Immelt, who's the head of General Electric, he doesn't like me, well, that's fine. He has outsourced hundreds of thousands of decent-paying jobs throughout the world...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- cut his workforce here substantially and in a given year, by the way, it turns out that both Verizon and General Electric, in a given year, pay nothing in federal income tax despite making billions in profits.

(BOOS)

BLITZER: But Senator, experts say that no matter the means to bring back these jobs to the United States, prices of goods for consumers in the United States would go up, which would disproportionately impact the poor and middle class.

So how do you bring back these jobs to the United States without affecting the cost of goods to America's middle class and poor?

SANDERS: Well, for a start, we're going to raise the minimum wage to 15 bucks an hour.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And number two, while it is true we may end up paying a few cents more for a hamburger in McDonald's, at the end of the day, what this economy desperately needs is to rebuild our manufacturing sector with good-paying jobs.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: We cannot continue to sustain the loss of millions of decent-paying jobs that we have seen over the last 20, 30 years, based on trade agreements of which Secretary Clinton has voted for almost every one of those. That has got to change.

BLITZER: Thank you.

Secretary...

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: -- Secretary Clinton?

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I do have a very comprehensive plan to create more jobs and I think that has to be at the center of our economic approach. And so I think it is important that we do more on manufacturing. I went to Syracuse and laid out a \$10 billion plan that would, I believe, really jump-start advanced manufacturing.

I have seen the results of what can happen when we have the government cooperating with business. And that's exactly what I will do.

When I was secretary of State, I helped to lead the way to increased exports of American good around the world, which supports tens of thousands of jobs.

So I think you've got to go at this with a sense of how to accomplish the goal we are setting -- more good jobs with rising incomes for people everywhere from inner cities to rural areas to every distressed community in America. And that's exactly what my plan would bring about.

I think we have a pretty good record if we look at what happened...

BLITZER: Senator...

CLINTON: -- in the 1990s, we got 23 million new jobs and incomes went up for everybody.

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Let's do that again in America.

BLITZER: Senator, how do you...

SANDERS: I'm going to respond...

BLITZER: I'll have you respond in a moment.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Stand by.

SANDERS: Well, look...

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton... (CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: You will respond in a moment, but I have to follow-up with Secretary Clinton.

You stood on the stage with Governor Cuomo in support of new legislation to raise New York's minimum wage to \$15 an hour. But you do not support raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour.

As president...

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: -- if a Democratic Congress put a \$15 minimum wage bill on your desk, would you sign it?

CLINTON: Well, of course I would. And I have supported...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- I have supported the fight for 15. I am proud to have the endorsement of most of the unions that have led the fight for 15. I was proud to stand on the stage with Governor Cuomo, with SEIU and others who have been leading this battle and I will work as hard as I can to raise the minimum wage. I always have. I supported that when I was in the Senate.

SANDERS: Well, look...

CLINTON: But what I have also said is that we've got to be smart about it, just the way Governor Cuomo was here in New York. If you look at it, we moved more quickly to \$15 in New York City, more deliberately toward \$12, \$12.50 upstate then to \$15. That is exactly my position. It's a model for the nation and that's what I will do as president.

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Go as quickly as...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- to get to \$15.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: I am sure a lot of people are very surprised to learn that you supported raising the minimum wage to 15 bucks an hour.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, wait a minute...

SANDERS: (INAUDIBLE).

CLINTON: -- wait a minute. SANDERS: (INAUDIBLE).

CLINTON: -- wait, wait...

SANDERS: That's just not accurate. Well...

CLINTON: Come on, I have stood on the debate stage...

SANDERS: -- well and I...

CLINTON: -- with Senator Sanders eight...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- times.

SANDERS: Excuse me.

CLINTON: I have said the...

SANDERS: Well...

CLINTON: Exact same thing.

BLITZER: Secretary, Senator, please.

CLINTON: If we can...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- raise it to \$15 in New York...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- or Los Angeles or Seattle...

BLITZER: Secretary, the viewers...

CLINTON: -- let's do it.

BLITZER: If you're both screaming at each other, the viewers won't be able to hear either of you.

SANDERS: OK.

BLITZER: So please...

SANDERS: I will...

BLITZER: -- don't talk over each other.

SANDERS: I believe I was...

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Go ahead.

SANDERS: -- responding.

All right? When this campaign began, I said that we got to end the starvation minimum wage of \$7.25, raise it to \$15. Secretary Clinton said let's raise it to \$12. There's a difference. And, by the way, what has happened is history has outpaced Secretary Clinton, because all over this country, people are standing up and they're saying \$12 is not good enough, we need \$15 an hour.

CLINTON: OK.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Go ahead, Secretary. Secretary?

SANDERS: And suddenly...

BLITZER: Secretary, go ahead.

SANDERS: To suddenly...

CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you very much.

SANDERS: To suddenly announce now that you're for \$15, I don't think is quite accurate.

BLITZER: All right. Secretary?

CLINTON: All right. I have said from the very beginning that I supported the fight for \$15. I supported those on the front lines of the fight for -- it happens to be true. I also -- I supported the \$15 effort in L.A. I supported in Seattle. I supported it for the fast food workers in New York.

The minimum wage at the national level right now is \$7.25, right? We want to raise it higher than it ever has been, but we also have to recognize some states and some cities will go higher, and I support that. I have taken my cue from the Democrats in the Senate, led by Senator Patty Murray and others, like my good friend Kirsten Gillibrand, who has said we will set a national level of \$12 and then urge any place that can go above it to go above it.

Going from \$7.25 to \$12 is a huge difference. Thirty-five million people will get a raise. One in four working mothers will get a raise. I want to get something done. And I think setting the goal to get to \$12 is the way to go, encouraging others to get to \$15. But, of course, if we have a Democratic Congress, we will go to \$15.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: Well, I think the secretary has confused a lot of people. I don't know how you're there for the fight for \$15 when you say you want a \$12-an-hour national minimum wage.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, in fact -- in fact, there is an effort, Patty Murray has introduced legislation for \$12 minimum wage. That's good. I introduced legislation for \$15 an hour minimum wage which is better.

(APPLAUSE)

And ultimately what we have got to determine is after massive transfer of wealth from the middle class to the top 0.1 percent, when millions of our people are working longer hours for low wages...

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: I think we have got to be clear, not equivocate, \$15 in minimum wage in 50 states in this country as soon as possible.

BLITZER: Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

We're going to turn to another critically important issue right now, guns in America. Secretary Clinton, you've said that Vermont, Senator Sanders' home state, has, quote, "the highest per capita number of guns that end up committing crimes in New York." But only 1.2 percent of the guns recovered in New York in 2014 were from Vermont. Are you seriously blaming Vermont, and implicitly Senator Sanders, for New York's gun violence?

CLINTON: No, of course not. Of course not. This is -- this is a serious difference between us.

(LAUGHTER)

And what I want to start by saying -- it's not a laughing matter -- 90 people on average a day are killed or commit suicide or die in accidents from guns, 33,000 people a year. I take it really seriously, because I have spent more time than I care to remember being with people who have lost their loved ones.

So, yes, we have a problem in America. We need a president who will stand up against the gun lobby. We need a president who will fight for commonsense gun safety reforms.

(APPLAUSE)

And what we have here is a big difference. Senator Sanders voted against the Brady Bill five times. He voted for the most important NRA priority, namely giving immunity from liability to gun-makers and dealers, something that is at the root of a lot of the problems that we are facing.

Then he doubled down on that in the New York Daily News interview, when asked whether he would support the Sandy Hook parents suing to try to do something to rein in the advertising of the AR-15, which is advertised to young people as being a combat weapon, killing on the battlefield. He said they didn't deserve their day in court.

CLINTON: I could not disagree more.

And, finally, this is the only industry in America, the only one.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: That has this kind of special protection. We hear a lot from Senator Sanders about the greed and recklessness of Wall Street, and I agree. We've got to hold Wall Street accountable...

BLITZER: ... Thank you...

CLINTON: ... Well, what about the greed and recklessness of gun manufacturers and dealers in America?

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Senator? Well, the only problem is, Wolf, she didn't answer your question.

You asked her whether she thought that Vermont was responsible. You asked her whether she thought that Vermont was responsible for a lot of the gun violence. You made the point what she said was totally absurd.

BLITZER: I asked her, are you seriously blaming Vermont and implicitly Senator Sanders for New York's gun violence. She said no. But, go ahead.

SANDERS: Then why did she put out that statement?

CLINTON: I put it out...

SANDERS: ... Excuse me, I think I'm responding now.

BLITZER: Please, go ahead sir.

SANDERS: A statement that was refuted by the governor of the state of Vermont, who was a supporter of hers, who said, yeah, in campaigns people tend to exaggerate.

Here is the fact on guns. Let's talk about guns. That horrible, horrible Sandy Hook -- what's the word we want to use, murder, assault, slaughter, unspeakable act.

Back in 1988, I ran for the United States Congress one seat in the state of Vermont. I probably lost that election, which I lost by three points, because I was the only candidate running who said, you know what? We should ban assault weapons, not seen them sold or distributed in the United States of America.

I've got a D-minus voting record from the NRA.

(APPLAUSE)

And, in fact, because I come from a state which has virtually no gun control, I believe that I am the best qualified candidate to bring back together that consensus that is desperately needed in this country.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Thank you.

(CHEERING)

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton, I want you to respond to that, but why did you put out that statement blaming Vermont and its gun policy for some of the death of -- by guns in New York?

CLINTON: Well, the facts are that most of the guns that end up committing crimes in New York come from out of state. They come from the states that don't have kind of serious efforts to control guns that we do in New York. But let me say this -- in 1988, as we've heard on every debate occasion, Senator Sanders did run for the Congress and he lost. He came back in 1990 and he won, and during that campaign he made a commitment to the NRA that he would be against waiting periods.

And, in fact, in his own book, he talks about his 1990 campaign, and here's what he said. He clearly was helped by the NRA, because they ran ads against his opponent. So, then he went to the Congress, where he has been a largely very reliable supporter of the NRA. Voting -- he kept his word to the NRA, he voted against the Brady Bill five times because it had waiting periods in it.

Thankfully, enough people finally voted for it to keep guns out of the hands of who should not have them.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator, I want you to respond, but I also want you to respond to this. You recently said you do not think crime victims should be able to sue gun makers for damages. The daughter of the Sandy Hook Elementary School who was killed back in the 2012 mass shooting, says you owe her and families an apology. Do you?

SANDERS: What we need to do is to do everything that we can to make certain that guns do not fall into the hands of people who do not have them.

Now, I voted against this gun liability law because I was concerned that in rural areas all over this country, if a gun shop owner sells a weapon legally to somebody, and that person then goes out and kills somebody, I don't believe it is appropriate that that gun shop owner who just sold a legal weapon to be held accountable and be sued.

But, what I do believe is when gun shop owners and others knowingly are selling weapons to people who should not have them -- somebody walks in.

SANDERS: They want thousands of rounds of ammunition, or they want a whole lot of guns, yes, that gun shop owner or that gun manufacturer should be held liable.

BLITZER: So, Senator, do you owe the Sandy Hook families an apology?

SANDERS: No, I don't think I owe them an apology. They are in court today, and actually they won a preliminary decision today. They have the right to sue, and I support them and anyone else who wants the right to sue.

CLINTON: Well, I believe that the law that Senator Sanders voted for that I voted against, giving this special protection to gun manufacturers and to dealers, is an absolute abdication of responsibility on the part of those who voted for it.

This is a -- this is a unique gift given to only one industry in the world by the United States Congress, as Senator Murphy from Connecticut said, we have tougher standards holding toy gun manufacturers and sellers to account than we do for real guns.

And the point that Senator Sanders keeps making about how he wouldn't want a mom and pop store -- that was not the point of this. And if he can point to any, any incident where that happened, I would love to hear about it.

What was really going on, I'll tell you, because it has a lot to do with New York City. New York City was on the brink of being able to hold manufacturers and dealers accountable through a very carefully crafted legal strategy.

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: The NRA came to their supporters in the Congress and said, stop it, stop it now, and Senator Sanders joined those who did.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: Let me just reiterate -- just reiterate so there is no confusion, decades ago, before it was popular, in a rural state with no gun control, Bernie Sanders said, let's ban assault weapons, not see them distributed in the United States of America.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

Let's turn it over to Errol Lewis, of New York 1 Time Warner Cable News.

LOUIS: Secretary Clinton, the 1994 crime bill that you supported added 100,000 police officers across the country and banned certain assault weapons. It also imposed tougher prison sentences and eliminated federal funding for inmate education.

Looking at the bill as a whole, do you believe it was a net positive or do you think it was a mistake?

CLINTON: Well, I think that it had some positive aspects to it. And you mentioned some of them. The Violence Against Women Act, which has been a very important piece of legislation, in my opinion.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: And it also did some things which were to provide more opportunities for young people. So if we were to have the balance sheet on one side, there are some positive actions and changes.

On the other side, there were decisions that were made that now we must revisit and we have to correct. I think that sentences got much too long. The original idea was not that we would increase sentences for non-violent low-level offenders, but once the federal government did what it did, states piled on.

So we have a problem. And the very first speech I gave in this campaign was about what I will do to reform the criminal justice system and end the over-mass incarceration.

So I think that if all of us go and look back at where we were, Senator Sanders voted for the crime bill, and he says the same thing, there were some good things, and things that we have to change and learn from.

So that's how I see it. And I think we ought to be putting our attention on forging a consensus to make the changes that will divert more people from the criminal justice system to start.

LOUIS: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: To tackle systemic racism and divert people in the beginning.

LOUIS: Now earlier this year, a South Carolina voter told your daughter Chelsea, quote, "I think a lot of African-Americans want to hear, you know what, we made a mistake." Chelsea said she has heard you apologize, but went on to say that if the voter hadn't heard it then, quote, "it's clearly insufficient."

Do you regret your advocacy for the crime bill?

CLINTON: Well, look, I supported the crime bill. My husband has apologized. He was the president who actually signed it, Senator Sanders...

LOUIS: But what about you, Senator?

CLINTON: ... voted for it. I'm sorry for the consequences that were unintended and that have had a very unfortunate impact on people's lives.

I've seen the results of what has happened in families and in communities.

CLINTON: That's why I chose to make my very first speech a year ago on this issue, Errol, because I want to focus the attention of our country and to make the changes we need to make. And I also want people...

(APPLAUSE)

... especially I want -- I want white people -- I want white people to recognize that there is systemic racism. It's also in employment, it's in housing, but it is in the criminal justice system, as well.

(APPLAUSE)

LOUIS: Senator Sanders, earlier this week at the Apollo Theater in Harlem, you called out President Clinton for defending Secretary Clinton's use of the term super-predator back in the '90s when she supported the crime bill. Why did you call him out?

SANDERS: Because it was a racist term, and everybody knew it was a racist term.

(APPLAUSE)

Look, much of what Secretary Clinton said was right. We had a crime bill. I voted for it. It had the Violence Against Women Act in it. When as mayor of Burlington, we worked very hard to try to eliminate domestic violence. This took us a good step forward. We're talking about the weapon that killed the children in Sandy Hook. This banned assault weapons, not insignificant.

But where we are today is we have a broken criminal justice system. We have more people in jail than any other country on Earth. And in my view, what we have got to do is rethink the system from the bottom on up. And that means, for a start -- and we don't talk about this. The media doesn't talk about it -- you got 51 percent of African-American kids today who graduated high school who are unemployed or underemployed. You know what I think? Maybe we invest in jobs and education for those kids, not jails and incarceration.

(APPLAUSE)

And I'll tell you what else. And I'll tell you what else I think. And that is, we have got -- and this is the difference between the secretary and myself as I understand it. We have got to have the guts to rethink the so-called war on drugs. Too many lives... BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: Too many lives have been destroyed because people possessed marijuana, millions over a 30-year period. And that is why I believe we should take marijuana out of the federal Controlled Substance Act.

(APPLAUSE)

LOUIS: Thank you. Thank you. Let's -- let's get Secretary Clinton's response.

CLINTON: Well, look, I think that, as Senator Sanders said about what I said, I will say about what he said. I think that we recognize that we have a set of problems that we cannot ignore and we must address. And that is why I have been promoting for my entire adult life, I think, the idea of investing early in kids, early childhood education, universal pre-K, like what Mayor de Blasio brought to New York. We have got to help more kids get off to a good start. That's why I want a good teacher in a good school for every child, regardless of the ZIP Code that child lives in...

LOUIS: Thank you. Thank you, Secretary Clinton.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: ... and to be really focused on how we build ladders of opportunity and tear down these barriers that stand in the way of people getting ahead.

LOUIS: Your time's up, Secretary Clinton.

Senator Sanders, I have a question for you related to this. So you've said that by the end of your first term as president, the U.S. will no longer lead the world in mass incarceration. To fulfill that promise, you'd have to release roughly half a million prisoners. How are you going to do that, since the vast majority of American prisoners are not under federal jurisdiction?

SANDERS: We're going to work with state governments all over this country. And you know what? In a very divided Congress, and a very divided politics in America, actually the one area where there is some common ground is conservatives understand that it's insane to be spending \$80 billion a year locking up 2.2 million people.

With federal and presidential leadership, we will work with state governments to make sure that people are released from jail under strong supervision, that they get the kind of job training and education they need so they can return to their communities. On this one, Errol, actually I think you're going to see progressive and conservative support. We can do it, if we're prepared to be bold.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Thank you, Secretary. We have to take a quick commercial break. We have a lot more questions for Secretary Clinton and Senator Sanders right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back.

Let's turn to another critically important issue.

Senator, Secretary, the issue of energy and the environment.

Secretary Clinton, Senator Sanders has said you are in the pocket of the fossil fuel industry. You say you're sick and tired of him lying about your record.

What are his lies?

CLINTON: Well, let me start by saying we need to talk about this issue and we should talk about it in terms of the extraordinary threats that climate change pose to our country and our world. And that's why for the last many years, both in the Senate and as secretary of State, it's been a big part of my commitment to see what could be done.

But there has never been any doubt that when I was a senator, I tried -- I joined with others to try to get rid of the subsidies for big oil. And I have proposed that again, because that's what I think needs to be done as we transition from fossil fuels to clean energy.

CLINTON: That's why I chose to make my very first speech a year ago on this issue, Errol, because I want to focus the attention of our country and to make the changes we need to make. And I also want people...

(APPLAUSE)

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(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

CLINTON: And everyone who's looked at this independently, "The Washington Post" and others, who give us both hard times when called for on facts, have said that this is absolutely an incorrect false charge.

So, we both have relatively small amounts of contributions from people who work for fossil fuel companies. Best we can tell from the reports that are done.

But, that is not being supported by big oil, and I think it's important to distinguish that. And, let's talk about what each of us has proposed to try to combat greenhouse gas emissions and put us on the fastest track possible to clean energy.

BLITZER: Thank you. We're going to get to that to, but I want you to respond, Senator.

SANDERS: It is one thing, as the Secretary indicated, to talk about workers. I'm sure I have contributions, you have contributions from workers in every industry in the country. But, as I understand it, 43 lobbyists for the fossil fuel industry maxed out, gave the maximum amount of money to Secretary Clinton's campaign.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Now, that's not saying -- and, then some people say, well, given the hundreds of millions of dollars she raises it's a small amount. That's true. But, that does not mean to say that the lobbyists thought she was a pretty good bet on this issue.

Now, what I think is when we look at climate change now, we have got to realize that this is a global environmental crisis of unprecedented urgency.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

And, it is not good enough. You know, if we, God forbid, were attacked tomorrow the whole country would rise up and say we got an enemy out there and we got to do something about it. That was what 9/11 was about.

We have an enemy out there, and that enemy is going to cause drought and floods and extreme weather disturbances. There's going to be international conflict.

(APPLAUSE) I am proud, Wolf, that I have introduced the most comprehensive climate change legislation...

BLITZER: Thank you...

SANDERS: ... Including a tax on carbon. Something I don't believe Secretary Clinton supports.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton, go ahead and respond.

CLINTON: Well, let's talk about the global environmental crisis. Starting in 2009 as your Secretary of State, I worked with President Obama to bring China and India to the table for the very first time, to get a commitment out of them that they would begin to address their own greenhouse gas emissions.

(APPLAUSE)

I continued to work on that throughout the four years as Secretary of State, and I was very proud that President Obama and America led the way to the agreement that was finally reached in Paris with 195 nations committing to take steps to actually make a difference in climate change.

(APPLAUSE)

And, I was surprised and disappointed when Senator Sanders attacked the agreement, said it was not enough, it didn't go far enough. You know, at some point putting together 195 countries, I know a little bit about that, was a major accomplishment...

BLITZER: ... Thank you...

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

CLINTON: ... And, our President led the effort to protect our world and he deserve our appreciation, not our criticism...

BLITZER: ... Go ahead, Senator...

SANDERS: ... Let's talk about that. When you were Secretary of State, you also worked hard to expand fracking to countries all over the world.

(CHEERING)

SANDERS: The issue here -- of course the agreement is a step forward, but you know agreements and I know agreements, there's a lot of paper there. We've got to get beyond paper right now.

We have got to lead the world in transforming our energy system, not tomorrow, but yesterday.

(APPLAUSE) And, what that means, Wolf, it means having the guts to take on the fossil fuel industry. Now, I am on board legislation that says, you know what, we ain't going to excavate for fossil fuel on public land. That's not Secretary Clinton's position.

BLITZER: Thank you.

Let us support a tax on carbon...

BLITZER: ... Secretary Clinton...

SANDERS: ... Not Secretary Clinton's position.

BLITZER: ... Go ahead and respond.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, I'm a little bewildered about how to respond when you have an agreement which gives you the framework to actually take the action that would have only come about because under the Obama administration in the face of implacable hostility from the Republicans in Congress, President Obama moved forward on gas mileage, he moved forward on the clean power plant. He has moved forward on so many of the fronts that he could have given the executive actions that he was able to take.

(APPLAUSE)

And, you know, I am getting a little bit -- I'm getting a little bit concerned here because, you know, I really believe that the President has done an incredible job against great odds and deserves to be supported.

Todd Stephens (APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

CLINTON: Now, it's easy -- it's easy to diagnose the problem. It's harder to do something about the problem. And...

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary. We'll continue on this. Errol -- Errol Louis, go ahead with your question.

SANDERS: Wolf. Wolf.

BLITZER: We're going to continue on this. Errol, go ahead.

LOUIS: OK. Secretary Clinton, as secretary of state, you also pioneered a program to promote fracking around the world, as you described. Fracking, of course, a way of extracting natural gas. Now as a candidate for president, you say that by the time you're done with all your rules and regulations, fracking will be restricted in many places around the country. Why have you changed your view on fracking?

CLINTON: No, well, I don't think I've changed my view on what we need to do to go from where we are, where the world is heavily dependent on coal and oil, but principally coal, to where we need to be, which is clean renewable energy, and one of the bridge fuels is natural gas.

And so for both economic and environmental and strategic reasons, it was American policy to try to help countries get out from under the constant use of coal, building coal plants all the time, also to get out from under, especially if they were in Europe, the pressure from Russia, which has been incredibly intense. So we did say natural gas is a bridge. We want to cross that bridge as quickly as possible, because in order to deal with climate change, we have got to move as rapidly as we can.

That's why I've set big goals. I want to see us deploy a half a billion more solar panels by the end of my first term and enough clean energy to provide electricity to every home in America within 10 years.

(APPLAUSE)

So I have big, bold goals, but I know in order to get from where we are, where the world is still burning way too much coal, where the world is still too intimidated by countries and providers like Russia, we have got to make a very firm but decisive move in the direction of clean energy.

LOUIS: Thank you, Secretary. All right, Senator?

SANDERS: All right, here is -- here is a real difference. This is a difference between understanding that we have a crisis of historical consequence here, and incrementalism and those little steps are not enough.

(APPLAUSE)

Not right now. Not on climate change. Now, the truth is, as secretary of state, Secretary Clinton actively supported fracking technology around the world. Second of all, right now, we have got to tell the fossil fuel industry that their short-term profits are not more important than the future of this planet.

(APPLAUSE)

And that means -- and I would ask you to respond. Are you in favor of a tax on carbon so that we can transit away from fossil fuel to energy efficiency and sustainable energy at the level and speed we need to do?

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, I have laid out a set of actions that build on what President Obama was able to accomplish, building on the clean power plan, which is currently under attack by fossil fuels and the right in the Supreme Court, which is one of the reasons why we need to get the Supreme Court justice that President Obama has nominated to be confirmed so that we can actually continue to make progress.

I don't take a back seat to your legislation that you've introduced that you haven't been able to get passed. I want to do what we can do to actually make progress in dealing with the crisis. That's exactly what I have proposed.

LOUIS: OK, thank you, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: And my approach I think is going to get us there faster without tying us up into political knots with a Congress that still would not support what you are proposing.

(CROSSTALK)

LOUIS: Senator Sanders, you've said that climate change is the greatest change to our nation's security.

SANDERS: Secretary Clinton did not answer one simple question.

LOUIS: Excuse me, Senator, Senator, Senator, Senator, Senator...

SANDERS: Are you for a tax on carbon or not? LOUIS: I have a question for you. You've said that climate change is the greatest threat to our nation's security. You've called for a nationwide ban on fracking. You've also called for phasing out all nuclear power in the U.S. But wouldn't those proposals drive the country back to coal and oil, and actually undermine your fight against global warming?

SANDERS: No, they wouldn't. Look, here's where we are. Let me reiterate. We have a global crisis. Pope Francis reminded us that we are on a suicide course. Our legislation understands, Errol, that there will be economic dislocation. It is absolutely true. There will be some people who lose their job. And we build into our legislation an enormous amount of money to protect those workers. It is not their fault...

SANDERS: It is not their fault that fossil fuels are destroying our climate.

But we have got to stand up and say right now, as we would if we were attacked by some military force, we have got to move urgency -- urgently and boldly.

What does that mean?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Senator -- senator, jobs...

SANDERS: Yes?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: -- jobs are one thing, but with less than 6 percent of all U.S. energy coming from solar, wind and geothermal, and 20 percent of U.S. power coming from nuclear, if you phase out all of that, how do you make up...

SANDERS: Well, you don't phase...

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: -- that difference?

SANDERS: -- it all out tomorrow. And you certainly don't phase nuclear out tomorrow. But this is what you do.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: What you do do is say that we are going to have a massive program -- and I had introduced -- introduced legislation for 10 million solar rooftops. We can put probably millions of people to work retrofitting and weatherizing buildings all over this country.

(CHEERING)

SANDERS: Saving -- rebuilding our rail system.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Our mass transit system.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: If we approach this, Errol, as if we were literally at a war -- you know, in 1941, under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, we moved within three years, within three more years to rebuild our economy to defeat Nazism and Japanese imperialism. That is exactly the kind of approach we need right now.

BLITZER: Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Lead the world.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Let's turn to another critically important issue...

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: -- the issue of national security and foreign policy.

Secretary Clinton, President Obama says the worst mistake in office that he made over these past seven and a half years was not preparing for Libya after Moammar Qaddafi was removed. You were his secretary of State.

Aren't you also responsible for that?

CLINTON: Well, let me say I think we did a great deal to help the Libyan people after Qaddafi's demise. And here's what we did.

We helped them hold two successful elections, something that is not easy, which they did very well because they had a pent up desire to try to chart their own future after 42 years of dictatorship.

I was very proud of that.

We got rid of the chemical weapons stockpile that Qaddafi had, getting it out of Libya, getting it away from militias or terrorist groups.

We also worked to help them set up their government. We sent a lot of American experts there. We offered to help them secure their borders, to train a new military.

They, at the end, when it came to security issues, Wolf, did not want troops from any other country, not just us, European or other countries, in Libya.

And so we were caught in a very difficult position. They could not provide security on their own, which we could see and we told them that, but they didn't want to have others helping to provide that security.

And the result has been a clash between different parts of the country, terrorists taking up some locations in the country.

And we can't walk away from that. We need to be working with European and Arab partners...

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: -- with the United Nations in order to continue to try to support them.

The Libyan people deserve a chance at democracy and self- government. And I, as president, will keep trying to give that to them

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: According to "The New York Times."..

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- for President Obama, this was a pretty tough call, like a 51-49 call, do you overthrow Qaddafi, who, of course, was a horrific dictator?

"The New York Times" told us it was Secretary Clinton who led the effect for that regime change. And this is the same type of mentality that supported the war in Iraq.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Look...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- Qaddafi, Saddam Hussein are brutal, brutal murdering thugs. No debate about that.

But what we have got to do and what the president was saying is we didn't think thoroughly about what happens the day after you get rid of these dictators.

Regime change often has unintended consequences in Iraq and in Libya right now, where ISIS has a very dangerous foothold. And I think if you studied the whole history of...

BLITZER: Yes.

SANDERS: -- American involvement in regime change, you see that quite often.

BLITZER: Secretary, we're going to let you respond.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Yes, well, I...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- I...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- I -- I would just point out that there was a vote in the Senate as to whether or not the United States should support the efforts by the Libyan people to protect themselves against the threats, the genocidal threats coming from Gadhafi, and whether we should go to the United Nations to seek Security Council support.

Senator sanders voted for that, and that's exactly what we did.

SANDERS: No.

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: We went to the United Nations -- yes, he did. We went to the United Nations Security Council. We got support from the Security Council. And we then supported the efforts of our European and Arab allies and partners. This was a request made to our government by the Europeans and by the Arabs because of their great fear of what chaos in Syria would do to them. And if you want to know what chaos does, not just to the people inside but the people on the borders, look at Syria.

Nobody stood up to Assad and removed him, and we have had a far greater disaster in Syria than we are currently dealing with right now in Libya.

(APPLAUSE)

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: Secretary Clinton made this charge in previous debates and just repeating it doesn't make it truer. What you are talking about is what I think was what they call the unanimous consent, you know what that is, where basically, do we support Libya moving to democracy?

Well, you know what, I surely have always supported Libya moving to democracy. But please do not confuse that with your active effort for regime change without contemplating what happened the day after. Totally different issue.

CLINTON: Well, that isn't...

SANDERS: Second of all -- second of all, if I might, in terms of Syria, in terms of Syria...

BLITZER: Senator, let her respond to that, then we'll get to that.

Go ahead, Secretary.

CLINTON: There was also in that a reference to the Security Council, and I know you're not shy when you oppose something, Senator. So, yes, it was unanimous. That's exactly right, including you.

And what we did was to try to provide support for our European and Arab allies and partners. The decision was the president's. Did I do the due diligence? Did I talk to everybody I could talk to? Did I visit every capital and then report back to the president? Yes, I did. That's what a secretary of state does.

But at the end of the day, those are the decisions that are made by the president to in any way use American military power. And the president made that decision. And, yes, we did try without success because of the Libyans' obstruction to our efforts, but we did try and we will continue to try to help the Libyan people.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Go ahead, Senator.

SANDERS: If you listen, you know -- two points. Number one, yes, 100-0 in the Senate voted for democracy in Libya and I would vote for that again. But that is very different from getting actively involved to overthrow and bring about regime change without fully understanding what the consequence of that regime change would be.

Second of all, I know you keep referring to Barack Obama all night here, but you in Syria, you in Syria talked about a no-fly zone, which the president certainly does not support, nor do I support because, A, it will cost an enormous sum of money, second of all, it runs the risk of getting us sucked into perpetual warfare in that region.

Thirdly, when we talk about Syria right now, no debate, like Gadhafi, like Saddam Hussein, Assad is another brutal murdering dictator, but right now our fight is to destroy ISIS first, and to get rid of Assad second.

CLINTON: Well, I think Senator Sanders has just reinforced my point. Yes, when I was secretary of state I did urge, along with the Department of Defense and the CIA that we seek out, vet, and train, and arm Syrian opposition figures so that they could defend themselves against Assad.

The president said no. Now, that's how it works. People who work for the president make recommendations and then the president makes the decision. So I think it's only fair to look at where we are in Syria today.

And, yes, I do still support a no-fly zone because I think we need to put in safe havens for those poor Syrians who are fleeing both Assad and ISIS and have some place that they can be safe.

BLITZER: Staying on national security, Dana Bash has a question.

BASH: Senator Sanders, in 1997, you said this about NATO, you said, quote: "It is not the time to continue wasting tens of billions of dollars helping to defend Europe, let alone assuming more than our share of any cost associated with expanding NATO."

Do you still feel that way?

SANDERS: Well, what I believe, if my memory is correct here, we spend about 75 percent of the entire cost of the military aspect of NATO. Given the fact that France has a very good health care system and free public education, college education for their people, the U.K. has a good National Health Service and they also provide fairly reasonable higher education, you know what, yeah, I do believe that the countries of Europe should pick up more of the burden for their defense. Yes, I do.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: And just following up, Senator Sanders, Donald Trump also argues that NATO is unfair economically to the U.S. because America pays a disproportionate share. So how is what you say about NATO and your proposal different than his?

SANDERS: Well, you got to ask -- you got to ask Trump. All I can tell you is, with a huge deficit, with 47 million people living in poverty, with our inner cities collapsing, yeah, I do think countries like Germany and U.K. and France and European countries whose economy, or at least its standard of living and health care and education, they're doing pretty well.

So I would not be embarrassed as president of the United States to stay to our European allies, you know what, the United States of America cannot just support your economies. You got to put up your own fair share of the defense burden. Nothing wrong with that.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: I support our continuing involvement in NATO. And it is important to ask for our NATO allies to pay more of the cost. There is a requirement that they should be doing so, and I believe that needs to be enforced.

But there's a larger question here. NATO has been the most successful military alliance in probably human history. It has bound together across the Atlantic countries that are democracies, that have many of the same values and interests, and now we need to modernize it and move it into the 21st century to serve as that head of our defense operations in Europe when it comes to terrorism and other threats that we face. So...

BASH: But, Madam Secretary... CLINTON: ... yes, of course they should be paying more, but that doesn't mean if they don't we leave, because I don't think that's in America's interests.

BASH: That's going to be part of my -- my question to you is, to that point, there are 28 countries in the alliance, and the United States gives more money to NATO's budget than 21 of those countries combined. If they don't agree to pay more, as you suggested, then what would you do as commander-in-chief?

CLINTON: I will stay in NATO. I will stay in NATO, and we will continue to look for missions and other kinds of programs that they will support. Remember, NATO was with us in Afghanistan. Most of the member countries also lost soldiers and civilians in Afghanistan. They came to our rallying defense after 9/11. That meant a lot.

And, yes, we have to work out the financial aspects of it, but let's not forget what's really happening. With Russia being more aggressive, making all kinds of intimidating moves toward the Baltic countries, we've seen what they've done in Eastern Ukraine, we know how they want to rewrite the map of Europe, it is not in our interests. Think of how much it would cost if Russia's aggression were not deterred because NATO was there on the front lines making it clear they could not move forward.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Senator, let's talk about the U.S. relationship with Israel. Senator Sanders, you maintained that Israel's response in Gaza in 2014 was, quote, "disproportionate and led to the unnecessary loss of innocent life."

(APPLAUSE)

What do you say to those who believe that Israel has a right to defend itself as it sees fit?

SANDERS: Well, as somebody who spent many months of my life when I was a kid in Israel, who has family in Israel, of course Israel has a right not only to defend themselves, but to live in peace and security without fear of terrorist attack. That is not a debate.

(APPLAUSE)

But -- but what you just read, yeah, I do believe that. Israel was subjected to terrorist attacks, has every right in the world to destroy terrorism. But we had in the Gaza area -- not a very large area -- some 10,000 civilians who were wounded and some 1,500 who were killed.

SANDERS: Now, if you're asking not just me, but countries all over the world was that a disproportionate attack, the answer is that I believe it was, and let me say something else.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

SANDERS: And, let me say something else. As somebody who is 100% pro-Israel, in the long run -- and this is not going to be easy, God only knows, but in the long run if we are ever going to bring peace to that region which has seen so much hatred and so much war, we are going to have to treat the Palestinian people with respect and dignity.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

SANDERS: So what is not to say -- to say that right now in Gaza, right now in Gaza unemployment is somewhere around 40%. You got a log of that area continues, it hasn't been built, decimated, houses decimated health care decimated, schools decimated. I believe the United States and the rest of the world have got to work together to help the Palestinian people.

That does not make me anti-Israel. That paves the way, I think...

BLITZER: ... Thank you, Senator...

SANDERS: ...to an approach that works in the Middle East.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Thank you. Secretary Clinton, do you agree with Senator Sanders that Israel overreacts to Palestinians attacks, and that in order for there to be peace between Israel and the Palestinians, Israel must, quote, end its disproportionate responses?

CLINTON: I negotiated the cease-fire between Israel and Hamas in November of 2012. I did it in concert with...
(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: President Abbas of the Palestinian authority based in Ramallah, I did it with the then Muslim Brotherhood President, Morsi, based in Cairo, working closely with Prime Minister Netanyahu and the Israeli cabinet. I can tell you right now I have been there with Israeli officials going back more than 25 years that they do not seek this kind of attacks. They do not invite the rockets raining down on their towns and villages.

(APPLAUSE)

They do not believe that there should be a constant incitement by Hamas aided and abetted by Iran against Israel. And, so when it came time after they had taken the incoming rockets, taken the assaults and ambushes on their soldiers and they called and told me, I was in Cambodia, that they were getting ready to have to invade Gaza again because they couldn't find anybody to talk to tell them to stop it, I flew all night, I got there, I negotiated that. So, I don't know how you run a country when you are under constant threat, terrorist tact, rockets coming at you. You have a right to defend yourself.

(APPLAUSE)

That does not mean -- that does not mean that you don't take appropriate precautions. And, I understand that there's always second guessing anytime there is a war. It also does not mean that we should not continue to do everything we can to try to reach a two-state solution, which would give the Palestinians the rights and...

BLITZER: ... Thank you...

CLINTON: ... just let me finish. The rights and the autonomy that they deserve. And, let me say this, if Yasser Arafat had agreed with my husband at Camp David in the Late 1990s to the offer then Prime Minister Barak put on the table, we would have had a Palestinian state for 15 years.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator, go ahead -- go ahead, Senator.

SANDERS: I don't think that anybody would suggest that Israel invites and welcomes missiles flying into their country. That is not the issue.

And, you evaded the answer. You evaded the question. The question is not does Israel have a right to respond, nor does Israel have a right to go after terrorists and destroy terrorism. That's not the debate. Was their response disproportionate?

I believe that it was, you have not answered that.

(CHEERING)

CLINTON: I will certainly be willing to answer it. I think I did answer it by saying that of course there have to be precautions taken but even the most independent analyst will say the way that Hamas places its weapons, the way that it often has its fighters in civilian garb, it is terrible.

(AUDIENCE REACTION)

I'm not saying it's anything other than terrible. It would be great -- remember, Israel left Gaza. They took out all the Israelis. They turned the keys over to the Palestinian people.

CLINTON: And what happened? Hamas took over Gaza.

So instead of having a thriving economy with the kind of opportunities that the children of the Palestinians deserve, we have a terrorist haven that is getting more and more rockets shipped in from Iran and elsewhere.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Senator.

SANDERS: I read Secretary Clinton's statement speech before AIPAC. I heard virtually no discussion at all about the needs of the Palestinian people. Almost none in that speech.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: So here is the issue: of course Israel has a right to defend itself, but long term there will never be peace in that region unless the United States plays a role, an even-handed role trying to bring people together and recognizing the serious problems that exist among the Palestinian people.

That is what I believe the world wants to us do and that's the kind of leadership that we have got to exercise.

CLINTON: Well, if I -- I want to add, you know, again describing the problem is a lot easier than trying to solve it. And I have been involved, both as first lady with my husband's efforts, as a senator supporting the efforts that even the Bush administration was undertaking, and as secretary of state for President Obama, I'm the person who held the last three meetings between the president of the Palestinian Authority and the prime minister of Israel.

There were only four of us in the room, Netanyahu, Abbas, George Mitchell, and me. Three long meetings. And I was absolutely focused on what was fair and right for the Palestinians.

I was absolutely focused on what we needed to do to make sure that the Palestinian people had the right to self-government. And I believe that as president I will be able to continue to make progress and get an agreement that will be fair both to the Israelis and the Palestinians without ever, ever undermining Israel's security.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: A final word, Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: There comes a time -- there comes a time when if we pursue justice and peace, we are going to have to say that Netanyahu is not right all of the time.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well...

BLITZER: Secretary.

CLINTON: ... you know, I have spoken about and written at some length the very candid conversations I've had with him and other Israeli leaders. Nobody is saying that any individual leader is always right, but it is a difficult position.

If you are from whatever perspective trying to seek peace, trying to create the conditions for peace when there is a terrorist group embedded in Gaza that does not want to see you exist, that is a very difficult challenge.

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: You gave a major speech to AIPAC, which obviously deals with the Middle East crisis, and you barely mentioned the Palestinians. And I think, again, it is a complicated issue and God knows for decades presidents, including President Clinton and others, Jimmy Carter and others have tried to do the right thing.

All that I am saying is we cannot continue to be one-sided. There are two sides to the issue.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Thank you, Secretary.

We have to take another quick, quick break. But much more on the CNN Democratic presidential debate live from Brooklyn, New York. That is coming up right after this.

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(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to the CNN presidential debate. We're here in Brooklyn. Secretary, Senator, both of you talk about major reforms to college tuition, health care, and Social Security, all of which will take significant changes from Congress, currently controlled by Republicans.

Senator Sanders, you're promising health care and free college for all, and those plans would be met with both political and practical challenges. The nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget says your initiatives would cost up to \$28 trillion and, even after massive tax increases, that would add as much as \$15 trillion to the national debt. How is this fiscally responsible?

SANDERS: Well, first of all, I disagree with that study. There are many economists who come up with very, very different numbers.

For example, we are the only country, major country on Earth, that does not guarantee health care to all people, and yet we end up spending almost three times what the British do, 50 percent more than the French. My proposal, a Medicare-for-all, single-payer program, will save...

(APPLAUSE)

... will save middle-class families many thousands of dollars a year in their health care costs. Public colleges and universities tuition free? Damn right. That is exactly what we should be doing.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And I'd pay for that -- I'd pay for that by telling Wall Street that, yeah, we are going to have a tax on Wall Street speculation, which will bring in more than enough money to provide free tuition at public colleges and universities and lower the outrageous level of student debt.

Wolf, we have seen in the last 30 years a massive transfer of wealth from the middle class to the top 0.1 percent. The establishment does not like this idea, but, yes, I am determined to transfer that money back to the working families of this country.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Secretary, go ahead and respond.

CLINTON: Well, again -- again, I absolutely agree with the diagnosis, the diagnosis that we've got to do much more to finish the work of getting universal health care coverage, something that I've worked on for 25 years. Before there was something called Obamacare, there was something called Hillarycare. And we're now at 90 percent of coverage; I'm going to get us to 100 percent.

And with respect to college, I think we have to make college affordable. We are pricing out middle-class, working, and poor families. There's no doubt about that.

But I do think when you make proposals and you're running for president, you should be held accountable for whether or not the numbers add up and whether or not the plans...

(APPLAUSE)

... are actually going to work. And just very briefly, on health care, most of the people who have analyzed what Senator Sanders put out -- remember, he had a plan for about, I don't know, 18, 20 years. He changed in the middle of this campaign. He put out another plan. People have been analyzing the new plan. And there is no doubt by those who have analyzed it, progressive economists, health economists, and the like, that it would pose an incredible burden, not just on the budget, but on individuals. In fact, the Washington Post called it a train-wreck for the poor. A working woman on Medicaid who already has health insurance would be expected to pay about \$2,300.

The same for free college. The free college offer -- you know, my late father said, if somebody promises you something for free, read the fine print. You read the fine print, and here's what it says.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: The fine print says this, that it will -- the federal government will cover two-thirds of the cost and require the states, even those led by Republican governors...

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead. Thank you.

CLINTON: ... to carry out what the remaining one-third of the cost.

SANDERS: I know what Secretary Clinton is saying.

BLITZER: Secretary please.

SANDERS: We are not a country that has the courage to stand up to big money and do what has to be done for the working families of the country.

(APPLAUSE)

Secretary Clinton will have to explain to the people of our country how it could be that every other major country on Earth manages to guarantee health care to all of their people, spending significantly less per capita than we can. I live 50 miles away from Canada, you know? It's not some kind of communist authoritarian country. They're doing OK. They got a health care system that guarantees health care to all people. We can do the same.

In terms of public colleges and universities, please don't tell me that we cannot do what many other countries around the world are doing. Kids should not be punished and leave school deeply in debt, for what crime? For trying to get an education.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: So, yes, we are going to pay for it...

CLINTON: Well...

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton -- Secretary Clinton, go ahead.

CLINTON: We have -- we have a difference of opinion. We both want to get to universal health care coverage. I did stand up to the special interests and the powerful forces, the health insurance companies and the drug companies.

(APPLAUSE)

And perhaps that's why I am so much in favor of supporting President Obama's signature accomplishment with the Affordable Care Act, because I know how hard it was to get that passed, even with a Democratic Congress. So rather than letting the Republicans repeal it or rather starting all over again, trying to throw the country into another really contentious debate, let's make the Affordable Care Act work for everybody...

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: ... let's get to 100 percent coverage, let's get the cost down, and let's guarantee health care.

BLITZER: Secretary, let's talk about Social Security, another critically important issue. Senator Sanders has challenged you to give a clear answer when it comes to extending the life of Social Security and expanding benefits. Are you prepared to lift the cap on taxable income, which currently stands at \$118,500? Yes or no, would you lift the cap?

CLINTON: I have said repeatedly, Wolf, I am going to make the wealthy pay into Social Security to extend the Social Security Trust Fund. That is one way. If that is the way that we pursue, I will follow that.

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton and Senator Sanders, you can now move to your lecterns while I explain a few ground rules. As moderator, I'll guide the discussion, asking questions and follow-ups. You'll also get questions from Dana Bash and Errol Louis. You'll each have one minute and 15 seconds to answer questions, 30 seconds for follow-ups. Timing lights will signal when your time is up. Both candidates have agreed to these rules now. Opening statements, you'll each have two minutes.

Let's begin with Senator Sanders.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Wolf, thank you very much. CNN, thank you very much. Secretary Clinton, thank you very much.

When we began this campaign almost a year ago, we started off at 3 percent in the polls. We were about 70 points behind Secretary Clinton. In the last couple of weeks, there were two polls out there that had us ahead.

(APPLAUSE)

Of the last nine caucuses and primaries, we have won eight of them, many of them by landslide victories.

(APPLAUSE)

Over the last year, we have received almost 7 million individual campaign contributions, averaging -- guess what -- \$27 apiece, more individual campaign contributions than any candidate in American history at this point in a campaign.

The reason that our campaign has done so well is because we're doing something very radical: We're telling the American people the truth. And the truth is that this country is not going to move forward in a significant way for working people unless we overturn this disastrous Citizens United Supreme Court decision...

(APPLAUSE)

... and unless we have real campaign reform so that billionaires and super PACs cannot buy elections.

(APPLAUSE)

This campaign is also determined to end a rigged economy where the rich get richer and everybody else get poorer, and create an economy that works for all of us, not just the 1 percent.

Thank you.

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton? CLINTON: Well, first of all, it's great to be here in New York, and I am delighted to...

(APPLAUSE)

... have this chance to discuss the issues that are important to our future. I was so honored to serve as a senator from New York for eight years...

(APPLAUSE)

... and to work to provide opportunity for all of our citizens to make it possible that we could knock down the barriers that stand in the way of people getting ahead and staying ahead.

And during those eight years, we faced some difficult challenges together. We faced 9/11. We worked hard to rebuild New York. I was particularly concerned about our first responders and others who'd been affected in their health by what they had experienced. We worked hard to bring jobs from Buffalo to Albany and all parts of New York to give more hard-working people a chance to really make the most out of their own talents.

And we worked hard to really keep New York values at the center of who we are and what we do together.

(APPLAUSE)

And that is -- that is exactly what I want to do as your president. We will celebrate our diversity. We will work together, bringing us back to being united, setting some big, bold, progressive goals for America. That's what I'm offering in this campaign, to build on the work, to build on the value that we share here in New York, to take those to Washington, and to knock down those barriers that in any way hold back not only individual Americans, but our country from reaching our full potential. That is what my campaign is about.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

We are going to deal with many of the issues both of you just raised. I want to begin with a question that goes right to the heart of which one of you should be the Democratic presidential nominee.

BLITZER: Senator Sanders, in the last week, you've raised questions about Secretary Clinton's qualifications to be president. You said that something is clearly lacking in terms of her judgment and you accused her of having a credibility gap.

So let me ask you, do you believe that Secretary Clinton has the judgment to be president?

SEN. BERNIE SANDERS (D-VT), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, I've known Secretary Clinton, how long, 25 years?

We worked together in the Senate. And I said that in response to the kind of attacks we were getting from the Clinton, uh, campaign. "Washington Post" headline says "Clinton Campaign says Sanders is Unqualified" and that's what the surrogates were saying.

Does Secretary Clinton have the experience and the intelligence to be a president?

Of course she does.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: But I do question...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- but I do question her judgment. I question a judgment which voted for the war in Iraq...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- the worst foreign policy blunder in the history of this country, voted for virtually every disastrous trade agreement which cost us millions of decent-paying jobs. And I question her judgment about running super PACs which are collecting tens of millions of dollars from special interests, including \$15 million from Wall Street. I don't believe that that is...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- the kind of judgment we need to be the kind of president we need.

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton?

HILLARY CLINTON (D-NY), FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, it is true that now that the spotlight is pretty bright here in New York, some things have been said and Senator Sanders did call me unqualified. I've been called a lot of things in my life. That was a first.

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: And then he did say that...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- he had to question my judgment. Well, the people of New York voted for me twice to be their senator from New York and...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- and...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- and President Obama trusted my judgment enough to ask me to be secretary of State for the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: So, look, we have disagreements on policy. There's no doubt about it. But if you go and read, which I hope all of you will before Tuesday, Senator Sanders' long interview with the "New York Daily News," talk about judgment and talk about the kinds of problems he had answering questions about even his core issue, breaking up the banks.

When asked, he could not explain how...

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: -- that would be done and...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- when asked...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- when asked about a number of foreign policy issues, he could not answer about Afghanistan, about Israel, about counterterrorism, except to say if he'd had some paper in front of him, maybe he could.

I think you need to have the judgment on day one to be both president and commander-in-chief.

BLITZER: Senator...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And let's talk about judgment.

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Yes!

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And let us talk about the worst foreign policy blunder in the modern history of this country...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: I led the opposition to that war. Secretary Clinton voted for that. Well, let's talk about judgment. Let's talk about super PACs and 501(c)(4)s, money which is completely undisclosed.

Where does the money come from?

Do we really feel confident about a candidate saying that she's going to bring change in America when she is so dependent on big money interests?

I don't think so.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, let me...

SANDERS: We have...

CLINTON: -- let me just say...

SANDERS: -- (INAUDIBLE)...

CLINTON: -- let me -- let me say...

BLITZER: Madam Secretary, let him finish.

CLINTON: OK.

SANDERS: Thirdly, we have got to understand that in America, we should be thinking big, not small.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you.

SANDERS: We need to join the rest of the industrialized world and guarantee health care to all people. So I...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- my (INAUDIBLE).

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

Secretary?

CLINTON: Well, make -- make no mistake about it, this is not just an attack on me, it's an attack on President Obama. President Obama...

(BOOS)

CLINTON: You know, let me tell you why. You may not like the answer, but I'll tell you why. President Obama had a super PAC when he ran. President Obama took tens of millions of dollars from contributors. And President Obama was not at all influenced when he made the decision to pass and sign Dodd-Frank, the toughest regulations...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- on Wall Street in many a year.

CLINTON: So this is -- this is a phony -- this is a phony attack that is designed to raise questions when there is no evidence or support, to undergird the continuation that he is putting forward in these attacks.

BLITZER: Thank, Secretary. We're going to continue on this, but I want Dana Bash to continue with the questioning.

BASH: Secretary Clint, the government announced yesterday that five of the biggest banks on Wall Street have failed to develop plans to dismantle themselves in the event of another financial crisis. This is the second time in two years those banks neglected to come up with credible plans. So, as president, would you call on regulators to start the process of breaking up these banks? Something that the law not only allows, but actually explicitly encourages?

CLINTON: Absolutely. You know, this is what I've saying for the past year. No bank is too big to fail, no executive too powerful to jail.

I have been talking about what we should be doing under Dodd- Frank. I'm glad that Senator Sanders is now joining in talking about Dodd-Frank, because Dodd-Frank sets forth the approach that needs to be taken. I believe, and I will appoint regulators who are tough enough and ready enough to break up any bank that fails the test under Dodd-Frank.

There are two sections there. If they fail either one, that they're a systemic risk, a grave risk to our economy, or if they fail the other, that their living wills, which is what you're referring to, is inadequate.

Let's look at what is at stake here. We can never let Wall Street wreck Main street again. I spoke out against Wall Street when I was a Senator from New York. I have been standing up and saying continuously we have the law. We've got to execute under it. So, you're right. I will move immediately to break up any financial institution, but I go further because I want the law to extend to those that are part of the shadow banking industry. The big insurance companies, the hedge funds, something that I have been arguing for now a long time...

BASH: ... Thank you, Secretary. Senator Sanders, you were recently asked what you would replace the big Wall Street banks with if you could break them up. You said, quote, "That's their decision."

Why would you trust the banks to restructure themselves? SANDERS: First, Dana...

BASH: when you said the whole business model was fraudulent?

SANDERS: That's right. So, let's start off with the basic premise. A few days ago Goldman Sachs formally reached a settlement with the United States government for \$5 billion dollars. What Goldman Sachs acknowledged was, essentially, that they were selling fraudulent packages of subprime mortgage loans.

Goldman Sachs was not the only bank, other banks, of course, did the same. Now, I don't need Dodd-Frank now to tell me that we have got to break up these banks, A, because they're based on fraudulent principles, and B, because when you have six financial institutions that have assets equivalent to 58% of the GDP of this country, they are just too big, too much concentration of wealth and power.

BASH: But, Senator...

SANDERS: The point is we have got to break them up so that they do not pose a systemic risk and so that we have a vibrant economy with a competitive financial system.

BASH: But Senator, you didn't answer the specific question which is not just about breaking up the banks, but why allow the banks to do it themselves?

SANDERS: Because I'm not sure that the government should say is you are too big to fail. You've got to be a certain size. And, then the banks themselves can figure out what they want to sell off. I don't know that it's appropriate that the Department of Treasury to be making those decisions. What we need is to make sure that they are safe.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Dana, you know -- I love being in Brooklyn.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

CLINTON: Dana, let me add here that there are two ways to at this under Dodd-Frank, which is after all the law we passed under President Obama, and I'm proud that Barney Frank, one of the authors, has endorsed me because what I have said continuously is, yes, sometimes the government may have to order certain actions. Sometime the government can permit the institution themselves to take those actions. That has to be the judgement of the regulators.

But, there's another element to this. I believe strongly that executives of any of these organizations should be financially penalized if there is a settlement.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: They should have to pay up through compensation or bonuses because we have to go after not just the big giant institution, we have got to go after the people who are making the decisions in the institutions.

BASH: Thank you, Madam Secretary.

CLINTON: And hold them accountable as well.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Senator Sanders, you have consistently criticized Secretary Clinton for accepting money from Wall Street. Can you name one decision that she made as senator that shows that he favored banks because of the money she received?

SANDERS: Sure. Sure. The obvious decision is when the greed and recklessness and illegal behavior of wall street brought this country into the worst economic downturn since the Great Recession -- the Great Depression of the '30s, when millions of people lost their jobs, and their homes, and their life savings, the obvious response to that is that you've got a bunch of fraudulent operators and that they have got to be broken up.

That was my view way back, and I introduced legislation to do that. Now, Secretary Clinton was busy giving speeches to Goldman Sachs for \$225,000 a speech.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: So the problem response -- the proper response in my view is we should break them up. And that's what my legislation does.

CLINTON: Well, you can tell, Dana, he cannot come up with any example, because there is no example.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: It is important -- it's always important. It may be inconvenient, but it's always important to get the facts straight. I stood up against the behaviors of the banks when I was a senator.

I called them out on their mortgage behavior. I also was very willing to speak out against some of the special privileges they had under the tax code. When I went to the secretary of state office, the president -- President Obama led the effort to pass the Dodd-Frank bill.

That is the law. Now, this is our ninth debate. In the prior eight debates, I have said, we have a law. You don't just say, we're upset about this. I'm upset about it. You don't just say, go break them up. You have a law, because we are a nation of laws.

BASH: Thank you, Madam Secretary.

CLINTON: So I support Dodd-Frank, but I have consistently said that's not enough. We've got to include the shadow banking sector.

BASH: Thank you. Senator Sanders.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Secretary Clinton called them out. Oh my goodness, they must have been really crushed by this. And was that before or after you received huge sums of money by giving speaking engagements? So they must have been very, very upset by what you did.

Look, here is the difference and here is the clear difference. These banks, in my view, have too much power. They have shown themselves to be fraudulent organizations endangering the well-being of our economy.

If elected president, I will break them up. We have got legislation to do that, end of discussion.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Secretary Clinton, if I may, Senator Sanders keeping bringing up the speeches that you gave to Goldman Sachs. So I'd like to ask you, so you've said that you don't want to release the transcripts, until everybody does it, but if there's nothing in those speeches that you think would change voters' minds, why not just release the transcripts and put this whole issue to bed?

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, first of all -- first of all, there isn't an issue. When I was in public service serving as the senator from New York, I did stand up to the banks. I did make it clear that their behavior would not be excused.

I'm the only one on this stage who did not vote to deregulate swaps and derivatives, as Senator Sanders did, which led to a lot of the problems that we had with Lehman Brothers.

Now, if you're going to look at the problems that actually caused the Great Recession, you've got to look at the whole picture. It was a giant insurance company, AIG. It was an investment bank, Lehman Brothers. It was mortgage companies like Countrywide.

I'm not saying that Senator Sanders did something untoward when he voted to deregulate swaps and derivatives...

BASH: Madam Secretary...

CLINTON: ... but the fact is he did.

CLINTON: And that contributed to the collapse of Lehman Brothers and started the cascade...

(APPLAUSE)

(CROSSTALK)

BASH: Senator Sanders, one second, please. Secretary Clinton, the question was about the transcripts of the speeches to Goldman Sachs.

(APPLAUSE)

Why not release them?

CLINTON: I have said, look, there are certain -- there are certain expectations when you run for president. This is a new one. And I've said, if everybody agrees to do it -- because there are speeches for money on the other side. I know that.

But I will tell you this, there is -- there is a long-standing expectation that everybody running release their tax returns, and you can go -- you can go to my website and see eight years of tax returns. And I've released 30 years of tax returns. And I think every candidate, including Senator Sanders and Donald Trump, should do the same.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Secretary Clinton, we're going to get to the tax returns later, but just to put a button on this, you're running now for the Democratic nomination.

CLINTON: Right.

BASH: And it is your Democratic opponent and many Democratic voters who want to see those transcripts. It's not about the Republicans...

(CROSSTALK)

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, let's set the same standard for everybody. When everybody does it, OK, I will do it, but let's set and expect the same standard on tax returns. Everybody does it, and then we move forward.

BLITZER: Thank you.

SANDERS: Well, let me respond. Secretary Clinton, you just heard her, everybody else does it, she'll do it. I will do it.

(APPLAUSE)

I am going to release all of the transcripts of the speeches that I gave on Wall Street behind closed doors, not for \$225,000, not for \$2,000, not for two cents. There were no speeches.

(APPLAUSE)

And second of all, of course we will release our taxes. Jane does our taxes. We've been a little bit busy lately. You'll excuse us. But we will...

BLITZER: Senator...

SANDERS: We will get them out.

BLITZER: Senator...

CLINTON: Well, you know, there are a lot of copy machines around.

BLITZER: Senator, when are you -- when are you -- you've been asked for weeks and weeks to release your tax returns.

SANDERS: Well, I think we got one that's coming out tomorrow.

BLITZER: Which one?

SANDERS: Last year's.

BLITZER: 2014?

SANDERS: Yes.

BLITZER: What about 2013, all the other ones?

SANDERS: You'll get them, yes. Yeah, look, I don't want to get anybody very excited. They are very boring tax returns. No big money from speeches, no major investments. Unfortunately -- unfortunately, I remain one of the poorer members of the United States Senate. And that's what that will show.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: So, Senator, just to be clear, tomorrow you will release the 2014 tax returns from you and your family?

SANDERS: Yes.

BLITZER: And what about the earlier ones? What's the problem... SANDERS: Yes.

BLITZER: What's taking so long? Because you just have to go to the filing cabinet, make a copy, and release them.
(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Wolf, the answer is, you know, what we have always done in my family is, Jane does them. And she's been out on the campaign trail. We will get them out. We'll get them out very shortly. It's not a big deal.

BLITZER: Thank you. Senator, Senator, you've slammed companies like General Electric and Verizon for moving jobs outside of the United States. Yesterday, the CEO of Verizon called your views contemptable and said in your home state of Vermont Verizon has invested more than \$16 million and pays millions of dollars a year to local businesses. He says you are, quote, "uninformed on this issue" and disconnected from reality. Given your obvious contempt for large American corporations, how would you as president of the United States be able to effectively promote American businesses around the world?

SANDERS: Well, for a start, I would tell the gentleman who's the CEO at Verizon to start negotiating with the Communication Workers of America.

(APPLAUSE)

And this is -- this is a perfect example, Wolf, of the kind of corporate greed which is destroying the middle class of this country. This gentleman makes \$18 million a year in salary. That's his -- that's his compensation. This gentleman is now negotiating to take away health care benefits of Verizon workers, outsource call center jobs to the Philippines, and -- and trying to create a situation where workers will lose their jobs. He is not investing in the way he should in inner cities in America.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: All right. Senator, but the question was, the question was, given your contempt for large American corporations, as president, how would you be able to promote American business around the world?

SANDERS: First of all, the word contempt is not right. There are some great businesses who treat their workers and the environment with respect.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Verizon happens not to be one of them.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And what we need to do is to tell this guy Immelt, who's the head of General Electric, he doesn't like me, well, that's fine. He has outsourced hundreds of thousands of decent-paying jobs throughout the world...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- cut his workforce here substantially and in a given year, by the way, it turns out that both Verizon and General Electric, in a given year, pay nothing in federal income tax despite making billions in profits.

(BOOS)

BLITZER: But Senator, experts say that no matter the means to bring back these jobs to the United States, prices of goods for consumers in the United States would go up, which would disproportionately impact the poor and middle class.

So how do you bring back these jobs to the United States without affecting the cost of goods to America's middle class and poor?

SANDERS: Well, for a start, we're going to raise the minimum wage to 15 bucks an hour.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And number two, while it is true we may end up paying a few cents more for a hamburger in McDonald's, at the end of the day, what this economy desperately needs is to rebuild our manufacturing sector with good-paying jobs.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: We cannot continue to sustain the loss of millions of decent-paying jobs that we have seen over the last 20, 30 years, based on trade agreements of which Secretary Clinton has voted for almost every one of those. That has got to change.

BLITZER: Thank you.

Secretary...

(LAUGHTER)

BLITZER: -- Secretary Clinton?

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I do have a very comprehensive plan to create more jobs and I think that has to be at the center of our economic approach. And so I think it is important that we do more on manufacturing. I went to Syracuse and laid out a \$10 billion plan that would, I believe, really jump-start advanced manufacturing.

I have seen the results of what can happen when we have the government cooperating with business. And that's exactly what I will do.

When I was secretary of State, I helped to lead the way to increased exports of American good around the world, which supports tens of thousands of jobs.

So I think you've got to go at this with a sense of how to accomplish the goal we are setting -- more good jobs with rising incomes for people everywhere from inner cities to rural areas to every distressed community in America.

And that's exactly what my plan would bring about.

I think we have a pretty good record if we look at what happened...

BLITZER: Senator...

CLINTON: -- in the 1990s, we got 23 million new jobs and incomes went up for everybody.

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Let's do that again in America.

BLITZER: Senator, how do you...

SANDERS: I'm going to respond...

BLITZER: I'll have you respond in a moment.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Stand by.

SANDERS: Well, look...

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton... (CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: You will respond in a moment, but I have to follow-up with Secretary Clinton.

You stood on the stage with Governor Cuomo in support of new legislation to raise New York's minimum wage to \$15 an hour. But you do not support raising the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour.

As president...

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: -- if a Democratic Congress put a \$15 minimum wage bill on your desk, would you sign it?

CLINTON: Well, of course I would. And I have supported...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- I have supported the fight for 15. I am proud to have the endorsement of most of the unions that have led the fight for 15. I was proud to stand on the stage with Governor Cuomo, with SEIU and others who have been leading this battle and I will work as hard as I can to raise the minimum wage. I always have. I supported that when I was in the Senate.

SANDERS: Well, look...

CLINTON: But what I have also said is that we've got to be smart about it, just the way Governor Cuomo was here in New York. If you look at it, we moved more quickly to \$15 in New York City, more deliberately toward \$12, \$12.50 upstate then to \$15. That is exactly my position. It's a model for the nation and that's what I will do as president.

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Go as quickly as...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- to get to \$15.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: I am sure a lot of people are very surprised to learn that you supported raising the minimum wage to 15 bucks an hour.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, wait a minute...

SANDERS: (INAUDIBLE).

CLINTON: -- wait a minute. SANDERS: (INAUDIBLE).

CLINTON: -- wait, wait...

SANDERS: That's just not accurate. Well...

CLINTON: Come on, I have stood on the debate stage...

SANDERS: -- well and I...

CLINTON: -- with Senator Sanders eight...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- times.

SANDERS: Excuse me.

CLINTON: I have said the...

SANDERS: Well...

CLINTON: Exact same thing.

BLITZER: Secretary, Senator, please.

CLINTON: If we can...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- raise it to \$15 in New York...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- or Los Angeles or Seattle...

BLITZER: Secretary, the viewers...

CLINTON: -- let's do it.

BLITZER: If you're both screaming at each other, the viewers won't be able to hear either of you.

SANDERS: OK.

BLITZER: So please...

SANDERS: I will...

BLITZER: -- don't talk over each other.

SANDERS: I believe I was...

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Go ahead.

SANDERS: -- responding.

All right? When this campaign began, I said that we got to end the starvation minimum wage of \$7.25, raise it to \$15. Secretary Clinton said let's raise it to \$12. There's a difference. And, by the way, what has happened is history has outpaced Secretary Clinton, because all over this country, people are standing up and they're saying \$12 is not good enough, we need \$15 an hour.

CLINTON: OK.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Go ahead, Secretary. Secretary?

SANDERS: And suddenly...

BLITZER: Secretary, go ahead.

SANDERS: To suddenly...

CLINTON: Thank you. Thank you very much.

SANDERS: To suddenly announce now that you're for \$15, I don't think is quite accurate.

BLITZER: All right. Secretary?

CLINTON: All right. I have said from the very beginning that I supported the fight for \$15. I supported those on the front lines of the fight for -- it happens to be true. I also -- I supported the \$15 effort in L.A. I supported in Seattle. I supported it for the fast food workers in New York.

The minimum wage at the national level right now is \$7.25, right? We want to raise it higher than it ever has been, but we also have to recognize some states and some cities will go higher, and I support that. I have taken my cue from the Democrats in the Senate, led by Senator Patty Murray and others, like my good friend Kirsten Gillibrand, who has said we will set a national level of \$12 and then urge any place that can go above it to go above it.

Going from \$7.25 to \$12 is a huge difference. Thirty-five million people will get a raise. One in four working mothers will get a raise. I want to get something done. And I think setting the goal to get to \$12 is the way to go, encouraging others to get to \$15. But, of course, if we have a Democratic Congress, we will go to \$15.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: Well, I think the secretary has confused a lot of people. I don't know how you're there for the fight for \$15 when you say you want a \$12-an-hour national minimum wage.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, in fact -- in fact, there is an effort, Patty Murray has introduced legislation for \$12 minimum wage. That's good. I introduced legislation for \$15 an hour minimum wage which is better.

(APPLAUSE)

And ultimately what we have got to determine is after massive transfer of wealth from the middle class to the top 0.1 percent, when millions of our people are working longer hours for low wages...

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: I think we have got to be clear, not equivocate, \$15 in minimum wage in 50 states in this country as soon as possible.

BLITZER: Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

We're going to turn to another critically important issue right now, guns in America. Secretary Clinton, you've said that Vermont, Senator Sanders' home state, has, quote, "the highest per capita number of guns that end up committing crimes in New York." But only 1.2 percent of the guns recovered in New York in 2014 were from Vermont. Are you seriously blaming Vermont, and implicitly Senator Sanders, for New York's gun violence?

CLINTON: No, of course not. Of course not. This is -- this is a serious difference between us.

(LAUGHTER)

And what I want to start by saying -- it's not a laughing matter -- 90 people on average a day are killed or commit suicide or die in accidents from guns, 33,000 people a year. I take it really seriously, because I have spent more time than I care to remember being with people who have lost their loved ones.

So, yes, we have a problem in America. We need a president who will stand up against the gun lobby. We need a president who will fight for commonsense gun safety reforms.

(APPLAUSE)

And what we have here is a big difference. Senator Sanders voted against the Brady Bill five times. He voted for the most important NRA priority, namely giving immunity from liability to gun-makers and dealers, something that is at the root of a lot of the problems that we are facing.

Then he doubled down on that in the New York Daily News interview, when asked whether he would support the Sandy Hook parents suing to try to do something to rein in the advertising of the AR-15, which is advertised to young people as being a combat weapon, killing on the battlefield. He said they didn't deserve their day in court.

CLINTON: I could not disagree more.

And, finally, this is the only industry in America, the only one.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: That has this kind of special protection. We hear a lot from Senator Sanders about the greed and recklessness of Wall Street, and I agree. We've got to hold Wall Street accountable...

BLITZER: ... Thank you...

CLINTON: ... Well, what about the greed and recklessness of gun manufacturers and dealers in America?

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Senator? Well, the only problem is, Wolf, she didn't answer your question.

You asked her whether she thought that Vermont was responsible. You asked her whether she thought that Vermont was responsible for a lot of the gun violence. You made the point what she said was totally absurd.

BLITZER: I asked her, are you seriously blaming Vermont and implicitly Senator Sanders for New York's gun violence. She said no. But, go ahead.

SANDERS: Then why did she put out that statement?

CLINTON: I put it out...

SANDERS: ... Excuse me, I think I'm responding now.

BLITZER: Please, go ahead sir.

SANDERS: A statement that was refuted by the governor of the state of Vermont, who was a supporter of hers, who said, yeah, in campaigns people tend to exaggerate.

Here is the fact on guns. Let's talk about guns. That horrible, horrible Sandy Hook -- what's the word we want to use, murder, assault, slaughter, unspeakable act.

Back in 1988, I ran for the United States Congress one seat in the state of Vermont. I probably lost that election, which I lost by three points, because I was the only candidate running who said, you know what? We should ban assault weapons, not seen them sold or distributed in the United States of America.

I've got a D-minus voting record from the NRA.

(APPLAUSE)

And, in fact, because I come from a state which has virtually no gun control, I believe that I am the best qualified candidate to bring back together that consensus that is desperately needed in this country.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Thank you.

(CHEERING)

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton, I want you to respond to that, but why did you put out that statement blaming Vermont and its gun policy for some of the death of -- by guns in New York?

CLINTON: Well, the facts are that most of the guns that end up committing crimes in New York come from out of state. They come from the states that don't have kind of serious efforts to control guns that we do in New York. But let me say this -- in 1988, as we've heard on every debate occasion, Senator Sanders did run for the Congress and he lost. He came back in 1990 and he won, and during that campaign he made a commitment to the NRA that he would be against waiting periods.

And, in fact, in his own book, he talks about his 1990 campaign, and here's what he said. He clearly was helped by the NRA, because they ran ads against his opponent. So, then he went to the Congress, where he has been a largely very reliable supporter of the NRA. Voting -- he kept his word to the NRA, he voted against the Brady Bill five times because it had waiting periods in it.

Thankfully, enough people finally voted for it to keep guns out of the hands of who should not have them.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator, I want you to respond, but I also want you to respond to this. You recently said you do not think crime victims should be able to sue gun makers for damages. The daughter of the Sandy Hook Elementary School who was killed back in the 2012 mass shooting, says you owe her and families an apology. Do you?

SANDERS: What we need to do is to do everything that we can to make certain that guns do not fall into the hands of people who do not have them.

Now, I voted against this gun liability law because I was concerned that in rural areas all over this country, if a gun shop owner sells a weapon legally to somebody, and that person then goes out and kills somebody, I don't believe it is appropriate that that gun shop owner who just sold a legal weapon to be held accountable and be sued. But, what I do believe is when gun shop owners and others knowingly are selling weapons to people who should not have them -- somebody walks in.

SANDERS: They want thousands of rounds of ammunition, or they want a whole lot of guns, yes, that gun shop owner or that gun manufacturer should be held liable.

BLITZER: So, Senator, do you owe the Sandy Hook families an apology?

SANDERS: No, I don't think I owe them an apology. They are in court today, and actually they won a preliminary decision today. They have the right to sue, and I support them and anyone else who wants the right to sue.

CLINTON: Well, I believe that the law that Senator Sanders voted for that I voted against, giving this special protection to gun manufacturers and to dealers, is an absolute abdication of responsibility on the part of those who voted for it.

This is a -- this is a unique gift given to only one industry in the world by the United States Congress, as Senator Murphy from Connecticut said, we have tougher standards holding toy gun manufacturers and sellers to account than we do for real guns.

And the point that Senator Sanders keeps making about how he wouldn't want a mom and pop store -- that was not the point of this. And if he can point to any, any incident where that happened, I would love to hear about it.

What was really going on, I'll tell you, because it has a lot to do with New York City. New York City was on the brink of being able to hold manufacturers and dealers accountable through a very carefully crafted legal strategy.

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: The NRA came to their supporters in the Congress and said, stop it, stop it now, and Senator Sanders joined those who did.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: Let me just reiterate -- just reiterate so there is no confusion, decades ago, before it was popular, in a rural state with no gun control, Bernie Sanders said, let's ban assault weapons, not see them distributed in the United States of America.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

Let's turn it over to Errol Lewis, of New York 1 Time Warner Cable News.

LOUIS: Secretary Clinton, the 1994 crime bill that you supported added 100,000 police officers across the country and banned certain assault weapons. It also imposed tougher prison sentences and eliminated federal funding for inmate education.

Looking at the bill as a whole, do you believe it was a net positive or do you think it was a mistake?

CLINTON: Well, I think that it had some positive aspects to it. And you mentioned some of them. The Violence Against Women Act, which has been a very important piece of legislation, in my opinion.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: And it also did some things which were to provide more opportunities for young people. So if we were to have the balance sheet on one side, there are some positive actions and changes.

On the other side, there were decisions that were made that now we must revisit and we have to correct. I think that sentences got much too long. The original idea was not that we would increase sentences for non-violent low-level offenders, but once the federal government did what it did, states piled on.

So we have a problem. And the very first speech I gave in this campaign was about what I will do to reform the criminal justice system and end the over-mass incarceration.

So I think that if all of us go and look back at where we were, Senator Sanders voted for the crime bill, and he says the same thing, there were some good things, and things that we have to change and learn from.

So that's how I see it. And I think we ought to be putting our attention on forging a consensus to make the changes that will divert more people from the criminal justice system to start.

LOUIS: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: To tackle systemic racism and divert people in the beginning.

LOUIS: Now earlier this year, a South Carolina voter told your daughter Chelsea, quote, "I think a lot of African-Americans want to hear, you know what, we made a mistake." Chelsea said she has heard you apologize, but went on to say that if the voter hadn't heard it then, quote, "it's clearly insufficient."

Do you regret your advocacy for the crime bill?

CLINTON: Well, look, I supported the crime bill. My husband has apologized. He was the president who actually signed it, Senator Sanders...

LOUIS: But what about you, Senator?

CLINTON: ... voted for it. I'm sorry for the consequences that were unintended and that have had a very unfortunate impact on people's lives.

I've seen the results of what has happened in families and in communities.

CLINTON: That's why I chose to make my very first speech a year ago on this issue, Errol, because I want to focus the attention of our country and to make the changes we need to make. And I also want people...

(APPLAUSE)

... especially I want -- I want white people -- I want white people to recognize that there is systemic racism. It's also in employment, it's in housing, but it is in the criminal justice system, as well.

(APPLAUSE)

LOUIS: Senator Sanders, earlier this week at the Apollo Theater in Harlem, you called out President Clinton for defending Secretary Clinton's use of the term super-predator back in the '90s when she supported the crime bill. Why did you call him out?

SANDERS: Because it was a racist term, and everybody knew it was a racist term.

(APPLAUSE)

Look, much of what Secretary Clinton said was right. We had a crime bill. I voted for it. It had the Violence Against Women Act in it. When as mayor of Burlington, we worked very hard to try to eliminate domestic violence. This took us a good step forward. We're talking about the weapon that killed the children in Sandy Hook. This banned assault weapons, not insignificant.

But where we are today is we have a broken criminal justice system. We have more people in jail than any other country on Earth. And in my view, what we have got to do is rethink the system from the bottom on up. And that means, for a start -- and we don't talk about this. The media doesn't talk about it -- you got 51 percent of African-American kids today who graduated high school who are unemployed or underemployed. You know what I think? Maybe we invest in jobs and education for those kids, not jails and incarceration.

(APPLAUSE)

And I'll tell you what else. And I'll tell you what else I think. And that is, we have got -- and this is the difference between the secretary and myself as I understand it. We have got to have the guts to rethink the so-called war on drugs. Too many lives... BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: Too many lives have been destroyed because people possessed marijuana, millions over a 30-year period. And that is why I believe we should take marijuana out of the federal Controlled Substance Act.

(APPLAUSE)

LOUIS: Thank you. Thank you. Let's -- let's get Secretary Clinton's response.

CLINTON: Well, look, I think that, as Senator Sanders said about what I said, I will say about what he said. I think that we recognize that we have a set of problems that we cannot ignore and we must address. And that is why I have been promoting for my entire adult life, I think, the idea of investing early in kids, early childhood education, universal pre-K, like what Mayor de Blasio brought to New York. We have got to help more kids get off to a good start. That's why I want a good teacher in a good school for every child, regardless of the ZIP Code that child lives in...

LOUIS: Thank you. Thank you, Secretary Clinton.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: ... and to be really focused on how we build ladders of opportunity and tear down these barriers that stand in the way of people getting ahead.

LOUIS: Your time's up, Secretary Clinton.

Senator Sanders, I have a question for you related to this. So you've said that by the end of your first term as president, the U.S. will no longer lead the world in mass incarceration. To fulfill that promise, you'd have to release roughly half a million prisoners. How are you going to do that, since the vast majority of American prisoners are not under federal jurisdiction?

SANDERS: We're going to work with state governments all over this country. And you know what? In a very divided Congress, and a very divided politics in America, actually the one area where there is some common ground is conservatives understand that it's insane to be spending \$80 billion a year locking up 2.2 million people.

With federal and presidential leadership, we will work with state governments to make sure that people are released from jail under strong supervision, that they get the kind of job training and education they need so they can return to their communities. On this one, Errol, actually I think you're going to see progressive and conservative support. We can do it, if we're prepared to be bold.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Thank you, Secretary. We have to take a quick commercial break. We have a lot more questions for Secretary Clinton and Senator Sanders right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back.

Let's turn to another critically important issue.

Senator, Secretary, the issue of energy and the environment.

Secretary Clinton, Senator Sanders has said you are in the pocket of the fossil fuel industry. You say you're sick and tired of him lying about your record.

What are his lies?

CLINTON: Well, let me start by saying we need to talk about this issue and we should talk about it in terms of the extraordinary threats that climate change pose to our country and our world. And that's why for the last many years, both in the Senate and as secretary of State, it's been a big part of my commitment to see what could be done.

But there has never been any doubt that when I was a senator, I tried -- I joined with others to try to get rid of the subsidies for big oil. And I have proposed that again, because that's what I think needs to be done as we transition from fossil fuels to clean energy.

CLINTON: And everyone who's looked at this independently, "The Washington Post" and others, who give us both hard times when called for on facts, have said that this is absolutely an incorrect false charge.

So, we both have relatively small amounts of contributions from people who work for fossil fuel companies. Best we can tell from the reports that are done.

But, that is not being supported by big oil, and I think it's important to distinguish that. And, let's talk about what each of us has proposed to try to combat greenhouse gas emissions and put us on the fastest track possible to clean energy.

BLITZER: Thank you. We're going to get to that to, but I want you to respond, Senator.

SANDERS: It is one thing, as the Secretary indicated, to talk about workers. I'm sure I have contributions, you have contributions from workers in every industry in the country. But, as I understand it, 43 lobbyists for the fossil fuel industry maxed out, gave the maximum amount of money to Secretary Clinton's campaign.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Now, that's not saying -- and, then some people say, well, given the hundreds of millions of dollars she raises it's a small amount. That's true. But, that does not mean to say that the lobbyists thought she was a pretty good bet on this issue.

Now, what I think is when we look at climate change now, we have got to realize that this is a global environmental crisis of unprecedented urgency.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

And, it is not good enough. You know, if we, God forbid, were attacked tomorrow the whole country would rise up and say we got an enemy out there and we got to do something about it. That was what 9/11 was about.

We have an enemy out there, and that enemy is going to cause drought and floods and extreme weather disturbances. There's going to be international conflict.

(APPLAUSE) I am proud, Wolf, that I have introduced the most comprehensive climate change legislation...

BLITZER: Thank you...

SANDERS: ... Including a tax on carbon. Something I don't believe Secretary Clinton supports.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton, go ahead and respond.

CLINTON: Well, let's talk about the global environmental crisis. Starting in 2009 as your Secretary of State, I worked with President Obama to bring China and India to the table for the very first time, to get a commitment out of them that they would begin to address their own greenhouse gas emissions.

(APPLAUSE)

I continued to work on that throughout the four years as Secretary of State, and I was very proud that President Obama and America led the way to the agreement that was finally reached in Paris with 195 nations committing to take steps to actually make a difference in climate change.

(APPLAUSE)

And, I was surprised and disappointed when Senator Sanders attacked the agreement, said it was not enough, it didn't go far enough. You know, at some point putting together 195 countries, I know a little bit about that, was a major accomplishment...

BLITZER: ... Thank you...

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

CLINTON: ... And, our President led the effort to protect our world and he deserve our appreciation, not our criticism...

BLITZER: ... Go ahead, Senator...

SANDERS: ... Let's talk about that. When you were Secretary of State, you also worked hard to expand fracking to countries all over the world.

(CHEERING)

SANDERS: The issue here -- of course the agreement is a step forward, but you know agreements and I know agreements, there's a lot of paper there. We've got to get beyond paper right now.

We have got to lead the world in transforming our energy system, not tomorrow, but yesterday.

(APPLAUSE) And, what that means, Wolf, it means having the guts to take on the fossil fuel industry. Now, I am on board legislation that says, you know what, we ain't going to excavate for fossil fuel on public land. That's not Secretary Clinton's position.

BLITZER: Thank you.

Let us support a tax on carbon...

BLITZER: ... Secretary Clinton...

SANDERS: ... Not Secretary Clinton's position.

BLITZER: ... Go ahead and respond.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, I'm a little bewildered about how to respond when you have an agreement which gives you the framework to actually take the action that would have only come about because under the Obama administration in the face of implacable hostility from the Republicans in Congress, President Obama moved forward on gas mileage, he moved forward on the clean power plant. He has moved forward on so many of the fronts that he could given the executive actions that he was able to take.

(APPLAUSE)

And, you know, I am getting a little bit -- I'm getting a little bit concerned here because, you know, I really believe that the President has done an incredible job against great odds and deserves to be supported.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

CLINTON: Now, it's easy -- it's easy to diagnose the problem. It's harder to do something about the problem. And...

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary. We'll continue on this. Errol -- Errol Louis, go ahead with your question.

SANDERS: Wolf. Wolf.

BLITZER: We're going to continue on this. Errol, go ahead.

LOUIS: OK. Secretary Clinton, as secretary of state, you also pioneered a program to promote fracking around the world, as you described. Fracking, of course, a way of extracting natural gas. Now as a candidate for president, you say that by the time you're done with all your rules and regulations, fracking will be restricted in many places around the country. Why have you changed your view on fracking?

CLINTON: No, well, I don't think I've changed my view on what we need to do to go from where we are, where the world is heavily dependent on coal and oil, but principally coal, to where we need to be, which is clean renewable energy, and one of the bridge fuels is natural gas.

And so for both economic and environmental and strategic reasons, it was American policy to try to help countries get out from under the constant use of coal, building coal plants all the time, also to get out from under, especially if they were in Europe, the pressure from Russia, which has been incredibly intense. So we did say natural gas is a bridge. We want to cross that bridge as quickly as possible, because in order to deal with climate change, we have got to move as rapidly as we can.

That's why I've set big goals. I want to see us deploy a half a billion more solar panels by the end of my first term and enough clean energy to provide electricity to every home in America within 10 years.

(APPLAUSE)

So I have big, bold goals, but I know in order to get from where we are, where the world is still burning way too much coal, where the world is still too intimidated by countries and providers like Russia, we have got to make a very firm but decisive move in the direction of clean energy.

LOUIS: Thank you, Secretary. All right, Senator?

SANDERS: All right, here is -- here is a real difference. This is a difference between understanding that we have a crisis of historical consequence here, and incrementalism and those little steps are not enough.

(APPLAUSE)

Not right now. Not on climate change. Now, the truth is, as secretary of state, Secretary Clinton actively supported fracking technology around the world. Second of all, right now, we have got to tell the fossil fuel industry that their short-term profits are not more important than the future of this planet.

(APPLAUSE)

And that means -- and I would ask you to respond. Are you in favor of a tax on carbon so that we can transit away from fossil fuel to energy efficiency and sustainable energy at the level and speed we need to do?

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: You know, I have laid out a set of actions that build on what President Obama was able to accomplish, building on the clean power plan, which is currently under attack by fossil fuels and the right in the Supreme Court, which is one of the reasons why we need to get the Supreme Court justice that President Obama has nominated to be confirmed so that we can actually continue to make progress.

I don't take a back seat to your legislation that you've introduced that you haven't been able to get passed. I want to do what we can do to actually make progress in dealing with the crisis. That's exactly what I have proposed.

LOUIS: OK, thank you, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: And my approach I think is going to get us there faster without tying us up into political knots with a Congress that still would not support what you are proposing.

(CROSSTALK)

LOUIS: Senator Sanders, you've said that climate change is the greatest change to our nation's security.

SANDERS: Secretary Clinton did not answer one simple question.

LOUIS: Excuse me, Senator, Senator, Senator, Senator...

SANDERS: Are you for a tax on carbon or not? LOUIS: I have a question for you. You've said that climate change is the greatest threat to our nation's security. You've called for a nationwide ban on fracking. You've also called for phasing out all nuclear power in the U.S. But wouldn't those proposals drive the country back to coal and oil, and actually undermine your fight against global warming?

SANDERS: No, they wouldn't. Look, here's where we are. Let me reiterate. We have a global crisis. Pope Francis reminded us that we are on a suicide course. Our legislation understands, Errol, that there will be economic dislocation. It is absolutely true. There will be some people who lose their job. And we build into our legislation an enormous amount of money to protect those workers. It is not their fault...

SANDERS: It is not their fault that fossil fuels are destroying our climate.

But we have got to stand up and say right now, as we would if we were attacked by some military force, we have got to move urgency -- urgently and boldly.

What does that mean?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Senator -- senator, jobs...

SANDERS: Yes?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: -- jobs are one thing, but with less than 6 percent of all U.S. energy coming from solar, wind and geothermal, and 20 percent of U.S. power coming from nuclear, if you phase out all of that, how do you make up...

SANDERS: Well, you don't phase...

UNIDENTIFIED MALE: -- that difference?

SANDERS: -- it all out tomorrow. And you certainly don't phase nuclear out tomorrow. But this is what you do.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: What you do do is say that we are going to have a massive program -- and I had introduced -- introduced legislation for 10 million solar rooftops. We can put probably millions of people to work retrofitting and weatherizing buildings all over this country.

(CHEERING)

SANDERS: Saving -- rebuilding our rail system.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Our mass transit system.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: If we approach this, Errol, as if we were literally at a war -- you know, in 1941, under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, we moved within three years, within three more years to rebuild our economy to defeat Nazism and Japanese imperialism. That is exactly the kind of approach we need right now.

BLITZER: Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Lead the world.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Let's turn to another critically important issue...

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: -- the issue of national security and foreign policy.

Secretary Clinton, President Obama says the worst mistake in office that he made over these past seven and a half years was not preparing for Libya after Moammar Qadafi was removed. You were his secretary of State.

Aren't you also responsible for that?

CLINTON: Well, let me say I think we did a great deal to help the Libyan people after Qadafi's demise. And here's what we did.

We helped them hold two successful elections, something that is not easy, which they did very well because they had a pent up desire to try to chart their own future after 42 years of dictatorship.

I was very proud of that.

We got rid of the chemical weapons stockpile that Qadafi had, getting it out of Libya, getting it away from militias or terrorist groups.

We also worked to help them set up their government. We sent a lot of American experts there. We offered to help them secure their borders, to train a new military.

They, at the end, when it came to security issues, Wolf, did not want troops from any other country, not just us, European or other countries, in Libya.

And so we were caught in a very difficult position. They could not provide security on their own, which we could see and we told them that, but they didn't want to have others helping to provide that security.

And the result has been a clash between different parts of the country, terrorists taking up some locations in the country.

And we can't walk away from that. We need to be working with European and Arab partners...

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: -- with the United Nations in order to continue to try to support them.

The Libyan people deserve a chance at democracy and self- government. And I, as president, will keep trying to give that to them

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: According to "The New York Times"..

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- for President Obama, this was a pretty tough call, like a 51-49 call, do you overthrow Qadafi, who, of course, was a horrific dictator?

"The New York Times" told us it was Secretary Clinton who led the effect for that regime change. And this is the same type of mentality that supported the war in Iraq.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Look...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- Qadafi, Saddam Hussein are brutal, brutal murdering thugs. No debate about that.

But what we have got to do and what the president was saying is we didn't think thoroughly about what happens the day after you get rid of these dictators.

Regime change often has unintended consequences in Iraq and in Libya right now, where ISIS has a very dangerous foothold. And I think if you studied the whole history of...

BLITZER: Yes.

SANDERS: -- American involvement in regime change, you see that quite often.

BLITZER: Secretary, we're going to let you respond.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Yes, well, I...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- I...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- I -- I would just point out that there was a vote in the Senate as to whether or not the United States should support the efforts by the Libyan people to protect themselves against the threats, the genocidal threats coming from Gadhafi, and whether we should go to the United Nations to seek Security Council support.

Senator sanders voted for that, and that's exactly what we did.

SANDERS: No.

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: We went to the United Nations -- yes, he did. We went to the United Nations Security Council. We got support from the Security Council. And we then supported the efforts of our European and Arab allies and partners.

This was a request made to our government by the Europeans and by the Arabs because of their great fear of what chaos in Syria would do to them. And if you want to know what chaos does, not just to the people inside but the people on the borders, look at Syria.

Nobody stood up to Assad and removed him, and we have had a far greater disaster in Syria than we are currently dealing with right now in Libya.

(APPLAUSE)

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: Secretary Clinton made this charge in previous debates and just repeating it doesn't make it truer. What you are talking about is what I think was what they call the unanimous consent, you know what that is, where basically, do we support Libya moving to democracy?

Well, you know what, I surely have always supported Libya moving to democracy. But please do not confuse that with your active effort for regime change without contemplating what happened the day after. Totally different issue.

CLINTON: Well, that isn't...

SANDERS: Second of all -- second of all, if I might, in terms of Syria, in terms of Syria...

BLITZER: Senator, let her respond to that, then we'll get to that.

Go ahead, Secretary.

CLINTON: There was also in that a reference to the Security Council, and I know you're not shy when you oppose something, Senator. So, yes, it was unanimous. That's exactly right, including you.

And what we did was to try to provide support for our European and Arab allies and partners. The decision was the president's. Did I do the due diligence? Did I talk to everybody I could talk to? Did I visit every capital and then report back to the president? Yes, I did. That's what a secretary of state does.

But at the end of the day, those are the decisions that are made by the president to in any way use American military power. And the president made that decision. And, yes, we did try without success because of the Libyans' obstruction to our efforts, but we did try and we will continue to try to help the Libyan people.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Go ahead, Senator.

SANDERS: If you listen, you know -- two points. Number one, yes, 100-0 in the Senate voted for democracy in Libya and I would vote for that again. But that is very different from getting actively involved to overthrow and bring about regime change without fully understanding what the consequence of that regime change would be.

Second of all, I know you keep referring to Barack Obama all night here, but you in Syria, you in Syria talked about a no-fly zone, which the president certainly does not support, nor do I support because, A, it will cost an enormous sum of money, second of all, it runs the risk of getting us sucked into perpetual warfare in that region.

Thirdly, when we talk about Syria right now, no debate, like Gadhafi, like Saddam Hussein, Assad is another brutal murdering dictator, but right now our fight is to destroy ISIS first, and to get rid of Assad second.

CLINTON: Well, I think Senator Sanders has just reinforced my point. Yes, when I was secretary of state I did urge, along with the Department of Defense and the CIA that we seek out, vet, and train, and arm Syrian opposition figures so that they could defend themselves against Assad.

The president said no. Now, that's how it works. People who work for the president make recommendations and then the president makes the decision. So I think it's only fair to look at where we are in Syria today.

And, yes, I do still support a no-fly zone because I think we need to put in safe havens for those poor Syrians who are fleeing both Assad and ISIS and have some place that they can be safe.

BLITZER: Staying on national security, Dana Bash has a question.

BASH: Senator Sanders, in 1997, you said this about NATO, you said, quote: "It is not the time to continue wasting tens of billions of dollars helping to defend Europe, let alone assuming more than our share of any cost associated with expanding NATO."

Do you still feel that way?

SANDERS: Well, what I believe, if my memory is correct here, we spend about 75 percent of the entire cost of the military aspect of NATO. Given the fact that France has a very good health care system and free public education, college education for their people, the U.K. has a good National Health Service and they also provide fairly reasonable higher education, you know what, yeah, I do believe that the countries of Europe should pick up more of the burden for their defense. Yes, I do.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: And just following up, Senator Sanders, Donald Trump also argues that NATO is unfair economically to the U.S. because America pays a disproportionate share. So how is what you say about NATO and your proposal different than his?

SANDERS: Well, you got to ask -- you got to ask Trump. All I can tell you is, with a huge deficit, with 47 million people living in poverty, with our inner cities collapsing, yeah, I do think countries like Germany and U.K. and France and European countries whose economy, or at least its standard of living and health care and education, they're doing pretty well.

So I would not be embarrassed as president of the United States to stay to our European allies, you know what, the United States of America cannot just support your economies. You got to put up your own fair share of the defense burden. Nothing wrong with that.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: I support our continuing involvement in NATO. And it is important to ask for our NATO allies to pay more of the cost. There is a requirement that they should be doing so, and I believe that needs to be enforced.

But there's a larger question here. NATO has been the most successful military alliance in probably human history. It has bound together across the Atlantic countries that are democracies, that have many of the same values and interests, and now we need to modernize it and move it into the 21st century to serve as that head of our defense operations in Europe when it comes to terrorism and other threats that we face. So...

BASH: But, Madam Secretary... CLINTON: ... yes, of course they should be paying more, but that doesn't mean if they don't we leave, because I don't think that's in America's interests.

BASH: That's going to be part of my -- my question to you is, to that point, there are 28 countries in the alliance, and the United States gives more money to NATO's budget than 21 of those countries combined. If they don't agree to pay more, as you suggested, then what would you do as commander-in-chief?

CLINTON: I will stay in NATO. I will stay in NATO, and we will continue to look for missions and other kinds of programs that they will support. Remember, NATO was with us in Afghanistan. Most of the member countries also lost soldiers and civilians in Afghanistan. They came to our rallying defense after 9/11. That meant a lot.

And, yes, we have to work out the financial aspects of it, but let's not forget what's really happening. With Russia being more aggressive, making all kinds of intimidating moves toward the Baltic countries, we've seen what they've done in Eastern Ukraine, we know how they want to rewrite the map of Europe, it is not in our interests. Think of how much it would cost if Russia's aggression were not deterred because NATO was there on the front lines making it clear they could not move forward.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Senator, let's talk about the U.S. relationship with Israel. Senator Sanders, you maintained that Israel's response in Gaza in 2014 was, quote, "disproportionate and led to the unnecessary loss of innocent life."

(APPLAUSE)

What do you say to those who believe that Israel has a right to defend itself as it sees fit?

SANDERS: Well, as somebody who spent many months of my life when I was a kid in Israel, who has family in Israel, of course Israel has a right not only to defend themselves, but to live in peace and security without fear of terrorist attack. That is not a debate.

(APPLAUSE)

But -- but what you just read, yeah, I do believe that. Israel was subjected to terrorist attacks, has every right in the world to destroy terrorism. But we had in the Gaza area -- not a very large area -- some 10,000 civilians who were wounded and some 1,500 who were killed.

SANDERS: Now, if you're asking not just me, but countries all over the world was that a disproportionate attack, the answer is that I believe it was, and let me say something else.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

SANDERS: And, let me say something else. As somebody who is 100% pro-Israel, in the long run -- and this is not going to be easy, God only knows, but in the long run if we are ever going to bring peace to that region which has seen so much hatred and so much war, we are going to have to treat the Palestinian people with respect and dignity.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

SANDERS: So what is not to say -- to say that right now in Gaza, right now in Gaza unemployment is somewhere around 40%. You got a log of that area continues, it hasn't been built, decimated, houses decimated health care decimated, schools decimated. I believe the United States and the rest of the world have got to work together to help the Palestinian people.

That does not make me anti-Israel. That paves the way, I think...

BLITZER: ... Thank you, Senator...

SANDERS: ...to an approach that works in the Middle East.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Thank you. Secretary Clinton, do you agree with Senator Sanders that Israel overreacts to Palestinians attacks, and that in order for there to be peace between Israel and the Palestinians, Israel must, quote, end its disproportionate responses?

CLINTON: I negotiated the cease-fire between Israel and Hamas in November of 2012. I did it in concert with...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: President Abbas of the Palestinian authority based in Ramallah, I did it with the then Muslim Brotherhood President, Morsi, based in Cairo, working closely with Prime Minister Netanyahu and the Israeli cabinet. I can tell you right now I have been there with Israeli officials going back more than 25 years that they do not seek this kind of attacks. They do not invite the rockets raining down on their towns and villages.

(APPLAUSE)

They do not believe that there should be a constant incitement by Hamas aided and abetted by Iran against Israel. And, so when it came time after they had taken the incoming rockets, taken the assaults and ambushes on their soldiers and they called and told me, I was in Cambodia, that they were getting ready to have to invade Gaza again because they couldn't find anybody to talk to tell them to stop it, I flew all night, I got there, I negotiated that.

So, I don't know how you run a country when you are under constant threat, terrorist tact, rockets coming at you. You have a right to defend yourself.

(APPLAUSE)

That does not mean -- that does not mean that you don't take appropriate precautions. And, I understand that there's always second guessing anytime there is a war. It also does not mean that we should not continue to do everything we can to try to reach a two-state solution, which would give the Palestinians the rights and...

BLITZER: ... Thank you...

CLINTON: ... just let me finish. The rights and the autonomy that they deserve. And, let me say this, if Yasser Arafat had agreed with my husband at Camp David in the Late 1990s to the offer then Prime Minister Barak put on the table, we would have had a Palestinian state for 15 years.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator, go ahead -- go ahead, Senator.

SANDERS: I don't think that anybody would suggest that Israel invites and welcomes missiles flying into their country. That is not the issue.

And, you evaded the answer. You evaded the question. The question is not does Israel have a right to respond, nor does Israel have a right to go after terrorists and destroy terrorism. That's not the debate. Was their response disproportionate?

I believe that it was, you have not answered that.

(CHEERING)

CLINTON: I will certainly be willing to answer it. I think I did answer it by saying that of course there have to be precautions taken but even the most independent analyst will say the way that Hamas places its weapons, the way that it often has its fighters in civilian garb, it is terrible.

(AUDIENCE REACTION)

I'm not saying it's anything other than terrible. It would be great -- remember, Israel left Gaza. They took out all the Israelis. They turned the keys over to the Palestinian people.

CLINTON: And what happened? Hamas took over Gaza.

So instead of having a thriving economy with the kind of opportunities that the children of the Palestinians deserve, we have a terrorist haven that is getting more and more rockets shipped in from Iran and elsewhere.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

Senator.

SANDERS: I read Secretary Clinton's statement speech before AIPAC. I heard virtually no discussion at all about the needs of the Palestinian people. Almost none in that speech.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: So here is the issue: of course Israel has a right to defend itself, but long term there will never be peace in that region unless the United States plays a role, an even-handed role trying to bring people together and recognizing the serious problems that exist among the Palestinian people.

That is what I believe the world wants to us do and that's the kind of leadership that we have got to exercise.

CLINTON: Well, if I -- I want to add, you know, again describing the problem is a lot easier than trying to solve it. And I have been involved, both as first lady with my husband's efforts, as a senator supporting the efforts that even the Bush administration was undertaking, and as secretary of state for President Obama, I'm the person who held the last three meetings between the president of the Palestinian Authority and the prime minister of Israel.

There were only four of us in the room, Netanyahu, Abbas, George Mitchell, and me. Three long meetings. And I was absolutely focused on what was fair and right for the Palestinians.

I was absolutely focused on what we needed to do to make sure that the Palestinian people had the right to self-government. And I believe that as president I will be able to continue to make progress and get an agreement that will be fair both to the Israelis and the Palestinians without ever, ever undermining Israel's security.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: A final word, Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: There comes a time -- there comes a time when if we pursue justice and peace, we are going to have to say that Netanyahu is not right all of the time.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well...

BLITZER: Secretary.

CLINTON: ... you know, I have spoken about and written at some length the very candid conversations I've had with him and other Israeli leaders. Nobody is saying that any individual leader is always right, but it is a difficult position.

If you are from whatever perspective trying to seek peace, trying to create the conditions for peace when there is a terrorist group embedded in Gaza that does not want to see you exist, that is a very difficult challenge.

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: You gave a major speech to AIPAC, which obviously deals with the Middle East crisis, and you barely mentioned the Palestinians. And I think, again, it is a complicated issue and God knows for decades presidents, including President Clinton and others, Jimmy Carter and others have tried to do the right thing.

All that I am saying is we cannot continue to be one-sided. There are two sides to the issue.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Thank you, Secretary.

We have to take another quick, quick break. But much more on the CNN Democratic presidential debate live from Brooklyn, New York. That is coming up right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to the CNN presidential debate. We're here in Brooklyn. Secretary, Senator, both of you talk about major reforms to college tuition, health care, and Social Security, all of which will take significant changes from Congress, currently controlled by Republicans.

Senator Sanders, you're promising health care and free college for all, and those plans would be met with both political and practical challenges. The nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget says your initiatives would cost up to \$28 trillion and, even after massive tax increases, that would add as much as \$15 trillion to the national debt. How is this fiscally responsible?

SANDERS: Well, first of all, I disagree with that study. There are many economists who come up with very, very different numbers.

For example, we are the only country, major country on Earth, that does not guarantee health care to all people, and yet we end up spending almost three times what the British do, 50 percent more than the French. My proposal, a Medicare-for-all, single-payer program, will save...

(APPLAUSE)

... will save middle-class families many thousands of dollars a year in their health care costs. Public colleges and universities tuition free? Damn right. That is exactly what we should be doing.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: And I'd pay for that -- I'd pay for that by telling Wall Street that, yeah, we are going to have a tax on Wall Street speculation, which will bring in more than enough money to provide free tuition at public colleges and universities and lower the outrageous level of student debt.

Wolf, we have seen in the last 30 years a massive transfer of wealth from the middle class to the top 0.1 percent. The establishment does not like this idea, but, yes, I am determined to transfer that money back to the working families of this country.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator. Secretary, go ahead and respond.

CLINTON: Well, again -- again, I absolutely agree with the diagnosis, the diagnosis that we've got to do much more to finish the work of getting universal health care coverage, something that I've worked on for 25 years.

Before there was something called Obamacare, there was something called Hillarycare. And we're now at 90 percent of coverage; I'm going to get us to 100 percent.

And with respect to college, I think we have to make college affordable. We are pricing out middle-class, working, and poor families. There's no doubt about that.

But I do think when you make proposals and you're running for president, you should be held accountable for whether or not the numbers add up and whether or not the plans...

(APPLAUSE)

... are actually going to work. And just very briefly, on health care, most of the people who have analyzed what Senator Sanders put out -- remember, he had a plan for about, I don't know, 18, 20 years. He changed in the middle of this campaign. He put out another plan. People have been analyzing the new plan. And there is no doubt by those who have analyzed it, progressive economists, health economists, and the like, that it would pose an incredible burden, not just on the budget, but on individuals. In fact, the Washington Post called it a train-wreck for the poor. A working woman on Medicaid who already has health insurance would be expected to pay about \$2,300.

The same for free college. The free college offer -- you know, my late father said, if somebody promises you something for free, read the fine print. You read the fine print, and here's what it says.

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: The fine print says this, that it will -- the federal government will cover two-thirds of the cost and require the states, even those led by Republican governors...

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead. Thank you.

CLINTON: ... to carry out what the remaining one-third of the cost.

SANDERS: I know what Secretary Clinton is saying.

BLITZER: Secretary please.

SANDERS: We are not a country that has the courage to stand up to big money and do what has to be done for the working families of the country.

(APPLAUSE)

Secretary Clinton will have to explain to the people of our country how it could be that every other major country on Earth manages to guarantee health care to all of their people, spending significantly less per capita than we can. I live 50 miles away from Canada, you know? It's not some kind of communist authoritarian country. They're doing OK. They got a health care system that guarantees health care to all people. We can do the same.

In terms of public colleges and universities, please don't tell me that we cannot do what many other countries around the world are doing. Kids should not be punished and leave school deeply in debt, for what crime? For trying to get an education.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: So, yes, we are going to pay for it...

CLINTON: Well...

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton -- Secretary Clinton, go ahead.

CLINTON: We have -- we have a difference of opinion. We both want to get to universal health care coverage. I did stand up to the special interests and the powerful forces, the health insurance companies and the drug companies.

(APPLAUSE)

And perhaps that's why I am so much in favor of supporting President Obama's signature accomplishment with the Affordable Care Act, because I know how hard it was to get that passed, even with a Democratic Congress. So rather than letting the Republicans repeal it or rather starting all over again, trying to throw the country into another really contentious debate, let's make the Affordable Care Act work for everybody...

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: ... let's get to 100 percent coverage, let's get the cost down, and let's guarantee health care.

BLITZER: Secretary, let's talk about Social Security, another critically important issue. Senator Sanders has challenged you to give a clear answer when it comes to extending the life of Social Security and expanding benefits. Are you prepared to lift the cap on taxable income, which currently stands at \$118,500? Yes or no, would you lift the cap?

CLINTON: I have said repeatedly, Wolf, I am going to make the wealthy pay into Social Security to extend the Social Security Trust Fund. That is one way. If that is the way that we pursue, I will follow that.

CLINTON: But there are other ways. We should be looking at taxing passive income by wealthy people. We should be looking at taxing all of their investment.

But here's the real issue, because I -- I've heard this, I've seen the reports of it. I have said from the very beginning, we are going to protect Social Security. I was one of the leaders in the fight against Bush when he was trying to privatize Social Security.

But we also, in addition to extending the Trust Fund, which I am absolutely determined to do, we've got to help people who are not being taken care of now. And because Social Security started in the 1930s, a lot of women have been left out and left behind.

And it's time that we provide more benefits for widows, divorcees, for caregivers, for women who deserve more from the Social Security...

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: -- system and that will be my highest priority.

BLITZER: Senator?

Go ahead, Senator.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: An interesting comment, but you didn't answer the question.

CLINTON: I did. If that's the way we're...

SANDERS: No, you didn't. My legi...

CLINTON: -- yes, I did.

SANDERS: Can I answer...

CLINTON: I did answer the...

SANDERS: -- may I please...

CLINTON: Well, don't -- don't put words...

SANDERS: -- can I have... (CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- into my mouth and say something...

SANDERS: -- do I not?

CLINTON: -- that's not accurate.

BLITZER: Go ahead, Senator.

SANDERS: All right. Essentially what you described is my legislation, which includes (INAUDIBLE)...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Now, we've got -- here is the issue. Your answer has been the same year after year. In fact, the idea that I'm bringing forth, I have to admit it, you know, it wasn't my idea. It was Barack Obama's idea in 2008, the exact same idea.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: He called for lifting the cap, which is now higher -- it's at 118 -- and starting at 250 and going on up. If you do that, you're going to extend the life of Social Security for 58 years. You will significantly expand benefits by 1,300 bucks a year for seniors and disabled vets under \$16,000 a year.

What's wrong with that?

Are you prepared to support it?

CLINTON: I have supported it. You know, we are in vigorous agreement here, Senator.

SANDERS: You have sup...

CLINTON: I think it's important...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- to point out that...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- you know, we're -- we're having a discussion about the best way to raise money from wealthy people to extend the Social Security Trust Fund. Think about what the other side wants to do. They're calling Social Security a Ponzi scheme. They still want to privatize it.

In fact, their whole idea is to turn over the Social Security Trust Fund to Wall Street, something you and I would never let happen.

SANDERS: All right, so...

CLINTON: So, yes, we both want to make sure...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: Look, Wolf...

CLINTON: -- Social Security (INAUDIBLE)...

SANDERS: -- I am very glad that...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: -- and well-funded...

SANDERS: I am very glad to...

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary.

(CROSSTALK)

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead.

SANDERS: -- campaign of challenging, if I hear you correctly, Madam Secretary, you are now coming out finally in favor of lifting the cap on taxable income...

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: -- and extending and expanding Social Security. If that is the case, welcome on board. I'm glad you're here.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: No.

BLITZER: Thank you.

Errol -- Errol Louis, go ahead.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: We are going...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- we are...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- we are going...

LOUIS: Secretary...

CLINTON: I -- as he said, I've said the same thing for years. I didn't say anything different tonight. We are going to extend the Social Security Trust Fund. There is still something called Congress. Now, I happen to support Democrats and I want to get Democrats to take back the majority in the United States Senate...

BLITZER: Errol...

CLINTON: -- so a lot of -- a lot of what we're talking about can actually be implemented...

BLITZER: Errol, hold on a second.

CLINTON: -- when I am president.

LOUIS: Secretary...

BLITZER: Go ahead.

Hold on, Errol...

SANDERS: -- I'm still...

BLITZER: -- Errol. Hold on.

SANDERS: I've got to admit...

BLITZER: Go ahead, Senator.

SANDERS: -- maybe I'm a little bit confused.

Are you or are you not supporting legislation to lift the cap on taxable income and expand Social Security for 58 years and increase benefits...

CLINTON: I am...

SANDERS: -- yes or no?

CLINTON: I have said yes, we are going to pick the best way or combination...

SANDERS: Oh, you -- ah.

(APPLAUSE)

(BOOS)

SANDERS: OK.

CLINTON: -- or combination of ways...

(BOOS)

CLINTON: -- you know...

(BOOS)

CLINTON: -- it -- it's all -- it's always a little bit, uh, challenging because, you know, if Senator Sanders doesn't agree with how you are approaching something, then you are a member of the establishment.

Well, let me say then...

SANDERS: Well, look...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- let me say this...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: -- we are going to extend the Social Security Trust Fund. We've got some good ideas to do it. Let's get a Congress elected...

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: -- that will actually agree...

BLITZER: Well, thank you...

CLINTON: -- with us in doing it.

BLITZER: Errol, go ahead.

LOUIS: OK, Secretary Clinton, I've got a question for you from a reader...

(CROSSTALK)

SANDERS: Let me interject here.

LOUIS: -- of the "New York Daily News."

SANDERS: Yes, Secretary Clinton...

(CROSSTALK)

SANDERS: -- you are a member of the establishment.

LOUIS: -- this was a reader...

SANDERS: (INAUDIBLE).

LOUIS: -- of "The Daily News" who sent us a...

(CHEERING)

LOUIS: -- a question for you.

LOUIS: Just a second, Senator.

Hannah Green (ph) wants to know your position, Secretary Clinton, regarding President Obama's nomination of Merrick Garland to the Supreme m Court. President Obama said earlier this week that he would not withdraw the nomination, even after the presidential election. If elected, would you ask the president to withdraw the nomination?

CLINTON: I am not going to contradict the president's strategy on this. And I'm not going to engage in hypotheticals. I fully support the president.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: And I believe that the president -- the president is on the right side of both the Constitution and history. And the Senate needs to immediately begin to respond. So I'm going to support the president. When I am president, I will take stock of where we are and move from there.

LOUIS: Senator Sanders.

SANDERS: Well, there is no question. I mean, it really is an outrage. And it just continues, the seven-and-a-half years of unbelievable obstructionism we have seen from these right-wing Republicans.

I mean, a third-grader in America understands the president of the United States has the right to nominate individuals to the U.S. Supreme Court. Apparently everybody understands that except the Republicans in Congress.

LOUIS: So, Senator Sanders, would you ask him to withdraw the nomination?

SANDERS: Yes, but here is the point, and obviously i will strongly support that nomination as a member of the Senate. But, if elected president, I would ask the president to withdraw that nomination because I think -- I think this.

I think that we need a Supreme Court justice who will make it crystal clear, and this nominee has not yet done that, crystal clear that he or she will vote to overturn Citizens United and make sure that American democracy is not undermined.

(APPLAUSE) CLINTON: You know, there is no doubt that the only people that I would ever appoint to the Supreme Court are people who believe that Roe V. Wade is settled law and Citizens United needs to be overturned. And I want to say something about this since we're talking about the Supreme Court and what's at stake. We've had eight debates before, this is our ninth. We've not had one question about a woman's right to make her own decisions about reproductive health care, not one question.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: And in the meantime we have states, governors doing everything they can to restrict women's rights. We have a presidential candidate by the name of Donald Trump saying that women should be punished. And we are never asked about this.

And to be complete in my concern, Senator Sanders says with respect to Trump it was a distraction. I don't think it's a distraction. It goes to the heart of who we are as women, our rights, our autonomy, our ability to make our own decisions, and we need to be talking about that and defending Planned Parenthood from these outrageous attacks.

BASH: Senator Sanders, your response.

SANDERS: You're looking at a senator and former congressman who proudly has a 100 percent pro-choice voting record, who will take on those Republican governors who are trying to restrict a woman's right to choose, who will take on those governors right now who are discriminating outrageously against the LGBT community, who comes from a state which led the effort for gay marriage in this country, proudly so.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: Who not only thinks we are not going to -- not defund Planned Parenthood, we've got to expand funding for Planned Parenthood.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Senator Sanders, you've spoken a lot tonight about your votes in Congress. You have been in Congress for over a quarter of the century, and there as an independent, not a Democrat.

Now you're seeking the Democratic nomination, but Secretary Clinton has suggested that she's not even sure you are a Democrat. Are you?

SANDERS: Well, why would I be running for the Democratic nomination to be president of the United States?

(APPLAUSE) SANDERS: But here is a good point. You know, in virtually all of the general election match-up polls between Trump and Secretary Clinton and Trump and Bernie Sanders, in almost all of those polls, I do better than Secretary Clinton both in the CNN poll I was 20 points ahead of Trump.

I think Secretary Clinton was 12 points. And you know why? Because in fact a whole lot of people -- this may be a shock to the secretary, but there a whole lot of independents in this country.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Senator Sanders...

SANDERS: And we are not going to win the White House based on just long-term Democratic votes. We have got to reach out to independents and I think I am well qualified to do that.

BASH: Senator Sanders.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS: I am in this race as a Democrat. I have raised millions of dollars for my colleagues in the United States Senate to help them get elected. I will do everything I can to open the Democratic party to the young people who are flocking into our political campaign.

(CHEERING)

BASH: On that very subject, on that very subject, Secretary Clinton mentions electing a Democratic congress several times. She says that she raised \$15 million for the Democratic party in the first three months of this year. You don't appear to have raised any money for the party. Yesterday you did announce that you will help three members of Congress who have endorsed you. Why aren't you doing more to help the party you say you want to lead?

SANDERS: The truth is, and you can speak to my colleagues, we have raised millions of dollars to the DSCC. I have written letter that have raised, if I may use the word, huge amount of money so that's just not accurate.

But, I will also say, and this is important and maybe the Secretary disagrees with me, but I am proud that millions of young people who previously were not involved in the political process are now coming into it, and I do believe, I do believe that we have got to open the door of the Democratic party to those people.

(APPLAUSE)

And, I think the future of the Democratic party is not simply by raising money from wealthy campaign contributors. I think that the way we are doing it in this campaign...

BASH: ... Thank you Senator.

SANDERS: \$27 a contribution...

BASH: ... Senator, your time is up...

SANDERS; not being dependent on Wall Street, or big money, that is the future of the Democratic Party that I want to see.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BASH: Thank you, Senator Sanders. Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Let us talk about where we are in this race. I've gotten more votes than anybody running. 9.6 million at the last count.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

That is 2.3 million more than Senator Sanders.

(APPLAUSE)

And it is 1.4 million more than Donald Trump.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

I think you have to look at the facts. And, the facts are that I'm putting together a very broad-based, inclusive coalition from the South to the North, from the East to the West, with African-American, Latinos, women, union households, working people and I am very proud of the campaign we are running. It is a campaign that will not only capture the Democratic nomination, but a campaign that will defeat whoever the Republican end up nominating.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

BASH: Thank you, Madam Secretary. Senator Sanders.

(APPLAUSE) (CHEERING)

CLINTON: And, I want to say -- I also want to say that I do -- I do think it is absolutely critical and incredible that we have so many young people involved in the political process. I applaud all of those who are applauding you, Senator Sanders. We're happy that they are supporting you, that they are passionately committed to you and to the issues.

But, let me also say it's going to be important that we unify the Democratic party when the nomination process has been completed...

BASH: ... Secretary Clinton, thank you.

CLINTON: And, I know something about that...

BASH: ... Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: Thank you so much. Because, when I went to the very end of the 2008 campaign with then Senator Obama...

BASH: ...Secretary Clinton, you're out of time...

CLINTON: ... We did unify the party, and we did elect a Democratic president...

BASH: ...Senator Sanders, on that note...

SANDERS: ... Let me, if I may just briefly say something...

BASH: ... Senator Sanders, I want to ask you a question about this, and you can incorporate that into your response. Three months now between now and the Democratic convention. Your campaign manager says that you will absolutely take the fight to the floor if neither you nor Secretary Clinton clinches the nomination with pledged delegates alone.

(APPLAUSE)

BASH: Do you vow to take this fight to Philadelphia no matter what?

SANDERS: I think we're going to win this nomination to tell you the truth.

(CHEERING)

SANDERS: Look, let me acknowledge what is absolutely true. Secretary Clinton cleaned our clock in the Deep South. No question about it. We got murdered there. That is the most conservative part of this great country. That's the fact.

But you know what? We're out of the Deep South now. And we're moving up. We got here. We're going to California. We got a number of large states there. And having won seven out of the last eight caucuses and primaries, having a level of excitement and energy among working people and low-income people doing better against Donald Trump and the other Republicans in poll after poll than Secretary Clinton is, yeah, I believe that we're going to win this nomination, and I believe we're going to obliterate Donald Trump or whoever the Republican candidate is.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Now, let me say this...

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton, go ahead.

CLINTON: I think it's -- I think it's important for people out there watching this tonight to know that I also have a considerable lead in pledged delegates. And my lead in pledged delegates is actually wider than Barack Obama's lead was over me.

And in addition to winning states in the Deep South, we won Florida, Texas, Arizona, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina, Missouri.

(APPLAUSE)

And so I think where we stand today is that we are in this campaign very confident and optimistic, but it all comes down to reaching every single voter. I'm not taking anything for granted or any voter or any place.

So I'm going to work my heart out here in New York until the polls close on Tuesday. I'm going to work in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware and Maryland, all the way through California. And when we end up with the number of delegates we need, we will unite the party and have a unified convention...

BLITZER: Senator, go ahead. CLINTON: ... that we'll go onto the general election with.

SANDERS: The reason -- the reason why in virtually every contest we are winning by very strong margins younger people -- and I'm not just talking about very young. You know, the older you get, the younger young gets -- 45 or younger -- is I think people are sensing that establishment politics and dependence on Wall Street and big money interest is really never going to address the crises that we face.

(APPLAUSE)

And people understand, you can't take money from powerful special interests into your PAC and then really expect the American people to believe you're going to stand up to these powerful special interests. So I am very proud of the fact that we have brought millions of new people into the political process...

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

SANDERS: ... many of whom previously had given up.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator, very much. The candidates, they will make their final pitches to New York voters right after this.

(APPLAUSE)

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: Welcome back to the CNN presidential debate. It's time for the candidates' closing statements. Each candidate will have two minutes. Senator Sanders, you're first.

SANDERS: I grew up in Brooklyn, New York...

(APPLAUSE)

... the son of an immigrant who came to this country from Poland at the age of 17 without a nickel in his pocket, never made a whole lot of money, but was a very proud American, because this country gave him and my mom the opportunity to send their kids to college.

I believe that this country has enormous potential if we have the guts to take on the big money interests who dominate our economic and political life. And I disagree with Secretary Clinton in the belief that you can get money from Wall Street, that you can get money for a super PAC from powerful special interests, and then at the end of the day do what has to be done for the working families of this country. I just don't accept that.

What I believe is that this country, if we stand together and not let the Trumps of the world divide us up, can guarantee health care to all people as a right, can have paid family and medical leave, can make public colleges and universities tuition-free, can lead the world in transforming our energy system and combatting climate change, can break up the large financial institutions, can demand that the wealthiest people in this country start paying their fair share of taxes.

And we can do that when millions of people stand up, fight back, and create a government that works for all of us, not just the 1 percent.

(APPLAUSE)

That is what the political revolution is about. That is what this campaign is about. And with your help, we're going to win here in New York. Thank you. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Secretary Clinton? Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Thank you. I am very grateful for the fact that the people of New York gave me the great honor of serving as your senator. You took a chance on me in 2000, and then you re-elected me with one of the biggest margins we've had in our state in 2006. During those years, we worked closely together. I tried to have your back, and time and time again, you had mine.

We took on the challenges of 9/11 together. We got the money to rebuild New York. We came to the aid of our brave first responders, construction workers, and others who endangered their own health by helping to save lives and search for survivors.

(APPLAUSE)

We worked to create jobs -- despite the disastrous policies of George W. Bush -- across New York. And we stood up time and time again against all kinds of vested powerful interests.

I'm asking for your support again in the primary on Tuesday to continue that work together, to take what we did in New York and to take those New York values to the White House, and put them to work on behalf of all of our people, to knock down the barriers that stand in the way.

You know, of course we have economic barriers. I've been fighting against those trying to even the odds most of my adult life. But we also have racial barriers, gender barriers, homophobic barriers, disability barriers.

(APPLAUSE)

We have a lot of barriers that stand in the way of people being treated as they should and having the chance to live up to their own God-given potential.

So I am humbly asking for your support on Tuesday. I'll work my heart out for you again. And together, we won't just make promises we can't keep. We'll deliver results that will improve the lives of the people in New York and in America.

(APPLAUSE)

That's what we'll do together. Thank you, New York.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you, Secretary. Thank you very much, Senator.

I want to thank the candidates for a really terrific debate. Thanks also to Dana Bash and Errol Louis, as well as NY1, the Democratic National Committee, and everyone here at the Duggal Greenhouse at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Stay with CNN now for complete coverage of the New York primary next Tuesday.

ANEXO F

Anuncio para televisión y medios digitales de lanzamiento de campaña: “*Republican party unifier: Donald Trump?*”

- Fecha: 4 de Mayo de 2016.

- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8DbsCgwVVIc>

- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 4 – Donald Trump Republican Party.*

ANEXO G

Anuncio para televisión y medios digitales de lanzamiento de campaña: "*Role Models.*"

- Fecha: 6 de Junio de 2016.

- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrX3QI31URA>

- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 5 – Role Models.*

ANEXO H

Anuncio para televisión y medios digitales de lanzamiento de campaña: “*Who We Are.*”

- Fecha: 11 de Junio de 2016.

- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrX3QI31URA>

- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 6 – Who We Are.*

ANEXO I

Discurso de Clinton sobre el terrorismo en Cleveland, Ohio.

- Fecha: 13 de Junio de 2016.
- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YE0OdiTwo6w>
- Fuente Transcripción: Portal Web de la revista Time.
<http://time.com/4367046/orlando-shooting-hillary-clinton-transcript/>
- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 7 – Discurso Cleveland..*
- Transcripción completa:

Thank you. (APPLAUSE)

Thank you all very much.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. Thank you all.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. Thank you. I am — I'm absolutely — I'm absolutely delighted to be back in Cleveland and to be here at the Industrial Innovation Center. I've had a chance to learn about the great work you do here. I especially want to applaud Team Wendy for everything you do to protect our troops, first responders.

(APPLAUSE)

And others from traumatic brain injury. It is so important that we continue to support those who protect us.

AUDIENCE: We want Hillary!

CLINTON: Thank you.

AUDIENCE: We want Hillary!

CLINTON: Thank you all.

AUDIENCE: We want Hillary!

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: It is good to be back in Cleveland, I can tell you that.

(APPLAUSE)

I want to thank — I want to thank your extraordinary senator, Sherrod Brown, for his leadership, for that very kind and generous introduction. You are very fortunate to — to have him representing you. I want to thank your congresswoman, Marcia Fudge...

(APPLAUSE)

Who is both indomitable and indefatigable. She is such a tenacious advocate for the people she represents. I want to acknowledge the mayor, Mayor Jackson, who was here, County Executive Budish (ph). And I particularly want to recognize the passing of George Voinovich, and he devoted his life to serving the people of Ohio as mayor of Cleveland, as governor and senator. And we send our prayers and sympathy to his family.

I also want to thank Dan Moore, the owner and founder of this company and Team Wendy for his belief in Cleveland, for his commitment to create jobs. I can't wait to work with him to do more of what he has accomplished here.

(APPLAUSE)

You know, originally, I had intended to come to Cleveland under very different circumstances. We are heading into a general election that could be the most consequential of our lifetimes. But today is not a day for politics.

On Sunday, Americans woke up to a nightmare that's become mind numbingly familiar. Another act of terrorism in a place no one expected. A madman filled with hate, with guns in his hands, and just a horrible sense of vengeance and vindictiveness in his heart, apparently consumed by rage against LGBT Americans, and by extension, the openness and diversity that defines our American way of life.

We will learn more about the killer in the days to come. We know that he pledged allegiance to ISIS, that they are now taking credit and that part of their strategy is to radicalize individuals and encourage attacks against the United States, even if they are not coordinated with ISIS leadership. But there's a lot we still don't know, including what other mix of motives drove him to kill.

The more we learn about what happened, the better we'll be able to protect our people going forward. In the days ahead, we will also learn more about the many lives he viciously cut short, many of them young people, just starting out in their lives. They were travel agents and pharmacy techs, college students and amusement park workers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, and they had one thing in common. They all had a lot more to give.

CLINTON: We should take a moment today amid our busy lives to think about them, to pray for everyone who was killed, for the wounded, those who are fighting to regain their lives and futures, for our first responders who walked into danger one more time. As a mother, I can't imagine what those families are going through.

But let's also remember the other scenes we saw on Sunday. We saw the faces of some of those first responders who rushed into danger and tried to save as many people as they could. We saw survivors like Chris Hansen who risked their lives to help others.

People gathering outside hospitals to comfort anxious family members, waiting for news of their loved ones and waiting, too, to learn more about what they could do to make sure this never happened again.

Religion leaders condemning hate and appealing for peace. People lining up to donate blood. Americans refusing to be intimidated or divided.

Yesterday I called Mayor Dyer of Orlando and offered my support and my appreciation for the leadership that he and the other officials have shown. This is a moment when all Americans need to stand together.

No matter how many times we endure attacks like this, the horror never fades. The murder of innocent people breaks our hearts, tears at our sense of security and makes us furious.

Now we have to steal our resolve to respond. And that's what I want to talk to you about. How we respond.

The Orlando terrorist may be dead, but the virus that poisoned his mind remains very much alive. And we must attack it with clear eyes, steady hands, unwavering determination and pride in our country and our values.

(APPLAUSE)

I have no doubt — I have no doubt we can meet this challenge if we meet it together. Whatever we learn about this killer, his motives in the days ahead, we know already the barbarity that we face from radical jihadists is profound.

In the Middle East, ISIS is attempting a genocide of religious and ethnic minorities. They are slaughtering Muslims who refuse to accept their medieval ways. They are beheading civilians, including executing LGBT people. They are murdering Americans and Europeans, enslaving, torturing and raping women and girls.

In speeches like this one, after Paris, Brussels and San Bernardino, I have laid out a plan to defeat ISIS and the other radical jihadist groups in the region and beyond.

The attack in Orlando makes it even more clear, we cannot contain this threat. We must defeat it. And the good news is that the coalition effort in Syria and Iraq has made recent gains in the last months.

So we should keep the pressure on ramping up the air campaign, accelerating support for our friends fighting to take and hold ground and pushing our partners in the region to do even more.

We also need continued American leadership to help resolve the political conflicts that fuel ISIS recruitment efforts.

But as ISIS loses actual ground in Iraq and Syria, it will seek to stage more attacks and gain stronger footholds wherever it can, from Afghanistan, to Libya, to Europe.

The threat is metastasizing. We saw this in Paris. And we saw it in Brussels. We face a twisted ideology and poisoned psychology that inspires the so-called lone wolves, radicalized individuals who may or may not have contact and direction from any formal organization.

CLINTON: So, yes, efforts to defeat ISIS on the battlefield must succeed. But it will take more than that.

(APPLAUSE)

We have to be just as adaptable and versatile as our enemies. As president, I will make identifying and stopping lone wolves a top priority.

(APPLAUSE)

I will put a team together from across our government, the entire government, as well as the private sector and communities to get on top of this urgent challenge. And I will make sure our law enforcement and intelligence professionals have all the resources they need to get the job done.

As we do this, there are three areas that demand attention. First, we and our allies must work hand-in-hand to dismantle the networks that move money, and propaganda, and arms and fighters around the world.

(APPLAUSE)

We have to flow — we have to stem the flow of jihadists from Europe and Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and then back again. The only way to do this is by working closely with our partners, strengthening our alliances, not weakening them or walking away from them.

Second, here at home, we must harden our own defenses. We have to do more to support our first responders, law enforcement and intelligence officers who do incredible work every day at great personal risk to keep our country safe.

(APPLAUSE)

I have seen firsthand how hard their job is, and how well they do it.

In Orlando, at least one police officer was shot in the head. Thankfully, his life was saved by a Kevlar helmet, something folks here at Team Wendy know a lot about.

(APPLAUSE)

It has often been said that our law enforcement, our intelligence agencies, our first responders have to be right 100 percent of the time, but terrorists only have to be right once.

What a heavy responsibility. These men and women deserve both our respect and gratitude. And they deserve the right tools, and resources and training. Too often, state and local officials can't get access to intelligence from the federal government that would help them do their jobs.

We need to change that. We also need to work...

(APPLAUSE)

We also need to work with local law enforcement and business owners on ways to protect vulnerable, so-called soft targets, like nightclubs and shopping malls and hotels and movie theaters and schools and houses of worship.

Now, I know a lot of Americans are asking how it was possible that someone already on the FBI's radar could have still been able to commit an attack like the one in Orlando, and what more we can do to stop this kind of thing from happening again.

Well, we have to see what the investigation uncovers. If there are things that can and should be done to improve our ability to prevent, we must do them. We already know we need more resources for this fight. The professionals who keep us safe would be the first to say we need better intelligence to discover and disrupt terrorist plots before they can be carried out.

That's why I have proposed an intelligence surge to bolster our capabilities across the board with appropriate safeguards here at home.

Even as we make sure our security officials get the tools they need to prevent attacks, it's essential that we stop terrorists from getting the tools they need to carry out the attack.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: And that is especially true when it comes to assault weapons like those used in Orlando and San Bernardino.

(APPLAUSE)

I believe weapons of war have no place on our streets and we may have our disagreements about gun safety regulations, but we should all be able to agree on a few essential things.

If the FBI is watching you for a suspected terrorist link, you shouldn't be able to just go buy a gun with no questions asked.

And you shouldn't be able to exploit loopholes and evade criminal background checks by buying online or at gun show.

And yes, if you're too dangerous to get on a plane, you are too dangerous to buy a gun in America.

Now, I know some will say that assault weapons and background checks are totally separate issues having nothing to do with terrorism. Well, in Orlando and San Bernardino terrorists used assault weapons, the AR-15. And they used it to kill Americans. That was the same assault weapon used to kill those little children in Sandy Hook.

We have to make it harder for people who should not have those weapons of war. And that may not stop every shooting or every terrorist attack, but it will stop some and it will save lives and it will protect our first responders.

And I want you to know, I'm not going to stop fighting for these kinds of provisions.

Now, the third area that demands attention is preventing radicalization and countering efforts by ISIS and other international terrorist networks to recruit in the United States and Europe.

For starters, it is long past time for the Saudis, the Qataris and the Kuwaitis and others to stop their citizens from funding extremist organizations. And they should stop supporting radical schools and mosques around the world that have set too many young people on a path towards extremism.

We also have to use all our capabilities to counter jihadist propaganda online. This is something that I spend a lot of time on at the State Department.

As president, I will work with our great tech companies from Silicon Valley to Boston to step up our game. We have to a better job intercepting ISIS' communications, tracking and analyzing social media posts and mapping jihadist networks, as well as promoting credible voices who can provide alternatives to radicalization.

And there is more to do offline as well.

CLINTON: Since 9/11, law enforcement agencies have worked hard to build relationships with Muslim American communities. Millions of peace-loving Muslims live, work and raise their families across America. And they are the most likely to recognize the insidious effects of radicalization before it's too late, and the best positioned to help us block it. So we should be intensifying contacts in those communities, not scapegoating or isolating them.

(APPLAUSE)

Last year, I visited a pilot program in Minneapolis that helps parents, teachers, imams, mental health professionals and others recognize signs of radicalization in young people and work with law enforcement to intervene before it's too late.

I've also met with local leaders pursuing innovative approaches in Los Angeles and other places. And we need more efforts like that in more cities across America. And as the director of the FBI has pointed out, we should avoid eroding trust in that community, which will only make law enforcement's job more difficult.

Inflammatory anti-Muslim rhetoric and threatening to ban the families and friends of Muslim Americans as well as millions of Muslim business people and tourists from entering our country hurts the vast majority of Muslims who love freedom and hate terror.

(APPLAUSE)

So does saying that we have to start special surveillance on our fellow Americans because of their religion. It's no coincidence that hate crimes against American Muslims and mosques have tripled after Paris and San Bernardino. That's wrong. And it's also dangerous. It plays right into the terrorists' hands.

Still, as I have said before, none of us can close our eyes to the fact that we do face enemies who use their distorted version of Islam to justify slaughtering innocent people. They'd take us all back to the Stone Age if they could, just as they have in parts of Iraq and Syria.

The terrorist in Orlando targeted LGBT Americans out of hatred and bigotry. And an attack on any American is an attack on all Americans.

(APPLAUSE) And I want to say this to all the LGBT people grieving today in Florida and across our country. You have millions of allies who will always have your back.

(APPLAUSE)

And I am one of them.

(APPLAUSE)

From Stonewall to Laramie, and now Orlando, we've seen too many examples of how the struggle to live freely, openly and without fear has been met by violence. We have to stand together, be proud together. There is no better rebuke to the terrorists and all those who hate.

Our open, diverse society is an asset in the struggle against terrorism, not a liability. It makes us stronger and more resistant to radicalization. And this raises a larger point about the future of our country.

America is strongest when we all believe that we have a stake in our country and our future.

CLINTON: This vision has sustained us from the beginning. The belief that, yes, we are all created equal and the journey we have made to turn that into reality over the course of our history, that we are not a land of

winner and losers, that we should all have the opportunity to live up to our God-given potential. And we have a responsibility to help others do so as well.

(APPLAUSE)

As I look at American history, I see that this has always been a country of “we” not “me.” We stand together because we are stronger together. E pluribus unum. One — out of many, one — has seen us through the darkest chapters of our history. Ever since 13 squabbling colonies put aside their disagreements and united because they realized they were going to rise together or fall separately, generation after generation has fought and marched and organized to widen the circle of dignity and opportunity. Ending slavery. Securing and expanding the right to vote. Throwing open the doors of education. Building the greatest middle class the world has ever seen.

And we are stronger when more people can participate in our democracy.

(APPLAUSE)

And we are stronger when everyone can share in the rewards of our economy and contribute to our communities, when we bridge our divides and lift each other up instead of tearing each other down. Now we have overcome a lot together and we will overcome the threats of terror and radicalization and all of our other challenges. Here in Ohio and across America, I’ve listened to people talk about the problems that keep you up at night.

The bonds that hold us together as communities, as one national community, are strained by an economy with too much inequality and too little upward mobility. By social and political divisions that have diminished our trust in each other and our confidence in our shared future. I have heard that, and I want you to know as your president I will work every day to break down all the barriers holding you back and keeping us apart. We’re gonna get an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top, we’re gonna forge a new sense of connection and shared responsibility to each other and our nation.

And finally,

(APPLAUSE) finally let me remind us all, I remember, I remember how it felt, on the day after 9/11, and I bet many of you do as well. Americans from all walks of life rallied together with a sense of common purpose on September the 12th and in the days and weeks and months that followed. We had each others’ backs. I was a senator from New York. There was a Republican president, a Republican governor, and a Republican mayor. We did not attack each other. We worked with each other to protect our country and to rebuild our city (ph).

(APPLAUSE)

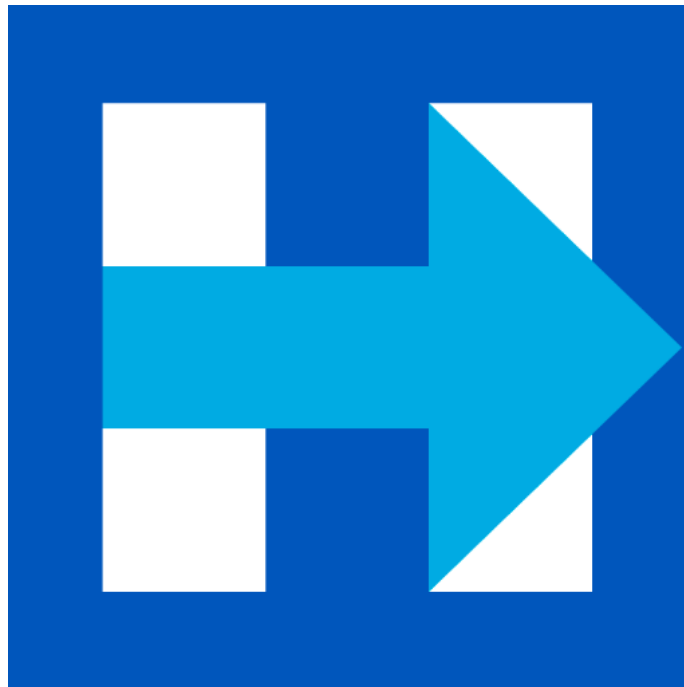
President Bush went to a Muslim community center just six days after the attacks to send a message of unity and solidarity. To anyone who wanted to take out their anger on our Muslim neighbors and fellow citizens, he said, “That should not, and that will not, stand in America.” It is time to get back to the spirit of those days, spirit of 9/12. Let’s make sure we keep looking to the best of our country, to the best within each of us. Democratic and Republican presidents have risen to the occasion in the face of tragedy. That is what we are called to do my friends and I am so confident and optimistic that is exactly what we will do.

Thank you all so much.

ANEXO J

Aplicación para celulares de Hillary Clinton.

- Fecha: 26 de Julio de 2016.
- Fuente: Página web de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.hillaryclinton.com/page/mobile-faq/>
- Carpeta de Archivos: debido a que se trata de una aplicación móvil, no se encuentran vídeos sobre el tema en la carpeta.
- (*App Icon*)



ANEXO K

Aceptación de Hillary Clinton a la nominación como la candidata al partido demócrata en la Convención Nacional Demócrata (*DNC*).

- Fecha: 28 de Julio de 2016.
- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* Your Latest Political News
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HNEIQ8olnro>
- Fuente Transcripción: Portal Web de la revista LA Times.
<http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-hillary-clinton-convention-speech-transcript-20160728-snap-htmlstory.html>
- Carpeta de Archivos: debido a la larga duración del evento no se es posible colocar el video en la carpeta de archivos.
- Transcripción completa:

“Times journalists are annotating this speech with Genius. If you see a passage highlighted in yellow, you can click on it to see what we have to say about it. You can also highlight passages and leave your own comments.

Thank you! Thank you all very much! Thank you for that amazing welcome.

Thank you all for the great convention that we’ve had.

And Chelsea, thank you. I'm so proud to be your mother and so proud of the woman you've become. Thank you 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, it is still going strong. You know that conversation has lasted through good times that filled us with joy, and hard times that tested us.

And I've even gotten a few words in along the way.

On Tuesday night, I was so happy to see that my Explainer-in-Chief is still on the job. I'm also grateful to the rest of my family and the friends of a lifetime. For all of you whose hard work brought us here tonight. And to those of you who joined our campaign this week, thank you. what a remarkable week it's been.

We heard the man from Hope, Bill Clinton. And the man of hope, Barack Obama. America is stronger because of President Obama's leadership, and I'm better because of his friendship.

We heard from our terrific vice president, the one-and-only Joe Biden. He spoke from his big heart about our party's commitment to working people, as only he can do.

And First Lady Michelle Obama reminded us that our children are watching, and the president we elect is going to be their president, too.

And for those of you out there who are just getting to know Tim Kaine – you will soon understand why the people of Virginia keep promoting him: from city council and mayor, to Governor, and now Senator. And he'll make the whole country proud as our Vice President.

And I want to thank Bernie Sanders. Bernie, your campaign inspired millions of Americans, particularly the young people who threw their hearts and souls into our primary. You've put economic and social justice issues front and center, where they belong.

And to all of your supporters here and around the country: I want you to know, I've heard you. Your cause is our cause. Our country needs your ideas, energy, and passion. That is the only way we can turn our progressive platform into real change for America. We wrote it together – now let's go out and make it happen together.

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 and some wanted to stick it to the king.

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.

Now America is once again at a moment of reckoning. Powerful forces are threatening to pull us apart. Bonds of trust and respect are fraying.

And just as with our founders, there are no guarantees. It truly is up to us. We have to decide whether we all will work together so we all can rise together.

Our country's motto is *e pluribus unum*: out of many, we are one. Will we stay true to that motto?

Well, we heard Donald Trump's answer last week at his convention. He wants to divide us — from the rest of the world, and from each other.

He's betting that the perils of today's world will blind us to its unlimited promise. He's taken the Republican Party a long way from "Morning in America" to "Midnight in America." He wants us to fear the future and fear each other.

Well, a great Democratic President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, came up with the perfect rebuke to Trump more than 80 years ago during a much more perilous time: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Now we are clear-eyed about what our country is up against. But we are not afraid. We will rise to the challenge, just as we always have. We will not build a wall. Instead, we will build an economy where everyone who wants a good job can get one".

ANEXO L

Respuesta al tema relacionado con el uso de sus cuentas de correo electrónico personales para tratar temas referentes a su trabajo como Secretaria de Estado en la Convención conjunta Nacional de Periodistas Afroamericanos y Periodistas Hispanos.

- Fecha: 5 de Agosto de 2016.
- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* PBS News Hour
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J4XNYJstqnA>
- Fuente Transcripción: Portal Web de la revista Time.
<http://time.com/4441513/hillary-clinton-nabj-nahj-conference-transcript/>
- Carpeta de Archivos: debido a la larga duración del evento no se es possible colocar el video en la carpeta de archivos.
- Transcripción completa:

CLINTON: Good morning. I am so pleased to be here, I want to thank you all for the invitation, for the introduction, to everyone associated with NABJ and NAHJ. I want to just mark the moment because you we're created in this hotel. I don't know if there are any original founders but if there are could you all stand up and we could give you some recognition.

I am delighted to thank you for the important work you do everyday and now more then ever, we need you to keep holding leaders and candidates accountable. And in the tradition of path-breaking journalists like Ethel Payne and Ruben Salazar, we need you to make sure that America's front pages, and nightly new casts, and online information reflects the great diversity of our nation.

Someone that I had the privilege of knowing, the late great Bob Maynard, former owner of the Oakland Tribune once said...

(APPLAUSE)

And I quote Bob, "It is in seeing ourselves whole that we can begin to see ways of working out our differences of understanding our similarities and becoming a more cohesive nation," and that is what you do everyday. Helping us to see ourselves as whole — I'm looking forward to our discussion, which I'm sure will cover a wide range of issues.

But I want to take just a few minutes to focus on a challenge that doesn't get enough attention on the campaign trail, although I've been trying, and that is how do we expand economic opportunity for African-Americans and Latinos across America.

And you know very well — it's been said — that when the economy catches a cold, communities of color get pneumonia.

The great recession hit our whole country hard but the toll was especially difficult for black and Latino families. Black wealth was cut in half, for Latinos it dropped 66 percent. That represented decades even generations of hard work, and during these past 18 months people across our country have described to me how hard it's been

to get back on their feet in an economy that is still not working the way we all want to see it, and barriers of systemic racism makes that even harder.

Now I believe that President Obama does not get the credit he deserves for leading us out of the great recession.

(APPLAUSE)

And I like to remind people, he had nothing to do with creating it in the first place.

(APPLAUSE)

He came into office in this worst of all financial crises since the Great Depression — was handed to him. And I think if you fairly look at the record, you have to conclude that his leadership saved us from a Great Depression.

CLINTON: So as bad a things became — 9 million jobs lost, 5 million homes lost, \$13 trillion in family wealth wiped out — as bad as it was, there's no telling how far down we would have gone without his leadership.

So we are out of the ditch that we were in and now we've got to do even more. We've got to build on the progress we've made, 15 million new jobs in the last seven and a half years, 20 million people now have health insurance who did not have it before he became president.

So we've got to have the will and the plans together to move forward. That's why I've proposed a comprehensive new commitment to African American and Latino communities to make serious, sustained investments to create more good paying jobs. To help families build and rebuild wealth, to support Black and Latino owned small businesses.

For me these aren't just economic issues, they're part of a long, continuing struggle for civil rights. Rosa Parks opened up every seat on the bus, now we've got to expand economic opportunities so everyone can afford the fare and we have to make sure the bus route reaches every neighborhood and connects families with safe, affordable housing and good jobs.

(APPLAUSE)

Sylvia Mendez and Ruby Bridges helped desegregate our schools, now we've got to help every family afford the books, computers and internet access that our kids need to learn in the 21st century. And so in my first 100 days as president, we will work with both parties to pass the biggest investment in new good paying jobs since World War II. That includes jobs in manufacturing, clean energy, technology and innovation, small businesses and infrastructure.

If we invest in infrastructure now we will not only create jobs today, we will lay the foundation for the jobs of the future. We're going to also focus on creating jobs and communities where unemployment remains stubbornly high after generations of underinvestment and neglect. I'm a big fan of Congressman Jim Clyburn's 10-20-30 plan, steering 10 percent of federal investment to neighborhoods where 20 percent of the population has been living below the poverty line for 30 years.

We need that kind of focused, targeted investment in urban places, rural places, wherever Americans have been left out and left behind. We're also going to invest \$20 billion in creating jobs for young people. There's a big gap here. The unemployment rate among Latino and African American youth is significantly higher than for Whites. You know it's hard to write a resume if you have nothing to put on it.

We're going to help our young people get that first job, so they can get that second job, so they can build a good, solid middle class life that will give them and their families a better future. We're also going to do more to help Black and Latino entrepreneurs get access to capital so they have a real chance at turning their ideas into thriving businesses.

Now I think that's not only good for those entrepreneurs, it's good for their families, their workers and their communities. Additionally, as part of our end to end reform of the criminal justice system, we're going to help people succeed when they return home from jail or prison. We're going to ban the box so they can be judged by their skills and talents, not by their pasts.

And we will dedicate \$5 billion to provide training and support to returning citizens so they can get a good paying job. And in my first 100 days, I'm going to introduce legislation for comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship.

(APPLAUSE)

That's not only the right thing to do, every independent analysis shows it will add hundreds of billions of dollars to our economy. It will also keep families together. We need to bring hard working people out of the shadows. America has always been a place where people from around the world work hard and apply their talents to American growth and innovation in pursuit of their own dreams.

So we're going to do everything we can to get this done.

CLINTON: We need to build an economy and a future that every American can be proud of and be a part of; an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That will be my mission as president.

These are just some of the highlights of our plan. I hope you will go to my website, hillaryclinton.com, to read the details, including how we are going to pay for everything I have proposed.

And of course, I hope you will compare what I'm proposing to what my opponent is talking about. Now here's one measure that you could use for that comparison. An independent economist recently calculated that if my agenda for jobs and growth is put into place, our economy would create at least 10.4 million jobs within four years. We actually think it could be more than that.

Now, this economist also ran the numbers on Donald Trump, including his disastrous and inhumane plan to round up and deport millions of hard working immigrants.

The result, according to Mark Zandi, who was the economic advisor to John McCain during his 2008 run for the Presidency. The result of Trump's plans would be a lengthy recession, with 3.4 million jobs lost.

Now of course, Donald Trump's problems go far beyond economics. At every turn, he stokes division and resentment. He says horrible things about one group of Americans after another.

He's hearkening back to the most shameful chapters of our history and appealing to the ugliest impulses of our society. You know the list, you've reported on it. He started this campaign by describing Mexican immigrants as criminals and rapists.

He re-tweets white nationalists. He says a distinguished Federal judge can't be trusted because he is of Mexican heritage. He talks about banning Muslims from coming to the United States, a land built on religious freedom. And yes, he also talks about curtailing press freedom as well.

We need to stand up as a country and say that Donald Trump doesn't represent who we are and what we believe.

That is what my campaign, what Tim Kaine and I and everyone supporting us is doing everyday. And we're going to keep at it. Because I believe, with all my heart, that America is better than this. America is better than Donald Trump.

We just launched an all Spanish twitter account, because we want to bring as many Americans as possible into this conversation. We've opened offices in every state, because we want to compete everywhere.

We want to bring our message and our vision to all corners of our country. But we can't do it alone. Everyone, Republican, Democrat, and Independent, needs to stand up and speak out.

Now, I think, journalists have a special responsibility to our democracy in a time like this. As Ida B. Wells once said, people must know before they can act, and there is no educator to compare to the press. Now, many of you are showing the way.

It's a badge of honor when Jorge Ramos gets thrown out of a press conference for challenging Donald Trump.

(APPLAUSE)

Or when another news organization gets banned for reporting what he says. As Jorge said, the best journalism happens when you take a stand, when you denounce injustice. So, I hope you'll keep calling it, like you see it. Keeping holding all of us accountable.

You know, I have laid out all these plans. And I'm well aware that I have been sometimes made fun of, for putting out these plans about the economy, and education and criminal justice reform and healthcare and gun safety measures and all the rest of it.

But I do have this old fashioned idea, when you run for President you ought to tell the voters of America what you would do as President. So, I am going to keep telling you what I would do, because I want you to hold me accountable, press and citizen alike. Because the stakes are as high as they've ever been in our lifetimes. And we all have to do our part.

So, thank you for what you do everyday. Thank you for inviting me to address you today. And I look forward to taking some of your questions. Thank you all very much.

(APPLAUSE)

(UNKNOWN): Please welcome moderators, Kristen Welker, White House Correspondent for NBC news, and Lori Montenegro, National Correspondent for Telemundo.

(APPLAUSE)

WELKER: Thank you. I really appreciate it. Good afternoon to all of you. What an honor to be here. And, it's fantastic to see so many people gathered here for this great conversation we're going to have with Secretary Clinton.

Secretary Clinton, thank you for being here today. We really appreciate it.

Usually I am on the campaign trail with Secretary Clinton and we're at a very crowded event, so it's great to be able to have this conversation this afternoon.

MONTENEGRO: Madam Secretary, thank you so much for accompanying us. You know, so many questions, so little time, so I think we should just get right to it.

CLINTON: Great.

MONTENEGRO: You alluded to the topic that I want to ask you about. Latinos are very much concerned about the economy. They are concerned about education. They also believe in trustworthiness. I want to start with a topic that, I believe, will result, could, you know, tell the future of it after this election – it's immigration reform.

Many Latinos are discouraged by the lack of immigration reform. They believe their vote has been taken for granted. We know what your position is. But, what I would like for you to do is to walk us through the steps.

CLINTON: Right.

MONTENEGRO: How will you get immigration reform, something that President Obama was not able to do, so that Latinos can believe that something is going to happen, that their vote, again, is not being taken for granted considering that the House, at least the House, will remain under Republican control? CLINTON: It's a great question, and it's one that I, obviously, have given much thought to because I am determined that we are going to achieve comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship.

So, here is how I see it – first of all, we are going to start immediately. I want this to be a clear, high priority for my administration. We will be prepared to introduce legislation as quickly as we can do so.

I am hoping that the outcome of the election, which I am working hard to ensure a victory, will send a clear message to our Republican friends that it's time for them to quit standing in the way of immigration reform.

If you remember, after the 2012 election, the Republican National Committee did what they called an autopsy of their loss and concluded that they could not continue to deny the importance of immigration reform, and they urged Republicans running for office to get on board. Now, that hasn't turned out the way that they seemed to have hoped. We have, instead, a Republican nominee who has been virulently anti-immigrant.

But, there's nothing like winning to change minds. And, I think, number one, we have a good chance of having a Democratic Senate if everybody does what I hope they will do and vote for Democratic candidates for the Senate. I believe we will pick up some seats in the House and at least, if not take it back, narrow the numbers.

If we move in the Senate and then we demand that there be a vote in the House, because I am convinced that if the bipartisan bill that had been achieved in the Senate – remember when Marco Rubio was for it and people worked hard and achieved it?

If it had been allowed to come for a vote in the House, it would have passed. So, I view the political landscape as increasingly favorable to us making this happen. I will also defend the President's executive actions. I, like you, was disappointed with the Supreme Court decision, but remember what it did, it sent the case back to be tried. It did not determine the case. So, DACA and DAPA are still alive.

Trump has said one of his first acts as President would be to eliminate every executive order that President Obama has signed, including those on immigration issues. So, I will defend DACA and DAPA while I work vigorously for immigration reform.

CLINTON: I have proposed an Office of Immigrant Affairs for the White House so that we are able to answer questions and provide information and help people.

I will take a very hard look at the deportation priorities. My priority are violent criminals, people suspected of any kind of connection to terrorism, not hard working mothers and fathers and people who go to work, help support this economy, pay \$12 billion a year into Social Security, so we will take a hard look at that. We will close private detention centers, just like I want to end private prisons. We're going to close private detention centers.

So, I have a very active agenda and we're going to be moving on it and I believe – and you know, obviously it depends upon the outcome of this election – which is why it's so important to register more voters.

My campaign is trying to register 3 million more voters, convince people to turn out, because we're going to start early and we're going to be tenacious and absolutely committed to getting a positive result. I think the chances, once we win, will improve dramatically.

MONTENEGRO: Madam Secretary, you spoke about the deportations. President Obama, some call the deporter-in-chief, you have alluded already to your priority will be criminals, but how do you walk back the deportations? They're people who are not criminals that are deported daily from this country.

How do you walk back the deportations, comply with the law, and not inherit the title of deporter-in-chief, and at the same time, all these steps to help mobilize the Latino community to the polls, many who still believe that their vote is taken for granted in 2008 and 2012, and then we have the e-mails from WikiLeaks that say that are the loyalty brand of the party?

CLINTON: Well look, I think that the President was committed to immigration reform. It's one of the reasons we got the bi-partisan bill passed in the Senate. And what we didn't get though was enough political pressure to turn that bill into a voting issue in the 2010 midterm election.

And here's one of my frustrations: people turn out to vote for Presidential elections, and then often don't for midterm elections. So, we lost – we lost a lot of the leverage because we lost the House of Representatives. So, nothing happens easily or quickly in modern politics in America, but here is what I know. As I have said, we are not going to be deporting hard working people and break-up families. I've been on record for a year-and-a-half about this and that will be how I direct the Department of Homeland Security to act.

We are going to push on immigration reform and I will need, not only a considerable vote in November, but I will need people across our country to make it clear to their elected representatives that they're going to be held accountable for how they are going to act on immigration reform.

We put enough organizing and political effort into this, I am optimistic and I believe we can get this done. But it won't happen simply because we want it. And I can only say that I will give you my very best efforts and I will do everything I can to help elect a Democratic Senate. I've already talked to some of my former colleagues in the Senate. This will be fast-tracked. We already know what can pass the Senate because it happened just a few years ago.

And if we then put enough pressure on the House, and do everything we can to really force them to have to take what the Senate passes, I think the outcome will be very different this time. That's my goal and that's what I'm going to do every thing I can to achieve.

MONTENEGRO: Thank you Madam Secretary.

WELKER: Madam Secretary, your poll numbers went way up this week, and yet, the e-mail controversy was still in the headlines. So, I wanted to give you the opportunity to respond.

This week you told two separate news organizations that FBI Director James Comey said quote, "My answers were truthful, and that what I said is consistent with what I have told the American people."

That assertion, as you know, has been debunked by multiple news organizations which point out that Director Comey did say there's no indication that you lied to the FBI. But he didn't weigh-in on whether or not you were truthful to the American people.

So my question for you is, are you mischaracterizing Director Comey testimony? And is this not undercutting your efforts to rebuild trust with the American people?

CLINTON: Well Kristin, I appreciate your asking that because I was pointing out in both of those instances that the Director Comey had said that my answers in my FBI interview were truthful. That's really the bottom line here. And I have said on — during the interview and in many other occasions over the past months, that what I told the FBI — which he said was truthful — is consistent with what I have said publicly.

So I may have short circuited it and for that I — you know, will try to clarify because I think — you know, Chris Wallace and I we're probably talking past each other because of course he could only talk to what I had told the FBI and I appreciated that.

Now I have acknowledged repeatedly that using two e-mail accounts was a mistake I — and I take responsibility for that, but I do think you know, having him say that my answers to the FBI were truthful and then I should quickly add what I said was consistent with what I had said publicly and — and that's really, sort of in my view, trying to tie both ends together.

WELKER: Is the one inconsistently though that you said you never sent or received classified material, and he did say there were three e-mails, that were marked classified at the time.

Is that an inconsistency?

CLINTON: Well, he — here's — here's what — here are the facts behind that as well, you know that I preside I — I sent over 30,000 e-mails to the State Department that were work-related e-mails. Director Comey said that only 3 out of 30,000 had anything resembling classified markers, what does that mean? Well usually, if any of you have ever served in the Government, a classified document has a big heading on the top, which makes very clear what the classification is.

And in questioning Director Comey made the point that the 3 e-mails out of the 30,000 did not have the appropriate markings and it was therefore reasonable to conclude that anyone, including myself, would have not — suspected that they were classified.

And in fact, I think that has been discussed by others who have said two out of those three were later explained by the State Department not to have been, in any way, confidential at the time that they were delivered.

So that leaves the 100 out of 30,000 e-mails that Director Comey testified — contained classified information but again, he acknowledged there were no markings on those 100 e-mails and so what we have here is pretty much what I have been saying throughout this whole year and — and that is that I never sent or received anything that was marked "classified."

Now if in retrospect, which is what is behind the 100 number, if in retrospect some different agencies said but it should have been — although it wasn't — it should have been that's what the debate about — is about. But

Director Comey said there was absolutely no intention, on my part, to either ignore or in any way dismiss the importance of those documents because they weren't marked "classified," so that would have had to do and I will go back to where I started.

I regret using one account, I've taken responsibility for that but I'm pleased to be able to clarify and explain what I think the bottom line is on this.

WELKER: And just very quickly before we get to our panel, Donald Trump says this whole thing means that you can't be trusted with National Security, today you are endorsed by former CIA Director Michael Morell who says it's Trump who can't be trusted, and he went so far as to indicate that that he's been termed (ph) by Putin.

Do you agree with that assessment?

CLINTON: Well, I had the great honor of working with Mike Morell, spending a lot of hours with him in the situation room in the White House. He is a consummate professional who has devoted his entire professional career to protecting our country.

I was honored to receive his endorsement, I will let his comments speak for themselves but I — I really appreciated his explaining as he did in his op-ed — some of what's at stake in this election.

MONTENEGRO: Thank you Madam Secretary. I believe we have a question from one of our panelists in the previous — could you stand up please?

QUESTION: My question is, you've accused Donald Trump of using racist and sexist language. What does it say about the electorate that so many Americans are supporting him?

CLINTON: Well, I — I really — I really believe that the core of his support — I'm not going to speak for everyone who supports him because I think there have been some quite distressing statements coming out of his rallies and his supporters and who has aligned themselves with him — but I think the core of his support really centers on the disappointment in the economy that so many Americans feel.

And what I have been saying is, you know, I'm going to bring this country together. I think we have three overarching goals: we need more economic opportunity, we need to protect our national security, and we have got to work toward American unity.

So I have been trying to understand what it is that has driven people to support Trump and I've met with some people, I have listened to them.

And so many of them are looking for an explanation as to why they lost the job they had for 18 years when the factory closed and nobody cared about them; what they're going to do when their whole life was spent mining coal and they made \$80 thousand a year; now they can barely find a job making minimum wage; why the centers of so many old industrial towns in America are hollowed out and people are turning to opiates and heroin, and the list goes on. And that's what I've heard.

So, I think, we have to recognize that of course, some of the appeal is xenophobic and racist and misogynistic and offensive — we have to acknowledge that. But let's not lose sight of the real pain that many Americans are feeling because the economy has left them behind.

So I have said — I said it again in my acceptance speech last Thursday, I want to be the president for all Americans. I want to lift up and give everybody a chance to pursue their dreams. And that means people who are supporting him.

When I went to West Virginia, I knew that I was not gonna win West Virginia, I can tell you that. And I was in a meeting with a group of folks, including a coal miner who was incredibly emotional and talking to me. And outside there was a big Trump protest going on, and one of the people at the protest, for goodness sakes, was Blankenship who had just been convicted of reckless indifference toward the wellbeing of his coal miners — causing deaths.

So clearly the lines are pretty stark. But I have said, you know, I've got a plan for coal country, I've got a plan for Indian country, I've got a plan for inner cities, I've got a plan for rural communities. It's one of the reasons, as I said in my remarks, that I support Jim Clyburn's 10-20-30 proposal, which would help all kinds of communities in America. Jim and I have talked about this.

So we have to reject and stand up against the appeals to the kind of bigotry and the use of bluster and bullying that we see coming from Trump's campaign, but let's not forget the real economic challenges that too many Americans of all backgrounds are facing today.

So that's how I think about it and that's how I'm going to try in this campaign to respond to and rebuke all of the horrible things he says on a pretty regular basis — but not about me, I could care less about that.

CLINTON: But when he goes after individuals; when he accuses a distinguished federal judge of Mexican heritage of not being fair, when he insults a gold star family of a Muslim American who served in the military — you know the list. I will stand up and call him out on that.

But I will also keep reaching out to Americans of all races and ethnicities and where ever they live to tell them that I am not going to forget about them after this election.

I'm going work my heart out to help every single person have a better job with a rising income, and make sure their kids get a good education, and everything else that I think they're owed here in America.

MONTENEGRO: Great, wonderful. And I think we have another question from our panel.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, Ed O'Keefe for the Washington Post. Thank you for being here. And I think on behalf of all of us, we encourage you to do this more often with reporters across the country.

(APPLAUSE)

Especially those news organizations that travel the country with you everywhere you go. A majority of voters consistently say frankly they don't like you and they don't trust you. And they say pretty much the same thing about Donald Trump.

Either you or Mr. Trump will be elected president. How would you lead a nation where a majority of Americans mistrust you? And what extra responsibility might you have to show that you're up to the task?

CLINTON: Well let me start by saying every time I have done a job, people have counted on me and trusted me.

And at the convention last week we highlighted the fights of my life, starting as a lawyer for the Children's Defense Fund, taking on the problem of juveniles in adult jails in South Carolina, segregated academies so-called in Alabama, fighting for kids with disabilities to get an education, and all the way through the work I did as senator after 9/11, and representing all of you as secretary of state.

So there is – I – and I – I take this seriously. Don't, you know, don't doubt that. I take it seriously. You know, it doesn't make me feel good when people say those things. And I recognize that I have work to do. But when I started running for the Senate in New York, a lot of the same things were said.

I won. I worked hard for the people of New York. And I was reelected with 67 percent of the vote after I demonstrated that I would be on their side, I would fight for the people I represented.

I ran a really hard campaign against Barack Obama, as I think everybody remembers. It got a little contentious from time to time. And to my surprise, he turns around, asks me to be secretary of state because he trusted me.

And then I served as secretary of state. And when I left, I had a 66 percent approval rating. So, ask yourselves...

(APPLAUSE)

...were 67 percent of the people in New York wrong? Were 66 percent of the American public wrong? Or maybe, just maybe, when I'm actually running for a job, there is a real benefit to those on the other side in trying to stir up as much concern as possible.

So, I take it seriously. And I'm going to work my heart out in this campaign and as president to produce results for people, to get the economy to work for everybody, not just those at the top, to do as much as I can to help people who, as I said earlier, may not even vote for me. Because I think our country is at a crossroads election.

President Obama said it extremely well both in what his speech discussed in the convention, what his press conferences since have pointed out. This is a crossroads election. There is so much at stake.

You can look at my record of public service. You can meet people and families who were benefited by the Children's Health Insurance Program. You can meet people who were benefited by reforming the foster care and adoption system.

You can meet first responders and survivors from 9/11 who were benefited because I went to bat for them. You can meet National Guards members and their families who didn't have health care unless they were deployed before I worked with Republicans to fix that. You can go down a long list, and we'd be happy to provide it to you, of what I have done because I believe in public service.

And I am proud that I've had the great, great opportunity to work on behalf of giving more people a better life ever since I was right out of law school. So I'm just going to get up every day and make my case.

And I think there'll be an opportunity for a lot of people to actually hear it.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary?

CLINTON: Mmhmm.

QUESTION: Kevin Merida. I'm editor-in-chief of The Undeclared at ESPN. What is the most meaningful conversation you've had with an African-American friend?

CLINTON: Oh my gosh. Well, could I tell you that I am blessed to have a – a crew of great friends and I've had two chiefs of staff who were my African-American women friends, Maggie Williams and Cheryl Mills.

I have been blessed to have people by my side in politics like Minyon Moore who is one of the leaders of my campaign. I've had a great group of young people who I have been really motivated by and, frankly, learned from.

So I really have had a lifetime of friendship going back to my college years when one of my best friends was an African-American student, so I can't compress into one conversation — they've supported me, they've chastised me, they've raised issues with me, they've tried to expand my musical tastes.

So we've had — we've had a lot of — we've had a lot of great, great times because of our friendships, so I can't really pick one conversation out of, you know, 50 years of conversation and I don't want to embarrass my friends.

Peggy Lewis is here, she just became the Dean of Communications at Trinity Washington and I want to congratulate her. Donna Brazile is here, she's our acting chair of the DNC.

So I — I guess I'll leave it at that. I think I'm going to — I'm going to respect the code of friendship silence but please know I've got a lot of great friends who have given me so much more.

QUESTION: Madam Secretary, there's such little time and there's lots of questions and you're signaling us to — but I would be remiss. We're in a room full of Latino journalists and I have to ask you and give you an opportunity to respond and set the record clear.

Does the Democratic Party, does your campaign, take Latino voters seriously, or are you taking them for granted that they will automatically vote Democrat? CLINTON: Well, I take them seriously, because I've had the great privilege of working for many years with Latino leaders, activists, business men and women.

You know, just as I responded to the question, my first experience working on behalf of Latinos was — well, actually, even before I was a legal services lawyer, through my church, I babysat Latino kids on Saturdays while their parents and older siblings went to the fields outside of my home in Chicago, which used to be — hard to believe now, miles of farmland.

It was my first real lesson in how much more we all have in common. There I was, 11 or 12 years old, babysitting these little kids and at the end of the day the old ramshackle bus stopped at the end of the road and the parents and the older brothers and sisters got out and these little kids just broke loose and started running down that road with their arms outstretched calling for their mothers and their fathers and getting swept up in very tired arms.

And then, when I was a little bit older, my church arranged exchanges with Latino churches. We would go into the city of Chicago, sit in church basements, talk about our lives and, again, it reinforced what, to me, was so much of a common sense of, you know, what we wanted in our lives even though their lives and mine were very different.

And as a legal services lawyer — as the chair of the legal services corporation, we expanded legal services into places against a lot of political opposition.

CLINTON: So, I feel very fortunate that I've had the chance to work with, and learn from, so many Latinas and Latinos across America. When I ran for the senate, I worked closely with our elected representatives, both at the city, state, and national level.

I was honored that they rallied around to support me and were part of the great victory that we had in the primary in New York.

So no, I don't take any voter for granted. And I particularly don't take any voter who is placing their trust and confidence in me for granted. Because I am going to get up, as I said, every single day and work my heart out to get the results that I have told you, we're going to achieve together.

And I know it's hard. I've been around as you all know, very well. I'm not new to this. It doesn't happen by hoping it happens, or wishing it happens. It happens by doing everything you possibly can and I am blessed to have such close working relationships and friendships with Latino leaders.

Tonight, at my house, we will be having a big event with Latino business leaders, coming from around America. And so, I'm going to do what I've always done.

You see, I think at the core of political leadership is relationship. You've got to build relationships with individuals and communities. I know that doesn't happen by just asking for it. It happens because you work hard to achieve it.

So I'm going to do everything I can to make sure that any Latino voter who votes for me, knows that I'm going to be doing my best to deliver on everything that I've said.

And I will tell you as we go along, what the challenges are, because I may need to ask your help. I may need you to put pressure on elected officials. I may need you to flood the internet, or flood the old fashioned mailbox of elected representatives.

So they know people are watching. But that's how we're going to get it done. And I'm actually pretty confident and optimistic about that. So I hope that people will take this election seriously, because I sure take you seriously. And together I think we can create the kind of future that everyone of our kids and grandkids deserves.

Thank you all very much.

WELKER: Secretary Clinton, we are out of time. We want to thank you very much. Everyone please, give a big round of applause for Secretary Clinton for coming and answering our questions. We really appreciate it, and (inaudible) your time. Thank you very much.

ANEXO M

Anuncio para televisión y medios digitales de lanzamiento de campaña: “*Just One.*”

- Fecha: 20 de Agosto de 2016.

- Fuente: canal de *YouTube* de Hillary Clinton.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UqpQ4neS68g>

- Carpeta de Archivos: *Vídeo 8 – Just One.*