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Women Politicians at Major Party Conventions:
An Analysis of Four Influential Speeches

Thesis

Submitted to the Department of English

UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree

Master of Arts in English

by

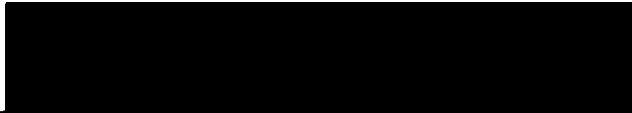
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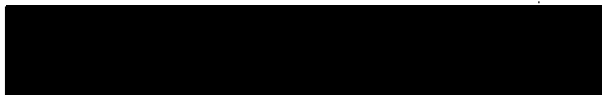
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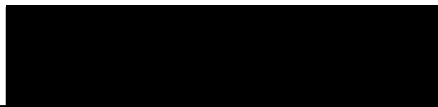
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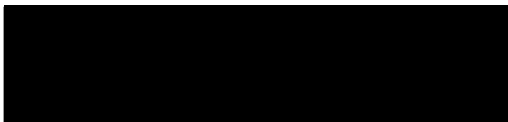
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ABSTRACT

WOMEN POLITICIANS AT MAJOR PARTY CONVENTIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF FOUR INFLUENTIAL SPEECHES

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The women's movement of the early twentieth century laid the groundwork for equality in our modern society. No longer a novelty, female politicians continue to make inroads in our increasingly fast-paced and interconnected world. As more and more women serve their country as elected officials, more and more attention is paid to their rhetorical strategies. This thesis provides a close analysis of four powerful speeches given by female politicians at major party conventions. Women included in this study are Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, former First Lady and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, Senator Elizabeth Dole and former Vice-Presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro. The persuasive oratory by all four of these women is analyzed through various rhetorical lenses.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Eric Shanks.

Special thanks to Dr. Alan Kimbrough for his advice on this project.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

*There are winds of changes blowing
Gathering leaves up in its path
And the people who are the leaves
Will remain in our hearts
With love, 'till eternity—
From "Winds of Change"
Eric Burdon and The Animals, 1967*

In the shadows of the Vietnam War, among protest marches and protest songs, women were plotting their future in America. Of course, women politicians, political action committees and activist groups were around in the U.S. long before the late sixties. Foremothers to today's successful female politicians were attendees at the historic 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Just a few years later in 1916, crusader Margaret Sanger opened her first birth control clinic and in 1920, the nineteenth amendment gave women suffrage. Women eagerly used their voice at the polls after the passage of the amendment and just four years later in 1924, Nellie Tayloe Ross became the first female governor in the U.S., serving her home state of Wyoming. Truly, the winds of change were blowing...until they suddenly stood still amid a Great Depression and two World Wars. Arguably, the Vietnam War reignited the flame that fueled the women's movement in this country. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed in 1966, and around this time, women became very active politically in this country. How did women go from street-level activists and protestors to successful politicians and policy

makers? Does the rhetoric of successful politicians such as Barbara Jordan, Geraldine Ferraro, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth Dole influence how men and women vote in this country? Did their oratorical styles help push all women in this country forward, toward political equality? Does the media treat male and female politicians differently based on their rhetorical strategies and abilities?

While these questions may seem provocative in nature, they are certainly not baseless. The purpose of this thesis is to provide a close analysis of four of the most influential speeches delivered by women politicians at major party conventions in the twentieth century. By doing so, rhetorical patterns are revealed and an understanding of what makes a good female rhetor is uncovered. The four women outlined in this study: Barbara Jordan, Geraldine Ferraro, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Elizabeth Dole, are known for their speaking ability. It is never easy to judge fully a speaker's capability as a rhetor. Truly, multiple factors contribute to the successful delivery of a speech. With this noted, it is my intention to provide the clearest and closest analysis possible of the *text* of each of the four rhetors named. In this way, then, we can see how successful women politicians communicate to their varied audiences and how the media reacts to their individual communication styles. This is a challenge, but one that is necessary to truly understand feminist political discourse.

The four women selected for this study represent the leaders of female politicians in America. All have broken barriers and many have shattered stereotypes.

The methodology for analyzing the four selected speeches adheres to classic principles of rhetoric while giving deference to feminist theory, the political climate in which the speech was delivered, and the media scrutiny of the speech. For example, when studying the 1976 Democratic National Convention Keynote Address delivered by Barbara Jordan, it is important to note how average Americans felt about politics during that campaign year, having just survived the Watergate scandal. Knowing the mood in the country during the 1976 presidential campaign allows for a closer analysis of the speech and enables the reader to understand more fully the force behind Ms. Jordan's words.

The layout of this project is chronological; thus a reader can expect to find the analysis of a speech in the order it was delivered. Media scrutiny of each speech, as well as commentary on party politics during the time in which the speech was delivered, is folded into the analysis of each speech.

Because rhetorical ability and success are subjective much like a literary analysis, much care is given to avoid generalizations about a rhetor's gender or speaking ability. In this way, some comparisons of male political rhetoric are provided to give a contrast to speaking styles and

word choice. While masculine samples are woven throughout this project, in no way do these examples provide a complete look at masculine rhetorical strategies. They are only provided to help explain choices made by female politicians. As such, I feel this analysis provides a good starting point for other researchers looking to understand the complexities and qualities of the rhetoric of successful female politicians. In this way, a greater understanding of human communication can be achieved.

CHAPTER 2

BARBARA JORDAN-DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1976 "KEYNOTE ADDRESS"

Barbara Jordan was born in 1936 in a poor area of Houston, Texas. She excelled academically, graduating in the top five percent of her high school class. She attended Texas Southern University, where she graduated *magna cum laude* in 1956 and received her law degree from Boston University in 1959. A dedicated public servant for much of her adult life, she received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1994. She died in 1996 (Hine 658).

Jordan first entered politics as an administrative assistant to the county judge of Harris County, Texas. She was elected to the Texas state senate in 1966, the first African-American to earn this distinction since 1883. Breaking barriers almost immediately, she became the first African-American to chair a major committee (Labor and Management Relations) for the Texas state senate. She was also the first freshman senator ever named to the Texas Legislative Council. In 1972, she was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

In 1976, Jordan delivered perhaps the most significant speech of any female politician at a major party convention in history. Using the themes that characterized her tenure in Congress such as helping minorities and the disadvantaged, her speech highlighted her own accomplishments as an African-American female living in the U.S. The

1976 Democratic Keynote Address is particularly groundbreaking because it marked the first time a person of color delivered the keynote address at any party convention in history.

Democrats from all over the country convened in New York City in July of 1976 for their much-anticipated national convention. The next month, the Republicans held their national convention in Kansas City, Missouri. In 1976, Republican President Richard Nixon resigned due to scandal, paving the way for Vice-President Gerald Ford to assume the presidency.

Ms. Jordan began her very influential speech with a historical approach, recounting why the Democrats convene every four years to nominate a candidate for president, noting the convention of 1976 would be different. She began thus¹:

But there is something different about tonight. There is something special about tonight. What is different? What is special?

I, Barbara Jordan, am a keynote speaker.

A lot of years passed since 1832, and during that time it would have been most unusual for any national political party to ask that a Barbara Jordan to deliver a keynote address. But tonight here I am. And I feel that notwithstanding the past that my presence here is one additional bit of evidence that the American Dream need not forever be deferred. (Eidenmueller)

With this, Jordan acknowledges that she is a member of the country's progressive arm, forthright enough to allow both a woman and a person

¹ All excerpts of the speeches by Jordan, Ferraro, Clinton and Dole are taken from www.americanrhetoric.com See appendix for full text of speeches.

of color to give the most analyzed speech at a political party's convention. During her speech, Ms. Jordan also addresses herself in the first person, an uncommon but effective rhetorical technique for politicians. By addressing herself as such, she pretends she is on the outside, looking in, placing herself in the audience and not on the convention floor. She also acknowledges how rare it is that she is the keynote speaker. This "reverse" acknowledgement is rhetorically effective because it allows the speaker to be seen as not only prominent, but also oratorically skilled enough to deliver such an important address. Beginning her speech this way, Ms. Jordan quickly earned the trust of her audience.

The line "And I feel that notwithstanding the past that my presence here is one additional bit of evidence that the American Dream need not forever be deferred" is significant because she is recalling the great African-American poet Langston Hughes and his famed poem from 1951, "Montage of A Dream Deferred:"

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore--
and then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over--
like a syrupy sweet?
Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.
Or does it *explode*? (Draper 1066)

Noting that the proverbial "American Dream" is available to all who want to partake of it is significant. While Jordan was standing in front of the Democratic delegation of 1976 as an African-American female elected official, she was well aware of her minority status on Capitol Hill and in other positions of power within the country. She must have known this and embraced it, since the main message of her speech deals with empowerment. She knew that her presence would excite a large number of African-American voters to go to the polls on Election Day and vote Democratic—even in larger numbers than this electorate group had historically done. Jordan realized that many Americans listening to her speech would notice the reference to Hughes poetry, allowing her to send a powerful and concise message to voters: vote Democratic in 1976 and experience the American Dream. Historically, the country was still reeling from Republican scandal, so the poem's line "fester like a sore" is apropos. Choosing imagery and references wisely, Jordan began her

speech in a rhetorically powerful way, setting the stage for the world to listen to her message still to come.

Later in her speech, Jordan asserts:

Now that I have this grand distinction what in the world am I supposed to say? I could easily spend this time praising the accomplishments of this party and attacking the Republicans -- but I don't choose to do that. I could list the many problems which Americans have. I could list the problems which cause people to feel cynical, angry, frustrated: problems which include lack of integrity in government; the feeling that the individual no longer counts; the reality of material and spiritual poverty; the feeling that the grand American experiment is failing or has failed. I could recite these problems, and then I could sit down and offer no solutions. But I don't choose to do that either. The citizens of America expect more. They deserve and they want more than a recital of problems. (Eidenmueller)

This portion of the speech is rhetorically effective because Jordan places herself in the situation of the average American. When she suggests that she could attack the Republicans, she does not mention she had the distinction of leading the impeachment hearings against Richard Nixon unlike other Americans. What she does mention, however, is that the American electorate is cynical and frustrated with the American government. This message surely reminded her audience of the Watergate Scandal, but leaves her free of criticism for delivering a negative speech. Both party conventions in 1976 aimed for a strictly positive message to help ease a beleaguered nation.

In the next part of her speech, Ms. Jordan begins to delve into her main message:

We are a people in a quandary about the present. We are a people in search of our future. We are a people in search of a national community. We are a people trying not only to solve the problems of the present, unemployment, inflation, but we are attempting on a larger scale to fulfill the promise of America. We are attempting to fulfill our national purpose, to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal. (Eidenmueller)

Filled with parallelisms, this section of the speech drives home Jordan's message for a renewed America. Here the sentence structure, word count, pacing and cadence are crucial to Jordan's delivery. In the course of 80 words, she reiterates the pronoun "we" five times, making clear that her message is one of inclusion, and that the Democrats are willing to bring America together to fight mounting issues of inflation, poverty, education and more. As with the previous section, she ends this portion of her speech with renewed rhetoric from the Civil Rights era and that of America's founding fathers: to Jordan, all people are created equal. She realizes such a message is more believable coming from her than from a white, Anglo-Saxon protestant male politician, who never faced racial or gender adversity.

The speech continues:

Throughout out history, when people have looked for new ways to solve their problems, and to uphold the principles of this nation, many times they have turned to political parties. They have often turned to the Democratic Party. What is it? What is it about the Democratic Party that makes it the instrument the people use when they search for ways to shape their future? Well I believe the answer

to that question lies in our concept of governing. Our concept of governing is derived from our view of people. It is a concept deeply rooted in a set of beliefs firmly etched in the national conscience of all of us. (Eidenmueller)

This section, quite clearly, uses rhetorical questioning effectively to explain the positive qualities of the Democratic Party. Through her simple questioning of "why" and "what," Jordan is able to convey in simple terms that the Democratic Party relies on its members to shape and guide the course of action the party will take. When she notes the party has a "deeply rooted set of beliefs", she is referring to the diverse members of the party standing up for issues they believe in. Jordan's rhetoric grabs the attention of her listeners, allowing the electorate to answer mentally the questions she is addressing. By doing this, Jordan is actually forcing the American electorate to think long and hard about the Democratic Party, and, consequently, about the Republicans.

Jordan addresses the party's history of inclusion as her speech continues:

Now what are these beliefs? First, we believe in equality for all and privileges for none. This is a belief that each American regardless of background has equal standing in the public forum -- all of us. Because we believe this idea so firmly, we are an inclusive rather than an exclusive party. Let everybody come! I think it no accident that most of those emigrating to America in the 19th century identified with the Democratic Party. We are a heterogeneous party made up of Americans of diverse backgrounds. (Eidenmueller)

The next section of Barbara Jordan's speech is short: only one complex sentence comprising 24 words. She asserts, "We believe that the people are the source of all governmental power; that the authority of the people is to be extended, not restricted." The brevity of this section of the speech underscores the importance of Jordan's overall message and tone. As a sophisticated public speaker, Jordan realizes that some of her main points require short sections for the full emphasis and meaning of her words to shine through. Truly, the fact that one of her main points revolves around average Americans holding the key to governmental power is important to the period in which she delivered her speech. Through her smoothly delivered 24 words, Jordan attacks the Nixon administration and welcomes all Americans to the Democratic Party. She wants to make clear to the American voters that their collective voice will be heard and that their wishes will become law. She does not believe the government infrastructure should be smaller; she just believes it should be more effective. Following this idea, she adds:

This can be accomplished only by providing each citizen with every opportunity to participate in the management of the government. They must have that, we believe. We believe that the government which represents the authority of all the people, not just one interest group, but all the people, has an obligation to actively -- underscore actively -- seek to remove those obstacles which would block individual achievement -- obstacles emanating from race, sex, economic condition. The government must remove them, seek to remove them. (Eidenmueller)

Later, her speech invokes American history while showing deference for the Republican Party. She quotes Abraham Lincoln:

Now, I began this speech by commenting to you on the uniqueness of a Barbara Jordan making a keynote address. Well I am going to close my speech by quoting a Republican President and I ask you that as you listen to these words of Abraham Lincoln, relate them to the concept of a national community in which every last one of us participates:

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of Democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no Democracy. (Eidenmueller)

With this, Jordan thanked her audience and left the podium. The excerpts provided here only serve to highlight the powerful and sophisticated rhetorical ability of Ms. Jordan. Through her speech, she was able to invoke images of equality for the future, remind Americans of the injustice of the past, and show deference for the Republican Party while asking Republicans to vote Democratic in 1976.

CHAPTER 3
GERALDINE FERRARO
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1984
"VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION ACCEPTANCE SPEECH"

If Barbara Jordan's 1976 DNC keynote address is the most famous of all female political speeches from a major party convention, then Geraldine Ferraro's acceptance speech for the Vice-Presidential nomination during the 1984 campaign is the most dramatic. Ms. Ferraro's nomination for Vice-President marked a first for a woman in major party politics, and this fact was not lost on the candidate herself. While the Democrats lost the 1984 election to Republican incumbent Ronald Reagan, feminist activists hailed the choice of a female candidate as a huge victory. Ms. Ferraro's nomination came at a time when the country was at a moral "crossroads," not yet ready to give such a high-profile office to a woman, yet progressive enough to nominate her.

Geraldine Anne Ferraro made her path to politics in an unlikely manner. The daughter of Italian immigrants, Ferraro did not enjoy the wealth and privilege growing up that is common among modern politicians. She graduated from Marymount College with an English degree in 1956 and studied law at night, eventually earning her degree from Fordham in 1960. In 1974 she became the assistant district attorney for the Investigations Bureau in Queens, New York, laying the groundwork for her political career. Her first foray into politics was in 1978 when she

successfully ran for the U.S. House. She was reelected in 1980 and 1982. In 1984, Ms. Ferraro became the Chair of the Democratic Party Platform, making her the first woman to hold the office. In 1992 she made an unsuccessful run for the Senate (Zilboorg 216).

Ferraro opened her groundbreaking speech by reminiscing on the past and paying homage to the great civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, Jr.:

My name is Geraldine Ferraro. I stand before you to proclaim tonight: America is the land where dreams can come true for all of us. As I stand before the American people and think of the honor this great convention has bestowed upon me, I recall the words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who made America stronger by making America more free. He said, 'Occasionally in life there are moments which cannot be completely explained by words. Their meaning can only be articulated by the inaudible language of the heart.' Tonight is such a moment for me. (Eidenmueller)

With this, Ferraro refers to history while clearly looking ahead to the future. Her opening is characteristically feminine by noting her emotions while standing before America, accepting her nomination. While men in her position also note the honor in accepting their party's nomination, very rarely do they address their emotions. Many scholars have noted that the political speeches that women deliver can sometimes denigrate their message. In *Handbook of Political Communication and Research*, scholar Diane Bystrom notes that speeches delivered by women commonly address the audience as peers and are personal in tone. Speeches delivered by women also invite participation from the audience and

often rely on personal experiences. Women also often structure speeches inductively (436). According to Bystrom, men speak with "...deductive and logical reasoning, affirmation of personal expertise, and use of expert authority, such as impartial statistics and the use of impersonal examples" (436-7).

After Ferraro's characteristically feminine beginning, she goes on to say:

My heart is filled with pride. My fellow citizens, I proudly accept your nomination for Vice President of the United States.

And I am proud to run with a man who will be one of the great presidents of this century, Walter F. Mondale. Tonight, the daughter of a woman whose highest goal was a future for her children talks to our nation's oldest party about a future for us all. Tonight, the daughter of working Americans tells all Americans that the future is within our reach, if we're willing to reach for it. Tonight, the daughter of an immigrant from Italy has been chosen to run for [Vice] President in the new land my father came to love. (Eidenmueller)

With this, Ferraro is validating Bystrom's claims of women's speech patterns. She remarks on her personal history and uses the anecdotes about her family to appear human to her audience. She recounts her personal history by explaining she is the daughter of immigrant parents and invokes her Italian heritage.

Coverage of male and female politicians varies widely in the media. In *Women, Politics, Media: Uneasy Relations in Comparative Perspectives*, Karen Ross notes men are very aggressive with opponents but women tend to prefer solemn tactics in seeking an elected office. She

writes "...women cannot do the same thing without being targets for all manner of gendered exhortations which mainly center on the fact that women are supposed to be nice to each other..." (152).

A savvy politician, Ferraro knew that the media would be ruthless in its scrutiny of her candidacy. As such, Ferraro chose her words very carefully when making her acceptance speech. After delivering her introductory remarks and thanking Walter Mondale for the opportunity to run, she continues:

Our faith that we can shape a better future is what the American dream is all about. The promise of our country is that the rules are fair. If you work hard and play by the rules, you can earn your share of America's blessings. Those are the beliefs I learned from my parents. And those are the values I taught my students as a teacher in the public schools of New York City. (Eidenmueller)

Here, again, we see the classic examples of feminine rhetoric versus masculine rhetoric. Ferraro is speaking from experience as a teacher, which many regard as a historically female career. She also pays homage to her parents, thanking them for a hopeful upbringing. The next portion of her speech, however, takes a slightly different tone:

At night, I went to law school. I became an assistant district attorney, and I put my share of criminals behind bars. I believe if you obey the law, you should be protected. But if you break the law, you must pay for your crime. (Eidenmueller)

This section of the speech is not characteristic of a female politician because Ferraro asserts her own accomplishments, a rhetorical tactic

used more commonly among male speakers. As a result, Ferraro stands out among other women politicians. While she is aware of the double standard of extra media scrutiny because of her sex, she knows she has to be firm in her position to convince voters that she can hold an office that no woman has ever held. Her speech is as firm as Walter Mondale's and her ideals successfully echo his. Mondale says, "They [his parents] taught me to work hard; to stand on my own; to play by the rules; to tell the truth; to obey the law; to care for others; to love our country; to cherish our faith. My story isn't unique." By essentially creating a rhetorical mirror, both Ferraro and Mondale are able to echo each other's words and ideas.

In 1984, Mondale and Ferraro lost the election by a sizeable margin. Both men and women supported the Reagan-Bush ticket over Mondale-Ferraro by 62 percent and 56 percent, respectively. A CBS News/*New York Times* exit poll conducted nationally found that only 10 percent of voters cited the vice-presidential candidates as an important factor in determining their vote. Of the voters who cited the vice-presidential candidate as important, more of these voters chose the Mondale-Ferraro ticket over Reagan-Bush (53% Democrat, 46% Republican). Interestingly, exit poll data found women believed the vice-presidential candidates were important to a political ticket more often than their male voting counterparts. These female voters overwhelmingly voted Mondale-Ferraro. The exact opposite is true of men who felt the vice-president was

a significant factor in voting for a specific candidate (Frankovic 44).

After continuing her speech and noting the similarities between Walter Mondale's home in Elmore, Minnesota, and her home in Queens, Ferraro talks about traditional American values and how all Americans want equality:

Americans want to live by the same set of rules. But under this administration, the rules are rigged against too many of our people. It isn't right that every year the share of taxes paid by individual citizens is going up, while the share paid by large corporations is getting smaller and smaller. The rules say: Everyone in our society should contribute their fair share. It isn't right that this year Ronald Reagan will hand the American people a bill for interest on the national debt larger than the entire cost of the federal government under John F. Kennedy. Our parents left us a growing economy. The rules say: We must not leave our kids a mountain of debt.

It isn't right that a woman should get paid 59 cents on the dollar for the same work as a man.

If you play by the rules, you deserve a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. It isn't right that, if trends continue, by the year 2000 nearly all of the poor people in America will be women and children. The rules of a decent society say: When you distribute sacrifice in times of austerity, you don't put women and children first. It isn't right that young people today fear they won't get the Social Security they paid for, and that older Americans fear that they will lose what they have already earned. Social Security is a contract between the last generation and the next, and the rules say: You don't break contracts. (Eidenmueller)

According to Gerald Pomper, in his book *The Election of 1984*, the "Democrats stressed the themes of coalition politics and positive government" (25). The official platform included speeches with the message of inclusion and used Ferraro's feminine and strong speaking

ability to convey these ideas. Pomper also notes themes from Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition speech. Jackson said "When women win, children win. When women and children win, workers win. We must all come together" (qtd. in Pomper 25, 28). This is the message of Ferraro's speech. Some analysts even theorized that Ferraro was being taken advantage of by her party because of her sex. While a strong, intelligent woman and politician, Ferraro must have known on some level that she was a novelty: no other major party had ever nominated a woman for such a high office before 1984. It seems that her speech embraces this novelty while trying to eschew the notion at the same time. Keeping true to the discord of female/male rhetorical differences, Mondale uses strong language throughout his speech, refusing to exploit Ferraro's sex.

Ferraro held great power while standing behind the political podium in San Francisco during the Democratic National Convention. Some would argue that she held the entire woman's rights movement on her shoulders when she accepted her party's nomination. The official Democratic Party platform in 1984 firmly stated that "America is at a crossroads" and that equality for everyone is an American right. In part, the preamble to the official platform stated "We are the Party of American progress—the calling to explore; the challenge to invent; the imperative to improve; the importance of courage; the perennial need for fresh thinking, sharp minds, and ambitious goals" (National Party Conventions).

In You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation,

scholar Deborah Tannen writes of the boundaries Ferraro faced during the 1984 campaign:

In the typical family photograph, the candidate looks straight out at the camera, while his wife gazes up at him. This leads the viewer's eye to the candidate as the center of interest. In a well-publicized family photograph, [Geraldine] Ferraro was looking up at her husband, and he was looking straight out. It is an appealing photo, which shows her as a good woman, but makes him the inappropriate center of interest...Had the family photograph shown Ferraro looking straight out, with her husband gazing adoringly at her, it would not have been an effective campaign photo, because she would have looked like a domineering wife with a namby-pamby for a husband. (243)

Tannen also analyses the way the press portrayed Ferraro in relation to her language style when writing about her against her political opponents.

She finds that many journalists used adjectives such as "spunky" and "feisty" to describe her. Conversely, journalists would use more traditional and respectful adjectives when writing of her male opponents. Tannen cites scholar Michael Geis as saying these words "are used only for creatures that are small and lacking in real power; they could be said of a Pekingese but not a Great Dane, perhaps of Mickey Rooney but not of an average-size man" (qtd. In Tannen 242). Tannen also says that the words many journalists chose to describe Ferraro's language style trivialized her as a candidate and highlighted the "incongruity between her languages as a woman and as a political leader" (243).

CHAPTER 4

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON-DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1996

"IT TAKES A VILLAGE"

In 1996, the candidates for president were incumbent Democrat William Jefferson Clinton, Republican Robert Dole and Reform candidate Ross Perot.

The Democrats celebrated their 1996 national convention in Chicago. Speakers during the week highlighted the party's diversity and progressive policies and played up the fact that many of the 4,289 delegates on the convention floor were women. Major speakers during the 1996 Democratic convention included former Reagan administration press secretary James Brady and his wife Sarah, who gave a speech in support of Bill Clinton's gun legislation; paralyzed actor Christopher Reeve, who addressed the need for stem cell research to fight spinal cord injuries and AIDS research; and a keynote address by Indiana governor Evan Bayh, who touted the "families first" theme. Finally, Hillary Rodham Clinton delivered her well-known "It Takes a Village" speech before introducing her husband.

Hillary Clinton's "It Takes a Village" speech was given as a precursor to her own political career. During this speech, she asserted:

I wish we could be sitting around a kitchen table, just us, talking about our hopes and fears about our children's futures.

For Bill and me, family has been the center of our lives. But we also know that our family like your family is part of a larger community that can help or hurt our best efforts to raise our child.

Right now in our biggest cities and our smallest towns there are boys and girls being tucked gently into bed, and there are boys and girls who have no one to call mom or dad and no place to call home.

Right now there are mothers and fathers just finishing a long days work and there are mothers and fathers just going to work, some to their second or third jobs of day.

Right now there are parents worrying, what if the babysitter is sick tomorrow or how can we pay for college this fall. (Eidenmueller)

Ms. Clinton began her speech as so many successful rhetoricians do. She used the common "female" tactic of making her desire known that she wished she could speak to every voter one on one. The very fact that Ms. Clinton choose to speak about family values also speaks to the core differences between male and female rhetorical techniques. While appealing to a core constituency of female Democratic voters, Clinton also secured political support from Republican-leaning women who cited family issues as their number one reason for voting a certain ticket. Later in the speech, Ms. Clinton asserted:

We all know that raising kids is a full-time job, and since most parents work, they are -- we are -- stretched thin. Just think about what many parents are responsible for on any given day -- packing lunches; dropping the kids off at school; going to work; checking to make sure that the kids get home from school safely; shopping for groceries; making dinner; doing the laundry; helping with homework; paying the bills.

And I didn't even mention taking the dog to the vet. That's why my husband wants to pass a flex-time law that will give parents the

option to take overtime pay either in extra income or in extra time off, depending upon which is ever best for your family.
(Eidenmueller)

The opening sentence of the portion of the speech uses another common female rhetorical device, putting the speaker in the place of the listener.

Ms. Clinton makes such a statement to connect with her millions of listeners by making the case that even though she may be First Lady of the United States, she still understands the pressures of being a working mother. Clinton also notes she is a mother first, proclaiming that motherhood "is the hardest, most important job in her life." For men, making statements such as these would seem insincere. As with all successful rhetoricians, there must be a sense that the speaker knows what he or she is actually talking about to make a clear argument. By making her power, sex, and rhetorical abilities work to her own advantage, Clinton was able to weave policy and real life anecdotes about the American family throughout her speech. As a result, she was able to educate the American electorate on her husband's platform without alienating her listeners:

Our family has been lucky to have been blessed with a child with good health. Chelsea has spent only one night in the hospital after she had her tonsils out. But Bill and I couldn't sleep at all that night.

But our experience was nothing like the emotional strain on parents when their children are seriously ill.

They often worry about where they will get the money to pay the medical bills. That is why my husband has always felt that all American families should have affordable health insurance.

Just last week the president signed a bill sponsored by Senators Kennedy and Kassebaum, a Democrat and a Republican, that will enable 25 million Americans to keep their health insurance even when they switch jobs or lose a job or a have a family member who's been sick.

This bill contains some of the key provisions from the president's proposal for health care reform. It was an important step achieved only after both parties agreed to build, not block progress on making health care available to all Americans. (Eidenmueller)

Again, Clinton manipulates both common words and common American experiences to appeal to voters. Here, Clinton makes her life as First Lady seem commonplace by noting her fears as a parent, all the while gaining credibility from her listeners. Clinton is wise to note casually the bipartisan work between the Democrats and Republicans on the health insurance reform bill. Finally, Clinton ends her speech on a rhetorically positive note, by saying:

Sometimes late at night, when I see Chelsea doing her homework or watching TV or talking to a friend on the phone, I think to myself her life and the lives of millions of boys and girls will be better because of what all of us are doing together. They will face fewer obstacles and more possibilities. That is something we should all be proud of. And that is what this election is all about (Eidenmueller).

The ending to her speech is significant because she seamlessly reiterates that she is a "normal" mother, and effectively uses the language of inclusion to invite all political parties to believe in her husband's plans. The fact that she uses the word "election" only one time during her speech is

also rhetorically effective: it reminds people why she is giving the speech but also makes it seem like a successful election is only a small part of what Ms. Clinton and the Democratic party wish to accomplish.

CHAPTER 5
ELIZABETH DOLE-REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, 1996
"FLOOR SPEECH"

San Diego was the city of choice for the 1996 Republican National Convention. During this time, GOP delegates converged in California to elect Bob Dole and Jack Kemp as the presidential and vice-presidential nominees, respectively. During this time, the Republicans played up their more moderate members by giving them the best speaking spots and by allowing them to talk about issues not always aligned with the conservative base. In trying to be a more compassionate and inclusive party, the GOP allowed pro-choice speakers to take the podium and appealed to the nation with a speech by Nancy Reagan, dedicated to her ailing husband. Perhaps the most memorable of all GOP floor speeches in history was given during the 1996 convention. When Elizabeth Dole gave her speech in support of her husband's nomination, she produced what months of campaigning could not: she made her husband a true opponent, at least for a little while, to Democratic incumbent Bill Clinton.

Elizabeth Dole's speech embodied the very nature of all that is feminist rhetoric. Causing a bit of a stir, she left the podium of the convention stage to walk around the floor with the delegates. Ms. Dole began her speech thus:

Now, you know tradition is that speakers at the Republican National Convention remain at this very imposing podium. But, tonight I'd like to break with tradition. For two reasons. One, I'm going to be speaking to friends and secondly I'm going to be speaking about the man I love and it's just a lot more comfortable for me to do that down here with you. (Eidenmueller)

By starting her speech in this way, Dole situates herself, not only as the focus of attention, but also as a person who is connecting to her audience on a very basic level. By acknowledging that she feels more comfortable "speaking among friends," Dole detaches herself from a position of authority and reminds the electorate that she, too, is an average person. Earning trust of an audience is the first key to good persuasion and Dole did this effectively in four sentences with the opening of her speech. The rest of the speech is significant, then, in melding personal anecdotes and party politics into one neat package. By doing this, Dole is able to educate the electorate on what the Republicans see as their plans for America, while always remaining human to those watching her. She stays on message by saying:

But I think the people you've been serving all these years in America deserve to know they have the right to know, this is not a time to be silent. This is a defining moment, ladies and gentlemen, in our nation's history. This election is about the vision and the values that will shape America as we move into the next century. It's about the character of the man who will lead us there. Now, Bob Dole, as you know was born in Kansas, in a small town. (Eidenmueller)

By noting that the nomination of her husband for President of the United States is a defining moment in American history, Ms. Dole is able to make

an effective case for how her husband has not only impacted her own life but also the lives of countless Americans. By making the subtle statement, "This election is about the vision and the values that will shape America as we move into the next century," Ms. Dole is at once praising her husband and criticizing her opponents, but doing so in a way that does not alienate even the staunchest opponent to the Republican platform. Dole's speech comprises many short paragraphs filled with simple language. Since her number one goal as a rhetor is to illustrate to the G.O.P. delegates and viewers at home that her husband is a compassionate man, worthy of the presidency, she keeps her words easy to understand. This fact is amplified even more by the way Dole chose to speak "amongst friends" on the floor of the convention: she wanted all eyes on her so every delegate would hang on her every word. While she has the audience hanging on her every word, she says:

But let me say that yes, he was born in a small town in Kansas. His parents were poor. In fact at one point, when Bob was a boy, they had to move their family parents and four children into the basement, and rent out their small home upstairs just to make ends meet. But while they were perhaps poor in material things, they were rich in values. Values like honesty, decency, respect, personal responsibility, hard work, love of God, love of family, patriotism - these are the values that led Bob to risk life in battle fields of Italy.
(Eidenmueller)

This section of the speech is an excellent representation of the rhetoric as a whole. All the sentences are relatively short and the word count varies from one sentence to the next. In their work *Classical Rhetoric for the*

Modern Student, authors Edward P.J. Corbett and Robert J. Connors analyze the 1960 Inaugural Address of Democrat John F. Kennedy. During their analysis, the two scholars note something very interesting with his speech: the use of antithetical rhetoric. Ms. Dole uses the same rhetorical technique when she says:

His parents were poor. In fact [,] at one point, when Bob was a boy, they had to move their family parents and four children into the basement, and rent out their small home upstairs just to make ends meet. But, while they were perhaps poor in material things, they were rich in values. Values like honesty, decency, respect, personal responsibility, hard work, love of God, love of family, patriotism... (Eidenmueller)

By explaining in very simple terms that her husband did without many material goods as a child but was rich in family values, she is using antithesis effectively to convince voters that her husband has weathered adversity and has strong morals and values. Above all, she is stressing the point that her husband can understand the plight of the average American because he, too, is an average American. John F. Kennedy did the same when he said, "We observe today not a victory of a party/but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end/as well as a beginning—signifying renewal/ as well as change." Of this, Corbett and Connors suggest that the rhetoric is successful because of parallel structure. They write, "The recurring parallelism is appropriate here because although the President is pointing up opposites by his antithesis he wants to suggest that these opposites can be reconciled" (467). This is precisely what Ms. Dole is

hoping to achieve by drawing the parallels of a poor man, growing up in a poor home, to a man growing up with enough honor, dignity and valor to become President. She continues to characterize her husband by noting:

Certainly Bob has known the struggle to make ends meet. In fact, he couldn't have had a college education without the GI Bill. And so he's gonna protect and preserve and strengthen that safety net, for those who need it. Also he's dedicated his life to making a difference, to making a positive difference for others because of his own experiences, whether it's on the battlefield, on the Senate floor, or whether it's in his personal life, he's going to be making that difference for others. (Eidenmueller)

Words used in this section represent how common diction and colloquialism endear a speaker to the audience. It is almost ironic that this section deals with funding for higher education, and Ms. Dole chooses very common language to express her belief that husband would not turn his back on federal funding. Word use such as "gonna" and the consistent use of contractions make her listener believe that both she and her husband are everyday people. Truly, Elizabeth Dole's pedigree and Harvard legal education were not lost on some of her listeners, but the fact that she has the ability to speak as both middle and highbrow America gives her a rhetorical edge over other rhetors who fail to communicate with their audiences on a basic level.

Perhaps most effective is the very end of the speech when Dole recounts a story of her courtship to the Senator:

And one morning, unbeknownst to me, he left his bedroom and went down where mother was fixing breakfast in the kitchen, and he had a towel over his arm and shoulder that had been disabled in the war.

And he says, 'Mrs. Hanford I think you ought to see my problem.'

Mother said, 'Bob, that is not a problem. It's a badge of honor.'

My fellow Americans, my fellow Americans, I believe that in the years to come, future generations will look back to this November and say, here is where Americans earned a badge of efficient government and stronger and safer families.

Here is where we elected the better man who led us to a better American. Because here is where we elected Bob Dole.
(Eidenmueller)

By recounting a story to show her husband in a vulnerable light, Elizabeth Dole is reminding her audience that even powerful women and men have moments of weakness and doubt. She takes her story and applies it to the end of speech as a call to action for the country to vote for her husband. As a result, the audience notices her pride and enthusiasm for her party and admiration for her husband's accomplishments. While the Republicans lost the White House in 1996 to incumbent Bill Clinton, many will agree that Ms. Dole's speech helped energize the G.O.P.

Conclusion

The four women politicians outlined in this study embody many of the characteristics of successful rhetoricians. Jordan, Ferraro, Clinton and Dole understand how to manipulate words in order to deliver both a successful and powerful address. While male politicians still hold a majority of the seats in both the House and the Senate, women continue to make inroads in the field of American politics and policy. As a result, more studies on women's communication patterns are warranted, enabling scholars to understand better the differences in male and female communication tactics.

In no way does this study provide a complete look at female political rhetoric, but it does provide a good starting point for further study into the matter. The speeches selected for this study represent a twenty-year period in American politics, allowing for a better representation of the role of women in the American political system. Perhaps a greater understanding of the relationship between male and female political discourse will lend itself to a better understanding of human interaction. This study attempts to aide in this process.

Appendix A

Full text of Barbara Jordan's Keynote Address, 1976

Thank you ladies and gentlemen for a very warm reception. It was one hundred and forty-four years ago that members of the Democratic Party first met in convention to select a Presidential candidate. Since that time, Democrats have continued to convene once every four years and draft a party platform and nominate a Presidential candidate. And our meeting this week is a continuation of that tradition. But there is something different about tonight. There is something special about tonight. What is different? What is special?

I, Barbara Jordan, am a keynote speaker.

A lot of years passed since 1832, and during that time it would have been most unusual for any national political party to ask that a Barbara Jordan to deliver a keynote address. But tonight here I am. And I feel that notwithstanding the past that my presence here is one additional bit of evidence that the American Dream need not forever be deferred.

Now that I have this grand distinction what in the world am I supposed to say? I could easily spend this time praising the accomplishments of this party and attacking the Republicans -- but I don't choose to do that. I could list the many problems which Americans have. I could list the problems which cause people to feel cynical, angry, frustrated: problems which include lack of integrity in government; the feeling that the individual no longer counts; the reality of material and spiritual poverty; the feeling that the grand American experiment is failing or has failed. I could recite these problems, and then I could sit down and offer no solutions. But I don't choose to do that either. The citizens of America expect more. They deserve and they want more than a recital of problems.

We are a people in a quandary about the present. We are a people in search of our future. We are a people in search of a national community. We are a people trying not only to solve the problems of the present, unemployment, inflation, but we are attempting on a larger scale to fulfill the promise of America. We are attempting to fulfill our national purpose, to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal.

Throughout our history, when people have looked for new ways to solve their problems, and to uphold the principles of this nation, many times they have turned to political parties. They have often turned to the Democratic Party. What is it? What is it about the Democratic Party that

makes it the instrument the people use when they search for ways to shape their future? Well I believe the answer to that question lies in our concept of governing. Our concept of governing is derived from our view of people. It is a concept deeply rooted in a set of beliefs firmly etched in the national conscience of all of us.

Now what are these beliefs? First, we believe in equality for all and privileges for none. This is a belief that each American regardless of background has equal standing in the public forum -- all of us. Because we believe this idea so firmly, we are an inclusive rather than an exclusive party. Let everybody come! I think it no accident that most of those emigrating to America in the 19th century identified with the Democratic Party. We are a heterogeneous party made up of Americans of diverse backgrounds.

We believe that the people are the source of all governmental power; that the authority of the people is to be extended, not restricted.

This can be accomplished only by providing each citizen with every opportunity to participate in the management of the government. They must have that, we believe. We believe that the government which represents the authority of all the people, not just one interest group, but all the people, has an obligation to actively -- underscore actively -- seek to remove those obstacles which would block individual achievement -- obstacles emanating from race, sex, economic condition. The government must remove them, seek to remove them.

We are a party of innovation. We do not reject our traditions, but we are willing to adapt to changing circumstances, when change we must. We are willing to suffer the discomfort of change in order to achieve a better future. We have a positive vision of the future founded on the belief that the gap between the promise and reality of America can one day be finally closed.

We believe that.

This, my friends, is the bedrock of our concept of governing. This is a part of the reason why Americans have turned to the Democratic Party. These are the foundations upon which a national community can be built. Let's all understand that these guiding principles cannot be discarded for short-term political gains. They represent what this country is all about. They are indigenous to the American idea. And these are principles which are not negotiable.

In other times, I could stand here and give this kind of exposition on the beliefs of the Democratic Party and that would be enough. But today that is not enough. People want more. That is not sufficient reason for the majority of the people of this country to vote Democratic. We have made mistakes. We realize that. In our haste to do all things for all people, we did not foresee the full consequences of our actions. And when the people raised their voices, we didn't hear. But our deafness was only a temporary condition, and not an irreversible condition.

Even as I stand here and admit that we have made mistakes, I still believe that as the people of America sit in judgment on each party, they will recognize that our mistakes were mistakes of the heart. They'll recognize that.

And now we must look to the future. Let us heed the voice of the people and recognize their common sense. If we do not, we not only blaspheme our political heritage, we ignore the common ties that bind all Americans. Many fear the future. Many are distrustful of their leaders, and believe that their voices are never heard. Many seek only to satisfy their private work wants. To satisfy their private interests. But this is the great danger America faces. That we will cease to be one nation and become instead a collection of interest groups: city against suburb, region against region, individual against individual. Each seeking to satisfy private wants. If that happens, who *then* will speak for America? Who then will speak for the common good?

This is the question which must be answered in 1976.

Are we to be one people bound together by common spirit, sharing in a common endeavor; or will we become a divided nation? For all of its uncertainty, we cannot flee the future. We must not become the new Puritans and reject our society. We must address and master the future together. It can be done if we restore the belief that we share a sense of national community, that we share a common national endeavor. It can be done.

There is no executive order; there is no law that can require the American people to form a national community. This we must do as individuals, and if we do it as individuals, there is no President of the United States who can veto that decision.

As a first step, we must restore our belief in ourselves. We are a generous people so why can't we be generous with each other? We need to take to heart the words spoken by Thomas Jefferson:

"Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life are but dreary things."

A nation is formed by the willingness of each of us to share in the responsibility for upholding the common good. A government is invigorated when each of us is willing to participate in shaping the future of this nation. In this election year we must define the common good and begin again to shape a common future. Let each person do his or her part. If one citizen is unwilling to participate, all of us are going to suffer. For the American idea, though it is shared by all of us, is realized in each one of us.

And now, what are those of us who are elected public officials supposed to do? We call ourselves public servants but I'll tell you this: We as public servants must set an example for the rest of the nation. It is hypocritical for the public official to admonish and exhort the people to uphold the common good if we are derelict in upholding the common good. More is required of public officials than slogans and handshakes and press releases. More is required. We must hold ourselves strictly accountable. We must provide the people with a vision of the future.

If we promise as public officials, we must deliver. If we as public officials propose, we must produce. If we say to the American people it is time for you to be sacrificial; sacrifice. If the public official says that, we must be the first to give. We must be. And again, if we make mistakes, we must be willing to admit them. We have to do that. What we have to do is strike a balance between the idea that government should do everything and that idea, the belief, that government ought to do nothing. Strike a balance. Let there be no illusions about the difficulty of forming this kind of a national community. It's tough, difficult, not easy. But a spirit of harmony will survive in America only if each of us remembers that we share a common destiny. If each of us remembers when self-interest and bitterness seem to prevail that we share a common destiny.

I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community.
I have confidence that the Democratic Party can lead the way.
I have that confidence.

We cannot improve on the system of government handed down to us by the founders of the Republic. There is no way to improve upon that. But what we can do is to find new ways to implement that system and realize our destiny.

Now, I began this speech by commenting to you on the uniqueness of a Barbara Jordan making a keynote address. Well I am going to close my speech by quoting a Republican President and I ask you that as you listen to these words of Abraham Lincoln, relate them to the concept of a national community in which every last one of us participates:

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of Democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no Democracy."

Thank you

Appendix B
Full text of Geraldine Ferraro's Vice-Presidential Nomination, 1984

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention:

My name is Geraldine Ferraro. I stand before you to proclaim tonight: America is the land where dreams can come true for all of us. As I stand before the American people and think of the honor this great convention has bestowed upon me, I recall the words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who made America stronger by making America more free. He said, "Occasionally in life there are moments which cannot be completely explained by words. Their meaning can only be articulated by the inaudible language of the heart." Tonight is such a moment for me.

My heart is filled with pride. My fellow citizens, I proudly accept your nomination for Vice President of the United States.

And I am proud to run with a man who will be one of the great presidents of this century, Walter F. Mondale. Tonight, the daughter of a woman whose highest goal was a future for her children, talks to our nation's oldest party about a future for us all. Tonight, the daughter of working Americans tells all Americans that the future is within our reach, if we're willing to reach for it. Tonight, the daughter of an immigrant from Italy has been chosen to run for [Vice] President in the new land my father came to love.

Our faith that we can shape a better future is what the American dream is all about. The promise of our country is that the rules are fair. If you work hard and play by the rules, you can earn your share of America's blessings. Those are the beliefs I learned from my parents. And those are the values I taught my students as a teacher in the public schools of New York City.

At night, I went to law school. I became an assistant district attorney, and I put my share of criminals behind bars. I believe if you obey the law, you should be protected. But if you break the law, you must pay for your crime.

When I first ran for Congress, all the political experts said a Democrat could not win my home district in Queens. I put my faith in the people and the values that we shared. Together, we proved the political experts wrong. In this campaign, Fritz Mondale and I have put our faith in the people. And we are going to prove the experts wrong again. We are

going to win. We are going to win because Americans across this country believe in the same basic dream.

Last week, I visited Elmore, Minnesota, the small town where Fritz Mondale was raised. And soon Fritz and Joan will visit our family in Queens. Nine hundred people live in Elmore. In Queens, there are 2,000 people on one block. You would think we would be different, but we're not. Children walk to school in Elmore past grain elevators; in Queens, they pass by subway stops. But, no matter where they live, their future depends on education, and their parents are willing to do their part to make those schools as good as they can be. In Elmore, there are family farms; in Queens, small businesses. But the men and women who run them all take pride in supporting their families through hard work and initiative. On the 4th of July in Elmore, they hang flags out on Main Street; in Queens, they fly them over Grand Avenue. But all of us love our country, and stand ready to defend the freedom that it represents.

Americans want to live by the same set of rules. But under this administration, the rules are rigged against too many of our people. It isn't right that every year the share of taxes paid by individual citizens is going up, while the share paid by large corporations is getting smaller and smaller. The rules say: Everyone in our society should contribute their fair share. It isn't right that this year Ronald Reagan will hand the American people a bill for interest on the national debt larger than the entire cost of the federal government under John F. Kennedy. Our parents left us a growing economy. The rules say: We must not leave our kids a mountain of debt.

It isn't right that a woman should get paid 59 cents on the dollar for the same work as a man.

If you play by the rules, you deserve a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. It isn't right that, if trends continue, by the year 2000 nearly all of the poor people in America will be women and children. The rules of a decent society say: When you distribute sacrifice in times of austerity, you don't put women and children first. It isn't right that young people today fear they won't get the Social Security they paid for, and that older Americans fear that they will lose what they have already earned. Social Security is a contract between the last generation and the next, and the rules say: You don't break contracts.

We are going to keep faith with older Americans. We hammered out a fair compromise in the Congress to save Social Security. Every group

sacrificed to keep the system sound. It is time Ronald Reagan stopped scaring our senior citizens.

It isn't right that young couples question whether to bring children into a world of 50,000 nuclear warheads. That isn't the vision for which Americans have struggled for more than two centuries. And our future doesn't have to be that way. Change is in the air, just as surely as when John Kennedy beckoned America to a new frontier; when Sally Ride rocketed into space; and when Reverend Jesse Jackson ran for the office of President of the United States.

By choosing a woman to run for our nation's second highest office, you send a powerful signal to all Americans: There are no doors we cannot unlock. We will place no limits on achievement. If we can do this, we can do anything.

Tonight, we reclaim our dream. We are going to make the rules of American life work fairly for all Americans again. To an Administration that would have us debate all over again whether the Voting Rights Act should be renewed and whether segregated schools should be tax exempt, we say, Mr. President: Those debates are over. On the issue of civil rights, voting rights, and affirmative action for minorities, we must not go backwards. We must -- and we will -- move forward to open the doors of opportunity.

To those who understand that our country cannot prosper unless we draw on the talents of all Americans, we say: We will pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

The issue is not what America can do for women, but what women can do for America.

To the Americans who will lead our country into the 21st century, we say: We will not have a Supreme Court that turns the clock back to the 19th century.

To those concerned about the strength of American and family values, as I am, I say: We are going to restore those values -- love, caring, partnership -- by including, and not excluding, those whose beliefs differ from our own. Because our own faith is strong, we will fight to preserve the freedom of faith for others.

To those working Americans who fear that banks, utilities, and large special interests have a lock on the White House, we say: Join us; let's

elect a people's president; and let's have government by and for the American people again.

To an Administration that would salvage student loans and education at the dawn of a new technological age, we say: You fit the classic definition of a cynic; you know the price of everything, but the value of nothing.

To our students and their parents, we say: We will insist on the highest standards of excellence, because the jobs of the future require skilled minds. To young Americans who may be called to our country's service, we say: We know your generation will proudly answer our country's call, as each generation before you.

This past year, we remembered the bravery and sacrifice of Americans at Normandy. And we finally paid tribute -- as we should have done years ago -- to that unknown soldier who represents all the brave young Americans who died in Vietnam. Let no one doubt, we will defend America's security and the cause of freedom around the world. But we want a president who tells us what America's fighting for, not just what we are fighting against.

We want a president who will defend human rights, not just where it is convenient, but wherever freedom is at risk -- from Chile to Afghanistan, from Poland to South Africa. To those who have watched this administration's confusion in the Middle East, as it has tilted first toward one and then another of Israel's long-time enemies and wonder: "Will America stand by her friends and sister democracy?" We say: America knows who her friends are in the Middle East and around the world. America will stand with Israel always.

Finally, we want a President who will keep America strong, but use that strength to keep America and the world at peace. A nuclear freeze is not a slogan: It is a tool for survival in the nuclear age. If we leave our children nothing else, let us leave them this Earth as we found it: whole and green and full of life.

I know in my heart that Walter Mondale will be that president.

A wise man once said, "Every one of us is given the gift of life, and what a strange gift it is. If it is preserved jealously and selfishly, it impoverishes and saddens. But if it is spent for others, it enriches and beautifies." My fellow Americans: We can debate policies and programs, but in the end what

separates the two parties in this election campaign is whether we use the gift of life for others or only ourselves.

Tonight, my husband, John, and our three children are in this hall with me. To my daughters, Donna and Laura, and my son, John Junior, I say: My mother did not break faith with me, and I will not break faith with you.

To all the children of America, I say: The generation before ours kept faith with us, and like them, we will pass on to you a stronger, more just America.

Thank you.

Appendix C
Full Text of Hillary Clinton's "It Takes a Village" Speech, 1996

You know, we are gathered here together... to have a really good time.

I am overwhelmed and very grateful to all of you.

You know... after this reception, I think you all are ready for the rest of this convention, which has already been so positive and good. I know and you know that Chicago is my kind of town.

And Chicago is my kind of village.

I have so many friends here, people who have been important to me all my life. And it seems like every single one of them has given me advice on this speech. One friend suggested that I appear here tonight with Binti, the child saving gorilla from the Brookfield zoo.

You know, as this friend explained, Binti is a typical Chicagoan, tough on the outside but with a heart of gold underneath.

Another friend advised me that I should cut my hair and color it orange and then change my name to Hillary Rodman Clinton. But, after considering these and countless other suggestions, I decided to do tonight what I've been doing for more than 25 years. I want to talk about what matters most in our lives and in our nation, children and families.

I wish we could be sitting around a kitchen table, just us, talking about our hopes and fears about our children's futures.

For Bill and me, family has been the center of our lives. But we also know that our family like your family is part of a larger community that can help or hurt our best efforts to raise our child.

Right now in our biggest cities and our smallest towns there are boys and girls being tucked gently into bed, and there are boys and girls who have no one to call mom or dad and no place to call home.

Right now there are mothers and fathers just finishing a long days work and there are mothers and fathers just going to work, some to their second or third jobs of day.

Right now there are parents worrying, what if the babysitter is sick tomorrow or how can we pay for college this fall.

And right now there are parents despairing about gang members and drug pushers on the corners in their neighborhoods.

Right now there are parents questioning a popular culture that glamorizes sex and violence, smoking and drinking and teaches children that the logos on their clothes are more valued than the generosity in their hearts.

But also, right now, there are dedicated teachers preparing their lessons for the new school year.

There are volunteers tutoring and coaching children. There are doctors and nurses caring for sick children, police officers working to help kids stay out of trouble and off drugs. Of course, parents first and foremost are responsible for their children. But we are all responsible for ensuring that children are raised in a nation that doesn't just talk about family values, but acts in ways that values families.

Just think -- as Christopher Reeve so eloquently reminded us last night, we are all part of one family, the American family, and each one of us has value. Each child who comes into this world should feel special -- every body and every girl.

Our daughter Chelsea will graduate from college in 2001 at the dawn of the next century.

Though that's not so far away, it is hard for any of us to know what the world will look like then, much less when Chelsea is my age in the year 2028.

But one thing we know for sure is that change is certain. Progress is not. Progress depends on the choices we make today for tomorrow and on whether we meet our challenges and protect our values.

We can start by doing more to support parents and the job they have to do. Issues...

Issues affecting children and families are some of the hardest we face as parents, as citizens, as a nation.

In October, Bill and I will celebrate our 21st wedding anniversary.

Bill was with me when Chelsea was born in the delivery room, in my hospital room and when we brought our baby daughter home. Not only

did I have lots of help, I was able to stay in the hospital as long as my doctor thought I needed to be there.

But today, too many new mothers are asked to get up and get out after 24 hours, and that is just not enough time for many new mothers and babies.

That's why the president is right to support a bill that would prohibit the practice of forcing mothers and babies to leave the hospital in less than 48 hours.

That's also why more hospitals ought to install 24-hour hotlines to answer questions once new mothers and fathers get home.

That's why home nurses can make such a difference to parents who may not have grandparents or aunts and uncles around to help. We have to do whatever it takes to help parents meet their responsibilities at home and at work.

The very first piece of legislation that my husband signed into law had been vetoed twice -- the Family and Medical Leave Law.

That law allows parents time off for the birth or adoption of a child or for family emergencies without fear of losing their jobs. Already it has helped 12 million families, and it hasn't hurt the economy one bit.

You know, Bill and I are fortunate that our jobs have allowed us to take breaks from work, not only when Chelsea was born, but to attend her school events and take her to the doctor.

But millions of other parents can't get time off. That's why my husband wants to expand the Family and Medical Leave Law so that parents can take time off for children's doctors appointments and parent-teacher conferences at school.

We all know that raising kids is a full-time job, and since most parents work, they are, -- we are -- stretched thin. Just think about what many parents are responsible for on any given day -- packing lunches; dropping the kids off at school; going to work; checking to make sure that the kids get home from school safely; shopping for groceries; making dinner; doing the laundry; helping with homework; paying the bills.

And I didn't even mention taking the dog to the vet. That's why my husband wants to pass a flex-time law that will give parents the option...

... to take overtime pay either in extra income or in extra time off, depending upon which is ever best for your family.

Our family has been lucky to have been blessed with a child with good health. Chelsea has spent only one night in the hospital after she had her tonsils out. But Bill and I couldn't sleep at all that night.

But our experience was nothing like the emotional strain on parents when their children are seriously ill.

They often worry about where they will get the money to pay the medical bills. That is why my husband has always felt that all American families should have affordable health insurance.

Just last week the president signed a bill sponsored by Senators Kennedy and Kassebaum, a Democrat and a Republican that will enable 25 million Americans to keep their health insurance even when they switch jobs or lose a job or have a family member who's been sick.

This bill contains some of the key provisions from the president's proposal for health care reform. It was an important step achieved only after both parties agreed to build, not block progress on making health care available to all Americans.

Now the country must take the next step of helping unemployed Americans and their children keep health insurance for six months after losing their jobs.

If you loose your job it's bad enough. But your daughter shouldn't have to loose her doctor too.

And our nation still must find a way to offer affordable health care coverage to the working poor and the ten million children who lack health insurance today.

The president also hasn't forgotten that there are thousands of children languishing in foster care who can't be returned home. That's why he signed legislation last week that provides for a \$5,000 tax credit for parents who adopt a child.

It also abolishes the barriers to cross-racial adoptions.

Never again will a racial barrier stand in the way of a family's love.

My husband also understands that parents are their child's first teachers. Not only do we need to read to our children and talk to them in way that encourage learning, we must support our teachers and our schools in deeds as well as words.

The president announced today an important initiative, called America Reads. This initiative is aimed at making sure all children can read well by the third grade. It will require volunteers, but I know there are thousands and thousands of Americans will volunteer to help every child read well.

For Bill and me, there has been no experience more challenging, more rewarding and more humbling than raising our daughter. And we have learned that to raise a happy, healthy, and hopeful child, it takes a family. It takes teachers. It takes clergy.

It takes business people. It takes community leaders. It takes those who protect our health and safety. It takes all of us.

Yes, it takes a village.

And it takes a president.

It takes a president who believes not only in the potential of his own child, but of all children, who believes not only in the strength of his own family, but of the American family...

... who believes not only in the promise of each of us as individuals, but in our promise together as a nation.

It takes a president who not only holds these beliefs, but acts on them.

It takes Bill Clinton.

Sometimes late at night, when I see Chelsea doing her homework or watching TV or talking to a friend on the phone, I think to myself her life and the lives of millions of boys and girls will be better because of what all of us are doing together.

They will face fewer obstacles and more possibilities. That is something we should all be proud of. And that is what this election is all about.

Thank you very much.

Appendix D

Full Text of Elizabeth Dole's Floor Speech, 1996

Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you so much. Oh my. Thank you. Thank you so much ladies and gentlemen for that wonderful, warm welcome. And thank you Governor Wilson for your very kind words of introduction.

Now, you know tradition is that speakers at the Republican National Convention remain at this very imposing podium. But, tonight I'd like to break with tradition. For two reasons. One, I'm going to be speaking to friends and secondly I'm going to be speaking about the man I love and it's just a lot more comfortable for me to do that down here with you.

Now for the last several days a number of men and women have been painting a remarkable portrait of a remarkable man. A man who is the strongest and the most compassionate, most tender person I have ever known. The man who, quite simply is my own personal Rock of Gibraltar.

And tonight I want to put the finishing brush strokes on that portrait if you will. And Bob Dole, if you're watching, let me just warn you, I may be saying some things that you in your modesty would never be willing to talk about.

But I think the people you've been serving all these years in America deserve to know they have the right to know, this is not a time to be silent. This is a defining moment, ladies and gentlemen, in our nation's history

This election is about the vision and the values that will shape America as we move into the next century. It's about the character of the man who will lead us there. Now, Bob Dole, as you know was born in Kansas, in a small town,

But let me say that yes, he was born in a small town in Kansas. His parents were poor. In fact at one point, when Bob was a boy, they had to move their family parents and four children into the basement, and rent out their small home upstairs just to make ends meet. But while they were perhaps poor in material things, they were rich in values. Values like honesty, decency, respect, personal responsibility, hard work, love of God, love of family, patriotism - these are the values that led Bob to risk life in battle fields of Italy.

And these are the values that enabled him to sustain over three years in the hospital. Now I didn't know Bob back then, but Pat Lynch did. Pat stand a moment if you would. Come right up here with me.

Pat Lynch is from Boone, Iowa. Pat was one of Bob's nurses and Percy Jones Hospital in Battle Creek, Mich. Pat has told me about Bob's good humor and how they used to wheel him from ward to ward, to cheer up the other wounded soldiers.

She's also told me that Bob was very patient and that he tapped his inner resources so that he could get by day after day.

Pat's told me that when Bob was totally paralyzed and people thought he wouldn't walk again, he literally willed himself to walk. He was a person of great perseverance, determination and drive. And he recovered fully except for the use of his right arm in the three years at the hospital.

And during that period of time I think Bob's sensitivity to the problems of others certainly was deepened as well because he's been there. He's been through adversity. He's know pain and suffering.

It was at this time in his life that he got to know Dr. Kelikian. Now Kelikian was a great surgeon. Chicago, Illinois. And Dr. Kelikian had fled Armenia, war-torn Armenia, as a young man. Three of his sisters were not so fortunate. He came to the United States with only two dollars and a rug from his homeland under his arm.

And Dr. Kelikian, at that point a young boy, worked on a farm. And the owner of the farm was so impressed with him, that he paid his way through college. And then he went on to medical school, and he became a great surgeon - a master in bone and joint surgery.

And so Bob Dole went to Dr. Kelikian looking for a miracle, because he wanted to be the person he'd been before the war. A great athlete, a person who was on his way to study medicine. Dr. Kelikian performed a number of operations and then he had to administer some tough love.

He had to say to Bob "you're not going to find a miracle. Now the choice is up to you Bob, you can continue to feel sorry for yourself, or you can get on with your life and make the most of what you do have."

Dr. Kelikian would not take a penny of money for those operations and he did the same for many other young veterans coming back from the war who were not able to afford the medical care that they needed.

So you can imagine how much we cherish the friendship of Dr. Kelikian's widow and her daughter Alice. Thank You.

And certainly Bob has known the struggle to make ends meet. In fact he couldn't have had a college education without the GI Bill.

And so he's gonna protect and preserve and strengthen that safety net, for those who need it. Also he's dedicated his life to making a difference, to making a positive difference for others because of his own experiences, whether it's on the battlefield, on the Senate floor, or whether it's in his personal life, he's going to be making that difference for others.

And you know it was only 12 years ago, that I recall so well Bob coming home from a trip to Kansas, we were sitting in the bedroom talking, and he said "Elizabeth my plane was late and they were trying to rush me into a meeting out there, and there were these two young people who were waiting outside the door to talk with me, and they were severely disabled. And they were there with their parents."

"Tim and Carla were their names. And he said... Tim said to me "Senator Dole, we've found a source of help for people who have a disability such as ours in another state. Can you help us get there?"

And as Bob was telling me about it, he said "I can't stop thinking about Tim and Carla. Elizabeth, I've been meaning to start a foundation for people with disabilities for years and I haven't done it yet."

The very same day after, the Dole foundation was up and running and Bob's raised millions of dollars to help people with disabilities.

Tim, Tim, I want to thank you for your courage and your spirit. Thank you Tim for inspiring Bob Dole to start the Dole foundation for people with disabilities. We love you. Thank you.

And I remember about 10 years ago Bob and I were about to celebrate our birthdays, which are about seven days apart in late July. Bob suggested a reverse birthday.

He said, "Elizabeth, let's go to Sarah's Circle," which is a very special place in inner-city Washington that houses and ministers to elderly poor. And he said "let's find out what the 35 or 40 residents most need and want and we'll give them the gifts, give them the party."

And so that's what we did, and we've had many wonderful visits there since with cherished friends. And our most recent reverse birthday was just three weeks ago at Sarah's Circle.

And I remember a Thanksgiving, oh probably three or four years ago, when Bob called up and he said, "you know Elizabeth, I'd like to do something a little different this Thanksgiving."

And he sounded kind of sheepish because, you see, he'd already put the plans in motion. And I said, well, Bob, what would you like to do. And he said, "well I've invited 35 young people from some pretty tough parts of Washington and their church sponsors to have Thanksgiving dinner with us."

Well he'd already reserved some places for us at a restaurant and he'd had them put in some televisions so the kids the could watch the Redskins game. When I think of, what touched us so deeply, was after they finished their Thanksgiving meal and they'd finished watching the game, they began to talk about their life stories, and the common thread that ran through so many of those stories was that these kids until very recently had never heard anyone say, I care about you. I care about you.

Ladies and gentlemen, you didn't read about that Thanksgiving dinner in the newspaper or hear about it in the media, because Bob Dole never told anybody about it. He did it from his heart. He wants to make a difference, a positive difference for others, because he cares, because that's who he is.

And I certainly will never forget his last day as majority leader of the United States Senate. I was seated up in the balcony, you know, and I was watching as Senator after Senator, Democrats and Republicans stood and paid tribute to my husband on the Senate floor.

They talked about his countless legislative achievements, how he led the United States Senate to successfully pass the largest tax cut in the history of the United States of America.

They talked about how he had saved social security. And I just want to quote from a letter. This is Claude Pepper, and he was the champion of seniors and he wrote to Bob, May 11, 1983.

He thanked Bob for his extraordinary contributions, saying, and I quote, "you never lost hope and faith in our accomplishing the immeasurable

task of saving Social Security. We could have never produced this result without your skill and sincerest desire to make a meaningful contribution."

That's leadership, ladies and gentlemen.

They also talked about how Bob had led the Senate just last year to save Medicare, increasing spending 62 percent, only to have the White House veto the legislation, provide no other alternative for saving the system except a multi-million dollar add campaign to scare our senior citizens.

They talked about Bob's incredible ability to bring people together and his tremendous sense of humor, and you know, that reminds me of the time I was up for confirmation hearings before one of the committees of the Senate for its secretary of transportation.

And my husband introduced me. And you know what he did to me? He sort of did a take off on Nathan Hale: "I regret that I have but one wife to give for my country's infrastructure."

That's Bob Dole. But above all, these senators, Democrats and Republicans, talked about Bob's character, his honesty, his integrity.

And I remember Senator Pete Domenici, beautiful speech that you gave, and when you concluded your speech you said: "The next majority leader of the United States Senate better know that he better be honest."

He better tell the Senate the truth, because Bob Dole knew of no other way. Remember that, Pete.

And Diane Feinstein, Democrat of California, said Bob Dole's word--listen to this now--Bob Dole's word is his commitment, and his commitment is a matter of honor. "We often disagree on issues," she said, but even when we disagree, I know where I stand with Bob Dole and I know I can trust his word. I can trust his word."

And that's why, ladies and gentlemen, that's why Bob Dole's fellow senators elected him six times to be their leader, because they know he is honest, trustworthy, a man of his word, his word is his bond, and they know he has exceptional leadership skills. And isn't that exactly what we want in the president of the United States?

Thank you. And you see, you see, thank you, these are the people, think of this, these are the people that know him so well, have worked with him day after day, year after year.

They know what his judgment is like under pressure, and that's why they continue to put their faith and trust in him, making him the longest serving Republican leader in Senate history. Eleven years.

Now, I'm also very proud of the fact that the employees of the United States Senate, the waiters, waitresses, others who work there, voted Bob twice, four years apart in two surveys, as the nicest, friendliest of all 100 senators. I'm sorry about that, Pete.

These are employees like Trudy Parker, who is a member of the United States Capitol Police, and Trudy, bless your heart, Trudy was the first person that Bob saw on the way to work every morning while he was in the Senate, and also that final day. I can still see you. I'll remember it forever. You threw your arms around my husband and tears were streaming down your face, and you said, "Elizabeth, everywhere you go, people tell you they love Bob Dole, because he always has a kind word for everyone." Bless you, Trudy. Thanks

Now, let me just say, I could go on and on sharing stories about this loving husband and father, this caring friend, but please indulge a very proud wife just one final story which neither I nor my 95-year-old mother will ever forget.

When Bob was dating me, he used to go to North Carolina a lot to visit my parents.

And one morning, unbeknownst to me, he left his bedroom and went down where mother was fixing breakfast in the kitchen, and he had a towel over his arm and shoulder that had been disabled in the war.

And he says, "Mrs. Hanford, I think you ought to see my problem."

Mother said, "Bob, that is not a problem. It's a badge of honor."

My fellow Americans, my fellow Americans, I believe that in the years to come, future generations will look back to this November and say, here is where Americans earned a badge of efficient government and stronger and safer families.

Here is where we elected the better man who led us to a better American. Because here is where we elected Bob Dole.

God bless you all. Thank you.

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