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A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON'S FIRST TERM
PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC

A Capstone Project Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree Bachelor of Arts
with Honors College Graduate Distinction at
Western Kentucky University

By

Ireland Rose Hill

May 2019

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ABSTRACT

Bill Clinton was the United States of America's (U.S.) 42nd President, and his rhetoric set the tone of U.S. political climate for years following his presidency. Due to the power that a president possesses, a president's presence and statements are frequently analyzed. It is clear, however, that there is a lack of research completed on presidential rhetoric. Upon this realization, I reflected on my previous areas of research; one of those areas was the first term presidential rhetoric of Clinton. As a result, I decided that a rhetorical analysis of some of the major rhetoric that contributed to Clinton's first presidential term would greatly benefit scholarly research on presidential rhetoric. This research considers Clinton's announcement speech where he informed the public that he was running for the democratic nomination for president, speech after receiving the democratic nomination, first Inaugural Address, first State of the Union Address, and speech apologizing for radiation that the U.S. used during the Cold War. When considering each of the speeches, it is important to take into account that Clinton had speechwriters during his first presidential term; I was unable to discover to what extent Clinton was or was not involved in the writing process of his speeches.

Dedicated to my mom and dad, whose unconditional love and guidance has made me
who I am.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There is no other university that I could picture myself at than Western Kentucky University (WKU); it is the perfect university for me, and so much of who I am is because of WKU. The professors, study abroad opportunities, and extracurricular organizations are just a few of the outstanding aspects of the university. Without WKU's constant opportunities for educational and social growth, I would not be where I am.

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John and Raejean Hill, my loving parents, have never failed to encourage and believe in me. It is because of them that I know that I can do what I work hard for, have an immense love for learning, and possess an appreciation for hard work.

It would be foolish of me to neglect to thank the program that has played an enormous role in getting me to where I am today. Thank you, Kentucky Governor's Scholars Program, for playing such an influential and beautiful role in my life. It is because of the beautiful experiences I have had with the program throughout three summers that I am a Western Kentucky University graduate.

Thank you to two of the people that have played such an incredibly large role in my college career: Joshua Findley and Cara Walters. They have been there throughout all of college's twists and turns, and I would not be the person that I am today without them.

Lastly, it is essential that I acknowledge the privilege that has brought me to have the ability to complete this research. It can be hard to talk about, but it is essential to acknowledge.

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SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION

One of the ways that the communication and political science fields interconnect is when politicians and/or political thinkers communicate. Due to my affinity for the political science field, I quickly realized that one of the greatest examples of a person communicating and others receiving that communication occurs when a president presents a message to the public. From my background in the communication field, I appreciate rhetoric and its influence. As a result, this thesis presents a rhetorical analysis of some of the speeches that either occurred during or influenced President Bill Clinton's first term as president.

There has been research completed on presidential rhetoric. However, there is a lack of research that has been compiled on Clinton's first term presidential rhetoric. This thesis works to analyze how Clinton attained either rhetorical successes or failures that either influenced or occurred during his first term as president. In each speech that is analyzed, the rhetorical situation is considered. Additionally, anywhere from two to three rhetorical elements are considered in each speech. In order to fully understand this research, it is essential that one knows what the vocabulary presented means. Below are descriptions for the rhetorical elements that will come up in this research.

Acclaims

Acclaims are one of the three aspects that help achieve functional theory (Benoit, 2003, p. 99). Benoit stated that "*Acclaims* praise the candidate (positive messages)" (p. 99).

Audience

Audience is one of the constituents "...of any rhetorical situation" (Bitzer, 1992, p. 6) "Prior to the creation and presentation of discourse..." (Bitzer, p. 6). Bitzer stated that "...a rhetorical audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change" (p. 7).

Artistic Proofs

Constraints are one of the "...three constituents of any rhetorical situation..." (Bitzer, 1992, p. 6) "Prior to the creation and presentation of discourse" (Bitzer, p. 6). One of the classes which are primary to constraints are artistic proofs (Bitzer, p. 8). Artistic proofs are the name given by Aristotle to a class of constraints that are "...originated or managed by the rhetor and his method..." (Bitzer, p. 8).

Attacks

Attacks are one of the three aspects that help achieve functional theory (Benoit, 2003, p. 99). Benoit stated that "*Attack's* criticize the candidate's opponent (negative messages)" (p. 99).

Comedic Frame

There are a variety of different frames that speeches can be presented in. One of those frames is the comedic frame. Utilizing this frame makes clear that the person speaking is able to be understanding (Smith and Voth, 2002).

Corrective Action

Corrective action is described by Benoit (2015) as "...a commitment to repair the damage from the offensive act" (p. 57).

Ethos

Ethos is defined as "...the distinguishing character, sentiment, moral nature, or guiding beliefs of a person, group, or institution" ("Ethos," n.d., Definition of section, para. 1).

Exigence

Exigence is one of the constituents "...of any rhetorical situation" (Bitzer, 1992, p 8) "Prior to the creation and presentation of discourse..." (Bitzer, p. 6). Bitzer stated, "Any exigence is an imperfection marked by urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be" (p. 6).

Feminine Style

Dow & Tonn (1993), in a journal article about Ann Richards' use of feminine style, stated, "We examine three specific aspects of Richards' rhetoric: her process of testing claims for political progress, her privileging of personal grounds for public knowledge, and her creation of a unique rhetor/audience relationship." (p. 289). Further, Dow & Tonn stated that these aspects are "Testing Claims With Experience" (p. 289), "The Personal as Political" (Dow and Tonn, p. 292), "Female Experience and the Ethic of Care" (Dow and Tonn, p. 294), and "Nurturing and Empowerment" (Dow and Tonn, p. 296).

Fisher's Narrative Paradigm

Fischer (1984) explained the different components of the Narrative Paradigm model, which are:

- (1) Humans are essentially storytellers;
- (2) The paradigmatic mode of human decision making and communication is "good reasons" which vary in form among communication situations, genres, and media;
- (3) The production and practice of good reasons are ruled by matters of history, biography, culture and character;

- (4) Rationality is determined by the nature of persons as narrative beings—their inherent awareness of narrative probability, and their constant habit of testing narrative fidelity, (whether the stories they experience ring true with the stories they know to be true in their lives); and
- (5) The world is a set of stories which must be chosen among to live the good life (p. 4). (as cited by Friedman & Gutgold, n.d., p. 6)

Inartistic Proofs

Constraints are one of the “...three constituents of any rhetorical situation...” (Bitzer, 1992, p. 6) “Prior to the creation and presentation of discourse” (Bitzer, p. 6). One of the classes which are primary to constraints are inartistic proofs (Bitzer, p. 8). Inartistic proofs are the name given by Aristotle to a class of constraints that are “...those other constraints, in the situation, which may be operative...” (Bitzer, p. 8).

Issue Ownership Theory

Petrocik (1996) stated, “The theory of issue ownership finds a campaign effect when a candidate successfully frames the vote choice as a decision to be made in terms of problems facing the country that he is better able to ‘handle’ than his opponent” (How Campaigns Affect Voters: A Theory of Issue Ownership section, para. 1).

Metaphor

Caruso (2014) informed readers that “The implications of the keywords are better understood by looking back at the original linguistic metaphor identification process, in which the more basic meaning helps in providing an interpretation and explanation for their use” (p. 89).

Mortification

Mortification is talked of by Benoit (2015) as “...to admit committing the offensive act and to ask for forgiveness” (p. 57).

Policy Utterances

Benoit (2003) stated, “Policy utterances ‘concern governmental action (past, current, or future) and problems amenable to governmental action’” (p. 99).

Proximation

In regard to proximation, Sowińska (2013) informed readers that “It draws on the speaker’s ability to present the events on the discourse stage as directly affecting the addressee, usually in a negative or threatening way” (Proximation Section, para. 1).

Rhetorical Situation

Bitzer (1992) explained,

Rhetorical situation may be defined as a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence. (p. 6)

SECTION TWO

1991 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ANNOUNCEMENT SPEECH (APPENDIX A)

Clinton's presidential announcement speech occurred on October 3, 1991; this was over a year before he was elected. He presented this speech in Little Rock, Arkansas. It is perplexing to consider the rhetorical situation, because many would likely write it off as a man announcing that he is running for presidential office; however, it is much more. First, the exigence is intriguing. In regard to Clinton's presidential announcement speech, it is evident that if Clinton wanted to run for presidential office, then he must first announce that he is running for the presidency. If one were to watch his speech, they would see that people are holding signs that support Clinton running for presidential office. Therefore, people had already likely inferred that Clinton was going to run for office; they were potentially anticipating Clinton's announcement speech. It seems as if Clinton announced that he was running for president at the perfect time. He announced his candidacy just 18 days before Edmund Brown Jr., who came to be his closest opponent for the democratic nomination. However, Paul Tsongas, who was Clinton's third closest opponent when competing for the democratic nomination, announced his candidacy much earlier. Out of the top three democratic candidates, Clinton announced his candidacy second. In exigence's most obvious form, Clinton was presenting his announcement speech to inform the American people that he was running for the highest office in the U.S. in a strategic, timely manner. However, if looked at beyond the surface, one can infer that Clinton believed that he could help fix what was wrong in America and

that he was the person with the most likely chance of winning against incumbent candidate, President George Herbert Walker Bush. Additionally, Clinton choosing to announce that he was running for the democratic nomination in Arkansas, where he was governor at the time, was a conscious choice that created an interesting rhetorical situation.

The people present in Little Rock, Arkansas are the audience of the speech. A constraint in the form of an inartistic proof that occurred within the announcement is the fact that Clinton was the governor of Arkansas. There are two problems that arise from this statement. First, he may not be given a significant amount of respect since he did not hold a spot in Congress. And second, people from Arkansas may feel betrayed because their governor now wants to be president. A constraint in the form of an artistic proof is Clinton's positivity and his blunt attitude that manifests in the speech. The rhetorical situation in Clinton's announcement speech is interesting, and it serves as a great way to obtain more votes.

Specifically, there were three concepts that Clinton embedded within his speech which were intriguing. One concept that he made use of was attacks; he used them frequently. An example of this in Clinton's announcement speech is:

As I've traveled across our state, I've found that everything we believe in, everything we've fought for, is threatened by an administration that refuses to take care of our own, has turned its back on the middle class, and is afraid to change while the world is changing. ("Announcement Speech," n.d., para. 9)

The preceding quote is a policy utterance which takes the form of an attack regarding past deeds. A potential administration that "...refuses to take care of our own..."

("Announcement Speech," para. 9) regards policy in the form of recalling past deeds.

Later in Clinton's speech, an example of another evident attack is: "This must be a

campaign of ideas, not slogans. We don't need another President who doesn't know what he wants to do for America” (“Announcement Speech,” para. 26) The previously stated quote, though not directly, regards policy. These are just two of the various utterances present within Clinton’s Presidential announcement speech.

Another concept that Clinton made use of was Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm. Specifically, Clinton’s announcement speech contained three of the paradigms which helped contribute to the overall effectiveness of the stories that he told. Though Clinton told a variety of stories throughout his speech to communicate various points, a specific story that evidently shows aspects of Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm is:

A few years ago, Hillary and I visited a classroom in Los Angeles, in an area plagued by drugs and gangs. We talked to a dozen sixth graders, whose number one concern was being shot going to and from school. Their second worry was turning 12 or 13 and being forced to join a gang or be beaten. And finally, they were worried about their own parents' drug abuse. (“Announcement Speech,” n.d., para. 50)

This story, though sad, proved a point. It also followed various aspects of Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm. The first paradigm that Fisher (1984) stated is “Humans are essentially storytellers...” (as cited by Friedman and Gutgold, n.d., p. 6). This is done by Clinton simply telling the preceding story. Additionally, the story aligns with the fourth paradigm because it is evident that Clinton believed that it would be effective because it makes a point by appealing to emotions. This paradigm is present because it is evident that Clinton probably had a collection of stories that he could have told; however, it is inferable that he chose this specific one for a particular reason: to make a point that there are children who need America’s help. Clinton’s use of narratives follows Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm at various points throughout his speech.

Finally, the third component present within Clinton’s speech is issue ownership.

Clinton utilized this component of Issue Ownership Theory to his advantage various times. For example, jobs are something that is known to be an issue that democrats typically deal with better (Furgerson, 2016). Clinton discussed what he believed America needed to do in regard to jobs (“Announcement Speech,” n.d.). Another issue that democrats typically deal with better is the environment (Furgerson, 2016). Clinton specifically stated, “Finally, opportunity for all means we must protect our environment and develop an energy policy that relies more on conservation and clean natural gas so all our children will inherit a world that is cleaner, safer, and more beautiful” (“Announcement Speech,” para. 37). While Clinton addressed issues that are considered to be issues that republicans deal with better, he discussed issues that are known to be democratic issues more often. Issue Ownership Theory is very present within Clinton’s announcement that he was running for the democratic nomination.

By utilizing attacks, Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm, and Issue Ownership Theory, Clinton presented effective rhetoric. Attacks allowed light to be drawn to the injustices that have or will potentially occur if Republican candidate, Bush, gets reelected. Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm was effective because it allowed Clinton to tell narratives that truly had a point to prove. When this was done, it gave Americans a real example of the problems in America. Additionally, Issue Ownership Theory allowed Clinton to draw attention to issues that typically democrats are known to handle better than republicans. Through this, he was able to highlight what, if he becomes President, he will specifically do well. This, inferably, sounded appealing to many Americans, especially democrats. The preceding three concepts contributed to the overall success of Clinton’s announcement speech.

SECTION THREE

SPEECH ACCEPTING THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION (APPENDIX B)

When analyzing Clinton's Democratic Nominee Acceptance Speech, one has to consider the different components that influenced the content of the speech. First, it is important to note that the speech was given at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in New York City in 1992. Specifically, the DNC was held at Madison Square Garden. Clinton's audience was immense. At the 1992 DNC, there were many politicians and members of the public present. However, it is important to take into account the millions of people that were watching the speech on television. Therefore, it was essential that he presented a speech that appealed to all audiences. The exigence was that Clinton was officially becoming the democratic presidential candidate for the 1992 election, and he needed to convince the Democratic Party to accept him, while simultaneously gaining support from those not in the Democratic Party. It is important to understand what brought Clinton to be able to give this speech; he defeated various other people competing to be the democratic presidential nominee. The primary was closest between Clinton, Edmund Brown Jr., and Paul Tsongas. However, Clinton still won the nomination by attaining over 50 percent of the "primary vote" ("1992 Presidential," n.d., table 1), while his closest competition, Brown Jr., only attained a little over 20 percent of the "Primary Vote" ("1992 Presidential," n.d., table 1). Now that Clinton had attained the nomination, it is likely that his focus was on getting the presidency. This new focus shows in his speech through rhetoric that attempts to bring in voters from all parties. In consideration of constraints, Clinton presented both inartistic and artistic proofs. An

inartistic proof present were people who wanted another potential candidate to become the democratic presidential nominee. There were various other nominees; Clinton's biggest competition during the primary election was Edmund Brown Jr. Clinton had to find ways to appeal to the supporters of other nominees. Another example of an inartistic proof present is the fact that the current president was not a democrat. Therefore, Clinton needed to find ways to motivate voter turnout. An example of an artistic proof present is Clinton's use of truthful language. An example of this is: "Well, four years ago he promised 15 million new jobs by this time, and he's over 14 million short" ("IN THEIR," n.d., para. 43). This statement is one of many statements regarding the shortcomings of the then current President Bush that Clinton makes. This can act as a constraint by potentially offending some republicans. The rhetorical situation played a key role in the way that Clinton's speech was presented.

There are three concepts that are extremely influential which manifest within Clinton's acceptance speech, and one of them is acclaims. Many of the statements made by Clinton within his acceptance speech are acclaims. An example of this is: "You want to know where I get my fighting spirit? It all started with my mother. Thank you, Mother. I love you" ("IN THEIR," n.d., para. 23). This is an acclaim in the form of a character utterance regarding personal qualities. When one talks about their personal character traits, I infer that people are more likely to relate to and trust them. If a presidential candidate does this, then it serves as a way to make them seem more like a typical person. Another acclaim that Clinton stated was, "When I am your President, the rest, the rest of the world won't look down on us with pity but up to us with respect again" ("IN THEIR," para. 42). This is an acclaim in the form of a policy utterance regarding general goals.

Also, Clinton stated, “Now, I don't have all the answers. But I do know the old ways don't work” (“IN THEIR,” para. 65). In this statement, Clinton presented an acclaim in the form of a character utterance regarding his ability to function as a sensible leader. This statement potentially allowed the audience to understand that Clinton uses common sense; this is a trait the majority of people likely want in their president. These are just three examples of the abundant amount of acclaims present within the speech.

Clinton also uses feminine style frequently throughout his acceptance speech. Clinton used all of the aspects from Dow and Tonn’s article at some point within his 1992 Democratic Nomination Acceptance Speech at the DNC. First, he showed that he had gone through what he is claiming when he stated, “I am a product of that middle class. And when I am President you will be forgotten no more” (“IN THEIR,” n.d., para. 10). This is also an example of Clinton’s personal life relating to his future political career. Next, an example of female experience is present when he talked about his wife, Hillary (nytimes.com, n.d.). He stated,

I learned a lot from another person, too. A person who for more than 20 years has worked hard to help our children. Paying the price of time to make sure our schools don't fail them. Someone who traveled our state for a year. Studying, learning, listening. Going to PTA meetings, school board meetings, town hall meetings. Putting together a package of school reforms recognized around the nation. Doing it all while building a distinguished legal career and being a wonderful loving mother. (“IN THEIR,” para. 28)

Clinton further stated,

Hillary taught me. She taught me that all children can learn, and that each of us has a duty to help them do it. So if you want to know why I care so much about our children and our future, it all started with Hillary. I love you. (“IN THEIR,” para. 30)

This statement shows that Clinton, if elected President, would bring a First Lady with him that genuinely cares about children. Care is shown in the statement, “I want an

America where ‘family values’ live in our actions, not just in our speeches” (“IN THEIR,” para. 32). Also, nurturing is evidenced through the following statement,

And so we must say to every American: Look beyond the stereotypes that blind us. We need each other. All of us -- we need each other. We don't have a person to waste. And yet for too long politicians have told the most of us that are doing all right that what's really wrong with America is the rest of us. (nytimes.com, para. 82)

Finally, he showed empowerment through the following statement:

Let it, let it be our cause to see that child grow up strong and secure, braced by her challenges, but never struggling alone; with family and friends and a faith that in America, no one is left out; no one is left behind. (“IN THEIR,” para. 105)

Contemporary feminine style is very evident throughout Clinton’s speech. It allowed voters to see a side of Clinton that they may not always have gotten to see with other candidates. Further, contemporary feminine style allowed for the care that Clinton had in his heart for the U.S. to be more openly evident. Through contemporary feminine style, Clinton reassured the American people that he was a human being, just like them, who truly cares about each of them.

Another evident concept within Clinton’s acceptance speech was metaphor. Clinton’s metaphor of “...Hope” (“IN THEIR,” n.d., para. 108) is present within this speech. Clinton told a story about his and his grandfather’s “...little town of Hope” (“IN THEIR,” para. 25). He proceeded to talk throughout the speech about things he hoped for the U.S., and toward the end of the speech, he stated, “My fellow Americans, I end tonight where it all began for me: I still believe in a place called Hope” (“IN THEIR,” para. 108). He now makes “...Hope” (“IN THEIR,” para. 108) seem like a place, but also makes it a metaphor. It can now be seen as him believing in hope for the future. By doing what Caruso described with the metaphor of “...Hope” (“IN THEIR,” para. 108), one is

able to recognize that he was meaning to use his hometown's name to also mean what hope has meant throughout history.

Clinton made his speech at the 1992 DNC meaningful by using acclaims, contemporary feminist style, and metaphor. Though he used a fair amount of attacks, his use of acclaims made him appear very credible and trustworthy. Through his use of acclaims, he drew emphasis to his accomplishments, his thought process, and what he planned to do for the U.S. in the future. The most effective concept that he embedded within his speech was contemporary feminist style; he used it throughout the entirety of the speech. His use of contemporary feminist style potentially made many Americans feel valued, cared for, and understood. Additionally, Clinton's use of metaphor was smart. He made "...Hope" ("IN THEIR," para. 108) appear as if it was both a place and a feeling. By doing this, he elicited the importance of Americans having hope, since he does too. The concepts that Clinton utilized throughout his acceptance speech helped contribute immensely to the overall success of his speech.

SECTION FOUR

1993 INAUGURAL ADDRESS (APPENDIX C)

Clinton presented his Inaugural Address at the U.S. Capitol on January 20th, 1993. This was the day that he became the 42nd president of the U.S. Clinton's Inaugural Address presented an interesting rhetorical situation. In regard to exigence, it is evident that he is there to address the U.S. as its newly inaugurated President. However, he also is inferably giving the speech to unite those that oppose him with those that approve of him. Clinton won by over 200 electoral votes, and he won the popular vote. However, a large amount of America still did not vote for him. Many of these people wanted the previous president, George H.W. Bush, to get reelected. Because of this, Clinton needed to ensure all people that under his presidency, their best interest would be prioritized. The audience present during his Inaugural Address is quite possibly the largest of all of the speeches that will be analyzed throughout this research. It is common for both American citizens to view inaugural addresses, as well as citizens of other countries. It is inferable that many countries admire the democracy present in America, and, therefore, they watch presidential addresses in order to get a better understanding of democracy. A constraint in the form of an artistic proof which is present is Clinton's use of pathos. An inartistic proof present was the fact that many people watching the speech did not want Clinton to win. Also, many people may be nervous about the concept of changing leadership in the U.S. This manifests as an inartistic proof, and it may cause them not to fully listen to Clinton's ideas. The rhetorical situation present in Clinton's Inaugural Address is essential to understand before analysis of the speech can be understood.

Clinton utilized the comedic frame. In his Inaugural Address, he showed through his rhetoric that he realized that humans have made mistakes; however, he provided various solutions to the evident mistakes made by humans. He did both of these things when he stated,

We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps, but we have not done so; instead, we have drifted. And that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. (Peters and Woolley, n.d., para. 6)

He recognized what the American people have not done, yet he does not make this known in a rude manner. He does so kindly, presenting what they must do together to make things right. He does this more throughout his address. Near the end of his address, he stated, “We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our own way and with God's help, we must answer the call” (Peters and Woolley, para. 16). In this statement, he made clear what Americans need to do. Throughout the speech, he communicated this point.

Finally, it is made evident that Clinton uses modern feminine style within this speech. He specifically uses empowerment. Clinton identifies with the majority of his American audience by using words that depict him as the same as them. For example, he stated,

To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children. (Peters and Woolley, n.d, para. 8)

In the preceding statement, Clinton stated what needed to be done without separating himself from the American people. This is vital to ensure that empowerment is elicited through his rhetoric. Additionally, he also made clear that he needs help from all citizens to get what needs to be done in America completed when he stated, “I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone” (Peters and Woolley, para. 13). This statement affirms the fact that he is in this with every American, further identifying himself with them. Through Clinton working to identify himself with the American people, he elicited true empowerment within his rhetoric.

When asking oneself if this speech is effective, it is difficult to say “no.” This is because most Inaugural Addresses are likely precisely written and practiced; therefore, it is likely that the speech is going to be effective. Clinton was able to use comedic frame to make Americans understand that mistakes had been made; however, there were ways to better America still. This was an effective frame to use because it was polite and, for the most part, lighthearted. Additionally, Modern Feminist Style, specifically in the form of empowerment, manifested itself in an outstanding way within Clinton’s address. He was able to communicate through language that he and his audience could identify together, and make clear that if change was to occur, they needed to all work together. Through each of these concepts, Clinton was able to triumphantly present his Inaugural Address in a manner that welcomed unity.

SECTION FIVE

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS (APPENDIX C)

Clinton's 1993 State of the Union Address was an address to remember. It occurred at the U.S. Capitol on February 17th, 1993. He worked hard to demonstrate his passion for the U.S. In order for him to present a speech that communicated this, he inferably considered the rhetorical situation at hand. The exigence present was that it is a tradition for presidents to give a State of the Union Address each year. Clinton's 1993 State of the Union Address was his first State of the Union Address as President; therefore, it is inferable that there were pressures on him to present his address well. Additionally, Clinton was the first democratic president who was elected after the Cold War. A republican had held the presidency for the preceding four terms. Many people may feel relieved; it is inferable that Americans were ready for change. Clinton embodied the ideas of change, and people liked this. It is likely that someone who voted for Clinton would say that there were many social aspects of the U.S. that needed attention at the time, and Clinton had stated through his rhetoric that he was going to give these issues attention. Specifically, he put emphasis on the middle class being treated fairly; this played a major role in his popularity. In regard to the audience that was present, it was mostly political figures. However, many people also watched the State of the Union Address on television. There were both artistic and inartistic proofs present. Artistic proofs were Clinton's use of logos and pathos. An inartistic proof was the fact that some members of Congress were people who may not agree with his viewpoints. Another

inartistic proof is that there were many politicians in the room, which could inferably make Clinton nervous. However, this probably played a small role in his overall view of the audience, considering the House of Representatives and Senate both had a Democratic majority. Also, many likely thought that Clinton needed to address plans that matched what he promised to do while on the campaign trail, which took form as an inartistic proof. He had promised various things ranging from jobs to healthcare that is affordable (“1993 State,” n.d.). The rhetorical situation that is present in Clinton’s 1993 State of the Union Address is interesting to consider because there is a chance that the audience influenced the concepts that were used to communicate the speech.

Proximation is present within Clinton’s State of the Union Address. For example, he informed his audience that

Nations, like individuals, must ultimately decide how they wish to conduct themselves – how they wish to be thought of by those with whom they live, and, later, how they wish to be judged by history. Like every man and woman, they must decide whether they are prepared to rise to the occasions history presents them. (“1993 State,” n.d., para. 4)

In this statement, Clinton is making it clear that both nations and individuals make decisions and these decisions that they make can have either negative or positive consequences. Since the people in the audience are individuals, they may realize that they can be affected by their decisions that impact the world. Clinton does this again when he stated, “We believe in jobs, we believe in learning, and we believe in rewarding work. We believe in restoring the values that make America special” (“1993 State,” Education Section, para. 6). The preceding statement put emphasis on things that Americans believe in. By doing this and making clear that he is part of what is being discussed (“1993 State”), Clinton addressed the importance of doing what he has stated. Since he considers

himself part of what is being discussed (“1993 State”), he and his audience become viewed as more alike. This evidences the aspect of proximation that “...is construed as shrinking...” (Sowińska, Proximation section, para. 1). Clinton made this valid by stating, “There is dignity in all work, and there must be dignity for all workers” (“1993 State,” Education section, para. 7). Clinton, through proximation, inferably helped audience members of his State of the Union Address realize how much what occurs in America affects them.

Further, Clinton utilized Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm. There are not many stories within his speech; however, the stories that are told follow elements of Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm which play part in effectively making the points that Clinton is working to communicate through stories. The first element that Fisher (1984) stated, “Humans are essentially storytellers” (as cited by Friedman and Gutgold, p. 6), is present throughout the entirety of the address. Clinton is telling his plan for America and how he came about it (“1993 State,” n.d.), making him a storyteller. He used this to his advantage. Through telling stories, he communicated many points in a simplistic manner. Also, the third element that Fisher presented in Clinton’s Address is:

Rationality is determined by the nature of persons as narrative beings—their inherent awareness of narrative probability, and their constant habit of testing narrative fidelity, (whether the stories they experience ring true with the stories they know to be true in their lives). (as cited by Friedman and Goldman, 2008, p. 6)

This is present in Clinton’s Address when he tells this story:

We have always been a people of youthful energy and daring spirit. And at this historic moment, as communism has fallen, as freedom is spreading around the world, as a global economy is taking shape before our eyes, Americans have called for change – and now it is up to those of us in this room to deliver. (“1993 State,” n.d., para. 5)

In the preceding statement, Clinton made his request rational by comparing it to what Americans have done in the past. He likely chose to tell this story based on rationality.

Also, Fisher stated that Fisher's Narrative Paradigm's fifth element is: "The world is a set of stories which must be chosen among to live the good life (p. 4)" (as cited by Friedman and Goldman, 2008, p. 6). This element is present when Clinton told the audience,

I well remember, twelve years ago Ronald Reagan stood at this podium and told the American people that if our debt were stacked in dollar bills, the stack would reach sixty-seven miles into space. Today, that stack would reach two hundred and sixty-seven miles. ("1993 State," para. 10)

It is inferable that Clinton put much thought into deciding what stories he would embed within his speech. The fact that he chose this story can be interpreted as meaning that he believed that what Fisher described "...the good life" (as cited by Friedman and Goldman, p. 6) would motivate Americans through hearing it. Clinton choosing to use storytelling to help the audience better understand the content of his speech made the speech captivating. It also promoted a better understanding of how the world works.

Also, Clinton utilized policy utterances many times throughout the address. One statement that evidences this is:

Our plan has four fundamental components: First, it reverses our economic decline, by jump-starting the economy in the short term and investing in our people, their jobs and their incomes in the long term. Second, it changes the rhetoric of the past into the actions of the present, by honoring work and families in every part of our lives. Third, it substantially reduces the federal deficit, honestly and credibly. Finally, it earns the trust of the American people by paying for these plans first with cuts in government waste and inefficiency -- cuts, not gimmicks, in government spending -- and by fairness, for a change, in the way the burden is borne. ("1993 State," n.d., Economic section, para. 1)

Clinton allowed the American people to better understand his plan regarding policy. This policy utterance is specifically important because it helped fulfil what many may argue is

the point of a State of the Union Address: to discuss future plans. It is arguable that future plans are the most frequently used type of policy utterance. Another example of this is when Clinton stated,

Our plan includes a tax on energy as the best way to provide us with new revenue to lower the deficit and invest in our people. Moreover, unlike other taxes, this one reduces pollution, increases energy efficiency, and eases our dependence on oil from unstable regions of the world. (“1993 State,” Social Security section, para. 2)

This is a policy utterance regarding future plans which serves to inform the American people of what Clinton plans to do. Policy utterances allow for the American people to better understand what Clinton hopes to do regarding America’s well-being in the future.

When considering the three concepts present within Clinton’s State of the Union Address, it is obvious that the concepts were used effectively. Proximisation allows the audience to feel as if what Clinton is speaking about will directly affect them, which will, in turn, motivate them to act on what he is discussing. Additionally, Clinton following some of the elements of Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm may have engaged the audience to a greater degree and helped them better understand the concepts that he is discussing. Finally, policy utterances are effective because they help explain and prove that Clinton has a plan for America. Clinton and his speechwriters used the concepts mentioned in a noticeably effective manner.

CHAPTER SIX

APOLOGY FOR HUMAN EXPERIENCES (Appendix E)

When someone thinks of a crisis that Clinton faced, it is likely that they think of the scandal that he faced regarding his interactions with Monica Lewinsky and lying about it under oath. However, this did not occur until his second term as president. As a result, it is essential that one works to disregard what they know about the preceding scandal mentioned when considering first term crisis response speeches. A specific image repair speech that occurred during Clinton's first term confronts unethical testing regarding radiation that occurred during the Cold War. The rhetorical situation is unique; Clinton is apologizing for the U.S. government ("Bill Clinton," n.d.). Specifically, he is apologizing even though he did nothing wrong. This is not a typical image repair speech; he is seeking to repair America's image. The exigence is that he is expanding on an issue that he feels the American people should know about. However, he needed to repair America's image while he is doing this. His audience is unique, as well. He is speaking to the public, but more specifically, he is focusing his apology to all who were affected by the unethical tests. These people may request various things to compensate for what they have been put through; this is a constraint in the form of an inartistic proof. The way that Clinton communicates this speech can play a large role in how the people who were influenced by the unethical tests being addressed will react; this is a constraint in the form of an artistic proof. Clinton's image is also at risk in this situation because he is part of the government, and though he did not play any part in the occurrence of these

unethical tests, some people may criticize him for still associating himself with the government and its unethical decisions. This is a constraint in the form of an inartistic proof. Additionally, the image repair strategies that would assist Clinton in bettering the image of the U.S. are limited; he cannot make the government appear in an overly positive way because then people will likely criticize him. The rhetorical situation is unique since Clinton did not personally do anything wrong.

Mortification was present within Clinton's speech. It is inferable that he utilized it on behalf of America because, essentially, Clinton did not do anything wrong. His use of mortification was present when he stated:

So today on behalf of another generation of American leaders and another generation of American citizens, the United States of America offers a sincere apology to those of our citizens who were subjected to these experiments, and to their families, and to their communities. When the government does wrong we have a moral responsibility to admit it. The duty we owe to one another to tell the truth and to protect our civil citizens from excesses like these is one we can never walk away from. ("Bill Clinton," n.d., para. 7)

Clinton gives Americans an apology; though he does not specifically ask for forgiveness, his apologetic motives are obvious. Clinton apologized a second time:

Our government failed in that duty and it offers an apology to the survivors and their families and to all the American people who must, who must, be able to rely upon the United States to keep its word, to tell the truth and to do the right thing. Make no mistake, as the committee report says, there are circumstances where compensation is appropriate as a matter of ethics and principle. I am committed to seeing to it that the United States of America lives up to its responsibility. ("Bill Clinton," para. 8)

In this statement, Clinton made it clear that the government is apologizing ("Bill Clinton"). Through mortification, Clinton apologized to those who were negatively impacted by the government's actions.

Corrective action was another concept present. It is present in Clinton's speech when he said,

Our greatness is measured not only in how we so frequently do right but also how we act when we know we've done the wrong thing. How we confront our mistakes, make our apologies, and take action. That's why this morning I signed an executive order instructing every arm and agency of our government that conducts, supports, or regulates research involving human beings to review immediately their procedures in light of recommendations of this report and the best knowledge and standards today and to report back to me by Christmas. ("Bill Clinton," para. 9)

Clinton's use of corrective action showed that he planned on doing what was in his power to make the wrong that had occurred right or at least the best it can be.

Another concept that Clinton utilized was good intentions. Benoit (2015) stated that the "key characteristic" (p. 56) of good intentions is "meant well" (Benoit, p. 56). Clinton used good intentions in his speech when he stated, "Thousands of government sponsored experiments did take place at hospitals, universities and military bases around our nation. The goal was to understand the effects of radiation exposure on the human body" (stopthecrime.net, n.d.). Because Clinton is not at fault, it is not his job to say that the experimenters had good intentions; if he did, he may be criticized. However, when he hinted at the fact that he worked to do good for the cause of better understanding the tests, he is making America realize that though it is not a good situation, he had intentions to make it a better situation. Good intentions allowed Clinton to perhaps regain the image he had before the speech.

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of this speech. Clinton's use of mortification was thoughtful and kind; however, it did not make up for the unethical tests described. Additionally, corrective action is the most effective concept utilized. This is because it shows a plan to better the situation. Good intentions were effective at making

the image of the U.S. appear more positively. All in all, the concepts utilized were moderately effective.

SECTION SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, one can understand that President Clinton was an extremely competent speaker. He utilized various concepts to better his speeches, which were mostly effective in all major speeches that he presented. Upon analyzing his speeches, it is evident that there are various reoccurring themes within them. First, he used the comedic frame in all of the speeches I analyzed. Comedic frame allowed for Clinton to be seen in a positive light. Because he constantly sought to show Americans that there is a fix to America's problems, he was respected to a great degree. Though this was not directly stated within this research, he used comedic frame to effectively speak to each audience in all of his major speeches. Smith and Voth (2002) enlightened their readers to the fact that "Whereas the tragic frame's ultimate goal is to reinforce the status quo and its order, the comic frame attempts the power of reason to confront and correct social inequality" (p. 112). This is what Clinton does in all of the speeches analyzed. He most effectively did this in his first State of the Union Address. He recognized that there was social inequality in the U.S. Also, he informed the audience members blatantly that there were many things that needed to be changed; he seemed harsh at times. However, he always provided a solution to successfully evoke change. Because he did this, it is inferable that he was well liked by many. Though Clinton was very honest regarding the problems in America, he always found solutions. He seemed to be negative at times during some of his speeches; however, the fact that he utilized comedic frame made them

appear less negative. Next, Clinton is constantly utilizing stories; he told at least one story in each speech analyzed. It is evident that Clinton may feel as if stories could help people better understand a point that someone is trying to make. Through stories, he utilized ethos often. Because he constantly used stories to show America's values, as well as his own, they were better understood by the audience as a whole. This likely appealed to the emotions of audience members. When peoples' emotions are evoked, they are inferably more likely to remember the speech that they hear. Arguably the most successful component of all of the speeches analyzed are policy utterances. Clinton had a wonderful way of ensuring that citizens knew the policies that he believed in and was working for. He also tried very hard to make his audiences understand why he was pursuing certain policies. He did this in all of his speeches. Specifically, in his State of the Union Address, he described his economic plan to an extensive degree (washingtonpost.com, n.d.). However, this was also seen as early as in the first speech analyzed when he announced that he was running for the Democratic nomination. It is likely that policy utterances truly allowed the American people to trust him. Clinton used many rhetorical components within the major speeches analyzed in this paper which contributed to the success that his speeches had.

Limitations

The most evident limitation is that this analysis considers five speeches that Clinton gave either influencing and/or occurring during his first presidential term instead of all that he gave. If given unlimited time to work on this project, I would have loved to expand my research to confront both of his presidential terms. It would have been interesting to analyze both of Clinton's Inaugural Addresses, all of his State of the Union

Addresses, and his rhetoric in response to his interactions with Monica Lewinsky.

However, there is power in solely considering his first term. It is easy to put emphasis on his response to the accusations of his relationship with Lewinsky; as a result, the influence of the rest of his rhetoric can get lost. However, this analysis could have been more powerful if all of Clinton's first term speeches were considered. Next, I was limited by time. If there were 50 hours in a day, this research would likely consider 10 of Clinton's speeches. However, there is not. As a result, this research considers five of his speeches. While I was limited by some things in terms of this research, I still believe that the research completed is powerful.

Questions for Further Research

This project illuminates and defines my studies. My two majors, Political Science and Corporate and Organizational Communication, have brought me to frequently engage in critical thinking. If one is able to critically think, they can succeed in both the political science and communication fields. Throughout my studies, I have considered the effectiveness of a variety of political figures and analyzed rhetoric. My interest in politics, rhetoric, and the simultaneous presence of both will continue. As a result, it would be intriguing to consider three research topics related to the rhetoric of Clinton. First, it would be both interesting and beneficial to take a look specifically at audiences' responses to Clinton's rhetoric. This could be done by collecting both quantitative and qualitative data from people who have experienced Clinton's rhetoric. Additionally, it would be enlightening to complete an analysis on Clinton's rhetoric in regard to the Lewinsky scandal. Finally, I would like to complete a rhetorical analysis of the rhetoric

that Clinton utilized while running for a second presidential term. All three of these topics would be interesting and beneficial to complete research on.

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Appendix A: Announcement Speech (1991)

Below is the transcript of Announcement Speech where he informed that he was running for the democratic nomination for president. Presidency.ucsb.edu (n.d.) informed:

“Thank you all for being here today, for your friendship and support, for giving me the opportunity to serve as your Governor for 11 years, for filling my life full of blessings beyond anything I ever deserved.

I want to thank especially Hillary and Chelsea for taking this big step in our life's journey together. Hillary, for being my wife, my friend, and my partner in our efforts to build a better future for the children and families of Arkansas and America. Chelsea, in ways she is only now coming to understand, has been our constant joy and reminder of what our public efforts are really all about: a better life for all who will work for it, a better future for the next generation.

All of you, in different ways, have brought me here today, to step beyond a life and a job I love, to make a commitment to a larger cause: Preserving the American Dream ... Restoring the hopes of the forgotten middle class... Reclaiming the future for our children.

I refuse to be part of a generation that celebrates the death of Communism abroad with the loss of the American Dream at home.

I refuse to be part of a generation that fails to compete in the global economy and so condemns hard-working Americans to a life of struggle without reward or security.

That is why I stand here today...because I refuse to stand by and let our children become part of the first generation to do worse than their parents. I don't want my child or your child to be part of a country that's coming apart instead of coming together.

Over 25 years ago, I had a professor at Georgetown who taught me that America was the greatest country in history because our people believed in and acted on two simple ideas: first, that the future can be better than the present; and second, that each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.

That fundamental truth has guided my public career, and brings me here today. It is what we've devoted ourselves to here in Arkansas. I'm proud of what we've done here in Arkansas together. Proud of the work we've done to become a laboratory of democracy and innovation. And proud that we've done it without giving up the things we cherish and honor most about our way of life. Solid,

middle-class values of work, Will, family, individual responsibility, and community.

As I've traveled across our state, I've found that everything we believe in, everything we've fought for, is threatened by an administration that refuses to take care of our own, has turned its back on the middle class, and is afraid to change while the world is changing.

The historic events in the Soviet Union in recent months teach us an important lesson: National security begins at home. For the Soviet Empire never lost to us on the field of battle. Their system rotted from the inside out, from economic, political and spiritual failure.

To be sure, the collapse of communism requires a new national security policy. I applaud the President's recent initiative in reducing nuclear weapons. It is an important beginning. But make no mistake - the end of the Cold War is not the end of threats to America. The world is still a dangerous and uncertain place. The first and most solemn obligation of the president is to keep America strong and safe from foreign dangers, and promote democracy around the world.

But we cannot build a safe and secure world unless we can first make America strong at home. It is our ability to take care of our own at home that gives us the strength to stand up for what we believe around the world.

As governor for 11 years, working to preserve and create jobs in a global economy, I know our competition for the future is Germany and the rest of Europe, Japan and the rest of Asia. And I know that we are losing America's leadership in the world because we're losing the American dream right here at home.

Middle class people are spending more hours on the job, spending less time with their children, bringing home a smaller paycheck to pay more for health care and housing and education. Our streets are meaner, our families are broken, our health care is the costliest in the world and we get less for it.

The country is headed in the wrong direction fast, slipping behind, losing our way...and all we have out of Washington is status quo paralysis. No vision, no action. Just neglect, selfishness, and division.

For 12 years, Republicans have tried to divide us - race against race - so we get mad at each other and not at them. They want us to look at each other across a racial divide so we don't turn and look to the White House and ask, why are all of our incomes going down, why are all of us losing jobs? Why are we losing our future?

Where I come from we know about race-baiting. They've used it to divide us for years. I know this tactic well and I'm not going to let them get away with it.

For 12 years, the Republicans have talked about choice without really believing in it. George Bush says he wants school choice even if it bankrupts the public schools, and yet he's more than willing to make it a crime for the women of America to exercise their individual right to choose.

For 12 years, the Republicans have been telling us that America's problems aren't their problem. They washed their hands of responsibility for the economy and education and health care and social policy and turned it over to fifty states and a thousand points of light. Well, here in Arkansas we've done our best to create jobs and educate our people. And each of us has tried to be one of those thousand points of light. But I can tell you, where there is no national vision, no national partnership, no national leadership, a thousand points of light leaves a lot of darkness.

We must provide the answers...the solutions. And we will. We're going to turn this country around and get it moving again, and we're going to fight for the hard-working middle-class families of America for a change.

Make no mistake - this election is about change: in our party, in our national leadership, and in our country.

And we're not going to get positive change just by Bush-bashing. We have to do a better job of the old-fashioned work of confronting the real problems of real people and pointing the way to a better future. That is our challenge in 1992.

Today, as we stand on the threshold of a new era, a new millennium, I believe we need a new kind of leadership, leadership committed to change. Leadership not mired in the politics of the past, not limited by old ideologies...Proven leadership that knows how to reinvent government to help solve the real problem of real people.

That is why today I am declaring my candidacy for President of the United States. Together I believe we can provide leadership that will restore the American dream - that will fight for the forgotten middle class - that will provide more opportunity, insist on more responsibility and create a greater sense of community for this great country.

The change we must make isn't liberal or conservative. It's both, and it's different. The small towns and main streets of America aren't like the corridors and backrooms of Washington. People out here don't care about the idle rhetoric of "left" and "right" and "liberal" and "conservative" and all the other words that have made our politics a substitute for action. These families are crying out

desperately for someone who believes the promise of America is to help them with their struggle to get ahead, to offer them a green light instead of a pink slip.

This must be a campaign of ideas, not slogans. We don't need another President who doesn't know what he wants to do for America. I'm going to tell you in plain language what I intend to do as President. How we can meet the challenges we face - that's the test for all the Democratic candidates in this campaign. Americans know what we're against Let's show them what we're for.

We need a new covenant to rebuild America. It's just common sense. Government's responsibility is to create more opportunity. The people's responsibility is to make the most of it.

In a Clinton Administration, we are going to create opportunity for all. We've got to grow this economy, not shrink it. We need to give people Incentives to make long-term investment in America and reward people who produce goods and services, not those who speculate with other people's money. We've got to invest more money in emerging technologies to help keep high-paying jobs here at home. We've got to convert from a defense to a domestic economy.

We've got to expand world trade, tear down barriers, but demand fair trade policies if we're going to provide good jobs for our people. The American people don't want to run from the world. We must meet the competition and win.

Opportunity for all means world-class skills and world-class education. We need more than photo ops and empty rhetoric - we need standards and accountability and excellence in education. On this issue, I'm proud to say that Arkansas has led the way.

In a Clinton Administration, students and parents and teachers will get a real education President.

Opportunity for all means pre-school for every child who needs it, and an apprenticeship program for kids who don't want to go to college but do want good jobs. It means teaching everybody with a job to read, and passing a domestic GI Bill that would give every young American the chance to borrow the money necessary to go to college and ask them to pay it back either as a small percentage of their income over time, or through national service as teachers or policemen or nurses or child care workers.

In. a Clinton Administration, everyone will be able to get a college loan as long as they're willing to give something back to their country In return.

Opportunity for all means reforming the health care system to control costs, improve quality, expand preventive and long-term care, maintain consumer choice, and cover everybody. And we don't have to bankrupt the taxpayers to do

it. We do have to take on the big insurance companies and health care bureaucracies and get some real cost control into the system. I pledge to the American people that in the first year of a Clinton Administration, we will present a plan to Congress and the American people to provide affordable, quality health care for all Americans.

Opportunity for all means making our cities and our streets safe from crime and drugs. Across America, citizens are banding together to take their streets and neighborhoods back. In a Clinton Administration, we'll be on their side with new initiatives like community policing, drug treatment for those who need it, and boot camps for first-time offenders.

Opportunity for all means making taxes fair. I'm not out to soak the rich. I wouldn't mind being rich. But I do believe the rich should pay their fair share. For 12 years, the Republicans have raised taxes on the middle class. It's time to give the middle class tax relief.

Finally, opportunity for all means we must protect our environment and develop an energy policy that relies more on conservation and clean natural gas so all our children will inherit a world that is cleaner, safer, and more beautiful.

But hear me now. I honestly believe that if we try to do these things, we will still not solve the problems of today or move into the next century with confidence unless we do what President Kennedy did and ask every American citizen to assume personal responsibility for the future of our country.

The government owes our people more opportunity, but we all have to make the most of it through responsible citizenship.

We should insist that people move off welfare rolls and onto work rolls. We should give people on welfare the skills they need to succeed, but we should demand that everybody who can work and become a productive member of society.

We should insist on the toughest possible child support enforcement. Governments don't raise children, parents do. And when they don't, their children pay forever and so do we.

And we have got to say, as we've tried to do in Arkansas, that students have a responsibility to stay in school. If you drop out for no good reason, you should lose your driver's license. But its important to remember that the most irresponsible people of all in the 1980s were those at the top...not those who were doing worse, not the hard-working middle class, but those who sold out our savings and loans with bad deals and spent billions on wasteful takeovers and mergers - money that could have been spent to create better products and new jobs.

Do you know that in the 1980s, while middle-class income went down, charitable giving by working people went up? And while rich peoples incomes went up, charitable giving by the wealthy went down. Why? Because our leaders had an ethic of get it while you can and to heck with everybody else.

How can you ask people who work or who are poor to behave responsibly, when they know that the heads of our biggest companies raised their own pay in the last decade by four times the percentage their workers' pay went up? Three times as much as their profits went up. When they ran their companies into the ground and their employees were on the street, what did they do? They bailed out with golden parachutes to a cushy life. That's just wrong.

Teddy Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy didn't hesitate to use the bully pulpit of the Presidency. They changed America by standing up for what's right. When Salomon Brothers abused the Treasury markets, the President was silent. When the rip-off artists looted our S&L's the President Was Silent. In a Clinton Administration, when people sell their companies and their workers and their country down the river, they'll get called on the carpet. We're going to insist that they invest In this country and create jobs for our people.

In the 1980s, Washington failed us too. We spent more money on the present and the past and less on the future. We spent \$500 billion to recycle assets in the S&L mess, but we couldn't afford \$5 billion for unemployed workers or to give every kid in this country the chance to be in Head Start. We can do better than that, and we will.

A Clinton Administration won't spend our money on programs that don't solve problems and a government that doesn't work. I want to reinvent government to make it more efficient and more effective. I want to give citizens more choices in the services they get, and empower them to make those choices. That's what we've tried to do in Arkansas. We've balanced the budget every year and improved services. We've treated taxpayers like our customers and our bosses, because they are.

I want the American people to know that a Clinton Administration will defend our national interests abroad, put their values into our social policy at home, and spend their tax money with discipline. Well put government back on the side of the hard-working middle-class families of America who think most of the help goes to those at the top of the ladder, some goes to the bottom, and no one speaks for them.

But we need more than new laws, new promises, or new program. We need a new spirit of community, a sense that we are all in this together. If we have no sense of community the American dream will continue to wither. Our destiny is bound up

with the destiny of every other American. Were all in this together, and we will rise or fail together.

A few years ago, Hillary and I visited a classroom in Los Angeles, in an area plagued by drugs and gangs. We talked to a dozen sixth graders, whose number one concern was being shot going to and from school. Their second worry was turning 12 or 13 and being forced to join a gang or be beaten. And finally, they were worried about their own parents' drug abuse.

Newly half a century ago, I was born not far from here in Hope, Arkansas. My mother had been widowed three months before I was born. I was raised for four years by my grandparents, while she went back to nursing school. They didn't have much money. I spent a lot of time with my great-grandparents. By any standard, they were poor. But we didn't blame other people. We took responsibility for ourselves and for each other because we knew we could do better. I was raised to believe in the American dream, in family values, in individual responsibility, and in the obligation of government to help people who were doing the best they could.

It's a long way in America from that loving family which is embodied today in a picture on my wall in the Governor's office of me at the age of six holding my great-grandfather's hand to an America where children on the streets of our cities don't know who their grandparents are and have to worry about their own parents' drug abuse.

I tell you, by making common cause with those children, we give new life to the American dream. And that is our generation's responsibility - to form a new covenant... more opportunity for all, more responsibility from everyone, and a greater sense of common purpose.

I believe with all my heart that together, we can make this happen. We can usher in a new era of progress, prosperity and renewal. We can – we must. This is not just a campaign for the Presidency – it is a campaign for the future, for the forgotten hard-working middle class families of America who deserve a government that fights for them. A campaign to keep America strong at home and around the world. Join with us. I ask for your prayers, your help, your hands, and your hearts. Together we can make America great again, and build a community of hope that will inspire the world” (para. 1-56)

Appendix B: Democratic Nomination Acceptance Speech (1993)

Below is the transcript of Clinton's Democratic Nomination Acceptance Speech that was in the print archive of The Time's.

"Governor Richards, Chairman Brown, Mayor Dinkins, our great host, my fellow delegates and my fellow Americans.

I am so proud of Al Gore. He said he came here tonight because he always wanted to do the warm-up for Elvis. Well, I ran for President this year for one reason and one reason only: I wanted to come back to this convention and finish that speech I started four years ago.

Last night, Mario Cuomo taught us how a real nominating speech should be given. He also made it clear why we have to steer our ship of state on a new course.

Tonight I want to talk with you about my hope for the future, my faith in the American people, and my vision of the kind of country we can build, together.

I salute the good men who were my companions on the campaign trail: Tom Harkin, Bob Kerrey, Doug Wilder, Jerry Brown and Paul Tsongas. One sentence in the platform we built says it all: "The most important family policy, urban policy, labor policy, minority policy and foreign policy America can have is an expanding, entrepreneurial economy of high-wage, high-skill jobs."

And so, in the name of all those who do the work, pay the taxes, raise the kids and play by the rules -- in the name of the hard-working Americans who make up our forgotten middle class, I proudly accept your nomination for Presidency of the United States.

I am a product of that middle class. And when I am President you will be forgotten no more.

We meet at a special moment in history, you and I. The cold war is over; Soviet Communism has collapsed, and our values -- freedom, democracy, individual rights, free enterprise -- they have triumphed all around the world. And yet just as we have won the cold war abroad, we are losing the battles for economic opportunity and social justice here at home. Now that we have changed the world, it's time to change America.

I have news for the forces of greed and the defenders of the status quo: your time has come -- and gone. It's time for a change in America.

Tonight, 10 million of our fellow Americans are out of work. Tens of millions more work harder for lower pay. The incumbent President says unemployment always goes up a little before a recovery begins. But unemployment only has to go up by one more person before a real recovery can begin -- and Mr. President, you are that man.

This election is about putting power back in your hands and putting government back on your side. It's about putting people first.

You know, I've said that all across America. And whenever I do, someone comes back at me, as a young man did just this week at a town meeting at the Henry Street Settlement on the Lower East Side of Manhattan: He said: "That sounds good, Bill. But you're a politician. Why should I trust you?" Taught to Fight and Unify By Mother and Grandfather

Tonight, as plainly as I can, I want to tell you who I am, what I believe and where I want to lead America.

I never met my father.

He was killed in a car wreck on a rainy road three months before I was born, driving home from Chicago to Arkansas to see my mother.

After that, my mother had to support us. So we lived with my grandparents while she went away to Louisiana to study nursing .

I can still see her clearly tonight through the eyes of a 3-year-old: kneeling at the railroad station and weeping as she put me back on the train to Arkansas with my grandmother. She endured that pain because she knew her sacrifice was the only way she could support me and give me a better life.

My mother taught me. She taught me about family and hard work and sacrifice. She held steady through tragedy after tragedy. And she held our family, my brother and I, together through tough times. As a child, I watched her go off to work each day at a time when it wasn't always easy to be a working mother.

As an adult, I've watched her fight off breast cancer. And again she has taught me a lesson in courage. And always, always she taught me to fight.

That's why I'll fight to create high-paying jobs so that parents can afford to raise their children today. That's why I'm so committed to make sure every American gets the health care that saved my mother's life. And that women's health care gets the same attention as men's. That's why I'll fight to make sure women in this country receive respect and dignity -- whether they work in the home, out of the home, or both. You want to know where I get my fighting spirit? It all started with my mother. Thank you, Mother. I love you.

When I think about opportunity for all Americans, I think about my grandfather.

He ran a country store in our little town of Hope. There were no food stamps back then, so when his customers -- whether they were white or black -- who worked hard and did the best they could came in with no money, well, he gave them food anyway. Just made a note of it. So did I. Before I was big enough to see over the counter, I learned from him to look up to people other folks looked down on.

My grandfather just had a high-school education -- a grade-school education. But in that country store he taught me more about equality in the eyes of the Lord than all my professors at Georgetown; more about the intrinsic worth of every individual than all the philosophers at Oxford, more about the need for equal justice under the law than all the jurists at Yale Law School.

If you want to know where I come by the passionate commitment that I have to bringing people together without regard to race, it all started with my grandfather.
Building an America That Values Every Family

I learned a lot from another person, too. A person who for more than 20 years has worked hard to help our children. Paying the price of time to make sure our schools don't fail them. Someone who traveled our state for a year. Studying, learning, listening. Going to PTA meetings, school board meetings, town hall meetings. Putting together a package of school reforms recognized around the nation. Doing it all while building a distinguished legal career and being a wonderful loving mother.

That person is my wife.

Hillary taught me. She taught me that all children can learn, and that each of us has a duty to help them do it. So if you want to know why I care so much about our children and our future, it all started with Hillary. I love you.

Frankly, I'm fed up with politicians in Washington lecturing the rest of us about "family values." Our families have values. But our Government doesn't.

I want an America where "family values" live in our actions, not just in our speeches. An America that includes every family. Every traditional family and every extended family. Every two-parent family, every single-parent family, and every foster family. Every family.

I do want to say something to the fathers in this country who have chosen to abandon their children by neglecting their child support: Take responsibility for your children or we will force you to do so. Because governments don't raise children; parents do. And you should.

And I want to say something to every child in America tonight who's out there trying to grow up without a father or a mother: I know how you feel. You're special, too. You matter to America. And don't you ever let anybody tell you you

can't become whatever you want to be. And if other politicians make you feel like you're not a part of their family, come on and be part of ours. Putting People Back to Work and America Back in Front

The thing that makes me angriest about what's gone wrong in the last 12 years is that our Government has lost touch with our values, while our politicians continue to shout about them. I'm tired of it.

I was raised to believe the American dream was built on rewarding hard work. But we have seen the folks in Washington turn the American ethic on its head. For too long, those who play by the rules and keep the faith have gotten the shaft. And those who cut corners and cut deals have been rewarded. People are working harder than ever, spending less time with their children, working nights and weekends at their job instead of going to PTA and Little League or Scouts, and their incomes are still going down, their taxes are going up, and the cost of health care, housing and education are going through the roof. Meanwhile, more and more of our best people are falling into poverty -- even though they work 40 hours a week.

Our people are pleading for change, but government is in the way. It's been hijacked by privileged, private interests. It's forgotten who really pays the bills around here. It's taking more of your money and giving you less in service.

We have got to go beyond the brain-dead politics in Washington and give our people the kind of government they deserve: a government that works for them.

A President ought to be a powerful force for progress. But right now I know how President Lincoln felt when General McClellan wouldn't attack in the Civil War. He asked him, "If you're not going to use your army, may I borrow it?" And so I say, George Bush, if you won't use your power to help America, step aside. I will.

Our country is falling behind. The President is caught in the grip of a failed economic theory. We have gone from first to 13th in the world in wages since Reagan and Bush have been in office. Four years ago, candidate Bush said America is a special place, not just "another pleasant country somewhere on the U.N. roll call, between Albania and Zimbabwe." Now, under President Bush, America has an unpleasant economy stuck somewhere between Germany and Sri Lanka. And for most Americans, Mr. President, life's a lot less kind and a lot less gentle than it was before your Administration took office.

Our country has fallen so far, so fast, that just a few months ago the Japanese Prime Minister actually said he felt "sympathy" for the United States. Sympathy! When I am your President, the rest, the rest of the world won't look down on us with pity but up to us with respect again.

What is George Bush doing about our ca's economic problems?

Well, four years ago he promised 15 million new jobs by this time, and he's over 14 million short. Al Gore and I can do better.

He has raised taxes on the people driving pickup trucks and lowered taxes on the people riding in limousines. We can do better.

He promised to balance the budget, but he hasn't even tried. In fact, the budgets he has submitted to Congress nearly doubled the debt. Even worse, he wasted billions and reduced our investments in education and jobs. We can do better.

So if you are sick and tired of a Government that doesn't work to create jobs, if you're sick and tired of a tax system that's stacked against you, if you're sick and tired of exploding debt and reduced investments in our future, or if, like the great civil rights pioneer Fannie Lou Hamer you're just plain old sick and tired of being sick and tired, then join us, work with us, win with us -- and we can make our country the country it was meant to be. Vowing to Accomplish What Bush Has Not

Now George Bush talks a good game. But he has no game plan to rebuild America, from the cities to the suburbs to the countryside so that we can compete and win again in the global economy. I do.

He won't take on the big insurance companies and the bureaucracies to control health costs and give us affordable health care for all Americans, but I will.

He won't even implement the recommendations of his own Commission on AIDS, but I will.

He won't streamline the Federal Government and change the way it works; cut 100,000 bureaucrats and put 100,000 new police officers on the streets of American cities, but I will.

He's never balanced a government budget, but I have. Eleven times.

He won't break the stranglehold the special interests have on our elections and the lobbyists have on our government, but I will.

He won't give mothers and fathers the simple chance to take some time off from work when a baby is born or a parent is sick, but I will.

We're losing our farms at a rapid rate and he has no commitment to keep family farms in the family, but I do.

He's talked a lot about drugs, but he hasn't helped people on the front line to wage that war on drugs and crime, but I will.

He won't take the lead in protecting the environment and creating new jobs in environmental technologies for the 21st century, but I will.

And you know what else? He doesn't have Al Gore, and I do.

Just in case -- just in case you didn't notice, that's Gore with an 'e' on the end.

And George Bush -- George Bush won't guarantee a woman's right to choose. I will. Hear me now: I am not pro-abortion. I am pro-choice, strongly. I believe this difficult and painful decision should be left to the women of America. I hope the right to privacy can be protected and we will never again have to discuss this issue on political platforms. But I am old enough to remember what it was like before *Roe v. Wade*, and I do not want to return to the time when we made criminals of women and their doctors.

Jobs. Education. Health care. These are not just commitments from my lips. They are the work of my life.

Our priorities must be clear: we will put our people first again. But priorities without a clear plan of action are just empty words. To turn our rhetoric into reality we've got to change the way Government does business, fundamentally. Until we do, we'll still be pouring billions of dollars right down the drain.
Envisioning Change Within Party and Nation

The Republicans have campaigned against big government for a generation. But have you noticed? They've run this big government for a generation, and they haven't changed a thing. They don't want to fix government, they still want to campaign against it, and that's all.

But, my fellow Democrats, it's time for us to realize that we've got some changing to do, too. There is not a program in government for every problem. And if we really want to use government to help people, we have got to make it work again.

Because we are committed in this convention and in this platform to making these changes, we are as Democrats, in the words that Ross Perot himself spoke today, a revitalized Democratic Party. I am well aware that all those millions of people who rallied to Ross Perot's cause wanted to be in an army of patriots for change. Tonight I say to them: join us, and together we will revitalize America.

Now, I don't have all the answers. But I do know the old ways don't work. Trickle down economics has sure failed. And big bureaucracies, both public and private, they've failed too.

That's why we need a new approach to government. A government that offers more empowerment and less entitlement, more choices for young people in the schools they attend, in the public schools they attend. And more choices for the elderly and for people with disabilities in long-term care they receive. A government that is leaner, not meaner, a government that expands opportunity, not bureaucracy, a government that understands that jobs must come from growth in a vibrant and vital system of free enterprise. I call this approach a New

Covenant, a solemn agreement between the people and their government, based not simply on what each of us can take, but what all of us must give to our nation.

We offer our people a new choice based on old values. We offer opportunity. We demand responsibility. We will build an American community again. The choice we offer is not conservative or liberal; in many ways it's not even Republican or Democratic. It's different. It's new. And it will work.

It will work because it is rooted in the vision and the values of the American people. Of all the things George Bush has ever said that I disagree with, perhaps the thing that bothers me most is how he derides and degrades the American tradition of seeing and seeking a better future. He mocks it as "the vision thing." But just remember what the Scripture says: "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

I hope, I hope nobody in this great hall tonight or in our beloved country has to go through tomorrow without a vision. I hope no one ever tries to raise a child without a vision. I hope nobody ever starts a business or plants a crop in the ground without a vision. For where there is no vision, the people perish.

One of the reasons we have so many children in so much trouble in so many places in this nation is because they have seen so little opportunity, so little responsibility, so little loving, caring community that they literally cannot imagine the of life we are calling them to lead. And so I say again: Where there is no vision, America will perish. Offering a New Covenant Based on Responsibility

What is the vision of our New Covenant?

An America with millions of new jobs and dozens of new industries moving confidently toward the 21st Century. An America that says to entrepreneurs and business people: We will give you more incentives and more opportunity than ever before to develop the skills of your workers and create American jobs and American wealth in the new global economy. But you must do your part: you must be responsible. American companies must act like American companies again -- exporting products, not jobs. That's what this New Covenant is all about.

An America in which the doors of college are thrown open once again to the sons and daughters of stenographers and steelworkers. We'll say: Everybody can borrow the money to go to college. But you must do your part. You must pay it back, from your paychecks, or better yet, by going back home and serving your communities. Just think of it. Think of it: millions of energetic young men and women, serving their country by policing the streets, or teaching the children, or caring for the sick, or working with the elderly and people with disabilities, or helping young people stay off drugs and out of gangs, giving us all a sense of new hope and limitless possibilities. That's what this New Covenant is all about.

An America in which health care is a right, not a privilege. In which we say to all our people: Your government has the courage, finally, to take on the health care

profiteers and make health care affordable for every family. But you must do your part: preventive care, prenatal care, childhood immunization; saving lives, saving money, saving families from heartbreak. That's what the New Covenant is all about.

An America in which middle-class incomes -- not middle-class taxes -- are going up. An America, yes, in which the wealthiest few, those making over \$200,000 a year, are asked to pay their fair share. An America in which the rich are not soaked -- but the middle class is not drowned, either. Responsibility starts at the top; that's what the New Covenant is all about.

An America where we end welfare as we know it. We will say to those on welfare: "You will have, and you deserve, the opportunity, through training and education, through child care and medical coverage, to liberate yourself.

But then, when you can, you must work, because welfare should be a second chance, not a way of life. That's what the New Covenant is all about.

An America with the world's strongest defense, ready and willing to use force, when necessary. An America at the forefront of the global effort to preserve and protect our common environment, and promoting global growth. An America that will not coddle tyrants, from Baghdad to Beijing. An America that champions the cause of freedom and democracy, from Eastern Europe to Southern Africa, and in our own hemisphere in Haiti and Cuba.

The end of the cold war permits us to reduce defense spending while still maintaining the strongest defense in the world. But we must plow back every dollar of defense cuts into building American jobs right here at home. I know well that the world needs a strong America, but we have learned that strength begins at home. But the New Covenant is about more than opportunities and responsibilities for you and your families. It's also about our common community.

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Tonight, every one of you knows deep in your heart that we are too divided.
Rejecting Idea of 'Them,' With Arkansas as Model

It is time to heal America.

And so we must say to every American: Look beyond the stereotypes that blind us. We need each other. All of us -- we need each other. We don't have a person to waste. And yet for too long politicians have told the most of us that are doing all right that what's really wrong with America is the rest of us. Them. Them, the minorities. Them, the liberals. Them, the poor. Them, the homeless. Them, the people with disabilities. Them, the gays. We've gotten to where we've nearly themed ourselves to death. Them and them and them. But this is America. There is no them; there's only us. One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty, and justice, for all. That is our Pledge of Allegiance, and that's what the New Covenant is all about.

How do I know we can come together and make change happen? Because I have seen it in my own state. In Arkansas we're working together and we're making progress. No, there's no Arkansas miracle. But there are a lot of miraculous people. And because of them, our schools are better, our wages are higher, our factories are busier, our water is cleaner and our budget is balanced. We're moving ahead.

I wish, I wish I could say the same thing about America under the incumbent President. He took the richest country in the world and brought it down. We took one of the poorest states in America and lifted it up.

And so I say to all those in this campaign season who would criticize Arkansas: Come on down. Especially, especially if you're from Washington, come on down. Sure, you'll see us struggling against some of the problems we haven't solved yet. But you'll also see a lot of great people doing amazing things. And you might even learn a thing or two.

In the end, my fellow Americans, this New Covenant simply asks us all to be Americans again. Old-fashioned Americans for a new time. Opportunity. Responsibility. Community. When we pull together, America will pull ahead. Throughout the whole history of this country, we have seen time and time and time again when we are united, we are unstoppable. We can seize this moment, make it exciting and energizing and heroic to be an American again. We can renew our faith in each other and in ourselves. We can restore our sense of unity and community. As the Scripture says, our eyes have not yet seen, nor our ears heard nor our minds imagined what we can build.

But I, I can't do this alone. No President can. We must do it together. It won't be easy, and it won't be quick. We didn't get into this mess overnight, and we won't get out of it overnight. But we can do it, with commitment, creativity, diversity and drive. We can do it. We can do it. We can do it. We can do it. We can do it. We can do it. We can do it.

I want every person in this hall and every person in this land to reach out and join us in a great new adventure to chart a bold new future. Giving Children a Future Of Boundless Hope

As a teen-ager I heard John Kennedy's summons to citizenship. And then, as a student at Georgetown, I heard that call clarified by a professor named Carroll Quigley, who said to us that America was the greatest nation in the history because our people have always believed in two things: that tomorrow can be better than today, and that every one of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.

That, that kind of future entered my life the night our daughter Chelsea was born. As I stood in the delivery room, I was overcome with the thought that God had

given me a blessing my own father never knew: the chance to hold my child in my arms.

Somewhere at this very moment, a child is being born in America. Let it be our cause to give that child a happy home, a healthy family and a hopeful future. Let it be our cause to see that that child has a chance to live to the fullest of her God-given capacities. Let it, let it be our cause to see that child grow up strong and secure, braced by her challenges, but never struggling alone; with family and friends and a faith that in America, no one is left out; no one is left behind.

Let it be, let it be our cause that when this child is able, she gives something back to her children, her community and her country. Let it be our cause that we give this child a country that is coming together, not coming apart, a country of boundless hopes and endless dreams, a country that once again lifts its people and inspires the world.

Let that be our cause, our commitment and our New Covenant.

My fellow Americans, I end tonight where it all began for me: I still believe in a place called Hope.

God bless you, and God bless America. ("IN THEIR," n.d., para. 1-108)

Appendix C: Innaugural Address (1993)

Below is the manuscript of Clinton's 1993 Innaugural Address that was in the print archive of The Time's:

“My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we marched to the music of our time, our mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.

On behalf of our Nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism.

Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the cold war assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our own people.

When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world. Communications and commerce are global. Investment is mobile. Technology is almost magical. And ambition for a better life is now universal.

We earn our livelihood in America today in peaceful competition with people all across the Earth. Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world. And the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.

We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps, but we have not done so; instead, we have drifted. And that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.

Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. And so today we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun.

To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children.

Our Founders saw themselves in the light of posterity. We can do no less. Anyone who has ever watched a child's eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to come: the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility. We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility from all. It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing from our Government or from each other. Let us all take more responsibility not only for ourselves and our families but for our communities and our country.

To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy. This beautiful Capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way. Americans deserve better. And in this city today there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of you here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home. There is no longer a clear division between what is foreign and what is domestic. The world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race: they affect us all. Today, as an older order passes, the new world is more free but less stable. Communism's collapse has called forth old animosities and new dangers. Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.

While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges nor fail to seize the opportunities of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us. When our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary. The brave Americans serving our Nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve. But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause.

The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the Presidency, and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring. Now we must do the work the season demands. To that work I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone.

My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service: to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done; enough, indeed, for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too. In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth: We need each other, and we must care for one another.

Today we do more than celebrate America. We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution and renewed through two centuries of challenge; an idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we, the fortunate, and the unfortunate might have been each other; an idea ennobled by the faith that our Nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity; an idea infused with the conviction that America's long, heroic journey must go forever upward.

And so, my fellow Americans, as we stand at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin anew with energy and hope, with faith and discipline. And let us work until our work is done. The Scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." From this joyful mountaintop of

celebration we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our own way and with God's help, we must answer the call.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Peters and Woolley, n.d., para. 1-17)

Appendix D: State of the Union Address

Below is the manuscript from Clinton's 1993 State of the Union Address from the Washington Post:

"Mr. President, Mr. Speaker:

When Presidents speak to the Congress and the nation from this podium, they typically comment on the full range of challenges and opportunities that face us. But these are not ordinary times. For all the many tasks that require our attention, one calls on us to focus, unite, and act. Together, we must make our economy thrive once again.

It has been too long – at least three decades – since a President has challenged Americans to join him on our great national journey, not merely to consume the bounty of today but to invest for a much greater one tomorrow.

Nations, like individuals, must ultimately decide how they wish to conduct themselves – how they wish to be thought of by those with whom they live, and, later, how they wish to be judged by history. Like every man and woman, they must decide whether they are prepared to rise to the occasions history presents them.

We have always been a people of youthful energy and daring spirit. And at this historic moment, as communism has fallen, as freedom is spreading around the world, as a global economy is taking shape before our eyes, Americans have called for change – and now it is up to those of us in this room to deliver.

Our nation needs a new direction. Tonight, I present to you our comprehensive plan to set our nation on that new course.

I believe we will find our new direction in the basic values that brought us here: opportunity, individual responsibility, community, work, family, and faith. We need to break the old habits of both political parties in Washington. We must say that there can be no more something for nothing, and we are all in this together.

The conditions which brought us to this point are well known. Two decades of low productivity and stagnant wages; persistent unemployment and underemployment; years of huge government deficits and declining investment in our future; exploding health care costs, and lack of coverage; legions of poor children; educational and job training opportunities inadequate to the demands of a high wage, high growth economy. For too long we drifted without a strong sense of purpose, responsibility or community, and our political system too often

was paralyzed by special interest groups, partisan bickering and the sheer complexity of our problems.

I know we can do better, because ours remains the greatest nation on earth, the world's strongest economy, and the world's only military superpower. If we have the vision, the will and the heart to make the changes we must, we will enter the 21st century with possibilities our parents could not even have imagined, having secured the American dream for ourselves and future generations.

I well remember, twelve years ago Ronald Reagan stood at this podium and told the American people that if our debt were stacked in dollar bills, the stack would reach sixty-seven miles into space. Today, that stack would reach two hundred and sixty-seven miles.

I tell you this not to assign blame for this problem. There is plenty of blame to go around – in both branches of the government and both parties. The time for blame has come to an end. I came here to accept responsibility; I want you to accept responsibility for the future of this country, and if we do it right, I don't care who gets the credit for it.

Economic Plan

Our plan has four fundamental components: First, it reverses our economic decline, by jump-starting the economy in the short term and investing in our people, their jobs and their incomes in the long term.

Second, it changes the rhetoric of the past into the actions of the present, by honoring work and families in every part of our lives.

Third, it substantially reduces the federal deficit, honestly and credibly.

Finally, it earns the trust of the American people by paying for these plans first with cuts in government waste and inefficiency -- cuts, not gimmicks, in government spending – and by fairness, for a change, in the way the burden is borne.

Tonight, I want to talk about what government can do, because I believe our government must do more for the hard-working people who pay its way. But let me say first: government cannot do this alone. The private sector is the engine of economic growth in America. And every one of us can be an engine of change in our own lives. We've got to give people more opportunity, but we must also demand more responsibility in return.

Creating Jobs

Our immediate priority is to create jobs, now. Some say we're in a recovery. Well, we all hope so. But we're simply not creating jobs. And there is no recovery worth its salt that does not begin with new jobs.

To create jobs and guarantee a strong recovery, I call on Congress to enact an immediate jobs package of over 30 billion dollars. We will put people to work right now and create half a million jobs: jobs that will rebuild our highways and airports, renovate housing, bring new life to our rural towns, and spread hope and opportunity among our nation's youth with almost 700,000 jobs for them this summer alone. And I invite America's business leaders to join us in this effort, so that together we can create a million summer jobs in cities and poor rural areas for our young people.

Second, our plan looks beyond today's business cycle, because our aspirations extend into the next century. The heart of our plan deals with the long term. It has an investment program designed to increase public and private investment in areas critical to our economic future. And it has a deficit reduction program that will increase savings available for private sector investment, lower interest rates, decrease the percentage of the federal budget claimed by interest payments, and decrease the risk of financial market disruptions that could adversely affect the economy.

Over the long run, all this should result in a higher rate of economic growth, improved productivity, higher wages, more high- quality jobs and an improved economic competitive position in the global economy.

In order to accomplish public investment and deficit reduction, government spending is being cut and taxes are being increased. Our spending cuts were carefully thought through to try to minimize any economic impact, to capture the peace dividend for investment purposes, and to switch the balance in the budget from consumption to investment. The tax increases and spending cuts were both designed to assure that the cost of this historic program to face and deal with our problems is borne by those who could most readily afford that cost.

Our plan is designed to improve the health of American business through lower interest rates, improved infrastructure, better trained workers, and a stronger middle class. Because small businesses generate most of our nation's jobs, our plan includes the boldest targeted incentives for small business in history. We propose a permanent investment tax credit for small business, and new rewards for entrepreneurs who take risks. We will give small business access to the brilliant technologies of our time and to the credit they need to prosper and flourish.

With a new network of community development banks, and one billion dollars to make the dream of enterprise zones real, we will begin to bring new hope and new

jobs to storefronts and factories from South Boston to South Texas to south-central Los Angeles.

Our plan invests in our roads, bridges, transit facilities; in high-speed railways and high-tech information systems; and in the most ambitious environmental clean-up of our time.

On the edge of the new century, economic growth depends as never before on opening up new markets overseas. And so we will insist on fair trade rules in international markets.

NAFTA

A part of our national economic strategy must be to expand trade on fair terms, including successful completion of the latest round of world trade talks. A North American Free Trade Agreement with appropriate safeguards for workers and the environment. At the same time, we need an aggressive attempt to create the hi-tech jobs of the future; special attention to troubled industries like aerospace and airlines, and special assistance to displaced workers like those in our defense industry.

I pledge that business, government and labor will work together in a partnership to strengthen America for a change.

Health Care Reform

But all of our efforts to strengthen the economy will fail unless we take bold steps to reform our health care system. America's businesses will never be strong; America's families will never be secure; and America's government will never be solvent until we tackle our health care crisis.

The rising costs and the lack of care are endangering both our economy and our lives. Reducing health care costs will liberate hundreds of billions of dollars for investment and growth and new jobs. Over the long run, reforming health care is essential to reducing our deficit and expanding investment.

Later this spring, I will deliver to Congress a comprehensive plan for health care reform that will finally get costs under control. We will provide security to all our families, so that no one will be denied the coverage they need. We will root out fraud and outrageous charges, and make sure that paperwork no longer chokes you or your doctor. And we will maintain American standards – the highest quality medical care in the world and the choices we demand and deserve. The American people expect us to deal with health care. And we must deal with it now.

Perhaps the most fundamental change our new direction offers is its focus on the future and the investments we seek in our children.

Each day we delay carries a dear cost. Half our two-year-olds don't receive immunizations against deadly diseases. Our plan will provide them for every eligible child. And we'll save ten dollars for every one we'll spend by eliminating preventable childhood diseases.

The Women, Infants, and Children nutrition program will be expanded so that every expectant mother who needs our help receives it.

Education

Head Start – a program that prepares children for school – is a success story. It saves money, but today it reaches only one-third of all eligible children. Under our plan, we will cover every eligible child. Investing in Head Start and WIC is not only the right thing, it's the smart thing. For every dollar we invest today, we save three tomorrow.

America must ask more of our students, our teachers, and our schools. And we must give them the resources they need to meet high standards.

We will bring together business and schools to establish new apprenticeships, and give young people the skills they need today to find productive jobs tomorrow.

Lifelong learning will benefit workers throughout their careers. We must create a new unified worker training system, so that workers receive training regardless of why they lost their jobs.

Our national service program will make college loans available to all Americans, and challenge them to give something back to their country – as teachers, police officers, community service workers. This will be an historic change on a scale with the creation of the Land Grant Colleges and the G.I. Bill. A hundred years from now, historians who owe their education to our plan for national service will salute your vision.

We believe in jobs, we believe in learning, and we believe in rewarding work. We believe in restoring the values that make America special.

There is dignity in all work, and there must be dignity for all workers. To those who heal our sick, care for our children, and do our most tiring and difficult jobs, our new direction makes this solemn commitment:

By expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, we will make history: We will help reward work for millions of working poor Americans. Our new direction aims to

realize a principle as powerful as it is simple: If you work full time, you should not be poor.

Welfare

Later this year, we will offer a plan to end welfare as we know it. No one wants to change the welfare system as much as those who are trapped by the welfare system.

We will offer people on welfare the education, training, child care and health care they need to get back on their feet. Then, after two years, they must get back to work – in private business if possible; in public service, if necessary. It's time to end welfare as a way of life.

Strengthening Families

Our next great goal is to strengthen American families.

We'll ask fathers and mothers to take more responsibility for their children. And we'll crack down on deadbeat parents who won't pay their child support.

Crime

We want to protect our families against violent crime which terrorizes our people and tears apart our communities. We must pass a tough crime bill. We need to put 100,000 more police on the street, provide boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders, and put hardened criminals behind bars. We have a duty to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. If you pass the Brady Bill, I'll sign it.

Reform

To make government work for middle-class taxpayers and not the special interests, we must reform our political system.

I'm asking Congress to enact real campaign finance reform. Let's reduce the power of special interests and increase the participation of the people. We should end the tax deduction for special interest lobbying and use the money to help clean up the political system. And we should quickly enact legislation to force lobbyists to disclose their activities.

But to revolutionize government we have to insure that it lives within its means. And that starts at the top – with the White House. In the last few weeks, I have cut the White House staff by twenty-five percent, saving ten million dollars. I ordered administrative cuts in the budgets of agencies and departments, I cut the federal bureaucracy by 100,000 positions, for combined savings of nine billion dollars. It's time for government to be as frugal as any household in America. That's why I

congratulate the Congress for taking similar steps to cut its costs today. Together, we can show the American people that we have heard their call for change.

But we can go further. Tonight, I call for an across-the-board freeze in federal government salaries for one year. Thereafter, federal salaries will rise at a rate lower than the rate of inflation.

We must reinvent government to make it work again. We'll push innovative education reform to improve learning, not just spend more money. We'll use the Superfund to clean up pollution, not just increase lawyers' incomes. We'll use federal banking regulators, not just to protect the security and safety of our financial institutions, but to break the credit crunch. And we'll change the whole focus of our poverty programs from entitlement to empowerment.

Deficit Reduction

For years, there has been a lot of talk about the deficit, but very few credible efforts to deal with it. This plan does. Our plan tackles the budget deficit – seriously and over the long term. We will put in place one of the biggest deficit reductions and the biggest change of federal priorities in our history at the same time.

We are not cutting the deficit because the experts tell us to do so. We are cutting the deficit so that your family can afford a college education for your children. We are cutting the deficit so that your children will someday be able to buy a home of their own. We are cutting the deficit so that your company can invest in retraining its workers and retooling its factories. We are cutting the deficit so that government can make the investments that help us become stronger and smarter and safer.

If we do not act now, we will not recognize this country ten years from now. Ten years from now, the deficit will have grown to 635 billion dollars a year; the national debt will be almost 80 percent of our gross domestic product. Paying the interest on that debt will be the costliest government program of all, and we will continue to be the world's largest debtor, depending on foreign funds for a large part of our nation's investments.

Budget

Our budget will, by 1997, cut 140 billion dollars from the deficit – one of the greatest real spending cuts by an American president. We are making more than 150 difficult, painful reductions which will cut federal spending by 246 billion dollars. We are eliminating programs that are no longer needed, such as nuclear power research and development. We are slashing subsidies and canceling wasteful projects. Many of these programs were justified in their time. But if

we're going to start new plans, we must eliminate old ones. Government has been good at building programs, now we must show that we can limit them.

Defense

As we restructure American military forces to meet the new threats of the post-Cold War world, we can responsibly reduce our defense budget. But let no one be in any doubt: The men and women who serve under the American flag will be the best trained, best equipped, best prepared fighting force in the world, so long as I am President.

Backed by a leaner and more effective national defense and a stronger economy, our nation will be prepared to lead a world challenged by ethnic conflict, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the global democratic revolution, and the health of our environment.

Taxes

Our economic plan is ambitious, but it is necessary for the continued greatness of our country. And it will be paid for fairly -- by cutting government, by asking the most of those who benefited most in the past -- by asking more Americans to contribute today so that all Americans can do better tomorrow.

For the wealthiest -- those earning more than 180,000 dollars per year, I ask you to raise the top rate for federal income taxes from 31 percent to 36 percent. Our plan recommends a ten percent surtax on incomes over 250,000 dollars a year. And we will close the loopholes that let some get away without paying any tax at all.

For businesses with taxable incomes over ten million dollars, we will raise the corporate tax rate to 36 percent. And we will cut the deduction for business entertainment.

Our plan attacks tax subsidies that reward companies that ship jobs overseas. And we will ensure that, through effective tax enforcement, foreign corporations who make money in America pay the taxes they owe to America.

Middle-class Americans should know: You're not going alone any more; you're not going first; and you're no longer going to pay more and get less. Ninety-eight point eight percent of America's families will have no increase in their income tax rates. Only the wealthiest one point two percent will see their rates rise.

Medicare

Let me be clear: There will be no new cuts in benefits from Medicare for beneficiaries. There will be cuts in payments to providers: doctors, hospitals, and labs, as a way of controlling health care costs. These cuts are only a stop-gap until

we reform the whole health care system. Let me repeat that, because it matters to me, as I know it matters to you: This plan will not make new cuts in Medicare benefits for any beneficiary.

Social Security

The only change we are making in Social Security is to ask those older Americans with higher incomes, who do not rely solely on Social Security to get by, to contribute more. This change will not affect eighty percent of Social Security recipients. If you do not pay taxes on Social Security now, you will not pay taxes on Social Security under this plan.

Our plan includes a tax on energy as the best way to provide us with new revenue to lower the deficit and invest in our people. Moreover, unlike other taxes, this one reduces pollution, increases energy efficiency, and eases our dependence on oil from unstable regions of the world.

Taken together, these measures will cost an American family earning 40 thousand dollars a year less than 17 dollars a month. And because of other programs we will propose, families earning less than 30,000 dollars a year will pay virtually no additional tax at all. Because of our publicly stated determination to reduce the deficit, interest rates have fallen since the election. That means that, for the middle class, the increases in energy costs will be more than offset by lower interest costs for mortgages, consumer loans and credit cards. This is a wise investment for you and for your country.

I ask all Americans to consider the cost of not changing, of not choosing a new direction. Unless we have the courage to start building our future and stop borrowing from it, we are condemning ourselves to years of stagnation, interrupted only by recession; to slow growth in jobs, no growth in incomes, and more debt and disappointment.

Worse yet – unless we change, unless we reduce the deficit, increase investment, and raise productivity so we can generate jobs – we will condemn our children and our children's children to a lesser life and a diminished destiny.

Tonight, the American people know we must change. But they are also likely to ask whether we have the fortitude to make those changes happen.

They know that, as soon as we leave this Chamber, the special interests will be out in force, trying to stop the changes we seek. The forces of conventional wisdom will offer a thousand reasons why it can't be done. And our people will be watching and wondering to see if it's going to be business as usual again.

So we must scale the walls of their skepticism, not with our words, but by our deeds. After so many years of gridlock and indecision, after so many hopeful

beginnings and so few promising results, Americans will be harsh in their judgments of us if we fail to seize this moment.

This economic plan cannot please everybody. If this package is picked apart, there will be something that will anger each of us. But, if it is taken as a whole, it will help all of us.

Resist the temptation to focus only on a spending cut you don't like or some investment not made. And nobody likes tax increases. But let's face facts: For 20 years incomes have stalled. For years, debt has exploded. We can no longer afford to deny reality. We must play the hand we were dealt.

The test of our program cannot simply be: What's in it for me? The question must be: What's in it for us?

If we work hard – and work together – if we rededicate ourselves to strengthening families, creating jobs, rewarding work, and reinventing government, we can lift America's fortunes once again.

Tonight I ask everyone in this Chamber – and every American – to look into their hearts, spark their hopes, and fire their imaginations. There is so much good, so much possibility, so much excitement in our nation. If we act boldly, as leaders should, our legacy will be one of progress and prosperity. This, then, is America's new direction. Let us summon the courage to seize the day.

Thank you very much. Good night. And may God bless America.” (“1993 State,” n.d., para. 1-77)

Appendix E: Apology for Human Experiences

Below is the transcript of the apology that Clinton made for people that went through human experiments. Stopthecrime.net (n.d.) informed that Clinton stated:

“This report I received today, 10/3/1995, is a monumental document in more ways than one, (Clinton smiles and holds up a huge bound document as the audience laughs with him) but it is a very, very important piece of America’s history and it will shape America’s future in ways that will make us a more honorable, more successful, and more ethical country.

What this committee learned I would like to review today with a little more detail than Dr. Fadren said because I think it must be engraved on our national memory. Thousands of government sponsored experiments did take place at hospitals, universities and military bases around our nation. The goal was to understand the effects of radiation exposure on the human body.

While most of tests were ethical by any standards, some were unethical, not only by today’s standards but by the standards in the time in which they were conducted. They fail both the test of our national values and the test of humanity. Informed consent means the doctor tells you the risk of the treatment you are about to undergo. In too many cases informed consent was withheld. Americans were kept in the dark about the effects of what was being done to them. The deception extended beyond the test subjects themselves to encompass their families and the American people as a whole for these experiments were kept secret. And they were shrouded not for a compelling reason of national security but for the simple fear of embarrassment, and that was wrong.

So today on behalf of another generation of American leaders and another generation of American citizens, the United States of America offers a sincere apology to those of our citizens who were subjected to these experiments, and to their families, and to their communities. When the government does wrong we have a moral responsibility to admit it. The duty we owe to one another to tell the truth and to protect our civil citizens from excesses like these is one we can never walk away from.

Our government failed in that duty and it offers an apology to the survivors and their families and to all the American people who must, who must, be able to rely upon the United States to keep its word, to tell the truth and to do the right thing. Make no mistake, as the committee report says, there are circumstances where compensation is appropriate as a matter of ethics and principle. I am committed to seeing to it that the United States of America lives up to its responsibility.

Our greatness is measured not only in how we so frequently do right but also how we act when we know we've done the wrong thing. How we confront our mistakes, make our apologies, and take action. That's why this morning I signed an executive order instructing every arm and agency of our government that conducts, supports, or regulates research involving human beings to review immediately their procedures in light of recommendations of this report and the best knowledge and standards today and to report back to me by Christmas" ("Bill Clinton," para. 1-9).