

**AALBORG UNIVERSITET 2009**

Suzie Lauritzen og Malene Fisker



# POWER IN DISCOURSE

- A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Concluding Democratic Presidential Debates 2008



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>3. METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>8</b>
3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
3.2 CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION.....	10
3.3 RELEVANCE.....	11
<b>4. PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND</b> .....	<b>12</b>
4.1. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM.....	12
4.2. STRUCTURALISM AND POST-STRUCTURALISM.....	18
4.2.1. <i>Ferdinand de Saussure</i> .....	18
4.2.2. <i>Michel Foucault</i> .....	20
<b>5. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS</b> .....	<b>25</b>
5.1. CDS OR CDA.....	25
5.2. THE PURPOSE OF CDA.....	26
5.3 KEY ELEMENTS OF CDA.....	29
5.3.1 <i>Power</i> .....	29
5.3.2 <i>Discourse</i> .....	30
5.3.3 <i>Interdiscursivity</i> .....	31
5.3.4 <i>Discursive strategies</i> .....	32
5.3.5 <i>Text and talk</i> .....	34
5.3.6 <i>Intertextuality</i> .....	35
5.3.7 <i>Context</i> .....	36
5.3.8 <i>Ideology</i> .....	38
5.3.9 <i>Identity</i> .....	40
5.4. THE SOCIOCOGNITIVE APPROACH.....	42
5.4.1 <i>The Discourse-Cognition-Society Triangle</i> .....	43
5.4.2 <i>Social representation</i> .....	44
5.4.3 <i>Mental Models</i> .....	44
5.4.4 <i>Access</i> .....	45
5.5. ABRIDGMENT OF CDA.....	47
<b>6. RHETORIC</b> .....	<b>48</b>
6.1 NEW RHETORIC.....	49
6.1.1 <i>Audience</i> .....	50
6.1.2 <i>Values</i> .....	51
6.1.3 <i>Presence</i> .....	54
6.1.4 <i>Argumentation by Association</i> .....	54
6.1.5 <i>Argumentation by Dissociation</i> .....	57
6.1.6 <i>Modes of Persuasion</i> .....	58
6.1.7 <i>Manipulation</i> .....	59
6.2 POWER OF MIND.....	60
6.2.1 <i>Framing</i> .....	61
6.2.2 <i>Metaphor</i> .....	63
6.2.3. <i>Metaphorical framing</i> .....	71
6.3 COMBINING NEW RHETORIC, FRAMING AND METAPHOR.....	73
<b>7. TEMPLATE FOR ANALYSIS</b> .....	<b>74</b>
7.1 STRUCTURAL BASIS.....	74
7.2 FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE.....	76
7.2.1 <i>Text and Context</i> .....	76
7.2.2 <i>Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity</i> .....	77
7.2.3 <i>Social Representations, Ideology and Identity</i> .....	77

7.2.4 Mental Models .....	78
7.2.5 Discourse Access Profile .....	78
7.2.6 Discursive Strategies .....	79
7.2.7 Audience, Values and Presence .....	79
7.2.8 Types of Argumentation .....	80
7.2.9 Modes of Persuasion.....	80
7.2.10 Framing .....	80
7.2.11 Metaphor .....	80
<b>8. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN AMERICA.....</b>	<b>82</b>
8.1 GENDER.....	83
8.1.1 Gender or Sex .....	83
8.1.2 Women in America.....	84
8.1.3 Women in the Top.....	85
8.1.4 Running for President as a Woman .....	87
8.2 RACE.....	88
8.2.2 Civil Rights .....	88
8.2.3 Poverty among African Americans .....	89
8.2.4 The Racial Divide .....	91
8.2.5 African-Americans in Politics.....	92
8.3 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS APPLYING TO GENDER AND RACE.....	94
<b>9. CONTEXTUAL DATA .....</b>	<b>96</b>
9.1 PRIMARY ELECTORAL SYSTEM.....	96
9.2 HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON.....	98
9.2.1 Education.....	99
9.2.2 Political Career .....	100
9.3 BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA .....	102
9.3.1 Education.....	104
9.3.2 Political career.....	105
<b>10. ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>107</b>
10.1 CONTEXT.....	107
10.2 INTERTEXTUALITY AND INTERDISCURSIVITY .....	113
10.2.1 Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity Used by Clinton and Obama .....	113
10.2.2 Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity Used by Moderators .....	116
10.3 SOCIAL REPRESENTATION, IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY .....	119
10.3.1 Social Representation, Ideology and Identity of Hillary Clinton.....	119
10.3.2 Social Representation, Ideology and Identity of Barack Obama.....	132
10.4 MENTAL MODELS.....	144
10.4.1 Mental Models of Hillary Clinton.....	144
10.4.2. Mental Models of Barack Obama.....	145
10.5 DISCOURSE ACCESS PROFILES.....	148
10.5.1 Access Profiles of Clinton and Obama .....	148
10.6 DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES .....	149
10.6.1 Discursive strategies of Hillary Clinton .....	151
10.6.2 Discursive strategies of Barack Obama .....	152
10.7 AUDIENCE AND VALUES.....	155
10.7.1 Audience .....	155
10.7.2 Values .....	157
10.8 TYPES OF ARGUMENTATION.....	160
10.8.1 The Subject of Universal Health Care .....	161
10.8.2 Obama's Health Care Plan .....	161
10.8.3 Clinton's Health Care Plan .....	163
10.8.4 Points of disagreement .....	163
10.8.5 Establishing presence .....	165
10.9 MODES OF PERSUASION.....	166
10.10 FRAMING.....	167

10.10.1 Moderators' Use of Framing.....	168
10.10.2 Hillary Clinton's Use of Framing.....	169
10.10.3 Barack Obama's Use of Framing.....	170
10.11 METAPHORS .....	171
10.11.1 Characteristics of the Orientational Metaphors.....	172
10.11.2 Clinton's Use of Metaphorical Framing.....	177
10.11.3 Obama's Use of Metaphorical Framing.....	178
10.11.4 Moderators' Use of Metaphorical Framing .....	179
11. CONCLUSION .....	181
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>DANSK RESUMÉ.....</b>	<b>192</b>

# 1. Introduction

As the only remaining superpower in the world, the United States of America holds great power politically on the global scene. For that reason it is of great importance not just to the Americans, but to the world as a whole, who occupies the Oval Office in the White House. This is also why it is relevant to investigate how the present holder of the American presidency came to be nominated for the 2008 elections.

What has caught our interest and spawned the subject of this MA Thesis is not the fact that the American people elected a Democratic president to take the seat after George W. Bush because it seems clear to us that the American people felt a need for fundamental change in the government. We believe it is a widely held view that the preceding years during the Bush administration have been turbulent for the American people to say the least. The 2001 attack on the World Trade Center along with the ensuing war on terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq have inflicted heavy casualties among American citizens. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina wreaked havoc in the Southern part of the country, killing hundreds and leaving thousands without a home (nytimes.com 1). Two years later, in 2007, the Americans saw the onset of what has now developed into a worldwide financial crisis causing unemployment to rise (politikken.dk 1) and major financial and insurance corporations to throw in the towel in the fight to survive (finans.tv2.dk 1).

At the same time, polls showed an all-time low for the popularity of the Republican Bush administration (nytimes.com 2) which apparently did not seem fit to run the country in the eyes of its population. With the presidential election coming up, the voters had another chance to put their trust in a person who could not only lift the burden and live up to the challenges of being the leader of the free

world, as some would call it, but likewise be strong enough to take leadership of a country that we believe needed hope of a brighter future.

Arguably, these conditions led to an exciting presidential election but what we find most interesting is the preceding nomination of the Democratic candidate. We wonder, on what basis the Democratic voters decided that Barack H. Obama would be the better choice of a leader over Hillary R. Clinton to run for president. As is probably well known to the reader, Clinton was, in her capacity as former First Lady and senator of the state of New York, already well-known in American politics, whereas the Illinois senator Obama was fairly anonymous before the primary election (Burcharth, 2008: 44).

This is particularly interesting because research in the field of psychology has shown that recognition more than any other phenomena is a deciding factor when people are to choose between two or more options. Hence, most people will prefer the known choice (Aaker 2002: 10). What happened in the Democratic Party in the nomination of the presidential candidate for the 2008 election must therefore be considered exceptional. So is the fact that both candidates came from a group in society that had never before held the American presidency; i.e. a woman and an African-American.

Throughout history, all American presidents from George Washington to George W. Bush have been Caucasian males. For the 2008 Democratic nomination the voters did have the choice of several Caucasian males, but by January 31<sup>st</sup> 2008 these had all either withdrawn or simply been eliminated from the nomination. The reasons why these people did not find sufficient endorsement may be many and various but the fact remains that the most popular candidates were Obama and Clinton.

In our opinion the nomination of the African-American Obama shows a progressive change in society. However, to us the question stands; was he the better candidate or did he win on the basis of his gender in spite of his race? We wonder, if the reason for Clinton's defeat was to a higher extent caused by social constructions in America of what women are and what they are capable of than her actual capabilities as a politician and a leader. Likewise, we wonder if these constructions of society exclude a woman from presiding over the Oval Office.

For this thesis we have chosen to look both at the final candidates in the finishing stages of the nomination as well as the American society with regards to gender and race. Looking at the candidates, we will determine how they fared on their own merits and the means they used to project a positive self image. Furthermore, we will investigate the social constructions in society that may hinder or support such a positive image of self.

For a political debate to have a winner there has to be inequality between the debaters based on who has the strongest arguments or understands to frame them in the strongest way possible. Since inequality will always manifest itself through the power in discourse, it is relevant to center our attention on how the relations of power are between Obama and Clinton and how they manage to project an image of themselves to the public. Accordingly, we have chosen the approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA) because it allows us to center on the means of power that we believe can be found in the discourse(s) used in the debates. Furthermore, CDA is rooted in social constructionism which demands of one to approach what some people consider true from a critical angle and question if this truth is only a social construction and not the absolute truth. CDA is not a set method of analysis but a cross-discipline that can include one or more of the fields of linguistics, psychology and sociology. It allows us to look at both contextual factors

pertaining to the events, as well as the personal, rhetorical proficiencies of the candidates. This takes us to the statement of problem below.

## **2. Statement of Problem**

Pondering on why Hillary Clinton was defeated by Barack Obama in the 2008 primary election and believing that the political discourse in American politics, at least up until the 2009 inauguration of Barack Obama, has been dominated by a Caucasian male discourse, we ask the following questions:

**How do the major discourses of the two final democratic candidates correlate with the social constructions of gender and race in contemporary American society in terms of power and dominance? Additionally, how does their rhetorical expertise influence the discourse(s) in the debates and which devices do they utilize in terms of argumentation and self-framing in order to create a convincing and positive image of self?**

Since these are by no means straightforward questions to answer, we will in the following give an outline of how we have chosen to structure this thesis as well as the theoretical choices made in order to answer the questions above.

### 3. Methodology

We have opted to base our analysis on transcripts of the four, final debates<sup>1</sup> between Clinton and Obama during the concluding stage of the primary elections when all other competitors within the Democratic Party had been eliminated. This selection has been made despite the fact that earlier debates very possibly would show a different rhetoric and a different relationship of power between the two contenders, and thereby also a different discourse. However, we strongly believe that the participation of the other contenders would obscure the focus on the relationship between Clinton and Obama, as well as it would interfere with the discourse between the two.

As is evident from the statement of problem above, we have divided this thesis into two areas. The first deals with the society that the debates take place in and the possibilities it gives, as well as the limitations it sets for the candidates. The second area deals with the personal abilities of the candidates and how they use them to frame themselves and their ideas in a positive light. The figure above shows the structure of the thesis, and in the following we will go through the different areas that are covered to give an explanation of the structure as well as an overview of the different theoretical choices we have made. For a more in-depth discussion of the

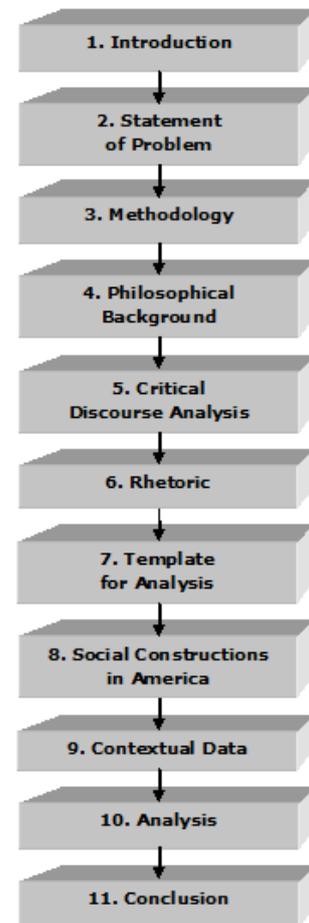


Figure 1: Structure of MA Thesis

---

<sup>1</sup> All four debates can be found in the appendix.

applicability of theories, we refer to the individual chapters in which they are explained.

### **3.1 Theoretical Framework**

In order to fully grasp the fundamental ideas of CDA, it is necessary to explain the philosophical background. We therefore begin the theoretical part of this thesis (chapter 4) with an overview of social constructionism, structuralism and post-structuralism that jointly permeate the approach of CDA. Subsequently, to explain the central philosophical notions of the approach, we will account for how these developed into CDA. Having laid out the groundwork for our main theory, we will in chapter 5 delve into the specifics of CDA and explain the key elements of the approach. Because of the vastness of the CDA field, it is not within the scope of this thesis to embrace the approach in its entirety. Consequently, we have made a number of choices in the name of relevance of what to include and what to leave out. The central core of the approach is a focus on power and dominance, and thereby also inequality, and how they: “...are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.” (van Dijk, 2008a: 85). Accordingly, this focus will be reflected throughout the chapter.

Our approach to CDA is predominantly based on the research of the three leading theorists within the field, Teun A. van Dijk (e.g. van Dijk, 1997a, 1999b), Norman Fairclough (e.g. Fairclough, 1989, 1995) and Ruth Wodak (e.g. Wodak, 2006), whose extensive lists of publications are probably the most cited in the CDA community. On the notion of power in discourse we do, however, adopt the sociocognitive approach of van Dijk that distinguishes him from Fairclough and Wodak.

One way the candidates in the debates can influence discourse(s), and thereby also the social constructions, is through rhetoric. Accordingly, we have found it

important to include a rhetorical aspect not just in our analysis but explicitly in our statement of problem. There are a multitude of approaches to rhetoric, from which we have chosen to base ours on the classical rhetorical aspect of *modes of persuasion*, which the debaters use to frame themselves and their arguments, and the *New Rhetoric* theories of Chaïm Perelman (Perelman, 1982). In *New Rhetoric* the late Professor Perelman stakes the claim that language is never conducted on neutral ground. Thus, argumentation will always be based on considerations of values and audience. For a political debate this approach seems highly appropriate.

The final rhetorical aspects that we will include are those of framing and conceptual metaphor which we have called *Power of Mind*. Staying within the field of cognition that we first presented through the words van Dijk, we take a closer look at the more recent work of cognitive linguist George Lakoff (e.g. Lakoff, 2008) on the concept of framing. Subsequently, we investigate parts of the theory on conceptual metaphor first developed by Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This theory sets forth the notion that the use of metaphor is conditioned by the way we think and therefore an expression of how we conceive of phenomena in our world. These two theories will help us to elucidate the representation of self that is displayed in the debates.

In chapter 7 we sum up the tools of CDA and rhetoric that we have disclosed in the preceding chapters in order to draw up an analytical model for the investigation of the debates. This chapter makes it clear to the reader which elements will be included in the analysis.

### **3.2 Contextual Information**

In order to conduct our analysis of the debates in the best way possible, we find it necessary to place the debates and their participants within the context that the

debates took place in. This includes a broad view on gender and race in contemporary American society based on sociological and historical research that will allow us to take a closer look at the constructions in society (chapter 8), and how they either set limits or make possibilities for politicians in America according to their gender or race.

Following this, we move into more neutral ground in chapter 9. Firstly, we take a factual look at where the debates are placed temporally in relation to the US electoral system and more specifically the primary election. Secondly, we will give a brief biographical introduction to the candidates that gives an insight into their backgrounds in terms of e.g. level of education, political career, class, gender and race. This is later used in the study of power and dominance in our analysis for us to be able to determine how the two candidates stand apart.

In chapter 10 we analyze the four debates according to the template in chapter 7. To give the reader a clear conception of our empirical material, we have in the appendix included additional information on the selected debates in terms of where and when they take place and who participates in them. We have chosen to include this information both because it has relevance in terms of discourse(s) and because the readers, as well as we, need this information in order to fully comprehend the parameters of the discourse(s).

### **3.3 Relevance**

The relevance of this thesis must be seen not only in relation to who is in charge of the world's only remaining superpower but also from the perspective of what restrictions there may be in terms of gender and race to what people can accomplish. In the true spirit of CDA, the chapters to come will be a journey into not just human science, but also an expedition that sidetracks through sociology, history and cognition. This will form a multifaceted view on the discourse(s) of the

final candidates for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination and the society it took place in. In the final chapter (chapter 11) we will sum up our findings from the analysis in a concluding answer to the statement of problem.

## **4. Philosophical background**

Before entering the theoretical framework of this thesis, we have found it necessary to explain the philosophical background of CDA. This is to help the reader place our approach to things in the vast field of philosophical work. We take our starting point in social constructionism, move on to structuralism and post-structuralism and conclude by explaining how these isms have contributed to the approach of CDA.

### **4.1. Social constructionism**

The reason for taking our starting point in social constructionism<sup>2</sup> is above all that it is considered the pillar of discourse analysis (DA) and CDA in particular (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 4), although DA is only one of many approaches within social constructionism. In fact, social constructionism can be looked upon as an umbrella term that embraces a large number of newer theories on the subject of culture and society of which though, DA is one of the most widely used (ibid.).

One of the major theorists within the field of social constructionism is PhD in Psychology, Vivien Burr (e.g. Burr, 2008). Although she claims that social constructionism is a term used almost exclusively by psychologists, she also agrees that it has become the popular term for the many alternative approaches<sup>3</sup> that have emerged since the middle of the 1970s as they share “...a kind of *‘family*

---

<sup>2</sup> We are aware that some theorists distinguish between social constructivism and social constructionism, but as there to many is no difference between the two labels (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 23; Collin & Køppe, 2003: 248), we prefer to use the term social constructionism consistently.

<sup>3</sup> To Burr these approaches are for example: “...*‘critical psychology’, ‘discursive psychology’, ‘discourse analysis’, ‘deconstruction’ and ‘poststructuralism’* (Burr, 2008: 1).

*resemblance'.*"(Burr, 2008: 1p). By this she means that the members of the 'social constructionist family' resemble each other like members of a family, although they may not share the exact same characteristics.

What fascinates us, and probably most of the people who have worked with social constructionism, is the thought that we should: "...take a critical stance toward taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world, including ourselves." (Burr, 2008: 2p).

This means that we as human beings must stop and think twice, whenever we are presented to for example a phenomenon that seems common knowledge to both ourselves and others. Put very simply, we can argue that from a social constructionist approach we must always be suspicious of how we consider the world to be (Burr, 2008: 3).

In social constructionism it is believed that phenomena in the world are constructed by us as human beings and subjects, and we as such both shape and affect these phenomena by our interest in them. An example of such a phenomenon is gender which we approach on the basis of our knowledge about it – knowledge that we have achieved from the society we live in. Often human interest builds on social factors and stem from certain ideologies<sup>4</sup> or political groups with power (Collin & K ppe, 2003: 249). Therefore, we can argue that a phenomenon can stem from discrimination, but that discrimination can never stem from a phenomenon. The reason for this is that the phenomenon of e.g. gender or race would never have existed, had it not been for discrimination. Hence, discrimination can be said to be a human construction which from a social constructionist point of view we can decide to change or even abolish, if we determine it to be dysfunctional (ibid.).

---

<sup>4</sup> Ideology will be further dealt with in chapter 5.3.7.

We can ask ourselves why most people in the Western world for example consider blond girls to be stupid and naïve. It could just as well have been the brunettes or the black-haired girls who were considered so. If asked to reflect on this, the same people would most likely agree on this statement, but will never be able to account for why they refer to blonds in this manner. In fact, they would probably come up with the answer that they only rely on what they have been 'told' and thereby have taken for granted. We could continue with many more examples like this, because this is what social constructionism allows us to – to be critical and evaluative of the social phenomena that we observe, learn about, believe in, live by, etc.

On the other hand, some people consider social constructionism absurd, because it challenges what they consider common sense (Burr, 2008: 3). Typically, these people represent what is referred to as positivism (ibid.): “...*the assumptions that the nature of the world can be revealed by observation...*” and empiricism: “...*what exists is what we perceive to exist.*” From this we can learn that positivists and empiricists believe that there is only one truth based on what they have seen and experienced in their lives. As such, the two theories share the conception of knowledge that in order to exist, a phenomenon must be tangible to the senses or possible to prove scientifically.

The understandings of the world of both positivists and empiricists are interesting, because they differ from each other and depend on: “...*where and when in the world one lives.*” (Burr, 2008: 4). This means that the way we consider the world to be, reflects the part of the world that we live in as well as the period of time. An example is young married couples, who are likely to have very different perceptions of women and work than their grandparents. The grandparents carry with them historical and cultural knowledge significantly different from the

younger people because they have lived in another time with different needs and norms.

This affects their knowledge about the world and thereby influences their views on the abovementioned phenomena. By building on non-eternal and innate phenomena, it has been argued that the constructionist approach philosophically is in proximity

to historicism<sup>5</sup> (Collin & K ppe, 2003: 249). To a certain extent this is true as social constructionism reflects both historical and cultural factors, but on the other hand social constructionism is much more and particularly depends on human beings to play the active role (ibid.). Burr explains this as follows (Burr, 2008: 4):

*“It is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated. Therefore social interaction of all kinds, and particularly language, is of great interest to social constructionists.”*

This means that we as human beings base our knowledge on what we see and experience in our everyday lives. We achieve knowledge from reading and watching news, observing things when we sit in a bus, at the bus stop as well as from speaking with other people. As the quotation states, it is especially the latter, i.e. language, that is interesting to investigate from a social constructionist angle. Not only do we acquire knowledge through language, it is also through language that we provide other people with it. Due to the fact that different people have different perceptions of phenomena, depending on which perspective they view them from, this affects the knowledge that they offer to others through the use of

---

<sup>5</sup> Historicism can briefly be explained as a positivist understanding of the task that historical and social science have to solve by finding general legalities in and for developments in both culture and society in which no law is common but based on individual interpretations (Collin & K ppe, 2003: 175).

language. What CDA can be useful for is to point out these influences. Because of these views, we have to ask ourselves if our perceptions are: "...*'natural' and independently existing...*" which most people, according to Collin and Køppe, consider them to be (Collin & Køppe, 2003: 248). However, what some people may consider natural and independently existing is not necessarily what others consider natural.

This is not the same as saying that our knowledge is an interpretation of reality. Instead, social constructionism understands truth as the way we as a culture or society (Burr, 2008: 4): "...*construct our own versions of reality between us.*" Although, some may argue that interpretations also include constructions this differs from constructing our own versions of reality by which we can both interpret and create reality. We can say that we as people develop our own version of truth, and that this truth is often also what is true to our fellow human beings, meaning those who live in the same type of society or same culture as ourselves. This implies that other cultures or societies are not true, if they do not see things the way we do. However, as truth is extremely difficult to determine, we should ask ourselves who, if any, is capable of determining the truth. This rather philosophical question has therefore always been the focal point of social science (Burr, 2008: 4).

Phillips and Jørgensen have a similar explanation to language and social constructionism:

*"With language, we create representations of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality."*

(Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 8pp)

The fact that we use our language to mirror the world and its constructions makes our language highly interesting to investigate. By evaluating pre-existing episodes

and forming new knowledge, we develop new knowledge and thereby also the world we live in. Furthermore, we will always, deliberately or not, try to influence other people through language in order to make them have the same opinions and thereby the same understanding of truth as ourselves.

By way of example, one can argue that people in the Western part of the world have used the knowledge of a time when freedom of speech was not a fundamental right, to develop a society in which it has become a fundamental right. At the same time, other parts of the world still base their society on what we would probably call conservative knowledge. However, we have to be aware that by saying so, we are judging and taking on a point of view that we are influenced by and have helped to influence on the basis of experience, etc. The central word in this sentence is 'influence' because we as people cannot remain unaffected by the world around us. This leaves us with what seem to have always been – and still is – the major problem concerning who is right and who is wrong.

To Phillips and Jørgensen our language is much more than a channel through which we communicate information (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 9). This information could for example contain: "...*underlying mental states and behavior or facts about the world...*" (ibid.). Consequently, our language contains much more than words in the sense that it reflects our mood and perception of reality as well as it can influence the ways we behave. In fact, language can be considered a machine that creates and thereby forms what we consider to be the social world with: "...*social identities and social relations.*" (ibid.). Altogether this implies that our language can start the engine that changes the world, because when our social world changes, the way we talk is changed and vice versa. To further account for the role of language, we will continue this chapter by taking a deeper look into structuralism and post-structuralism.

## 4.2. Structuralism and Post-structuralism

As mentioned in the beginning of this subchapter, social constructionism is considered an umbrella term for the many approaches that emerged in the 1970s. What the constructionist theorists rejected was the totalizing and universalizing theories such as Marxism and psychoanalysis. They considered these theories to be too rigid and therefore wanted to dissociate themselves from these purely structuralistic approaches (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 6). This has been called the Science Wars (Collin & Køppe, 2003: 248) and triggered social constructionists to base their approaches on post-structuralism. Below we will further investigate what the structuralist and post-structuralist approaches entail.

### 4.2.1. Ferdinand de Saussure

Most theorists agree that the linguistic version of structuralism was born in 1916 during World War I, when Ferdinand de Saussure's book '*Cours de linguistique générale*' was published<sup>6</sup> (Collin & Køppe, 2003: 200). What Saussure was able to deduce was revolutionizing and has since been the fundamental belief in structuralism; that our language has a structure (ibid.). However, it is important to stress that Saussure never mentioned the word 'structure' in his work (Kjørup, 2008: 137).

A structure can in this case be defined as a number of units or signs that with the right structure form a language (ibid.). By making these units or signs match, we create sentences and words that other people can understand if they use the same units. This also means that the units or signs cannot make sense by themselves, but are depending on relations with other units or signs (ibid.). If we do not have these relations or are incapable of making them, our access to reality becomes

---

<sup>6</sup> It is important to stress that it was not Saussure himself who put the book together. Instead it was written by two of his students and based on Saussure's lectures in the years before his death (Kjørup, 2008: 137).

limited, as access is only possible through language as this is our primary means of communication (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 8). We are therefore depending on our language to make sense of the world around us.

The structure in language, as Saussure saw it, has been explained by many people. Some refer to it as a fishing net in which the knots of the mesh represent a unit or sign to use the term of Saussure (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 11). Following the lines of the knots, one can go many ways, and the units therefore enable an almost infinite amount of possibilities, although there are limits. These limits are based on the position of the knots and make it impossible for some of the knots to go together in a combination (ibid.). According to Phillips and Jørgensen (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 25), people constantly try to stretch out the fishing net in order to fix the meaning of the sign by 'locking' them to specific relationships with other signs. However, these concrete fixations of a sign are not possible because the significance of a sign is contingent. This means that significance of a sign: "...*is possible but not necessary...*" (ibid.) and can appear differently in diverse situations (ibid.).

No matter how we then think of combinations or structures, we have to realize that language is a complex matter. This may also have been why Saussure considered language much too complex and arbitrary for analyses as a whole. He therefore made a distinction between *langue* and *parole* (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 10).

In brief, we can define 'langue' as the structure in the language, which means that we think of language as a system (ibid.). Opposite this is 'parole' which refers to the use of language (ibid.). It was the latter that Saussure found too multifarious and thereby not suited for analysis. However, this distinction is also one of the most problematic aspects about Saussure's theory as it refuses the answers that an

analysis of the use of language may reveal. Although, Saussure's view on language and language use became the subject of study for the post-structuralist theorists, the distinction was also one of the main things they developed further. Probably the most famous of all the post-structuralist theorists was Michel Foucault (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 12), and thus we will continue by looking into his theories.

#### 4.2.2. Michel Foucault

As stated above, it is Foucault who more than anyone else represents post-structuralism. Foucault's most important contribution was a break with the notion that '*langue*' and '*parole*' had to be separated as he did not believe that language was too arbitrary to build analyses and thereby conclusions on (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 10). Breaking with the thinking of Saussure, he brought context into text analysis and thereby founded the focus on Discourse Studies (DS)<sup>7</sup>. Although far from all theorists agree with Foucault in every way, his work is quoted in almost all discourse analytical approaches (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 12).

According to Foucault, discourse can be understood as follows:

*"We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation (...Discourse) is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form (...) it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history (...) posing its*

---

<sup>7</sup> We are aware that the foundation of DS and critical thinking can be taken all the way back to the so-called Frankfurter school which was established in 1923 and served as an Institute for philosophers and sociologists who practised social research (Kjørup, 2008: 103). However, as CDA did not develop into its existing form until the 1990s, we will not go further into the earlier theoretical approaches.

*own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality."*

(Foucault, 1972: 117 *In*: Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 12)

With this definition of discourse, Foucault argues that a discourse is to be understood as a group of statements. The number of these statements is not infinite, as there can only be a limited number of statements in the discourse. Furthermore, these statements can only be part of the group if they belong to the same discursive formation, meaning that they meet the requirements of the group. However, the structure can be made from an almost infinite number of possibilities, which is why the Foucauldian way of thinking has been compared to the World Wide Web. This is also considered a structure of units that together constitute a system which gives us the results we search for and furthermore seems interminable because of the multiple choices of linking pages, although there are limits.

Moreover, the group of statements can be changed over a shorter or longer period of time, meaning that the whole discourse changes and it therefore stands to reason why Foucault called it a fragment of history. We have previously argued that how we use language influences and thereby changes the world around us as well as language is influenced and changed by influences from the world. With these changes we also influence discourse, because it has to reflect the time and situation in which it is used. Consequently, we are able to speak of a 'medical discourse' or even a 'political discourse'.

One thing that Foucault agrees with, when speaking of structuralism, is that discourse is not a timeless form, but a fragment of history from beginning to end that works in its own ways with regards to limits, divisions and transformations. This is what he calls the specific modes of temporality. By this it could seem that

discourses are uncontrollable, but this is not true. This is due to the fact that we may have an infinite number of ways to formulate our statements, but end up with solutions in which" *...the statements that are produced within a specific domain are rather similar and repetitive.*" (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 13).

It can thereby be argued that it is both the historical, cultural and sociological limits of the particular discourse which define the limits of what both people can say and what will never be accepted as meaningful (ibid.). For example, a group of teenage boys who are friends with each other can develop a particular discourse consisting of tough language and knowing expressions. When they are with the group they have to speak within the limits of the group to remain accepted, but when they are with their families, this language may very well not be within the limits of the families and accepted as meaningful.

Foucault was especially interested in: "*...the structure of different regimes of knowledge – that is, the rules for what can and cannot be said and the rules for what is considered to be true or false.*" (ibid.). I. e. his mention of rules for what is considered true or false leads back to the discussion of truth and falsity. However, the fact that his work is divided into two sets of studies implies that there has been a shift at some point. The two sets of work are called the *archaeological* and *genealogical phase*, representing his early and later work, respectively (Fairclough, 1999: 39).

In his archaeological work, Foucault viewed discourse analysis as a method concerned with analyzing statements that facilitated studies of verbal performances (Fairclough, 1999: 40). More precisely, we can argue that Foucault saw the importance of making a contextual analysis, and it is therefore also important to stress that to Foucault:

*"...discourse analysis is not to be equated with linguistic analysis, nor discourse with language. Discourse analysis is concerned not with*

*specifying what sentences are possible or 'grammatical', but with specifying sociohistorically variable 'discursive formations' (sometimes referred to as 'discourses')."*

(Fairclough, 1999: 40)

From this it can be seen that Foucault centered on the elements which surrounded the language, and that he found these more relevant and meaningful than the language itself. This was what made him especially important to the large number of sociolinguists who emerged in the 1970s. In our introduction to Foucault and his influence on DS, we argued that not all theorists agree with him in every way. The reason for this can be seen in the quotation below. It reveals that Foucault focused neither on sentences and their use nor on the grammatical issues that can be found in texts. With this point of view, Foucault differs from later sociolinguists, who believe that a concern for language is necessary (ibid.).

According to anthropologist Paul Rabinow, not only the shift in Foucault's work from archaeology to genealogy, but also the relationship between the two can be deduced from the following quotation of Foucault:

*"'Truth' is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements. 'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A 'regime' of truth."*

(Rabinow, 1984: 74 In: Fairclough, 1992: 49)

The first sentence shows the whole summary of archaeology in which our truth is a system which determines and regulates what we can and cannot say. In the second sentence, the use of the term 'power' shows that this has been added to

archaeology, and it was this element that prepared the ground for the shift to genealogy and thereby the second set of studies (Fairclough, 1999: 49). This addition means that we can talk about a regime of truth in which truth and power are linked together since truth becomes both: “...*embedded in, and produced by systems of power.*” (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 14).

The development from archaeology to genealogy thereby prompted a decentering of discourse in favor of power, and the shift therefore gave rise to the following conviction (Fairclough, 1999: 49): “...*discourse is secondary to systems of power.*” By changing what was considered (Fairclough, 1999: 50): “...*the view of the nature of power in modern societies...*”, Foucault put discourse and language in a position which made them the core of (ibid.): “...*social practices and processes.*” By this Foucault meant that power in modern societies and problems of dominating populations are very much related, and that power is involved in the social practices of our everyday lives (Fairclough, 1999: 50). Finally, power is not necessarily about negatively and forcefully dominating other people but can be said to incorporate and shape people in order to fit them into their true position in the world (ibid.). Most people seem to believe that an amount of power is mandatory to facilitate some sort of order in society and therefore accept that from a very young age they are shaped into their true position. However, many will also argue that they themselves have great influence on this position as one can question if we can even speak of a true position.

The reason why this shift was especially interesting was that nobody before Foucault had seen this close connection between truth and power in which power suddenly became a determining factor for truth and thereby discourse. Therefore, both truth and power have also been the two particular factors for other social constructionist theorists and critical discourse analysts to take their starting point in. This implies that they agreed with Foucault, although most of them have put a

higher focus on language than he did. Language is a complex matter, and as it is continuously evolving, the analyses of discourse will help us answer possible questions of what is right and wrong and remind us that nothing is black and white only.

Roughly speaking, this means that the discourses we are surrounded by are both shaping and shaped by the language that we speak. Hence, the way we use our language does not neutrally reflect the world we live in (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 1). Instead, it seriously affects it by both creating, shaping and changing it (ibid.). It is the latter, change, which more than anything separates post-structuralism and social constructionism from structuralism, as the structure has suddenly become changeable. From a structuralist approach this change is not considered possible (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 11).

Having explained the isms and the philosophical background of CDA, we now enter the part of our theoretical framework that deals more directly with CDA.

## **5. Critical Discourse Analysis**

In the previous subchapter we argued that most of the discursive analytical approaches we know today follow the Foucauldian view on discourse and its tradition of power and knowledge (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 13). This is also the case with the three theorists, van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak, who we have chosen to use. Although, the field of CDA has been further developed by several other theorists, it is their research and theoretical contributions in particular that are repeatedly referred to.

### **5.1. CDS or CDA**

Together with other approaches to Discourse Analysis (DA), CDA constitutes the field we refer to as Discourse Studies (DS). The approach saw the light of day in

the 1990s<sup>8</sup> (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 4) and has since then been used, vigorously discussed and further developed. Although, CDA seems to have become the label for the field as a whole, there are theorists who distinguish between CDS and CDA, while others consider the two to be synonyms.

Fairclough uses the term CDA both when referring to the approach that he himself has developed and to the broader movement within discourse analysis that contains other approaches as well (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 60). Opposite from Fairclough, van Dijk considers this 'adoption' of CDA too easy and points out that a distinction should be made between the two. According to van Dijk, CDS should be used as a term to describe the studies in which the main interest is to form theories and critical analysis of discourses in order to elucidate power abuse and social inequality, while CDA refers to the act of conducting a critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2008: 1).

Furthermore, van Dijk argues that neither CDS nor CDA are methods as such but approaches that can embrace any method as long as it is relevant for the aims of the research. We do not disagree with van Dijk on his distinction between CDS and CDA but have chosen to use the term CDA exclusively. First of all, because the term, according to Wodak (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 1), is the general label and the most widely used by theorists in the field, and secondly, because it is the appropriate terminology, given that our purpose here is to conduct a critical discourse analysis.

## **5.2. The Purpose of CDA**

In the words of van Dijk, CDA is discourse analysis: "... *'with an attitude'*." (van Dijk *In*: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 96). By this he is referring to the fact that

---

<sup>8</sup> At a symposium, Teun A. van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen – all critical linguistic theorists – met in Amsterdam in January 1991 to discuss theories and methods of DA and CDA in particular (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 4).

discourse analysis only allows for a textual analysis, whereas CDA includes the sociological angle by taking a critical stance towards the distribution of power in society. According to Fairclough, who has also accounted for CDA and its purpose, this is what makes CDA a useful method in social theoretical research (Fairclough *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 121*). Van Dijk has defined CDA very explicitly:

*“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.”*

(van Dijk, 2008: 85)

By this van Dijk emphasizes the importance of power in CDA and places the focus on how power, and thereby dominance and inequality, affects society and consequently, discourse.

Furthermore, Fairclough and Wodak state that: *“CDA regards ‘language as social practice’.”* (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 1*). On the basis of this, we can argue that language, from a critical discourse point of view, is more than text and talk because it has a social element to it as well. In fact, Wodak argues that the context<sup>9</sup>, in which the language appears, is crucial to CDA and has to be included and considered as well (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 1). What the context can reveal is the social processes and structures behind the production of texts and the persons or groups who: *“...as social historical subjects...”* use text and

---

<sup>9</sup> Context will be further defined and explained in chapter 5.3.7.

language to create meanings by (Fairclough and Kress, 1993: 2ff *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 3*).

Considering people to be social historical subjects is important because it correlates with our previous argument (chapter 4.1), stating that we as human beings are both influenced by and influencing the world we live in. Hence, this thesis takes its starting point in social constructionism stating that we as human beings are encouraged to change or at least expose social constructions to a critical evaluation (Collin & K ppe, 2003: 249). When we make changes in our discourses through battles on a discursive level, we help to change and reproduce the social reality (Phillips & J rgensen, 2002: 9), and it is especially these changes and battles that CDA is useful for identifying.

The fact that we can even speak of a battle reveals another main interest of CDA which we have already touched upon; the relation between language and power (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 2). Next to power follow dominance, discrimination, and control which can all be argued to be manifest in our language (*ibid.*).

According to Wodak (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 10): “...*language is not powerful on its own...*”. What gives it power is the way it is used by powerful people (*ibid.*).

This means that people who have power help the language gain power via their choices in language and their use of it. It is through this use they contribute to the aforementioned battles. Van Dijk refers to these powerful people by speaking of *power elites* which we will define in the following chapter on *access* (chapter 5.4.4).

As some methods are more relevant to CDA than others, these have been used more often and have thereby become natural to include (van Dijk, 2008: 2). In the preface of his book *Power & Discourse*, van Dijk states that CDA should always include all dimensions of: “...*Discourse, Cognition and Society – and when possible also a Historical and Cultural dimension...*” (van Dijk 2008: IX). In addition to this,

Wodak argues that the concept of power and ideology must always figure in CDA (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 3). This implies that there are central terms which have to be included in a critical discourse analysis. In order to account for these, we will in the following give a run-through of what we consider the key elements of CDA.

### **5.3 Key Elements of CDA**

As stated above (chapter 3), power is the central core of the approach and it is therefore used as our starting point. This is followed by an explanation of discourse, interdiscursivity and discursive strategies which lead us to text, talk and intertextuality. Having accounted for these terms, we move on to context and ideology followed by identity. As stated in chapter 3, we have opted for the sociocognitive approach of van Dijk. Hence, we will conclude chapter 5 with an explanation of this approach (chapter 5.4).

#### **5.3.1 Power**

As the notion of power is a common thread running through the different approaches to CDA – and this thesis as well – we will take a closer look on the concept of power. Because CDA has a special focus on social change, the concept of power is in this theoretical framework closely related to dominance. This is illustrated by van Dijk's definition of dominance as seen below:

*“The exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups that result in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality.”*

(van Dijk 1993: 249f)

Personal power is only included here if it is an individual realization of group power based on privileged access to important resources such as: “...*wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge.*” (van Dijk

1993: 254). An example of personal power as a realization of group power is the American presidency. As history shows, it is very unlikely for anyone to become president of the United States without a very close affiliation and the highest level of support from one of the two major political parties. Subsequently to being elected, the president is still a representative of this political group.

### 5.3.2 Discourse

Most people in the field of humanities will agree that the general idea of the word 'discourse' is: "*...that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life...*" (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 1). To understand this we refer to the aforementioned examples of the knots in a fishing net (chapter 4.2.1) and the World Wide Web (chapter 4.2.2) because they respectively paint a picture of what language as a structured pattern signifies.

This entails that there can be many types of discourses, of which we can speak of a journalistic, medical, judicial and political discourse. Each discourse contains a pattern which all utterances follow, depending on when or where they are used in social life. However, Fairclough and Wodak emphasize that speaking of a discourse not only includes written and spoken language but also visual images (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997 *In*: Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 61).

According to linguists Chilton and Schäffner, there are three ways of defining discourse of which the two first are linguistic (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002: 18). The first way indicates that discourses are: "*...contextualized, real-time utterances...*" meaning that our utterances are immediate discourses in context. Secondly, it can refer to: "*...a stretch of real-time utterances 'perceived as a single language event'...*" meaning that several same-time utterances is considered one and that there can be different utterances in different discourses. An example of this is a political debate

in which the many different utterances of the politicians belong to the same discourse – the one of the debate in question.

The third way leans on the Foucauldian tradition by referring to: “...*the totality of utterances in a society viewed as an autonomous evolving entity...*” (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002: 18). It is this last approach that we will use to define discourse. According to this third way, discourse must be viewed as a group of statements in society that develops independently of other groups. Furthermore, this way considers discourse to be shared in units of statements and practices, and most importantly, to be inseparable from power. In fact, Chilton and Schäffner argue that CDA is often used for the purpose of revealing: “...*the ways in which power, authority and influence are instrumentalized through utterances.*” (ibid.).

An angle to discourse which applies to Chilton and Schäffner’s third way in particular is the one of van Dijk (2008: 86) and Phillips and Jørgensen (2002: 61) who seem to agree with Fairclough and Wodak (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 271pp) that discourse is both constitutive and constituted. Basically, we can explain this by saying that a discourse is both shaping and being shaped by the world that surrounds it. This correlates with what we have previously discussed in our philosophical background of CDA (4.1). In this chapter we argued that CDA focuses on the dialectic relationship of discourse, and that we as human beings are both influenced by the world we live in as well as influencing it.

### **5.3.3 Interdiscursivity**

Accounting for discourse, it is necessary to also include *interdiscursivity* which occurs: “...*when different discourses and genres are articulated together in a communicative event.*” (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2002: 73). Such interdiscursive relations are important to an analysis because they, according to Fairclough, focus on the structure and articulation of discursive formations which he refers to as:

“...institutional and societal ‘orders of discourse’...”, meaning all the discursive practices that can be in a society and the interactions between them (Fairclough, 1999: 43). When people through their language use discourse in new, complex ways and thereby create what Phillips and Jørgensen call *interdiscursive mixes*, they push boundaries and affect the dominant social order and create socio-cultural change (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 73). As nobody can make an utterance: “...without using words and phrases that others have used before...” (ibid.), interdiscursivity will always appear. The fact that interdiscursivity draws upon other discourses makes it a form of *intertextuality* which is explained in chapter 5.3.6.

#### **5.3.4 Discursive strategies**

Having defined the term discourse, we now move on to investigate how it is utilized in different situations. In order to uphold the imbalance in power there are different strategies. Two of these are the strategies of justification and denial of inequality. The first strategy argues for a separation and polarization of the parties involved into a positively represented ‘us’ and a negatively represented ‘them’ (van Dijk, 1993: 263). Often what is perceived as negative behavior from ‘them’ is portrayed by ‘us’ as emblematic and common for ‘them’ but also deviant from the good behavior of ‘us’. This is sustained by persuasive moves in rhetoric as listed below:

- *Argumentation: the negative evaluation follows from the facts.*
- *Rhetorical figures: hyperbolic enhancement of their negative actions and our positive actions; euphemisms, denials, understatements of our negative actions.*
- *Lexical style: choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations.*

- *Story telling: telling about negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details about negative features of the events.*
- *Structural emphasis of their negative actions, e.g. in headlines, leads, summaries, or other properties of text schemata (e.g. those of news reports), transactivity structures of sentence syntax (e.g. mentioning negative agents in prominent, topical position).*
- *Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts, e.g. in news reports.*

(ibid.: 264)

The list is by no means exhaustive of the rhetorical aspects, but is representative of strategies in the 'us' and 'them' polarization. Van Dijk also refers to 'us' and 'them' as *ingroups* and *outgroups* in which the ingroup will include the speaker and others who share his or her mental models, and the outgroup will consist of the aforementioned 'them' (van Dijk *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 103*).

The second strategy of denial offers the claim that there is no inequality, and that there should be made no difference between minorities and other groups in society such as positive discrimination. What this strategy may even be used to declare is that it is everybody else who suffers because of the positive discrimination. This is a strategy prominent in elite discourses on e.g. white poverty where it is argued that ethnic minorities, for example, get more benefits through positive discrimination than some groups of Caucasians, who they perceive as more needy (van Dijk, 1993: 264f).

Van Dijk states that the cognitive use of power is often the most effective and can manifest itself in e.g. the use of persuasion, manipulation and dissimulation (ibid.: 254). For the reason that access to public discourse is limited for minorities, their

voices are not heard as often as the ones of the majority, letting the production and the sustaining of a dominant discourse influence the mental models<sup>10</sup> of individuals in society (ibid.: 265).

Above we have defined and explained different discursive strategies which may or may not be used in a communicative situation. However, we consider an almost endless list of strategies possible as they will vary according to e.g. identity, culture and function.

### **5.3.5 Text and talk**

The basis for any critical discourse analysis is, of course, text, which we will define as being any form of mediated message of a written, spoken or visual kind (Fairclough, 1995: 4). Here we will, however, focus solely on the written and spoken text and the differences between these. Linguist Brian Paltridge states that spoken text as it is experienced in e.g. face-to-face conversation has a much higher degree of spontaneity and unfinished sentences than written text (Paltridge, 2006:13).

Needless to say, a written text has often undergone a higher level of consideration than utterances in a conversation (ibid). Spoken text often has frequent repetition, hesitation and redundancy because the speaker is trying to compose what to say while speaking (ibid.: 14). Paltridge proceeds by quoting linguist M. A. K. Halliday to say that written text has at some stage been just as incomplete as spoken statements can be. The written end product that the reader is presented to is a highly idealized version of the writing process (ibid.: 13). For a written or spoken text, the process it goes through from production to reception and interpretation is known as discourse practice (Fairclough, 1995: 133p).

---

<sup>10</sup> Mental models are further explained in chapter 5.4.3.

Another difference between written and spoken text, which is pointed out by some linguists, is that of contextualization. It is a commonly held view that spoken texts demand: "... a shared situation and background for interpretation while writing does not depend on such a shared context." (Paltridge, 2006: 13). While this may be true for conversation, prepared speech such as in the form of formal university lectures may depend very little on a shared context, while personal letters will do so to a very high degree (ibid.: 13).

The debates for analysis in this thesis can be said to be a hybrid between the two types of text as the texts themselves are written transcripts of spoken text. Because of the nature of political campaigning, the participants have, however, talked about the same subjects for an extended period of time. Accordingly, we believe that this entails that some statements have been used more than a few times before and may even be rehearsed. To some extent, this also entails that the opponent is prepared for the viewpoints that will be uttered and may have statements ready to counter the other point of view.

### **5.3.6 Intertextuality**

Using the same statements in different situations leads us to the subject of intertextuality which, as stated above, is close related to interdiscursivity. On the subject of intertextuality Fairclough states: "*In its most obvious sense, intertextuality is the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text...*" (Fairclough, 2003: 39). These elements can be the repeated use of expressions, a reference to other texts or a quotation. A simple example of intertextuality is our quoting of Fairclough directly above. According to Fairclough, intertextuality is important in an analysis in the sense that for every text one encounters, there are other texts which are potentially relevant and potentially incorporated into the text (ibid.: 47). The significance to the analysis appears when one questions what other texts are included or excluded, and what significant absences there are (ibid.). Whether

consciously or subconsciously selecting what to include or not to include into a text, the speaker or writer has a choice to either support or oppose a given social structure.

### **5.3.7 Context**

Having commented on the text itself, we now move on to take a closer look at all the aspects that surround the text which is known as context. The significance of context in CDA is highlighted by the definitions listed in the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English: *“The situation, events, or information that are related to something and that help you to understand it”* and secondly, *“the words that come just before and after a word or sentence and that help you understand its meaning”* (Longman 2003). As is inferred by the two definitions, the phenomenon of context is essential in order to decipher the specific meaning of a text. Taken out of context or not seen in a broader context, any simple statement might easily be misconstrued. However, by simply saying that context consists of the situation, events or information that helps one to interpret the meaning of a particular text would be to oversimplify the phenomenon.

#### ***5.3.7.1 Contexts as Unique and Subjective Participant Constructions***

Contexts include, of course, such objective dimensions as time and space but are, according to van Dijk, furthermore: *“...participant constructs or subjective definitions of interactional or communicative situations.”* (van Dijk, 2008b: 16). The way the discourse is being influenced by this context is by way of the participants' (inter)subjective interpretation of the event (ibid.). Said in other words, it is the social constructions of society that determine the nature of the context and its influence on discourse (ibid.). As an example, the presence of a priest in a communicative event would prevent most participants from swearing because of the social construction that prevents Christians from using such phrases. Especially the presence of a priest, to whom one must appear righteous if not

pious, would prevent such behavior. As such, contexts become unique experiences in the sense that every participant brings with him/her an individual set of emotions, values and knowledge. Differences in these factors, from one participant to another, account for the difference in language use (ibid.). A unique context thereby sets the ground for a unique use of language (ibid.).

Although contexts are unique experiences, they are socially based in the sense that the interpretation of context relies on (ibid.: 17): "... *shared social cognitions (knowledge, attitude, ideologies, grammar, rules, norms and values)*." Van Dijk describes this as an intersubjective dimension that needs to exist for social interaction to take place (ibid.). Arguably, meaningful communication would be greatly complicated without the intersubjective common ground on which to base the production and interpretation of text.

#### **5.3.7.2 Models, Schemas and Categories**

Staying within the field of cognition, van Dijk bases his theory of context on the premise that contexts are a type of mental models known as context models (van Dijk, 2008b: 16). Context models are comprised of: "... *schemas of shared, culturally based, conventional categories...*" (ibid.: 16p) and continues: "*Such categories are, for instance, Time, Place, Participants (and their various identities or roles), Action, Goals and Knowledge.*" (ibid.: 17). These models allow for fast interpretation of an ongoing communicative event and make the participant (or spectator) able to digest and comprehend sometimes highly complicated communicative situations in real time. These models and their inherent hierarchic structure are dynamic in nature in that they are constantly updated to the present situation and the relevance in categories for the subject at hand (ibid.: 17p).

#### **5.3.7.3 Classifying Types of Contexts**

Naturally, there are many different kinds of contexts which can to a large extent be classified by defining such aspects as:

*“... spheres (public, private), mode (spoken, written, multimedia, etc.), main social domain (politics, media, education), institution or organization (parliament, university, shop), participant roles and relations (doctor-patient, Prime Minister-Members of Parliament), goals (impart or require knowledge, advice, service, etc.), or (inter)actions (decision making, governing, etc.)...”*

(van Dijk, 2008b: 22)

The different types of contexts are grounded in the culturally shared general context schemas and categories and are ‘learned’ by the participants in an accumulation of knowledge from past experiences with similar events. This is also why it is possible for participants to plan ahead aspects of the context such as time, place, other participants as well as goals for the event (ibid.: 18). Planning these elements ahead of the event, we argue, furthermore allows the participant to largely plan what to say to whom and how.

#### **5.3.7.4 Appropriateness**

The type of context also sets the scene for what van Dijk refers to as the *“relative appropriateness of discourse”* (van Dijk, 2008b: 21). Discourse as a social action is governed by a set of normative rules that sets the standard for what types of discourses are acceptable in different contexts (ibid.). Returning to the example of the priest given above, the use of swearwords in the presence of a member of the clergy would be inappropriate in the present context and thereby unacceptable according to normative rules.

#### **5.3.8 Ideology**

Over the years there has over been a somewhat heated discussion on the subject of ideology in relation to CDA (van Dijk, 1995: 138). Some theorists argue for the

purely Marxist explanation of ideology as: "...*inherently misleading, as tools used by the dominant to make oppressive social systems seem natural and desirable and mask the cause of oppression.*" (Johnstone, 2002: 45). Fairclough and Wodak, however, take a somewhat more cautious approach when defining ideology but stays within the Marxist tradition when stating: "*Ideologies are particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation.*" (Fairclough & Wodak In: van Dijk et al 1997: 275) and continue: "*Ideologies are often (though not necessarily) false or ungrounded constructions of society.*" (ibid.). With this definition, Fairclough and Wodak maintains the view on ideology as a tool for dominance but opens up to the possibility of ideology being more than that by saying, it is not necessarily a false or ungrounded construction of society.

Van Dijk does not oppose the notion of ideology as a tool for oppression but does take a far more neutral approach to the concept itself when defining it: "...*we shall here simply define ideologies as systems that are at the basis of the socio-political cognitions of groups.*" (van Dijk, 1995: 138). With this statement, van Dijk allows for the voices of dissent from dominated groups to be classified as ideologies as well as those from dominant groups. Ideologies are, according to van Dijk, made up of the social norms and values that exist within the culture the group belongs to, and selected to optimize the realization of the group's goals (ibid.: 138). An example of this is feminist ideology that does not recognize women as being any weaker than men and therefore considers the notion of equality between the genders a key value of the ideology.

Van Dijk agrees with Fairclough and Wodak that the definition of ideology does not rely on concepts of truth or falsity (van Dijk, 1995: 245f). One may agree or disagree with the values and norms of e.g. fascism or environmentalism and some of the groups' key assumptions may even be proven a falsity by science but it does

not change the status of the group beliefs as ideologies. In this sense, one may even say that the concept of truth is defined within the group regardless of outside notions of the concept.

Ideology influences the way one constructs the world in the sense that it has an impact on the: "...specific knowledge and beliefs of individual language users." (van Dijk, 1995: 138). As such it will naturally influence language and thereby discourse. For this thesis, we adhere to the definition of ideology as set forth by van Dijk, in that it includes the voices of all social groupings in society whether dominant or dominated. To define ideology simply as the voices of dominance would, in our opinion, not only neglect the rest of the society, it would largely underestimate groupings in society that currently hold little or no power but which may represent a dominant majority in the future.

### **5.3.9 Identity**

Fairclough states that all texts: "...express the social identities of their producers and address the assumed social identities of their addressees and audiences." (Fairclough, 1995: 123). The identity of the producers is revealed through discourse because of three constructive effects (Fairclough, 1999: 64). Firstly, discourse contributes to what Fairclough and others refer to as 'social identities' and 'subject positions' meaning how the subject<sup>11</sup> is placing its 'self' (ibid.). Secondly, discourse contributes to the build-up of social relationships between people, and finally, it helps to construct systems of knowledge and belief (ibid.). Fairclough calls this an identity function which relates to the social identities. These are set up in discourse on the basis of e.g. the relationship between the discourse participants and the ways in which texts show the world and its processes (ibid.). From a

---

<sup>11</sup> Fairclough speaks of both 'social subjects' and 'institutional subjects' but consider both to be participants/members in a double sense (Fairclough, 1995: 39). This double sense refers to the fact that people are both agents as: "...subjects of history..." and affected as: "...the Queen's subjects..." (ibid.).

constructionist approach, the identity function is of great importance due to the fact that how: “...societies categorize and build identities for their members is a fundamental aspect of how they work, how power relations are imposed and exercised, how societies are reproduced and changed.” (Fairclough, 1999: 168). This means that people’s identities are based on fundamental traditions of society.

Speaking of categorization and building identities, we are led back to the ‘us’ and ‘them’ (chapter 5.3.4) as these groups reflect identity. When people become members of a group, they tend to identify with that group (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 100pp) and consequently begin viewing the reality of society in the same way as the rest of the group. Consequently, it has even been argued that racism and ethnocentrism are results of such group memberships (ibid.).

In the past decades, identity has, however, become a complex matter to categorize (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 110). Earlier, there seemed to be central categories such as (ibid.): “...nation, class, gender and family...” which together shaped other identities but as the Western view on the world has changed, it seems difficult to speak of such ‘fixed’ categories (ibid.). For example, several women now identify themselves as both homemakers and career women. However, identities can also exclude each other, if they are in conflict with each other (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 47p). The discourses that constitute the identities respectively are then threatening to undermine the existence and meaning of the other (ibid.). In such cases the aforementioned contingency (4.2.1) of the identity and the contingency of the identities that it constitutes become obvious (ibid.).

#### **5.2.9.1 National Identity**

According to Wodak, national identity is also a result of discursive construction, as: “...national identities are discursively produced and reproduced” and have their

own: "...*distinctive habitus*<sup>12</sup>..." (Wodak In: Chilton & Schäffner, 2002: 143pp).

National identities are based on the fact that people have a common history (ibid.: 146). Together with national cultures, these identities encourage people to unite in a: "...*political nation state*..." and identify themselves with the national culture (ibid.: 147). This prompts that state and culture become identical.

Furthermore, national identities are based on the stereotypical ideas of other:

"...*nations, groups of 'the others', and their culture [and] history*..." (ibid.), meaning that national identities tend to distance themselves from other nations which to a higher or lower degree are different from theirs. Wodak continues that it is not possible to speak of just one national identity (ibid.). Instead, different identities become constructed through discourse on the basis of context so that they match the audience, the setting in which the discursive act takes place and the topics for discussion (ibid.).

Having elucidated the key elements in CDA, we now move on to explain how van Dijk connects the field of CDA with that of social cognition, and what relevance this approach has to CDA.

#### **5.4. The Sociocognitive Approach**

The sociocognitive approach of van Dijk is particularly useful because it bridges the social aspect with the more individual phenomenon of cognition into the production and comprehension of discourse, as it explicates the importance of affiliation with different social groups to the way one processes and expresses knowledge and viewpoints. An analysis of discourse structures and power structures explicated by studying style, rhetorical strategies and meaning may

---

<sup>12</sup> By using the word *habitus*, Wodak refers to Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002: 145): "...*a complex of common but diverse notions (...) of perception, of related emotional dispositions and attitudes, as well as of diverse behavioural dispositions and attitudes, as well as of diverse behavioural dispositions and conventions (...), all of which are internalized through socialization.*"

reveal deliberate strategies to e.g. dissimulate. However, it does not reveal the governing role of social cognition in the minds of the actors involved in the discursive event. This may disclose the abovementioned affiliations and the social constructions held to be true within the groups one is affiliated with.

#### **5.4.1 The Discourse-Cognition-Society Triangle**

Within the sociocognitive approach to CDA van Dijk proposes that an analysis should be done within the scope of the discourse-cognition-society triangle. In this triangle the society component represents both local and global levels e.g. the individual participants and properties of the society and hence the culture they operate in (van Dijk, Teun A. 2001 *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 98*). The elements of this corner of the triangle will be further dealt with in chapter 8 and will not be given any further attention here. The second corner is that of the communicative event in question i.e. discourse, which we have already investigated above. This leaves us with the third and final corner – that of cognition – which we will explain in the following.

Cognition is crudely said to be: *“The process of knowing, understanding, and learning something.”* (Longman, 2003), and it is by studying these processes that we learn of the power relations that lead to dominance and social inequality (van Dijk 1993: 251). More specifically, cognition is comprised of the emotional or memory based structures, representations and processes involved in the interaction between the participants in the discourse. In relation to CDA, cognition refers to how we process the information, we receive from and send to others, and also with which intend this is done (van Dijk, Teun A. 2001 *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 98*).

The sociocognitive approach is based on the premise that cognition is not a purely individual process but is based largely on socially (and culturally) shared knowledge of the world. In the following we will elaborate on this subject in the

description of what must be described as central concepts in the theories of social cognition with regards to CDA: *Social representation of groups and mental models* respectively.

#### **5.4.2 Social representation**

Van Dijk defines social cognition as: "... a socially shared system of social representations" (van Dijk In: Giles 1990: 166) The members of this system (or group) share features like e.g. "... appearance, origin, socioeconomic goals cultural dimensions and personality" (ibid.). Furthermore, the members share evaluative knowledge about social groups, classes, structures and social issues drawn from personal knowledge, experiences, personal or context related opinions and unique situations. These phenomena have undergone a process of generalization, adaptation and normalization to the extent that they match those of the other members (van Dijk In: Giles 1990: 166).

Social representations are stored in what is known in cognitive psychology as the *semantic memory*<sup>13</sup> which is a part of our memory that process information without any biographical references as in previous personal experiences with the type of phenomena in question (ibid.). This is illustrated by the following example, when shown a two-wheeled vehicle consisting of a metal frame with handlebars, pedals and a saddle one does not need to draw on any previous personal experiences with this type of vehicle to recognize it as a bicycle.

#### **5.4.3 Mental Models**

In contrast to social representations, mental models are located in the episodic memory which draws on biographical information and are also known by the name *situation models* (van Dijk in: Giles 1990: 166). These are cognitive representations of personal experiences as well as interpretations and include

---

<sup>13</sup> Van Dijk also refers to semantic memory as *social memory* (van Dijk in: Giles 1990: 166).

personal knowledge and opinions. The mental models are as such a representation of one's individual interpretation of a given situation (ibid.). Van Dijk goes on to explain the situational model and states that when a person experiences an event a unique model is constructed of the event or an older similar model is updated. The model itself is organized in categories such as time, place, circumstances, participants etc. and includes an evaluative modifier to assess the event (ibid.).

Another mental model which is a subcategory of situation models is the context model which we have already touched upon in the subchapter on context. This model is specific to a singular communicative situation and is utilized throughout the event to transform general social norms and conducts into specific constraint to the discourse (van Dijk *In: Giles 1990: 167*). The context model includes knowledge and beliefs about one self as well as other participants, and it includes goals of the participants for the interaction along with relevant social dimensions of the current situation (ibid.).

Mental models are the connecting link between generalized social representations of groups and the more individual use of these social representations in social perception, interaction and discourse (van Dijk *In: Giles 1990: 167*). The concepts of social representation and mental models are important in relation to power and dominance, because the shared opinions of other groups and individual evaluations form the basis on which a dominant discourse of a given communicative event is constituted.

#### **5.4.4 Access**

The discursive production and reproduction of power is a result of the social cognition, within the abovementioned power elite. Used in a situated discourse this (re)production will produce social cognition (van Dijk 1993: 259).

Nevertheless, in order to discursively produce and reproduce power, one needs to have access to discourse.

#### **5.4.4.1 The Power Elite**

Returning to the concept of power elites, a dominant discourse cannot exist without a consensus. It is necessary that the representations are shared by other members of a group in order to legitimize this form of discourse (van Dijk 1993: 262). Van Dijk furthermore notes that there is often a hierarchy of power, in which members of dominant groups have better access to shape or sustain an opinion by means of their social position. These people are the ones who form the so-called power elite of which the members are e.g. the press, politicians or highly educated professionals. Because the power of the elite is not necessarily obvious in the form of high ranking managerial or political positions, van Dijk also calls this form of power symbolic. It exists because of their privileged access to knowledge and (public) discourse (ibid.: 255).

Such factors as dialect, rhetorical abilities, the control of turntaking and topics are all factors that are important with regards to access to discourse (van Dijk 2008a: 69). Likewise is the ability to perform speech acts in the form of commands to other participants (ibid.). The inability to make use of these factors to one's own advantage may, in our opinion, make access to discourse short lived or even completely unattainable. Because one needs a certain level of information and understanding of certain subjects, a lack of education and knowledge may, likewise, hinder the access to discourse.

Most often in public discourse the participants are members of the power elite, but in order to establish their place in the discursive event, it is essential to determine the *position* and *roles* with which they enter the discourse. This should be done in order to assess the degree of symbolic power they possess in a so-called *discourse*

*access profile*. This profile should include access to information and credibility of the participant (van Dijk 1993: 256).

## **5.5. Abridgment of CDA**

With this chapter we have accounted for how we approach CDA, its key elements as well as the cognitive approach of van Dijk in which power in discourse is the pivotal point. As stated above, his cognitive approach correlates with the definition of discourse of Chilton and Schäffner which is the one we rely on. According to this, discourse is both constitutive and constituted, meaning that a discourse is both shaping and being shaped by the world that surrounds it and that we as people are both influenced by the world we live in as well as influencing it. By focusing on the element of power throughout the analysis, we will be able to determine proof of dominance and inequality, if any, and account for how it affects society and thereby discourse.

Our reason for choosing van Dijk's approach is also the element of context which Wodak considers crucial to CDA because of what it does to language.

Nonetheless, Wodak also argues that the broad context in order to interpret texts is not always beneficiary for the analyst as it often includes a large theoretical framework which may be difficult to use on data (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 4).

Although agreeing with the first point, we do not, however, agree with the latter which we consider to be too neglectful of the concept of context. The importance of context will be further explicated in chapter 7 in which we set up our template for analysis.

## 6. Rhetoric

With this chapter we center our focus on explaining the tools that we have found supportive to a rhetorical analysis of the spoken statements in the four debates. Rhetoric is one of the ways by which the relationship of power can either be upheld or changed. Because the candidates in the debate most likely did not have a choice in the matter of most contextual factors surrounding the debates, it might also have been their only way to influence the discourse(s).

Politics must necessarily be about convincing others of one's point of view and consequently, the ability to form an argument will be a critical factor for any political speaker. A widely used model for analyzing validity and form in arguments is that of philosopher and logician Stephen Toulmin (Klujeff & Roer, 2006: 18). However, it is purely a theory on argumentation, lacking the perspective of audience and its values that are essential in the argumentation theory of New Rhetoric (ibid.). In addition to this, we believe that the approach of New Rhetoric compliments CDA well because it takes its starting point in the audience and its values. The audience is not to be understood as passive spectators in the case of a debate. They are also the adversaries in the argumentation, making them a deciding factor in discourse. Accordingly, we have opted to use the theoretical approach of New Rhetoric for the analysis of arguments in the debates. New Rhetoric has been criticized for being too focused on logos as a mode of persuasion. This is the reason why we have extended our theory to include all three<sup>14</sup> modes of persuasion that the speaker is able to use in his/her appeal to the audience.

We have chosen to supplement the rhetorical analysis of the debates with a chapter labeled *Power of Mind*. This includes Lakoff's theory on framing in order to

---

<sup>14</sup> The two others are *ethos* and *pathos*. All three will be further explained in chapter 6.2.6.

establish an understanding of how the candidates 'set up' their arguments and thereby their values. Furthermore, it includes parts of Lakoff and Johnson's theory on conceptual metaphor. Because this kind of metaphor works to structure our conceptual universe, the use of metaphor is an articulation of how we see the world and the phenomena in it. This makes the exploration of framing and the conceptual metaphor an important tool for investigation of how the debaters represent their views and thereby themselves.

## 6.1 New Rhetoric

Chaïm Perelman's approach to New Rhetoric has its roots in the classical rhetoric and more specifically in the works of Aristotle on public addresses. Consequently, it is also called neo-Aristotelian (Klujeff & Roer, 2006: 16). Perelman's theory on argumentation bridges the traditional divide between rhetoric and dialectics<sup>15</sup> and claims that the term rhetoric covers argumentation on all levels from personal deliberations to public discourse (Roer *In*: Perelman, 2008: 11p). Furthermore, New Rhetoric stakes the claim that anything can be looked at from more than one perspective. Hence, two opposite statements can be true at the same time because truth is only a matter of historical consensus (*ibid.*: 10). Philosophically it is thereby possible to align CDA and New Rhetoric as they are both rooted in social constructionism. Perelman accentuates this by stating, that reality is created through discourse, and that all truths, presumptions and values are cultural and linguistic constructions (Klujeff & Roer, 2006: 123).

This theory does not focus on rhetoric as having one particular audience. Instead, Perelman emphasizes that New Rhetoric is concerned with any kind of audience regardless of its size or level of knowledge on any given subject (Perelman, 2005:

---

<sup>15</sup> In the introduction to *Retorikkens rige*, the Danish translation of Perelman's original *L'Empire Rhétorique. Rhétorique et Argumentation*, rhetorician Hanne Roer defines the term rhetoric as public speech whereas dialectics is defined as questions and answers delivered in smaller fora. Both terms stem from classical rhetoric (Roer *In*: Perelman, 2008: 9p).

39). As stated earlier, audience is one of the essential factors in any argumentation, which we will explain further below.

### **6.1.1 Audience**

When broken down to its most basic elements, argumentation is a question of gaining adherence to an idea or a point of view. However, argumentation does not begin until the validity of the proposed is questioned. Because argumentation is centered exclusively on adherence, it will never take place in a vacuum, but will always be related to an audience, spanning from one person reflecting in private to a mass audience (Perelman, 1982: 40-43). Perelman defines an audience as: “... *the gathering of those whom the speaker wants to influence by his or her argument.*” (Perelman, 1982: 14).

Perelman, furthermore, divides this audience into two categories of a *universal* and a *particular audience*. The first is a rather abstract concept that is comprised of the speaker’s notion of all rational and competent beings. This embodiment of rationality and competence does, however, not have to be a mass audience but can be only one person. This is the case in self reflection on e.g. ethical dilemmas. As it is the speaker’s mental notion of a universal audience that appears in a text, this notion will differ according to the culture of the speaker, making two identical notions of a universal audience a virtual impossibility. The particular audience, on the other hand, is the specific audience that the text is directed at and seeks to convince (Klujeff & Roer, 2006: 117). Perelman further claims that an audience of a certain standard - that is with a high level of expertise on the subject in question – is a prerequisite of successful argumentation. This also entails that the universal audience becomes a criterion of quality, because it represents a level of rationality (ibid.: 118).

A human being's perspective on the world is not a constant. Evaluations and choices are built on the knowledge and experiences one has gathered, as well as one's current situation. This is why Perelman argues that an argument addressed to one audience at a particular moment in time or in a particular place cannot without modifications be directed at a different audience or even the same audience in a different time or place. In the same way, arguments developed for a universal audience must be customized before they can be presented to a particular audience (Arnold *In*: Perelman, 1982: XII)<sup>16</sup>. Not adapting an argument is:

*"...to be unconcerned with the audience's adherence to the premises of the discourse is to commit the gravest error: **petitio principii** or begging the question."<sup>17</sup> (Perelman, 1982: 21p).*

When begging the question, the speaker holds something to be true and accepted, although, it is still a controversial subject to which a consensus of opinion has not yet been reached between the speaker and the audience. Perelman continues to say: *"To adapt to an audience is, above all, to choose as premises of argumentation theses the audience already holds."* (ibid.: 23) This is not meant as a pandering to the audience but rather as an acknowledgement of the fact that an argument has to build on a basic premise that the audience already adheres to, in order not to falter.

### **6.1.2 Values**

When addressing an audience it is therefore also paramount to have a conception of the values that this audience holds. To define values, Perelman uses

---

<sup>16</sup> Carroll C. Arnold is Professor Emeritus in Speech Communication at Pennsylvania State University and has written the introduction to *The Realm of Rhetoric* which is the English translation of the original, *L'Empire Rhétorique. Rhétorique et Argumentation* by Chaïm Perelman.

<sup>17</sup> The bold italics in the quotation signify the italics in Perelman's text.

philosopher Louis Lavelle's description to say that the term value is applicable wherever there is:

*“a break with indifference or with the equality of things, wherever one thing must be put before or above another, wherever a thing is judged superior and its merit is to be preferred.”*

(Perelman, 1982: 26)

Because what is considered a value is different from group to group and even from person to person, Perelman questions the existence of universal values. On the subject of what these values are, Perelman goes on to ask if universal values recognized by everyone such as: “...*the true, the good, the beautiful and the just...*” (ibid.: 26p) even exist. Perelman subsequently states, that these values do exist as an agreement among the universal audience, but only as long as they remain undefined. Once the values are specified in order to address a particular audience, they are no longer universal and the speaker now runs the risk of opposition if the specified values do not match that of the specific audience. This entails that specified values are inapplicable to a universal audience. (ibid.: 27).

Perelman further divides values into abstract and concrete values. As the term implies the first value is concerned with abstract concepts such as freedom or justice. The concrete values apply to unique objects, groups, institutions or even a specific being such as the King or even God. By emphasizing the uniqueness of these phenomena, one also emphasizes its value (ibid.).

In argumentation values are often placed in hierarchies of different kinds according to superiority or quantity. Man is inferior to God and as such the values of God must rank above those of man. Likewise, “...*preference is given to the greatest quantity of a positive value and, symmetrically, to the smallest quantity of a negative value (e.g. a mild illness is preferable to a severe one)*” (Perelman, 1982: 29). Similarly, a higher value is given to what benefits the large majority as opposed to smaller

groups or individuals, and phenomena of durability has a higher value than those of evanescence (ibid.: 30).

### **6.1.3 Presence**

If the speaker does not share the same values as the audience, he must establish a presence with the audience in order to make the arguments seem closer at heart to them. For the speaker to make his arguments resonate with the beliefs of the audience, he is required to use a language that mirrors the classifications and values of those he is trying to persuade. At the same time, the speaker may make use of: a) lingering on a subject by repetition and elaboration, b) metaphor<sup>18</sup> to make an argument more vivid or c) pseudo-direct speech to make a more personal address (Perelman, 2005: 71pp).

### **6.1.4 Argumentation by Association**

Knowing the audience and its values, and having established a presence with them, takes us to the different techniques of argumentation that are equally important for a successful result. Focusing more directly on the argument itself, we will in the following categorize the different structures that an argument can be built on. How successful a speaker can be, depends in part on his or her ability to structure the argument in a way that makes the concluding point of the argument seem reasonable from the premises.

In this subchapter we will focus on one of two main categories of argument – *association*. This type of argument forms a *liaison* between the accepted premise and the conclusion that the speaker wishes to gain adherence to (Perelman, 1982: 49). The liaisons between the two are the facilitators that make the arguments

---

<sup>18</sup> Perelman differentiates between metaphors of a merely stylistic or ornamental kind and rhetorical metaphors that facilitate the argument (Arnold *In*: Perelman, 2005: 32). As he does not deal with metaphors at the cognitive level, we will not discuss metaphors here but present them below (chapter 6.2).

resonate with the audience. This category can be further divided into three subcategories, quasi-logical arguments, arguments based on the structure of reality and arguments that establish the structure of reality (ibid.: 50).

#### **6.1.4.1 Quasi-Logical Arguments**

The quasi-logical argument is to be understood:

*“... by way of comparison to logical, mathematical, formal thinking. However, a quasi-logical argument differs from formal deduction in that it always presupposes adherence to nonformal theses which alone allow the application of the argument.”*

(ibid.).

As the name states, these arguments are not impossible to contradict, because they are not built on unquestionable logic, but on a premise that the audience supposedly adheres to. There are numerous types of argumentation that falls under the subcategory of quasi-logical arguments<sup>19</sup>:

- Contradiction and incompatibility
- Identification by analysis or definition
- Tautologies
- Reciprocity
- Rule of justice
- Transitivity, inclusion and division
- Weight and measures
- Probabilities

(Perelman, 1982: 53-80)

Because arguments of this type can easily be questioned, it is not preferable to base argumentation exclusively on quasi-logical arguments, these have to be backed up by arguments that are based on the structure of reality (ibid.: 80).

---

<sup>19</sup> To the extent that they are being used, these different types of quasi-logical arguments will be explained in the course of the analysis.

#### **6.1.4.2 Arguments Based on the Structure of Reality**

This type of argument forms a link between objects and phenomena that exist in reality and is built on a premise of agreement to form this structure (ibid.: 50). By doing so, it is possible to bridge the gap between what is accepted and what the speaker wishes to gain adherence to. Firstly, the structure can be built on a *liaison of succession*, in which the argument seeks to establish a cause (and sometimes a motive for the cause), an effect and its possible consequences (ibid.: 81p).

Secondly, the structure of this type of argument can rely on a *liaison of coexistence*. This liaison "... establishes a tie between realities on unequal levels; one is shown to be the manifestation of the other." (ibid.: 89p) Perelman exemplifies this by saying that a prototype of this kind of liaison is the relation between a man and his manifestations in the form of actions, attitudes and his work (ibid.). If a person performs acts of heroism, he/she is by definition a hero. Passing a judgment onto others, however, must be done with consideration. If a person is judged not to be e.g. a hero or a thief, and the person's actions prove this to be wrong, the error in judgment will fall back on the one who passed it (ibid.: 92).

#### **6.1.4.3 Arguments that Structure Reality**

The third and last type of arguments fall under the category of associative arguments which are those that establish the structure of reality based on examples, illustrations and models. The first subtype presupposes: "... the existence of certain regularities of which the example provides a concretization." (ibid.: 106) Used to establish a prediction or a rule, this type of argument leads the audience from a specific example to a generalization. This sets the specific example on the same footing as others that fall into the category of the generalization (ibid.). Giving examples of people who have lived the American Dream and gone from 'rags to riches' is prototypical of this type of argument and opens up for the possibility that if one can do it, anyone can do it.

Closely related to this type of argument is that of illustration. As opposed to the example, however, the purpose of the illustration is not to establish a rule, but to strike a chord in the imagination of the audience and thereby also establish a presence. Finally the argumentation by model is used when the speaker presents an admirable person of high social standing from a point of authority or fame as a model to be imitated (ibid.: 110). This can be illustrated by the example of Mahatma Gandhi who can be used as a model for people to imitate when peaceful protesting is the subject of argument.

#### **6.1.5 Argumentation by Dissociation**

From making connections or liaisons between premises and conclusion, we have now arrived at the other main category of arguments; *argumentation by dissociation*. This method of argumentation: "... aims at separating elements which language or a recognized tradition has previously tied together." (Perelman, 1982: 49). This is used to separate what is only apparent and what is reality when faced with an incompatibility of phenomena: "...by reestablishing a coherent vision of reality..." (ibid.: 52, 126). Perelman gives the example of an oar in the water. To our sight it appears broken but to the touch it is still in one piece. Because reality is ruled by non-contradiction and cannot at the same time both have and not have a given property, appearance can only be a manifestation of reality and not reality itself. This is why it is important to differentiate between appearances that correspond with the reality and those that do not (ibid.: 126p).<sup>20</sup>

For this purpose it is useful to pair up the terms of appearance (term I) and reality (term II). Term II is normative of term I in the sense that it has a capability to determine I as being either an authentic expression of II or an erroneous and/or

---

<sup>20</sup> This conception of truth shows that new rhetoric like CDA is rooted in post-structuralism.

falsified expression thereof (ibid.: 127). Listed below are examples of the pairs illustrated as *term I / term II*:

Means / end	Occasion / Cause	Individual / universal
Consequence / fact (or principle)	Relative / absolute	Particular / general
Act / person	Subjective / objective	Theory / practice
Accident / essence	Multiplicity / unity	Language / thought
	Average/ norm	Letter / spirit

(ibid.: 30)

By dissociation the incompatibilities of term I have been eradicated to form term II. The latter term II creates a criterion or a norm from which it is possible to distinguish the aspects of term I that holds value from those that do not. Term II is to be understood as a datum – a truth that cannot be questioned – that is not just normative but also explanatory of term I (ibid.: 127p). To explain this we will here exemplify with the pair ‘theory / practice’. If something can be proven in theory, it is not necessarily an undeniable truth. Only those parts of the theory that can actually be carried out in practice will remain as a representation of reality. Because term II only retains the elements from term I that hold value, term II – in this instance practice – will also potentially be of a higher value than the appearance of the theory that may or may not be an expression of reality.

#### **6.1.6 Modes of Persuasion**

Perelman’s theory has been subject to criticism on the basis that it does not include all the different *modes of persuasion*. Because it centers entirely on the structures of argument, it seems to be too preoccupied with *logos*, which is the structure and

rules of argument and negligent of *ethos* and *pathos*. *Ethos* is how the audience perceives the speaker, and is thereby the actual image of him (as opposed to a desired image that the speaker wants to project). In this image lies the personality of the speaker as well as his or her credibility and social status. All of these aspects have an influence on the credibility of an argument and it is thus a critical necessity to have a strong and positive *ethos* to be a true orator. *Pathos*, on the other hand, is defined as the emotional mode of persuasion in that it refers to the emotions that the speaker has to evoke in the audience to convince them of his point of view (Renkema, 2004: 207).

However, in a reply to this criticism Perelman states that since rhetoric addresses man in his entirety, he must necessarily utilize all three modes of persuasion. If he did not, it would be impossible for him to express what he sees and feels are universal values such as truth, justice and beauty (Klujeff & Roer, 2006: 16). Consequently, these modes of persuasion will also be included into the rhetorical analysis of the debates in order to investigate how the candidates use the modes of persuasion in their address to the audience and how this expresses their self-representation.

### **6.1.7 Manipulation**

According to Perelman, New Rhetoric can be used to distinguish between rhetoric and manipulation, because rhetoric is only used to convince or persuade an audience into conclusions on already accepted premises. Manipulation and mass propaganda forces the audience to accept a point of view or conclusion built on premises that they did not originally agree on (Klujeff & Roer, 2006: 115).

Such forceful conversion of the audience can happen when there is asymmetry in the relations of power, esteem or knowledge between the speaker and the audience. Here the speaker is able to utilize his higher level of authority to use lies

as well as suppression and twisting of the truth in order to convince the audience. If this kind of argumentation is successful in persuading the audience it falls under the concept of demagoguery (Jørgensen & Onsberg, 2004: 97). Probably the greatest demagogue in recent history has been Adolf Hitler, who succeeded in convincing an entire people into accepting and even embracing actions that they would not under normal circumstances have agreed to.

Having laid out the basic structure of Perelman's theory of New Rhetoric, we now move on to present the notion of framing and the conceptual metaphor, which represent a cognitive dimension of argumentation that Perelman does not include in his theory. Because we consider politics to be a mind game of sorts in the fact that it ultimately revolves around making people change their minds, we believe the cognitive dimension to be very important in relation to analyzing political debates.

## **6.2 Power of Mind**

As Clinton and Obama both represent the Democratic Party and thereby act as advocates for it, it would not be wise of them to manipulate each other. No matter who wins the nomination, the opponent will have to defend that person later. We therefore consider it improbable that we will find examples of this in the debates. However, it is likely that we will find other evidence of mind games as it is in the brains of the Americans that the political divide is located (Lakoff, 2008: 5).

Although most people in the US carry with them both divides and thereby both ways of thinking, they use them differently by relating to one and dissociating themselves from the other (ibid.).

According to professor of linguistics and cognitive science, George Lakoff, the mind in politics is often an ignored factor (ibid.: 4), especially when it comes to the members of the Democratic Party who he considers to be not nearly as good at

using the power of the mind as the members of the Republican Party. In fact, the latter has used billions of dollars on learning this over the last 30 years (Lakoff 2). To understand the mind, it is necessary to understand its relation to the human body as the thoughts that our mind comes up with are very much related to human anatomy and how we see ourselves as human beings compared to other people and living creatures on earth (Lakoff, 2008: 10p).

Everything we do is controlled by our brains. It is the engine of our body, although only 2% of the things we do are conscious acts. Thereby, morality and politics become embodied ideas of the cognitive unconscious which is brain activity that happens without our conscious knowledge (ibid.: 10). This leads us back to the starting point of this thesis; social constructionism. Accounting for this approach to the world (chapter 4.1), we stated that phenomena in society are constructed through language by us as human beings, and we as such both shape and affect these phenomena by our interest in them. We approach the phenomena on the basis of our knowledge about them; knowledge that we in turn base on social factors in the society we live in as well as certain ideologies and political groups with power. This is what makes politics: “...*very much about changing brains...*” by changing the way we think (Lakoff, 2008: 12). This can be done by affecting language, as language gets its power by being defined in proportion to e.g. frames and metaphor (ibid.: 14). As it is especially these two that are affecting language (ibid.), we will now take a deeper look into framing and metaphor, respectively.

### **6.2.1 Framing**

According to Lakoff, framing always follows language because: “...*every word is defined relative to a conceptual framework.*” (Lakoff 2). An example of framing is when one party in a debate speaks of a ‘revolt’ as a good thing, although the term would normally refer to a population which feels unfairly treated and

consequently wishes to gain new leadership of their country (Lakoff 2). Like any other word, the term 'revolt' is normally defined with help from a conceptual framework which in this case is the knowledge we have about the word revolt. Therefore, our language always comes with framing, meaning that a person speaks with the intent of upholding what he/she considers to be the best way or changing the course to direct it to this way. (ibid.).

Originally, frames were discovered by scientists who were searching for:

*"...generalizations over groups of related words..."* (Lakoff, 2008: 23) from which people argued for controversial matters. In this way, frames in the brain becomes: *"...natural structures that have evolved from what brains do..."* (ibid.) structured on the basis of simple units that the brain already knows. The frames thereby become *narratives we live by* and appear as complex narratives in people's life stories, fairy tales, etc., telling stories by the use of framing (Lakoff, 2008: 22).

In chapter 6.1.3 we explained how a speaker who does not share the same values as the audience must establish a presence with the audience in order to make the arguments seem closer at heart to them. This is done through language that mirrors the classifications and values of those he/she is trying to persuade and can be done both in relation to topics and persons. In relation to the latter, the politicians who are experts in framing also know how to unframe themselves by turning the bottle around and make the opponent stand in a bad light (ibid.). Basically, politicians using framing are making constructions for the sole purpose of permeating the discourse and thereby turn it in the direction, they want it to go. We will in the following show how this can be done by using examples from Lakoff. Before doing so, we will, however, turn to the concept of metaphor.

## **6.2.2 Metaphor**

As mentioned above (chapter 3), this chapter mainly builds on Lakoff and Johnson's theory on conceptual metaphor. The reason for choosing this type of metaphor is that it is in the areas of: "...*law, politics and social issues...*" that the theory on conceptual metaphor has shown its applicability in particular (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 268). Furthermore, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to include their many contributions to the whole field of metaphors.

### **6.2.2.1 Metaphors We Live By**

Lakoff and Johnson published their landmark book *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980. With the book they revealed a new approach to metaphors by claiming that: "...*Our ordinary conceptual system, in which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.*" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 3). This means that metaphors are imbedded in our lives and that we, according to Lakoff: "...*think in metaphor.*" (Lakoff 1).

By stating so, Lakoff and Johnson challenged the traditional view on metaphor (Kövecses, 2002: viii) in which it were considered merely a matter of language, not thought (Lakoff *In*: Ortony, 1993: 202). Traditionally, metaphors appeared as ornamental figures in language, and poetry in particular, of which the purpose was to emphasize the emotions and, most importantly, the personal involvement of the speaker. Metaphors could either appear alone or together with other figures such as exaggeration, understatement, comparison, metonymy, repetition, personification and animation (Svennevig, 2003: 135). As we will not take our analysis to an extreme textual level, we have chosen not to include any of these textual phenomena in this thesis. Hence, we will not go further into details about them.

Because we think in metaphor, they affect and control our way of conceptualizing, although some of the metaphors that we use in our everyday language have become: "...so conventional and commonplace with constant use..." (Kövecses, 2002: ix) that they have become 'dead' metaphors, meaning that we consider them natural in our language. An example of this is the expression 'the sun has come through' which is a metaphor that has become a normal phrase in our language. This, however, does not mean that it has lost its force but that it and many other phrases have become: "... metaphors we live by." (ibid.). This is the reason why Lakoff and Johnson consider metaphors to be very much alive. The fact that we think in metaphor takes us to the essential element in Lakoff and Johnson's theory which is the mind. This is why Lakoff and Johnson's approach to metaphor has become known as: "...the 'cognitive linguistic view of metaphor'." (Kövecses, 2002: viii).

The most distinctive features in Lakoff and Johnson's theory have been listed by Professor of Linguistics, Zoltán Kövecses:

- 1) *Metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words*
- 2) *The function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or esthetic purpose*
- 3) *Metaphor is often **not** based on similarity*
- 4) *Metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by special talented people*
- 5) *Metaphor, far from being a superfluous though pleasing linguistic ornament, is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning.*

(Kövecses, 2002: viii)

The essence of these five statements is that metaphors are more than redundant words used by gifted people in poetry and extraordinary language. Instead,

metaphors help us to understand concepts that we would otherwise have found difficult or even impossible to understand. Basically, this means that we use existing knowledge and characteristics of one phenomenon to achieve knowledge of another phenomenon and its characteristics.

This ability to use existing knowledge is, according to Lakoff and Johnson, what makes metaphors – or metaphorical concepts as they also call them – in language both unavoidable and important to the way we think and interpret life as well as the world around us. They conclude that this way of thinking does not just relate to the intellect, as our concepts control what we perceive, how we act and finally, how we relate to and thereby communicate with other people (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 3). However, they also emphasize that we are often far from aware of the metaphors in our language (ibid.).

#### **6.2.2.2 Metaphor as Mapping**

When reassigning the understanding of one concept to another, it is possible to speak of a transfer of pattern (Svennevig, 2003: 164). This pattern is similar to the one Lakoff and Johnson use when arguing that the metaphor can be: “...*understood as a mapping (...) from one source domain (...) to a target domain.*” (Lakoff In: Ortony, 1993: 206). In this case, mapping refers to the mathematical use of the word and is to be seen as a human conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 6) in which: “...*target domain is source domain.*” (Lakoff In: Ortony 1993: 207).

As the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined, the understanding of concepts depends on other well-known concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 56). To explain this, Lakoff uses the example of LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The source domain is in this case JOURNEY, while the target domain is LOVE. When we use the knowledge that we have from JOURNEY we can

understand and explain what LOVE can be like to both ourselves and people around us, allowing us to see LOVE from the same point of view.

Lakoff and Johnson developed their mapping concept on the basis of mnemonics, meaning that we use characterizations of one mapping to another (Lakoff *In: Ortony, 1993: 207*). However, it is important to stress that the 'target is a source domain' is not always possible (Lakoff *In: Ortony, 1993: 207*). Therefore, we cannot transfer all mappings. What we can use it for, however, is to fill in the lexical gaps (Goatly, 1993: 149). When we have problems finding words to describe phenomena we draw on metaphors. For example, it would be difficult to describe distances in space without using metaphors as we refer to these distances by using light-years (*ibid.*).

#### **6.2.2.3 Metaphor as Argumentation**

What we have now determined is that metaphorical systems permeate our everyday language and therefore become much more interesting than the individual metaphor (Svennevig, 2003: 165). Usually, also arguments follow the aforementioned mappings as the mappings determine what can and cannot be said in e.g. the argumentation of a political debate (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 7). In relation to this, it is important to be aware that metaphors are capable of both highlighting and hiding aspects of a phenomenon (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 10). This should be seen in relation to the aforementioned framing of topics and persons regarding one's interest and is what makes politics and debating in particular more difficult than it appears. Therefore, politicians practice framing and argumentation for furthering the issues important to them. They want to influence the discourse on the issue at hand by emphasizing and furthering their own take on the problem.

We began this chapter by stressing how we will focus on the conceptual metaphors only, and more specifically, the *orientational metaphor*. This type of metaphor in particular relies on context and is used frequently in matters concerning politics. As the name discloses, this kind of conceptual metaphor is based on spatial orientation such as: "...*up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral...*" by relating to the human body (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 14). In his book *The Body in the Mind*, Johnson explains this as an: "...*embodied pattern of meaningfully organized experience...*" (Johnson, 1992: 19) which refers to the movements of the human body and what he calls: "...*perceptual interactions...*" (ibid.). This means that our body and what we perceive collaborate on creating a mapping of experience and knowledge for us to rely on in cases we do not know how to talk about.

#### **6.2.2.4 Positive and Negative Expressions**

With help from the orientational metaphors, one can divide words into positives and negatives, although how these words are charged depends on contexts (Svennevig, 2003: 170). Typically, orientational metaphors will appear in the speakers' use of adjectives and adverbs but can also manifest themselves in nouns and verbs. What matters is that they reflect the attitudes of the speakers and how they reflect it (ibid.). Below, we will try to explain how these metaphors appear by using the examples of quantity and linear scales developed by Lakoff and Johnson.

The first example which refers to quantity is the concept of HAPPY IS UP. According to Lakoff and Johnson this leads back to the English expression: "I'm feeling up today!" This expression reveals that the speaker is having a good day and has no reason for not being happy. The opposite of this expression is: "I'm feeling down" from which we can conclude that the speaker is not happy but sad or even depressed. All this is to be seen in relation to what Lakoff and Johnson call

a physical basis. In this case the physical basis refers to a speaker who holds his or her head high, whenever things are going well, and he/she is happy. On the contrary, a sad mood will often be shown in a collapsed human body (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 15).

Lakoff and Johnson argue for several more of these orientational metaphors by using the following physical bases:

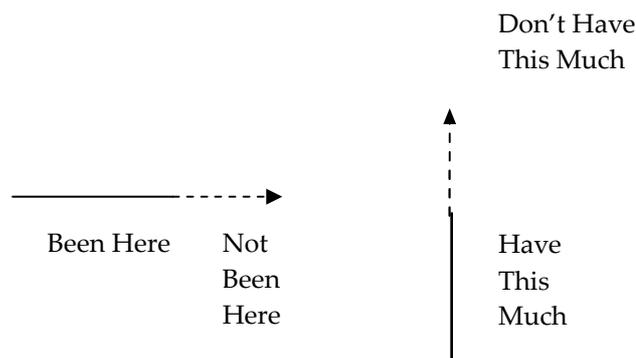
- CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN
  - Most mammals including human beings lie down when they sleep and stand up when they are awake.
- HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN
  - When we are seriously ill, we are forced to lie down, and when we are dead, we are entirely down.
- HAVING CONTROL/FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL/FORCE IS DOWN
  - Most often, physical size as well as strength goes hand in hand, leaving some on top and other in the bottom.
- MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN
  - If you add more of something, the level goes up.
- HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN
  - Status correlates with (social) power, and (physical) power is up.
- GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN
  - Things that in general exemplify what is good for a person such as: *“Happiness, health, life, and control [etc.]...”* are up.
- VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN
  - To be virtuous means acting: *“...in accordance with the standards set by the society/person to maintain its well-being.”* As virtue correlates with

doing well from the society's/person's point of view, which relates to culture, virtue is up.

- RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN
  - The fact that most human beings consider themselves rational and in control over animals, plants, etc., leads to the abovementioned control is up. From this we can argue that man is up, meaning that rational is up.

(Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 15pp)

What is important to notice is that: *“Upward orientation tends to go together with positive evaluation, while downward orientation with a negative one.”* (Kövecses, 2002: 36). The other example of orientational metaphors which refer to linear scales is the LINEAR SCALES ARE PATHS metaphor (Lakoff *In*: Ortony, 1993: 214). Opposite from the HAPPY IS UP metaphor which is vertical, the LINEAR SCALES ARE PATHS metaphor refers to illustrated like this:



**Figure 2:** *Oriental Metaphors*  
(Lakoff *In*: Ortony, 1993: 214)

As can be seen from the figure the arrows each show how metaphors can be used as either paths or linear scales. However, the point of both is to take us from one place to another which involves features such as: *“...starting locations, end points*

*and forward physical movement*" (Johnson, 1987; Kövecses, 2002 In: Holmgren, 2009). In the figure, the horizontal arrow refers to a path which can be divided into point A, B and C. A begins the arrow in the left, while the point of B is placed exactly where the stippling of the arrow begins. Finally, the arrow ends in point C, although it can also be placed further ahead. Being at point B, one has been at all points between point A and B but needs to go to all of them between point B and C. Opposite, the horizontal arrow refers a linear scale. However, this can also be divided into point A, B and C with A in the bottom, beginning the arrow, point of B placed exactly where the stippling of the arrow begins, and finally, point C in the top or further ahead, depending on where the arrow ends. In this case being at point B means that if one has five whole pieces of chocolate, one can have ten halves or twenty quarters. However, one can never make the five pieces become ten or twenty whole pieces (Lakoff In: Ortony, 1993: 214).

The orientational metaphor is, according to Lakoff and Johnson, rooted in both our physical, social and cultural experience, meaning that it has not just been arbitrarily selected (ibid.: 18). However, one may wonder why it is the abovementioned metaphors that have developed and not others. The answer to this must be found in the fact that other terms simply do not offer the audience the same semantic expression and thereby visual image (ibid.). Finally, the fact that the orientational metaphor is rooted in both the physical, social and cultural experience means that the metaphors, and the ones which are mostly used, may vary from culture to culture (ibid.: 19).

Having accounted for framing and metaphor, we end this chapter by returning to the aforementioned examples of how American politicians frame things in order to permeate discourse by use of *metaphorical framing*.

### **6.2.3. Metaphorical framing**

We began this chapter by arguing that framing always follows language with a reference to Lakoff's example of a 'revolt' which one party in a debate may speak of as a good thing, although the term would normally refer to a population which feels unfairly treated and consequently wishes to gain new leadership of their country. However, these frames can, according to Lakoff, also be metaphorical (Lakoff 2: 2). This happens when other words are added to the frames of which Lakoff uses the example 'voter revolt' (ibid.). In relation to the aforementioned, the metaphorical framing specifies the 'good' revolt by stating that it is a revolt instigated by voters.

We typically see such metaphorical framings as headlines in newspapers because they work to make people read the articles (Lakoff 2: 2). This implies that metaphorical framings and metaphors to a high degree occur in our everyday life and often in connection with politics. In recent years the probably most famous metaphorical frame is that of the Bush Administration after 9/11 stating: "War on terror" (Lakoff, 2008: 125). Although Bush and his people could have chosen many responses to the terror attacks, they chose this frame and triggered a fear response from the people. Hereby, the frame provided almost unlimited power to a president who in turn was being framed as the savior and protector of the world. Finally, and most importantly, it made war seem the only solution to terror (ibid.: 126).

#### **6.2.3.1 More than slogans**

However, metaphorical framing is not only about making slogans but a mode of thought and action as well as a sign of character (Lakoff, 2008: 146). Lakoff describes the ability to frame the truth a duty of every citizen, also political leaders (ibid.: 152). Those who are capable of doing so possess: "...*knowledge and honesty, skill and courage.*" (ibid.). In a political debate this can be done by approaching an

issue from the opposite angle than the opponent, although many politicians seem to pick up an already used frame (Lakoff 2: 4). This has been the case with the phrase 'tax relief' which according to Lakoff was an important pawn in Bush's political plan from the very beginning of his term (ibid.). Shortly after, the Democratic politicians began to use the same frame and they were thereby: "*...shooting themselves in the foot.*" (ibid.).

Although metaphorical framing is so much more than calling things something else, the Democratic Party should have framed tax from a totally different angle like for example: "*...an issue of patriotism.*" (ibid.). By doing so, they could have spoken to people's identity as part of a nation that stands together all for one and one for all. Lakoff explains this by comparing the US to a country club for which people are more than willing to pay in order to attain membership to benefit from the many goods that such a club membership opens up to. By framing tax in this way, the Democratic Party would have made a better frame which in turn would have made the republicans stand in a bad light and emphasized the American value of being master of one's own fate (Lakoff 2: 4).

Summing up the subchapter on framing and metaphor, we can state that both frames and metaphors are abstract concepts because they cannot be either seen or touched. Nevertheless, they create massive effects such as political intimidation which occur when some politicians bully over others (Lakoff, 2008: 130).

Therefore, it is relevant to look beneath language (ibid.: 15). However, Lakoff and Johnson also prove that our cultures can affect the metaphorical structure in other ways. They do this by using an example in which MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN is not necessarily true. In the past decades, people as well and politicians have discussed how the climate has severely changed and how to stop these changes. This has led to a new way of thinking in relation to the size of cars, as it has suddenly become better to drive small, environmentally friendly cars than big,

expensive cars (ibid.: 23). On the subject of climate change, another example is that our rising temperatures are also not considered positive.

### **6.3 Combining New Rhetoric, Framing and Metaphor**

As was briefly mentioned in chapter 6.1.3, Perelman does not deal with metaphor on a cognitive level. At the same time, Perelman differentiates between purely stylistic metaphor and the rhetorical metaphor that facilitates the argument. We can never know for sure exactly how he differentiated between the two in terms of where the border between stylistics and facilitation lies. However, we do believe that Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor can easily be placed in Perelman's associative category of argumentation under arguments that structure reality. As we have shown above, the conceptual metaphor in itself functions to structure our conceptual universes. Hence, the use of metaphor in an argument will automatically be an expression of the structure of reality.

Returning to the subject of values, the theory on the conceptual metaphor relates to New Rhetoric in the sense that the orientational metaphor expresses positive and negative values in accordance with its direction. Although, it may sound mundane, it is important for any speaker to determine whether or not the audience agrees in his assessment of how to use the orientational metaphor.

The concepts of framing and metaphorical framing are also very much related to Perelman's values. In framing the focus of the argument is moved from that of the opponent's argument and his values to one's own argument and values. If this is done with the right amount of expertise, the speaker is able to make the argument of the opponent, and hence, the values it represents seem irrelevant or even ridiculous. Again, however, the speaker must always make sure he does not alienate him-/herself from the audience by expressing values they do not adhere to.

## **7. Template for analysis**

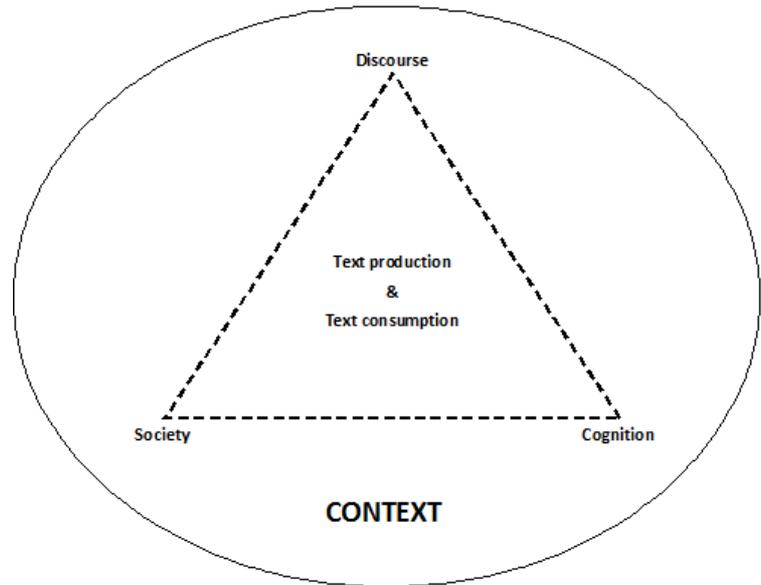
Leaning against the Foucauldian tradition, we defined the term discourse in chapter 5.3.2 as: “...*the totality of utterances in a society viewed as an autonomous evolving entity...*” (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002: 18). Furthermore, we have revealed that discourses are immediate and relying on historical factors. However, the discourse also becomes a part of history because it represents the limits, divisions and transformations of its own discourse and the period of time belonging to the particular discourse. By stating this, we wish to emphasize the dialectical relationship of discourse meaning that discourse is both constitutive and constituted.

On this basis we will in the following set up our template for analysis in order to investigate, according to our statement of problem, what the major discourses are in the debates, how they correlate with social constructions in society, and how the candidates are able to influence the discourse(s) via their position and rhetorical abilities. Recapitulating the words of Wodak in chapter 5.2, language is not powerful on its own. What gives it power is the way it is used by powerful people (ibid.). This means that people who have power help the language gain power via their choices in language. In the course of the following critical discourse analysis, we will reveal the ways in which power, authority and influence are instrumentalized through the utterances of the debates. First, however, we will in the following lay out the framework for our analysis. This is based on the theoretical elements from the chapters 5 and 6 but rearranged to form the same structural outline as the analysis in chapter 10.

### **7.1 Structural Basis**

We base our template for analysis on van Dijk’s discourse-cognition-society triangle that we first introduced in chapter 5.4.1. The triangle, however, does not

illustrate all the elements we include in our analysis, as they are not possible to place in fixed positions according to the three corners of the triangle. Hence, we will in the following explain how the different elements are placed according to the three cornerstones of discourse, cognition and society.



**Figure 3:** *Discourse-Cognition-Society Triangle (adapted)*

To explain the model we must first give an explanation as to why we have chosen to encase the triangle in a circle labeled 'context'. Because context is constituted by all three corners and is thereby influenced by any change that may occur in relation to these elements, we have chosen to illustrate the element as a phenomenon that covers all aspects of discourse. This is also the reason why the lines connecting the three corners are not fully drawn. The stippled lines are to indicate how context influences the text and how the text in turn can transform the context by changing society and the way we think; and thereby also discourse.

The two corners of society and cognition are in our template for analysis constituted by the social constructions and thus also social representations which among other things holds the elements of ideology and identity. The mental models used to produce and consume text is also placed in the same area of the triangle as they rely on contextual knowledge of a both social and individual nature in order to let their inhabitants effectively process information.

Inside the triangle we place the discursive strategies which will include all rhetorical aspects of argumentation, framing and metaphor. As with the text itself, these elements are both influenced and influencing the surrounding context and the individual corners of the triangle.

On a final note, before we move on to explain how we use the different elements in our analysis, we would like to mention that culture is not represented in the model but this is not to say that we do not consider it important. On the contrary, we believe that culture is the basis for all the elements in the model and we see it as an underlying structure for all for all factors involved in discourse.

## 7.2 From Theory to Practice

In the following we elucidate the elements for analysis and we point up the approximate order in which the elements are processed through the course of the analysis.

### 7.2.1 Text and Context

Seeing that context is an element that both influences and is influenced by all other elements in the model it needs to be determined in order to identify the other elements. When determining context, we include the following factors:

- When, where and who as in time, place and participants?
- Classification of type of context:
  - **Spheres** (public, private)
  - **Mode** (spoken, written, multimedia, etc.)
  - **Main social domain** (politics, media, education)
  - **Institution or organization** (parliament, university, shop)
  - **Participant roles and relations** (doctor-patient, Prime Minister-Members of Parliament)
  - **Goals** (impart or require knowledge, advice, service, etc.)
  - **(Inter)actions** (decision making, governing, etc.)

Because most of the factors – except the venues and the persons acting as moderators – are the same for all debates, we do not make individual classifications of types of context.

Furthermore, as it is shown in the bulleted list above, characterizing the text is a part of classifying the context. Hence, it will not be given any individual attention later on in the analysis. Also relating to context, we answer the following:

- Do the participants follow the normative rules of appropriateness?
- What are the subjective definitions of the interactional or communicative situation?

### **7.2.2 Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity**

Having defined context for the four debates, we move on to look at the instances of intertextuality and interdiscursivity that will inevitably occur in our texts. In relation to these two phenomena, we first and foremost explore how they influence the discourse(s) of the debates and discuss what might have been included but is not.

### **7.2.3 Social Representations, Ideology and Identity**

The social representation of a person is based on, appearance, origin, socioeconomic goals, cultural dimensions and personality. In order to determine these factors that lay the basis for the social representations, we here include the elements of ideology and identity by answering the questions below:

- Is it possible to identify ideologies?
- If so, which ideologies are expressed by whom?
- Can personal and/or national identities be identified?
- If so, what are these identities?

Because identities are based on fundamental traditions of society, we here include information from chapter 8 on social constructions in America in order to illustrate and explain which identities we find. Likewise, in order to define the factor of origin we relate to chapters 9.2 and 9.3 on the biographical background of the candidates. In terms of socioeconomic goals, the debates themselves are indicators of one goal – that of the presidency of the United States. To explicate how they want to use this position, we draw from the statements made throughout the debates. We do not in the analysis enter into details on the factor of appearances in terms of apparel or stature, but will here state the fact that race and gender naturally have an influence on these factors which we will comment on in the analysis.

#### **7.2.4 Mental Models**

Mental models are located in the cognition corner of the triangle but rely heavily on context along with personal factors pertaining to the two candidates. When defining which mental models play a part in discourse in the analysis, we identify the two mental models seen directly below.

Situation model: The individual interpretation of a given situation by the candidate organized in categories of: time, place, circumstances, participants etc. This includes an evaluative modifier to evaluate the event comprised of affiliation with groups, ideologies and values expressed in the course of the debates.

Context model: What are the knowledge and beliefs of the candidates in relation to themselves and the opponent in terms of the participants' goals for the interaction and the relevant social dimensions of the current situation?

#### **7.2.5 Discourse Access Profile**

In order to assess a discourse action profile we here determine the position and

roles with which the candidates enter the discourse in order to evaluate the degree of symbolic power they possess.

### **7.2.6 Discursive Strategies**

Moving into the area of rhetoric we investigate which discursive strategies the candidates use in terms of justification and denial of inequality and to which extent they polarize into 'us' and 'them' groupings. The persuasive strategies of the candidates are, however, not investigated here, but left for the analysis of argumentation below.

### **7.2.7 Audience, Values and Presence**

In this part of the analysis we move our spotlight to the area of rhetoric in order to center in on how the candidates manage to represent themselves through the spoken word. The analysis here largely follows the structure of the theoretical chapter 6, as we first consider and define the audience and the values and whether the candidates succeed in establishing a presence with the audience during the course of arguments.

During the analysis we answer the following question:

- Who are the members of the audience?  
(The gathering of those whom the speaker wants to influence by his or her argument)
- Does the audience change in the debates?
- Do the speakers address universal or particular audiences?
- Which values are expressed when?
- Are they universal values or particular values?
- Does the speaker use hierarchies?
- Are they applicable to the audience/do they adhere?
- Does the speaker establish a presence?
- If so, which tools are used?

### 7.2.8 Types of Argumentation

Continuing along the rhetorical path, we investigate which types of argumentation the candidates use and how well they are able to make this argumentation work. The different types of argument are as listed below:

#### Argumentation by Association

Which types of arguments are used and where?

- Quasi-logical
- Arguments based on the structure of reality
- Arguments that structure reality

#### Argumentation by Dissociation

- Do the participants use argumentation by dissociation?
- Are there instances of the use of term I / term II?
- Which term is used when?
- What does that say about the expression of value?

### 7.2.9 Modes of Persuasion

Concluding the part of the analysis that is based on New Rhetoric we determine how the three modes of persuasion are used in terms of self-representation and to convince the audience.

### 7.2.10 Framing

Closely related to what we have dealt with above in the chapter on persuasion and manipulation is the phenomena of framing. In this part of the analysis we take a closer look at how the candidates frame their arguments and thereby themselves, and if they are able to make this technique work in their favor or not.

### 7.2.11 Metaphor

The last factor we explore in terms of the self-representation of the candidates is that of conceptual metaphor, and more specifically orientational metaphor, as well as metaphorical framing. Firstly, we examine which kinds of orientational metaphor the candidates use to represent themselves, others and the issues at

hand and what it tells about the attitude of the speaker. Secondly, we take a closer look metaphorical framing. Do the candidates use this technique in their argumentation and if so, how does it work to facilitate the argument.

## 8. Social Constructions in America

Having discussed all the elements in our theoretical framework and defined our template for analysis, we have reached the final important matter in relation to the debates; social constructions of gender and race in the US. Staking the claim that America does not hold equal opportunities for women, African-Americans of either gender compared to Caucasian males, we will in the following give an account of historical and societal factors as well as a discussion on the perceived and actual differences between the groups. Our focus here will be on the difficulties that American women and African-Americans go through in the attempt gain equal rights.

According to assistant professor in politics Nicholas Winter, gender and race are: *"...two particularly important stratification systems in contemporary America."* (Winter, 2008: 3). Historically, gender and race have been viewed as objective, absolute categories which reflected natural differences. However, research concludes that they both characterize: *"...relationships among individuals and groups..."* (ibid.). Hence, they both have significant roles in: *"structuring society, culture, and politics both today and throughout American (and human) history."* (ibid.).

From a very early age, children are capable of recognizing the distinctions that gender and race trigger. These differences are imprinted on them by parents and discourse in society which is dominated by the aforementioned power elite (Winter, 2008: 2). Because the matter of inequality of race and gender is such a powerful factor in society, it often serves: *"...as the basis for political communication."* (ibid.: 3) in which people with political interest try to frame a certain perspective on political issues in order to promote their own interests (ibid.: 2).

Finally, elucidating the social constructions of gender and race is necessary to answer the question of how the major discourses in the debates correlate with the constructions. Everybody needs to identify themselves somehow and most people identify themselves according to gender and race (Warnke, 2007: 2). As we have previously argued in chapter 5.3.8, it is possible to have multiple identities according to affiliations, although some identities do exclude others. Working out the chapter, we will strive not to be judgmental but also have to realize that we ourselves are products of social constructions. As CDA demands of us to commit ourselves, we do, however, not consider this a problem to either our analysis or the thesis as a whole.

## **8.1 Gender**

Before scrutinizing the phenomena of *gender* any further, we find it important to outline that gender is not the only word in English one can use when referring to the categories of men and women; one can also refer to a *sex*.

### **8.1.1 Gender or Sex**

Although the two words are often used as synonyms for each other, most gender and language experts argue that there is a difference between them (Litosseliti, 2006: 10). According to Litosseliti, 'sex' typically refers to the biological distinction between men and women, meaning: "...*the physiological, functional anatomical differences...*" (Litosseliti, 2006: 10p), while gender: "...*refers to the social behaviours, expectations and attitudes with being male and female.*" (Litosseliti, 2006: 1). The distinction between the two terms can be taken back to Simone de Beauvoir's book *The Second Sex* from 1949, in which she wrote a line that has since then been referred to: "*One is not born, but rather becomes a woman...*" (Warnke, 2007; 3). Altogether these quotations imply that one does not just become a male or woman on the basis of being born with a male or female sex. Instead, it is based on the male or female gender one acquires throughout one's childhood and youth in

particular (ibid.). Gender thereby becomes a social category, characterized by a culture and its cultural constructions (Litosseliti, 2006: 1).

In her book *Gender and Discourse*, Wodak accounts for how gender can be characterized as: "...how what it means to be a woman or to be a man changes from one generation to the next..." (Wodak, 1997: 4 In: Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 6). By this, Wodak means that we as human beings change from generation to generation when it comes to the values we consider to be typically masculine or feminine. An example of this is our generation considering both male and female doctors a natural occurrence, while our grandparents prefer male doctors only because they have been used to these. With her work, Wodak brought change and the social aspect into the field of gender, implying that gender is susceptible.

Finally, it is interesting to point out how research on gender and language has moved from a focus on individual words to a focus on male dominance and finally to a focal point of dominance and difference today (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002: 3). Included in this work are analyses of differences between men and women when they speak about or to each other. These analyses were meant to reveal men as a class over women and thereby dominant (Renkema: 286). However, the analyses also showed that men do not necessarily wish to be dominant, although they may seem so in conversations and other acts of talk (ibid.). In fact, we are exposed to the differences in language already from an early age (ibid.) as e.g. most parents believe that there boys and girls should be dressed in blue and pink, respectively or that boys do not play with dolls, just as girls do not play with action figures or toy guns.

### **8.1.2 Women in America**

Like many other Western countries, the US has come a long way when it comes to women's rights. However, American women have also had to fight for equality

regarding work, salaries and especially the right to vote – a privilege that men have had since the first president of the United States, George Washington, was elected in 1789. African-American men were given the privilege in 1870 but women were not allowed suffrage until 1920<sup>21</sup>.

According to sociolinguist Lia Litosseliti there is no doubt that feminist movements should have a great deal of the credit for changing the agenda regarding gender in the fields of social sciences and humanities (Litosseliti, 2006: 1) in which: “*Scholarly and popular debates on gender and feminism have centered on shifts...*” (ibid.: 2). These shifts have especially been seen in relation to career possibilities. Women have penetrated what used to be home turfs of men, girls have higher achievement scores than boys in school, and on the whole, there has been a shift concerning gender roles, at least when we speak of the Western world (ibid.). We no longer expect the mother/wife to stay home in her kitchen, while the father/husband goes to work in order to provide for his family (ibid.). We find proof of this every time we turn on the News and see female doctors, lawyers, CEOs and even nuclear physicists.

### **8.1.3 Women in the Top**

Furthermore, women who pursue a career in American politics are no longer a rarity, although not many have made it all the way to a seat in the executive branch. In fact, former Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, was only the second woman to hold this political office<sup>22</sup>, before she turned it over to Hillary Clinton. These facts may leave one with the impression that the US has come a long way

---

<sup>21</sup> As early as 1893, New Zealand gave women the right to vote as the first country in the world, and Australia followed in 1894. In Europe, Finland was the first country in 1906, while Denmark followed as the 3<sup>rd</sup> in 1915. In UK women did not gain the right to vote until 1918, and considered the fact that all these countries were ahead of USA, it was therefore one of the last Western countries who gave women the right, although France and Italy were also far behind. Here the right was not given until 1945 (kvinfo.dk).

<sup>22</sup> The first woman to hold the office as Secretary of State was Madeleine Albright (1996-2001).

when it comes to women in top positions both as business leaders and politicians, but statistics prove otherwise. Although, almost half of the American labor force (46.3%) consisted of women in February 2009 (electwomen.com), the annual Fortune 1000<sup>23</sup> revealed no more than 28 female CEOs in May (cnn.com 1), corresponding to 2.2%. Furthermore, Fortune 500 shows that women only occupy 15% of the companies' boards (electwomen.com). The latter percentage of female board members is almost equal to the percentage of women in Congress as 17% of the members here are women (congress.org).

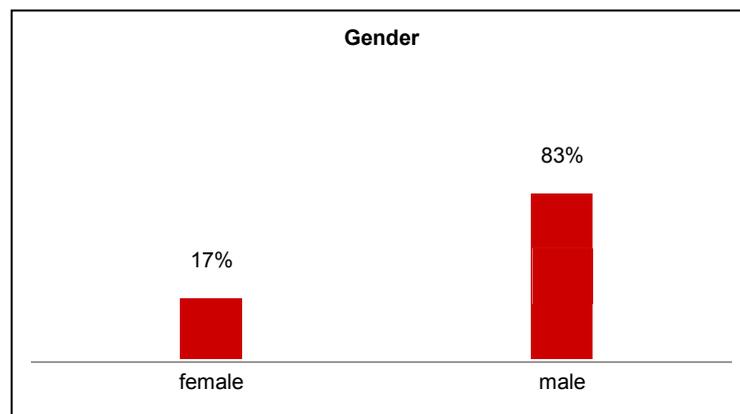


Figure 4: Gender in Congress

This means that the female Congress members hold only 92 of the 539 seats, leaving a noticeably gap between female and male politicians as the figure shows. However, percentages of female CEOs and politicians are not the only examples of striking gaps between men and women. When it comes to income, the gap seems to be significant and a result of: "...men's desire to preserve their advantaged position and their ability to do so..." (Lorber & Farrell, 1991: 143). Being part of the dominant group in companies as well as politics, men have the power to differentiate and make the rules. As these rules are most often for their own benefits, women are left in difficult positions from which they have a long way to the top. Finally, when women get close, men often change the rules again (ibid.).

---

<sup>23</sup> Fortune 1000 is a ranking of the largest corporations in the US according to revenues alone (<http://money.cnn.com>).

Hence, several jobs are to some extent still: "...gender-typed as women's or men's work." (Lorber & Farrell, 1991: 135). Although many – both men and women – consider this comprehension misguided, it is hard to ignore the fact that there are jobs which are difficult to perform when being pregnant. An example is craftsman positions which most often involve hard physical challenges. This narrows the gender-typing down to the fact that men cannot give birth to babies, leaving them not necessarily better for the position, but more uncomplicated regarding e.g. having to stay home and tend to the children when they are ill (ibid.). Therefore, some companies today still favor men for more demanding positions.

#### **8.1.4 Running for President as a Woman**

In 1990, however, American politics saw a new agenda in terms of female politicians. That year female politicians seemed to stop defending themselves by stating that they as women could do the job just as well as men (Witt et al., 1995: vii). Instead, female candidates began arguing that they could approach the process of making public politics from a different angle with new point of views (ibid.). Three years before, in 1987, the Democratic politician Pat Schroeder had started discussions in the media of this matter when asked if she considered running for president as a woman. She responded: "...*Do I have an option?*". Schroeder opened up the possibility for women to push their own issues instead of others'. Furthermore, Schroeder wanted people to respect her for being more than a congressional representative (ibid.). Being: "...*a daughter, wife, mother [and] Harvard-trained lawyer...*", she was also one of the nation's most competent women for the position. Schroeder argued for her right to be seen as a whole woman who, in spite of her gender and all its biological and cultural traditions, should not be denied the fulfillment and purpose that she could achieve from serving her country only because the American people and the media in particular considered a the election of a female president impossible (ibid.).

Even though it has been more than twenty years, one has to ask oneself if there is still a hidden agenda of social constructions in the US saying that a woman cannot occupy the Oval Office in the White House. We have seen examples of both female prime ministers and presidents in other Western countries but still not in the US, although other women besides Clinton have tried. In 1999, Republican Elizabeth Dole ran but dropped out before the primary elections, and in 2003, the former Democratic Senator Carol Moseley Braun did the same (Carroll & Fox, 2006: 149).

If such hidden agenda exists, it is not a new phenomenon. In fact, psychologist Ann Morrison and sociologist Ellen van Velsor spoke of a *glass ceiling* as early as in 1987 in their book '*Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Can Women Reach the Top of America's Largest Corporations?*' (Mullany, 2007: 1). The glass ceiling in this case refers to an invisible barrier which women cannot break through no matter how hard they are trying. Not because they are not competent but because social constructions are stopping them. During the primary elections, many American women – especially those over 45 – considered Hillary Clinton to be the woman that could finally break the last of the glass ceilings needed to be broken, arguing that it was women's turn to occupy the Oval Office (<http://www.america.gov>).

## **8.2 Race**

Following the discussion on gender, we will in the following take a closer look at some of the factors that have influenced the way American society, and hence the social constructions, is shaped today.

### **8.2.2 Civil Rights**

There are several factors in recent American history that have been instrumental to shaping the conditions for African-Americans today. Two of the most prominent are the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The first banned racial segregation in public places, schools and employment (usdoj.gov 1), while

the latter prohibited all states from denying any person the right to vote on the basis of race or color (usdoj.gov 2). Prior to 1965 many states had passed laws that were designed to deny African-Americans the right to vote by e.g. requiring literacy tests of voters and complicating the registration process of a person who wanted to register to vote. This was done by demanding an already registered person to vouch for the registering person's 'good character' (usdoj.gov 3). The Voting Rights Act of 1965 meant a high increase in African-American voter registration and has been called: "... the single most effective piece of civil rights legislation ever passed by Congress." (usdoj.gov 2).

Returning to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the newfound freedom to frequent any public place was, in actuality, a freedom that existed mostly on the legal document it was printed on. Because unemployment and thereby poverty among African-Americans was overwhelmingly high, most did not have the funds to participate in the social activities that exist in public places. As civil rights activist, Martin Luther King asked: "*What good is it to be allowed to eat in a restaurant if you can't afford a hamburger?*" (Steinberg, 2000: 3p).

### **8.2.3 Poverty among African Americans**

The fact that these laws were needed to ensure equal rights for all races did, however, show ongoing segregation in the American society. Although, following the Revolutionary War (1775-1783), African-Americans had attained the status of free men; two centuries of slavery had left a great divide between the races. Sociologist Stephen Steinberg claims that the civil rights revolution in the 1960s was not a struggle for equality but merely a claim for liberty as in the obtainment of fundamental legal rights (Steinberg, 2000: 3). Social segregation and the inequalities that follows with it was and still is persistent between African-Americans and Caucasians as the following will show.

The Kerner Commission Report from 1968 was an initiative to reduce social inequality between the races that proposed solutions on how to e.g. raise employment rates and provide better housing and educational opportunities for African-Americans (Boger<sup>24</sup> *in*: Steinberg, 2000: 13). Nevertheless, the problematic issues dealt with in the Kerner Report seem to this day to defy a resolution,

*“...millions of the urban poor still find themselves without full-time employment, adequate education, affordable healthcare, decent housing and social welfare programs.”*

(*ibid.*: 8).

As a result of this, America has a very poor disproportionately African-American *underclass* concentrated in the drug-ridden inner city of metropolitan areas with both inadequate job opportunities and public service in the form of healthcare and education (*ibid.*: 29). In 1993, 33.1% of all African Americans and 46.1% of all African American children lived below the official poverty line (*ibid.*: 18). Additionally, in 2007, 50% of all new HIV and AIDS diagnoses were in the African American population (avert.org 1). The life expectancy among African Americans today is years shorter than that of Caucasian Americans as well as the mortality rates for infants are twice as high (Boger *in*: Steinberg, 2000: 22).

According to the US Department of Justice, an estimated 32% of all African-American males will spend time in a state or federal prison during their lifetime. The same percentage for the Caucasian part of the population is only 5.9%. At present, 40% of inmates in American jails are African-American (usdoj.gov 4). This number must be seen in relation to the fact that African-Americans only constitute

---

<sup>24</sup> John Charles Boger is a Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina and has written several books on the subject of civil rights (law.unc.edu).

12.3% of the entire American population, whereas Caucasians make up for 75.1% (census.gov 1).

#### 8.2.4 The Racial Divide

We believe that these statistics on the African-American population can only help to reinforce the divide between races. The worse the statistics look, the more they will convince the population of the difference by forming the basis for generalizations that cover the racial group as a whole. Arguably, there is a well-off African-American middle-class in American society that does not suffer the same difficulties as others, but these people too are subject to suffer from the same statistics when judged by their appearance.

Following the 1995 midterm elections,<sup>25</sup> civil rights scholar Lani Guinier commented on the recent election proclaiming that this had not been an election in which people voted for solutions, but rather one in which people had been driven by hate-mongering to vote against candidates (Guinier *In: steinberg*, 2000: 55). The two races use words that code a racial *subtext* into the language used during elections. For Caucasians these words are: "...*minority, urban, criminal, crime rate, social program participant, special interests, inner city, welfare mother.*" (ibid.: 56) and for African-Americans: "...*suburban type, Republican, conservative*" (ibid). Undoubtedly these words can only fan the fire that sustains the racial divide.

Guinier further claims that the issue of race in America is one of blame and punishment that tries to determine who is guilty and who is not. On the question of who is at fault for the disintegration of moral values in the country, the fingers of blame points in every which direction covering most of the political spectrum: "*Individual bigots or race obsessed blacks; right-wing zealots or left-wing black*

---

<sup>25</sup> Midterm elections are elections in which members of Congress, state legislatures and some governors are elected.

*nationalists; individual incumbents or their individual opponents; the media, Congress, the American people...*" (ibid.). Guinier uses the same terms as van Dijk to state that the country is fixed in an 'us' and 'them' polarization in society where the terms are used equally by both sides (ibid.).

### **8.2.5 African-Americans in Politics**

Giving African-Americans an equal right to vote was a first step in the right direction. However, the social and economical dilemma of being allowed into a restaurant but not being able to buy a meal met its political counterpart here. African-Americans had gained the right to vote on equal terms with all other demographic groups in society. Though, being a minority they had no chance of mustering up the majority of votes it would take to elect their own candidates. To remedy this, a new policy was adopted which in some instances would obligate state legislature to draw up new electoral districts that would secure a minority majority. However, because this policy was highly controversial, it has been abandoned as a consequence of a recent Supreme Court decision (Steinberg, 2000: 5).

After the Voting Rights Act had been ratified in 1965 there has been a great increase in African-Americans elected for political office. Although, most would win only minor posts as school committee men or councilmen, in the period from 1965-1990 almost every major in the US have had an African- American mayor (Bayor, 2003: 198). This may for the most part be due to the fact that the major cities have a proportionally large population of African-Americans creating a natural majority in some electoral districts. This in itself is a sign of progress, but it has also helped to better the conditions for African-Americans by contributing to:

*"...[putting] an end to formal discrimination by city agencies, substantial minority hiring in city departments and agencies, city*

*construction and purchasing contract with minority business enterprises, and meaningful appointments to city administrative boards and agencies."*

(Boger *in*: Steinberg, 2000: 27p).

Although, this has created more job opportunities for minorities, local government lacks the power of state and national government. In addition to this, local governments control limited resources in terms of money, and when budget cuts are made, the large proportion of African-Americans who hold jobs within the public service area are among those who suffer the greatest. At the same time, Boger claims, there seems to be 'a kind of celebratory politics' among African-American middle-class politicians in which they have taken their own success as a proof of progress and those of low income seem to take their success as a proof of the possibilities within the system (ibid.: 28p).

The decisions most critical to poor African-Americans concerning health care, education, job training etc. are taken at the state and national level of government, where minorities does not seem to have the same amount of influence. Currently Congress consists of 86% Caucasian and only 8% African-Americans as the figure below shows.

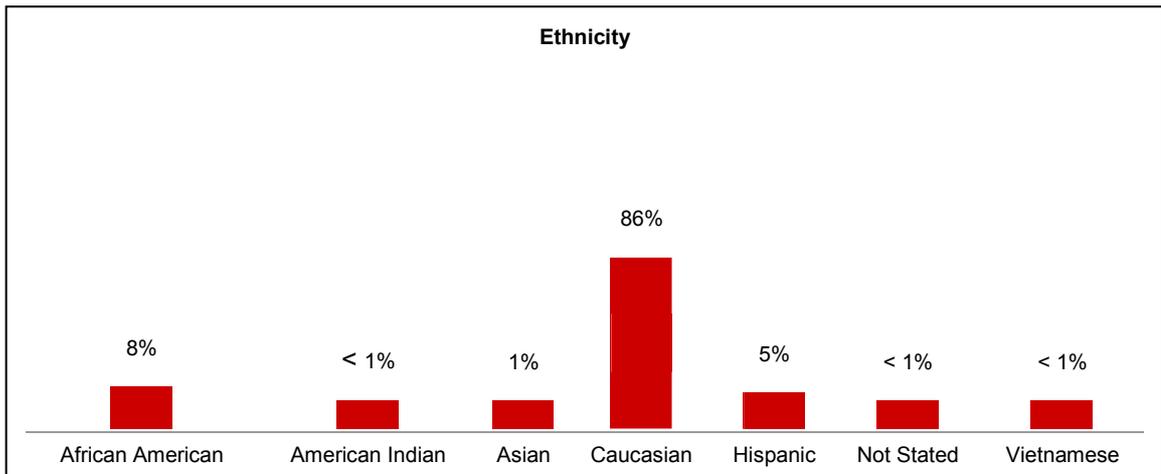


Figure 5: Ethnicity in Congress

Converted into congressional seats the numbers are 461 and 42 respectively. If the African-Americans were to be represented according to their share of the population, they would need to increase their number of seats by 50% (congress.org)

### 8.3 Social Constructions Applying to Gender and Race

In a sense, the definition of race is a social construction as we have already defined gender to be. An Asian child brought up in a Western country by Caucasian parents does not act like a Chinese or Korean person. Genetics and biology may act as determinants for our personal appearance, but it does not determine who a person grows up to be. This is largely decided by factors in the society one grows up in.

Above we have shown, that males sets the agenda on the job market and that African-Americans as well as women are a minority, even in proportion to their share of the population, in state and national politics where the critical decisions that has the ability to change society is made. Furthermore, we argue that the statistics on gender and race help to create and reinforce generalizations on the demographic groups that ultimately are the basis for social constructions. For

African-Americans the code words of: minority, urban, criminal, crime rate, social program participant, special interests, inner city and welfare mother are among those which the social constructions are built upon. These signify a dependency on welfare and a tendency to commit crime and both are an economical strain on society as a whole. It can furthermore be argued that the poor educational system in many inner-cities and the slim opportunities for steady work creates an image of African-Americans as unwilling to contribute to society.

For women the biggest obstacle is possibly the traditional responsibility for the family and the children especially. Men have self-interest in keeping women out of top positions in the job market, and have the power to differentiate and make the rules. The traditional role of nurturer may also very well be an obstacle for women, when it is expected of a leader to be strong and decisive even in extremely tough situations. The glass ceiling referred to above in 8.1.4 may be invisible but it is strong enough to stop many women from getting above a specific point on the career ladder. For women as well as African-Americans the conditions above have led to gender- and race- typed jobs that further reinforce social constructions of being incapable of holding high ranking posts.

The polarization into 'us' and 'them' may be more prominent in discourses between races than between gender but that is not to say that the polarization does not exist between men and women. As the glass ceiling it seems to be invisible in public discourse, and on this basis we wonder if discrimination on the grounds of gender is more taboo than the discrimination between races in contemporary America.

## **9. Contextual Data**

Since the electoral system in the US shares no resemblance with the Danish system, we have found it appropriate to include a brief introduction to the primary elections that places the debates in temporal relation to the ensuing general election. As the persons behind the two politicians in this thesis are important to the contexts and thus to the discourse(s) of the debates, we will in the following also give a brief and factual insight into the early days as well as the educational background and political careers of Hillary R. Clinton and Barack H. Obama, respectively. Both have led very productive lives, and our account here merely scratches the surface of their experiences and accomplishments. It does, however, give an informative overview of the persons' backgrounds and makes us able to compare them to one another.

Our research into their respective backgrounds has revealed an immense amount of material written about the two. This leads us to believe that the information written here has been available to the participants during the time of the debates, as well as it has been available to the media, and the information is therefore likely to have had some influence on the assessment of the candidates by all parties involved in the nomination process.

### **9.1 Primary Electoral System**

In the United States any citizen can become President provided that he/she meets the requirements of being a natural born citizen, having passed the age of 35 and having been a resident within the US for at least 14 years, (Vile, 1999: 214).

Historically, the persons with the best chance of being elected have been state governors, senators or Vice-Presidents (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 115). As the US

practices a winner-take-all system<sup>26</sup> (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 77), the political system has turned into a two-party system consisting of the Democratic and the Republican Parties<sup>27</sup> (Vile, 1999: 43p). It is therefore the final candidates of these two parties who vie for the votes in the 50 states.

The American path to presidency is a long process that begins at least a year before the general election (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 114). Before reaching this election, the candidates have to win the primary elections of every state. These are arranged by the party organizations themselves and offer the American voters the final word in pointing out the person who should represent the parties in the general election (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 114). The American voters do not vote directly and nationally, but indirectly by state, and their votes are transformed into Electoral College delegates (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 76). Normally, people select the candidate on the basis of who they can identify themselves with or simply by pointing out the candidate that belongs to the party that they are in the habit of choosing (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 114).

All over the world, the primaries and the following political debates get massive media coverage (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 114). The media are eager and pass no chances to dig deep into the backgrounds of the contestants, and this is the main reason why politicians, who may otherwise have excellent qualifications, choose not to run (Seidelin, 2008: 61).

Traditionally, the primaries begin in Iowa and New Hampshire (Seidelin, 2008: 78). Although these are two smaller Northern states, it is preferable to win at least one of them as this encourages sponsors and individuals to begin their financial support of the contestants (ibid.). However, it has been discussed whether it is fair

---

<sup>26</sup> It takes 270 votes to win the general election (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 77).

<sup>27</sup> There are other parties but these do not get a substantial number of votes.

to begin the primaries in Northern states with predominantly Caucasian citizens (Seidelin, 2008: 82). The party organizations in several other states have therefore chosen to expedite their primaries which have led to the phenomenon of Super Tuesday<sup>28</sup> (ibid.).

In 2008, February 5 became a Super Duper Tuesday as no less than 24 states held their primaries, leaving Obama the winner of the smaller states and Clinton of the bigger (Seidelin, 2008: 82). This put Clinton in the lead (<http://www.america.gov>). Many thought that the final result would show on this day, but as the debates show, the race continued in full gear until the Convention of the Democratic Party three months before the general election at which Obama was nominated the Democratic presidential candidate (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 114). With this said, we now take a closer look at the individual debates.

## **9.2 Hillary Rodham Clinton**

Hillary Diane Rodham was born on October 26, 1947 to Methodists Dorothy Howell Rodham and Hugh E. Rodham (Clinton, 2003: 2). At that time her parents lived in a one-bedroom apartment in Chicago. By the time Hillary turned three, her parents had sufficient funds to buy a two-story brick house in the middle-class Chicago suburb of Park Ridge, a home her father paid for in cash. Here she grew up with her two younger brothers, Tony and Hugh in a safe neighborhood with many other children, but only a short distance from the problems of downtown Chicago (Ehrenreich, 2007: 14-15).

Her mother was a homemaker who devoted her life to the children, while her father ran his own small drapery business (Clinton, 2003: 2). Ideologically, her mother installed in her a sense of social justice as well as a belief that women can

---

<sup>28</sup> Super Tuesday has been a tradition since 1984 and entails that many American states hold primaries at the same day (Hansen, 2008: 23).

accomplish anything men can. On the other hand, her father is described as a tyrant to the mother and Hillary's two brothers, from whom he demanded the strictest discipline. Hillary, who was her father's favorite, did not feel his anger to the same extent (ibid.). A firm believer in Republican values, he had great influence on Hillary's early political career (Ehrenreich, 2007: 17-19).

Hillary Rodham met her husband to be, William Jefferson Clinton, at Yale Law School in 1970. They got married in 1975, but Hillary did not change her maiden name Rodham for her husband's name until the early 1980s, when she only did so to further his political career. In 1980, Bill and Hillary saw the birth of their only child, a daughter, who they named Chelsea Victoria Clinton (Epstein, 2008: 42-43).

### **9.2.1 Education**

Hillary Rodham graduated from high school in the top five percent of her class, and went on to attend the all-girl Wellesley College 12 miles outside of Boston, Massachusetts (Epstein, 2008: 22). In 1969, she received her BA degree from Wellesley and was the first student at this college to give the commencement address at graduation. Her commencement speech on change in America and the need for peaceful protest was later published in parts in *Life Magazine*.

In the fall of 1969, Hillary Rodham began her studies at Yale Law School from which she received her law degree in 1973 (ibid.: 95). Still in her senior year at Wellesley, she had been accepted at both Harvard and Yale, but a Harvard professor of law had commented to Hillary that Harvard had no need for women and had thereby made her choice of university that much easier (ibid.: 26). Having received her law degree, she stayed at Yale for an additional year to add child psychology and family law to her studies. At Yale's Child Study Center she aided in research that later founded the basis for the book entitled *Beyond the best Interest of the Child* co-written by Anna Freud (ibid.: 32). This along with work she did for

the Carnegie Council on Children and the Children's defense fund earned her a Juris Doctor Degree from Yale in 1973 (Ibid.).

### **9.2.2 Political Career**

The political career started at a young age for Hillary Clinton. At age 13 she and a friend went from door to door in the poorest neighborhoods of Chicago in a covert operation to test the names of people listed to vote. This was done on the suspicion that the Democrats had had a creative hand in the counting of the votes from this part of town. The story does not reveal whether they managed to prove anything, but needless to say, she did not win any favors from her father by walking the poorest neighborhoods of Chicago without adult supervision (Ehrenreich, 2007: 19).

Her next attempt at politics was not a success either. In high school she ran for student council president. When she did not win, a boy from the school told her that she was really stupid to think a girl could become president (Driscoll, 2008: 16). This, however, did not discourage her from trying again at Wellesley, where she won (ibid.: 20). At age 17, while still in high school, she aided the campaign of Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, who nonetheless lost the election to the Democrat Lyndon Johnson (Ehrenreich, 2007: 20). At some stage in her time at university, her political views had changed, and she was now a strong believer in Democratic values. After Yale, Hillary moved to Arkansas to be with her then boyfriend Bill Clinton. In Arkansas she maintained a professional career as an attorney while supporting both Bill's political career as well as helping the campaign for Democratic presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter (Epstein, 2008: 37).

During the years Bill Clinton was governor of Arkansas, he set Hillary in charge of raising the standard of medical care in the state, a job which she reportedly did very well (ibid.: 44p). Furthermore, she continued her work with children by

heading the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, in which she created a program to better prepare children for school (ibid.). She also reformed the educational system to require testing of teachers as well as the students, something that raised student grades across the state (ibid.: 46).

After Bill Clinton was elected president in 1992, Hillary got a chance to reform the American national health system. The plan that was put forth was, however, not well received neither by the medical insurance companies, who stood to lose a great deal of money, nor the Republicans. Consequently, only smaller portions of the plan would be carried out (ibid.: 55).

Due to several incidents during Bill Clinton's presidency, Hillary Clinton experienced a turbulent time in the White House. One controversy was on the Clinton's private financing, during the time when they still resided in Arkansas. With a reference to Watergate, it was publicly dubbed the Whitewater scandal (Ehrenreich 200: 137). Hillary Clinton's actions and responses to the press prompted the media to use such harsh words to describe her as e.g. an ice queen and a tyrannical witch, who demanded obedience from everyone including her husband (ibid.).

This situation forced her to assume a more traditional First Lady behavior (ibid.), but in the end, it had not deterred her completely from pursuing a career in politics. When asked to run for senator of the state of New York, she accepted, but only after long considerations (Epstein, 2008: 67). By campaigning in every county of the large and heterogeneous state, something that nobody before her had ever done, she managed to persuade a large number of voters, who would traditionally have voted Republican. Consequently, she won the seat in the Senate (ibid.: 72).

It has not been possible to include all the causes that Hillary Clinton has fought for in her years as a politician, but to list a few that has not made it into this brief account

of her life they are: job security, the environment, women's choice and social security (ibid.: 71).

### **9.3 Barack Hussein Obama**

Barack Hussein Obama was born on Hawaii on August 4, 1961. His father, Barack Obama Sr., used to herd his father's goats (Mendell, 2007: 45) but had thanks to his intellect and American sponsors been given the possibility to go to the US at the age of 23 to accumulate knowledge that he could bring back to Africa (Dougherty, 2007: 43). At the University of Hawaii he met Obama's mother, Ann Dunham, a bright 17-year-old girl (Mendell, 2007: 40) who together with her parents had been around the US before returning to Hawaii in 1959 (Hansen, 2008: 40pp). Due to the mixed population of the islands, Hawaii was more tolerant towards the marriage between Obama's parents and his birth than in other parts of America<sup>29</sup> (Hansen, 2008: 47).

Also Obama's maternal grandparents found it problematic that their daughter had married an African man (Mendell, 2007: 44) but welcomed Obama (Hansen, 2008: 45p). To Obama the early years of his life on Hawaii and near his grandparents stand as magical, because he was protected against the problems that were later to occur. These particularly arose when he realized that he was a representative of two very different worlds and races (Hansen, 2008: 48pp).

Only two years after Obama's birth, his father left him and his mother to continue education at Harvard. Afterwards, he returned to Africa, where he later remarried and had several more children (Dougherty, 2007: 44). He did not return to visit Obama and his mother, until Obama was ten years old, and this is the only meeting of the two (Hansen, 2008: 82). As thousands of African-American children

---

<sup>29</sup> In 1961 miscegenation – mix of races – was still considered a crime in more than half of the American states (Hansen, 2008: 36).

have experienced to be left by their father, Obama's story is not exceptional, but it is more complicated because both his mother and maternal grandparents were white. He was the black boy in the white family<sup>30</sup> carrying the middle name of Hussein (Hansen, 2008: 10). Furthermore, he did not come from an underprivileged background, but a middle class family who had a strong belief in the US and wanted him to attend the best schools (Hansen, 2008: 7). At age 10 he was accepted at Punahou Academy, the finest elite school of Hawaii (Hansen, 2008: 77). This enhanced the family's position in society (ibid.).

It was to enter the American school system and live with his grandparents that his mother sent him back to Hawaii (Mendell, 2007: 51). Up until then, he had lived in Indonesia with his mother and her new Indonesian husband for four years (ibid.). Her mother's new husband was kind to Obama and treated him as his own son. It was from him, Obama learned about power and the importance of being the strongest. Furthermore, the stay in Indonesia taught Obama that people differentiated between black and white people and that some black people therefore tried to get rid of their skin color with help from chemical treatments (Hansen, 2008: 52pp). All in all, he began realizing that the world could be a rough place (ibid.).

This prompted some confusing years of youth for Obama (Dougherty, 2007: 42) who felt that his blood was mixed and thereby splitting his soul (Hansen, 2008: 23). He tried to prepare himself to become a black man in the US, but had nobody to learn from (Dougherty, 2007: 48p). His childhood had been mixed up (Dougherty, 2007: 80) and his father, with whom he corresponded in letters only, lived in Africa (Dougherty, 2007: 48pp). Besides his grandfather's black friends, he

---

<sup>30</sup> The fact that his mother and grandparents are white Americans, his sister is Indonesian-American, his paternal family is African and he is Afro-American, has made Obama compare their family get-togethers to FN-meetings (Mendell, 2007: 69)

had nothing but the media to relate to, and he began searching for answers in the books of people such as James Baldwin, W.E.B. Du Bois, Martin Luther-King and Malcolm X (ibid.).

Although struggling, he found his standpoint as a person of colored origin (Mendell, 2007: 108), and in 1992, he married his wife Michelle, an African-American girl from South Side Chicago. Seven years later, their first daughter Malia was born, and she was followed by the second, Sasha, in 2001 (Dougherty, 2007: 87). Like Obama, Michelle had a law degree from Harvard Law, but they did not meet until he began working in the same large corporate law firm as her (Dougherty, 2007: 80p).

### **9.3.1 Education**

Having completed primary school, Obama moved on to high school and the University of Hawaii in which he made it to the varsity team in basketball (Dougherty, 2007: 51), a game that taught him the lesson that respect comes from one's accomplishments, not family ties (ibid.). At age 18, he left Hawaii for the Occidental College in Los Angeles, where he was easily accepted into the black student population (Dougherty, 2007: 53p). It was also in Los Angeles that he spoke in public for the first time and discovered his genius for connecting with an audience (Mendell, 2007: 75). In the early 1980s, Obama transferred to Columbia University, and it was in New York, he learned of his father death in 1982 (Dougherty, 2007: 61p).

The following year, in 1983, Obama graduated and applied to civil rights organizations for work (Dougherty, 2007: 63). He wanted to fight for the values that he had been imprinted by his mother such as tolerance, equality and standing up for the disadvantaged (Dougherty, 2007: 47p). Subsequently, he went to South Side Chicago to work with job placement of those who had suffered from plant

closings (Dougherty, 2007: 63). Working with everything from housing projects<sup>31</sup> to Crime Watch programs, Obama gained success and was invited to join some of Chicago's influential panels of politicians (Dougherty, 2007: 66). To gain influence and thereby a chance of making real change, he decided to apply to Harvard Law School (ibid.)

In 1990, he became the first black student to be elected president of the prestigious Harvard journal *Law Review* and made it to the national news for the first time (Dougherty, 2007: 77). Although a student and not yet 30, this prompted phone calls from a number of editors who wanted Obama to write his memoirs (ibid.). Obama graduated magna cum laude in 1991 and turned down jobs in the U.S. Court of Appeals, etc. to work with discrimination cases for a recommended law firm in Chicago (Dougherty, 2007: 78). He also found time to teach constitutional law at the University of Chicago Law School (ibid.).

### **9.3.2 Political career**

Obama's political career began in 1997, when he ran for the Illinois legislature and won. Before running for this seat, he had discussed it with his wife, who did not approve of his idea of going into politics (Dougherty, 2007: 79p). Obama worked for the Health and Human Service bills, but is mostly remembered for his 2003 bill which required police in Illinois to videotape all interrogations in crime cases (Dougherty, 2007: 85). He lost the run for a congressional seat in 2000 and 2001, but succeeded to win it in 2004, a year that became a milestone for Obama's political career because he also gave what has been called his star-making speech at the Democratic convention (Dougherty, 2007: 9).

---

<sup>31</sup> A housing project can be defined as a housing development that is publicly funded and administered for low-income families (wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn). They are especially common for areas of cities in which people do not have much to play with.

In 2006, Obama was considered one of the most important reasons why the Democrats succeeded in winning back both houses of Congress, and people began to speak of him and his star power (ibid.). Obama was capable of speaking from the heart and give speeches without manuscripts (Hansen, 2008: 10). During his run for president in 2007, this developed into what the press dubbed Obamania.

People and black voters in particular began speaking of him as a new Camelot which refers to King Arthur's castle, the most beautiful place on earth, which symbolizes knowledge, culture and justice from a time when most things were dark and somber (Hansen, 2008: 8). This term was also used about the period of President John F. Kennedy, who was capable of bringing hope and faith to the American people and inspired the whole world with his political visions called A New Frontier (ibid.). Besides agreeing that the world had never seen a politician like Obama (Hansen, 2008: 9), reporters also seemed to agree that Obama was about to do three things at the same time: take American politics into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, revolutionize the relationship between the races and unite the extremely divided groups of American voters America by saying: Yes! We! Can! (ibid.).

## **10. Analysis**

Up until now, everything has been accounted for in order to build up our theoretical framework for analysis, the chapter at hand. In hope that we have done this satisfactorily, it is time to put it into practice and carry out our analysis by following the steps that we accounted for in chapter 7, beginning with context. As the context in all four debates is the same for Clinton and Obama, the subchapter of context will rely on all four debates and not be split. The following chapters are either treated the same way when possible or in two separate subchapters concerning Clinton and Obama, respectively. No matter what, everything will be done in order to answer our statement of problem and compare the elements of self-representation of both Clinton and Obama on the basis of a proper analysis. To present our findings as clear as possible, we will, however, sum up the results of our analysis in two separate chapters. These will rely on the CDA elements and the rhetorical elements, in that order, and constitute chapter 10.7 and 10.12, respectively.

### **10.1 Context**

As previously stated (chapter 7.1), context is a deciding factor for all aspects concerning discourse. Hence, we will commence the analysis by defining the context for the four debates. Classifying the type of context for the debates, we follow the bulleted lists from the template found in chapter 7.2.1.

The debates take place in the months of January, February and April of 2008 at a time when all other Democratic candidates have left the race for nomination. Secondly, they all take place in major US cities: Los Angeles, Austin, Cleveland and Philadelphia, respectively. As we will explain in the following, we find the venues chosen for the Austin and Philadelphia debates of particular interest. The Austin venue is located on the campus of a university that seems to take pride in

having a large number of so-called minority students of African-American and Hispanic origin. Also important is the fact that the state of Texas shares a border with Mexico and consequently has a fairly large population of Hispanic immigrants. We have no way of knowing, however, how many from these minorities are present in the audience<sup>32</sup>, but it is reasonable to suspect that this will heighten the interest for issues that concern these minority groups during the debate.

The venue chosen in Philadelphia has a potential influence on discourse because of the symbolism that lies in holding a political debate in the city where the nation's founding fathers signed the Declaration of Independence, and more specifically in the National Constitution Center that has the purpose of increasing appreciation for the American Constitution. Both the city and the venue itself must be considered to hold great symbolic value for Americans, and the venue is likely to have been handpicked by the network in order to let the symbolism influence the discourse.

We have already presented the two candidates in chapter 9, which leaves us with the moderators. As can be seen from the introduction to the individual debates in the appendix<sup>33</sup>, the moderators almost all appear well-educated and have a long record of reporting on political events. There are two of the moderators, however, that stand out from the rest. The first we will name is Brian Williams, who has not attained a university degree but has worked his way up by first working in politics and later reporting on politics. The second person worth mentioning is Jorge Ramos who appeared at the debate in Austin. Ramos appears to be a household name in the Hispanic communities and seems to have a great influence

---

<sup>32</sup> When referring to an audience in this part of the analysis, we do not refer to Perelman's concept of an audience that would include all participants in the debates, but only the spectators in the different venues and the people across the nation watching the debates on TV.

<sup>33</sup> Each moderator is presented in the appendix as an introduction to the individual debates.

on this community as well. This also entails that the Hispanic minority was likely to listen closer to what he had to say and how the candidates answered his questions.

Most likely the two candidates will have been aware of the amount of political knowledge that the moderators possess as well as the influence that Ramos has on the Hispanic voters, and they will have taken this into consideration. The debates take places in a public sphere as they both have an in-house audience and are televised nationwide. They are immediate productions of spoken language, but because the main social domain is that of politics, and for the reason that they are a part of an ongoing campaign, we suspect that many of the statements delivered throughout the text have been uttered in earlier debates, speeches or press conferences held by the two candidates.

We even believe, as was stated in chapter 5.3.5 that some statement might be rehearsed which gives the texts some characteristics of a written text in terms of being prepared. However, the texts still retain the overall characteristics of immediate and unprepared speech, as the candidates have no control over what the moderators might ask them or how the opponent might respond. The characteristics of a written text also makes the individual text less dependent on the immediate context they appear in, meaning that some statement can appear in e.g. speeches or press conferences virtually unchanged.

When looking at which institutions are represented in the debates, we find three different kinds. The first kind is the campaign for the two different candidates and the second is the Democratic Party that the two candidates are representatives of. The third kind of institution is the different media that are represented. These are, the national networks of: *CNN*, *NBC* and *ABC*, the Hispanic network *Univision*, the internet based news supplier *Politico* and the newspaper the *L.A. Times*.

As we have already mentioned more than a few times, the two candidates are contestants in the nomination for presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. The individual moderators' relations with the candidates are not stated anywhere in the course of the debates, but from their professional backgrounds we must assume that they all have an exhaustive knowledge of the candidates. Therefore, we see the overall roles of the participants as that of 'examiner- student'. In this instance the candidates are the students who have to pass an exam in the form of a political debate, and the moderators act as their examiners. Continuing the metaphorical imagery, the audience will later act as the examiners at the candidate's final exam as the votes are cast to select the winner. The overall actions by the candidates are self-representation and arguing for their individual take on Democratic values, whereas the actions of the moderators are directed at gaining information.

This takes us to the goals of the participants. The candidates have an obvious goal in convincing the audience to prefer them over the other candidate as well as over the Republican candidate(s). The goals of the moderators are to ask the questions that will give the audience the information needed on the candidates to make the appropriate choice come Election Day. Because it is a TV-show, however, there is also an underlying goal of entertainment for the moderators. The hosts for the debates are the three national TV-networks mentioned above, which have to rely on sponsors. If the debates become too tedious and do not have either elements of surprise or entertainment, they will not obtain the desired ratings and will thereby lose money, because fewer sponsors will buy time from the networks for their commercials.

We have not found any instances in which the participants break the normative rules of appropriateness. Moderator John King even comments on this in the Austin debate to say that the debate communication between the candidates is

very polite<sup>34</sup> (D2: 669). We have, however, found instances in which the rules seem to be bent. In the Austin debate (D2); moderator, Jorge Ramos, speaks in Spanish on several occasions (D2: 131-132, 398, 605, 610). In one instance he even gets applause from the audience present in the venue (D2: 607) when referring to the number of Spanish speaking people in the population. It is impossible to determine from the transcripts, whether his communication in Spanish is directed at the audience or the candidates, but the fact remains that, although, not everyone is able to understand his utterances, a large part of the spectators approves of this action. This also means that the rules have not been broken they have only been bent.

Because a political debate is a serious matter dealing with issues important to the society as a whole, another bending of the rules of appropriateness occurs when the tone of formality is broken and the participants make statements that induce amusement among the other participants. Outbursts of laughter are common in all four debates, but according to the transcripts they happen mostly among the members of the audience because of something one of the moderators or candidates have said. The candidates laugh at both utterances that occur during the debates as well as they laugh to moderate the effect of their statements, as is done in the Philadelphia debate. Clinton (D4: 204) and Obama (D4: 216) laugh here when they determine themselves as the better candidate. On one occasion Obama even lets out a chuckle when watching a video tape of Clinton making fun of him (D3: 716). Although the laughter breaks the level of formality, it does not seem entirely inappropriate at any time. Hence, the normative rules of appropriateness seem to be by and large followed by all participants.

---

<sup>34</sup> In fairness it must be added that John King seems to be comparing the discourse at the debates with those that have been prevalent in the media in the time leading up to the debate.

Rounding up the analysis of context for the debates, we will describe the intersubjective definitions of the communicative situation. In chapter 5.3.7.1 we described context as unique and subjective participant constructions because it is influenced by the individual the discourse of the individual participants. As we have already established, the candidates and moderators have different goals and roles in the communicative situation which can change the discourse through the course of a debate. However, there also needs to be a shared common ground in the form of shared social cognitions for the communication to function, and in the case of the four debates. First and foremost, the debaters and moderators share common knowledge of how a debate should be conducted, which is proven by the fact that there are no definitive breaks with the rules of appropriateness. Although we see several instances of the candidates speaking out of turn, they are aware of it when they do it, and it is not done to an extent that greatly disrupts the debates (D1: 507-513, D3: 157-193).

The rule of speaking in English is also greatly shared among the participants. Jorge Ramos, however, breaks that rule on several occasions as we have already shown. Because there seems to be a shared social cognition among the other participants that politeness is a part of this form of political debates, it is not commented on by the other moderators or the candidates.

Among the audience there is a shared social cognition that, outbursts of laughter, applause and on two occasions booing (D1: 1290, D3: 254) is in order for a political debate. This is accepted by the other participants, and the audience is at no point asked to quiet down. In fact the candidates need an audible response from the audience in order to establish adherence to their arguments.

Shared among all participants is also the greater purpose of the debates, which is to establish, who will be the better candidate for the presidential election, and it revolves around who will be the better keeper and protector of American values.

Establishing the context gives a broad view on the debates, in the following, however, we will take a narrower look at the two candidates in order to establish, how they represent themselves in terms of identity and ideology.

## **10.2 Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity**

As with the analysis of context, our analysis of intertextuality and interdiscursivity will be based on all four debates. Accounting for the matters in our template (chapter 7.2.2), we specified the analysis of these two to include, first and foremost, a recognition of intertextuality and interdiscursivity as something that will always be present in text (chapter 5.3.3 and 5.3.6). Accordingly, this is also the case with the four debates in which there are several examples of intertextuality and interdiscursivity used by Clinton and Obama, respectively, as well as the moderators. In the following we will highlight the most significant of these examples and explain how they affect the discourse(s) in the debates.

### **10.2.1 Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity Used by Clinton and Obama**

Analyzing Clinton and Obama's use of the matters, the examples to highlight are many. However, the most significant examples of Clinton appear in the two first debates e.g.: D1: 263, 290 and D2: 24, 771, 808, 822. The first example (D1: 263-265) shows how Clinton makes Obama's words appear wrong to the audience and thereby in her favor. This she does by repeating a piece of text in the way she wishes Obama's sayings about her health care plan to be. Clinton is not the only one who can play this game, and the tactic is used several times by Obama as well.

Focusing on the first debate, an example of this can be found in line 1323, in which Obama refers to a phrase that Clinton has used, claiming that she has got the

experience on day one. Having said so, Clinton is most likely to have reached a lot of voters, and it is therefore important that Obama brushes aside this phrase by creating a new, saying: "...it is important to be right on day one." (D1: 1323). He does so by referring to the response of Clinton regarding how she voted for the war in Iraq (D1: 1250-1312) and by mentioning how Clinton handled things wrong regarding her health care plan in 1993 (D3: 822-828).

This game of ping pong continues in the second debate when Clinton accuses Obama of plagiarizing the words of others, although he has argued that words matter (D2: 771). She points out that if it is going to be about words, it should be one's own words (D2: 808). This also gives her a chance to downplay the fact that Obama is what she calls a "...passionate, eloquent speaker..." by implying that it takes more to be the president of the United States than being able to say: "Let's come together." (D2: 818-824). In the third debate, Obama is responding to Clinton's accusations of using a flyer with inaccurate information (D3: 61-63) to be just the same as Clinton pointing out what is advantageous in her plan (D3: 70-72). Finally, in the fourth debate, Obama picks up on what Clinton has said about him in the last few days before the debate, making an effort to defend himself (D4: 217-219).

Both Clinton and Obama use intertextuality and interdiscursivity several times in order to emphasize that they have learned from the best before them and are supported by other important politicians. With regards to Clinton, an example of this is her reference to the last of the Democratic contestants leaving the run, John Edwards (D1: 289). Being a popular politician among the Democratic voters, she puts herself in a good light when arguing that Edwards and she fights for the same things. She also does that in the following debate (D2: 825-827).

However, one who understands to use this more than any other is Obama. In the first example of this, he refers to the brother of the late president John F. Kennedy,

Ted Kennedy, repeating his words: “...that he is confident that we will get universal health care with me as president, and he’s been working on it longer than I think about than anybody.” (D1: 318ff). Using phrases such as ‘he is confident’ and ‘we will get...with me as president’, enables him to put himself in the best light. Furthermore, mentioning how long Ted Kennedy has been working on this makes him a trustworthy person. This is important as we have already mentioned that Obama was compared to JFK and his New Frontier (chapter 9.3.2). In the second debate, Obama strengthens this comparison by using a phrase that was used by John F. Kennedy (D2: 209-211). However, Clinton is fast to respond to this, as she uses the exact same words (D2: 228).

The final examples of intertextuality and interdiscursivity uttered by Clinton and Obama appear in the second debate in which the African-American politician Barbara Jordan<sup>35</sup> is mentioned by both Clinton (D2: 24-28) and Obama (D2: 121-124, 773). This is noticeable because the second debate takes place in Texas, the home state of Jordan. There is no doubt that this is a tactical move from Clinton who can benefit from applauding a historical African-American woman, who moreover was a politician, trying to run as a woman in man’s land. This can be seen in her comparison of her own fight and what she calls: “...almost insurmountable odds...” of Jordan’s (D2: 28).

Whether Obama has referred to Jordan before this debate is impossible for us to know. It is, however, very likely, and we believe that he would have mentioned Jordan no matter what. If not, he probably would not have been able to quote her exact words as he seems to do (D2: 121-124). He refers to Jordan and her words one more time in line 773. Although referring to an African-American, the most important thing about Jordan to him seems to be an argument for him saying that

---

<sup>35</sup> In 1972, Barbara Jordan was the first black woman from the South who was elected to Congress: She was furthermore re-elected several times (<http://womenshistory.about.com>).

he wants the same as Jordan; an America which is as good as its promise (D2: 125-126), and that he is right in speaking directly to the American people using words that matter (D2: 773-774).

Finally, it is important to notice that both Clinton and Obama throughout the debates use a lot of examples of text that people are supposed to have said e.g. D1: 447 and D2: 973. Nobody can determine whether there are people who have actually said those things and there is no doubt that these types of intertextuality work in order to make people in the audience identify themselves with the people in the examples. Therefore, it is also possible to find examples of almost all kinds of people and classes in the US. This takes us to the moderators of the debates.

### **10.2.2 Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity Used by Moderators**

Being the moderator of the first of the debates with Clinton and Obama as the only participants, Blitzer involves several examples of intertextuality and interdiscursivity (D1: 339, 341, 355, 638, 1248). Besides changing the subject, his purpose for using them is also to make the debate more exciting by playing off one contestant against the other. In the first example he expresses this very clearly by asking Obama: *“Is that a swipe at Senator Clinton?”* (D1: 339) which forces Obama to deny (D1: 341). The next example is used against Clinton as Blitzer refers to her health care plan of 1993 and forces her to stand by her actions from a different period of time when she was not an elected politician but First Lady (D1: 355). However, he does the same to Obama as he is asked to explain a statement from a previous CNN interview (D1: 638).

Another moderator using the elements of this subchapter is McManus who like Blitzer uses it to switch to a different theme; in this case Ted and Caroline Kennedy’s endorsement of Obama (D1: 870ff). The third and last moderator in the first debate, Cummings, uses the elements too. Opposite from McManus, however,

she only uses them in relation to Clinton (D1: 965, 1160, 1375). In the first of these three examples, she points to the phrase '*Change to America*' which Clinton has used (D1: 965). The second time, she expresses a question, she wants Clinton to elucidate why she voted against the Levin amendment according to which Bush could have been required to report to Congress before taking military action (D1: 1160). Furthermore, Cummings refers to what she calls several firestorms from Bill Clinton directed at Obama (D1: 1375). Whether using this as her final contribution to the debate is deliberate or not is difficult for us to determine but taken into account that she is covering her 5<sup>th</sup> presidential campaign, one has to assume that she has much experience. Therefore, it is highly probable that Cummings has deliberately chosen this to be her last question in order to create a tactical maneuver and make the audience remember this after the debate has ended.

In the second debate the only examples of intertextuality and interdiscursivity come from moderator King and are directed at Clinton. King wants Clinton to argue for two matters which he is quoting in order to say it with her exact words. This can be seen in the following examples: "*My opponent gives speeches; I offer solutions.*" (D2: 677) and: "*...the choice for Democrats in this campaign is (...) talk vs. action.*" (D2: 678).

Reaching the third debate, it is important to notice how this is taking off with references to Clinton's shift in only a few days. To emphasize her words, passages from two speeches are even shown in form of a videotape (D3: 9). In the first speech, Clinton is stating how honored she is running with Obama, but in the next one, she is scolding him like a little boy by saying: "*Shame on you, Barack Obama, meet me in Ohio...*" (D3: 28). Again, the moderator, in this case Williams, is using this to create some excitement and by using the videotapes, he is enhancing the statements. Finally, there may be a hidden agenda in showing the last piece of video in which Clinton demands Obama to meet her in Ohio because Obama has

shown up and is thereby not afraid of confronting Clinton in another debate. Another important piece of videotape used in the third debate shows Clinton ridiculing Obama:

*“Now I could stand up here and say: Let’s just get everybody together. Let’s get unified. The sky will open -- (laughter) -- the light will come down -- (laughter) -- celestial choirs will be singing -- (laughter) -- and everyone will know we should do the right thing, and the world will be perfect!”*

(D3: 707-711).

Forcing not only Clinton but also Obama to react on the act, this short piece of video tape has enormous effect on the debate as it cannot avoid affecting the discourse(s) or the audience. Also, a photo of Obama in the native garb<sup>36</sup> of a foreign nation is being included by Williams as it saw the light of day only 36 hours before the debate (D3: 46) because Williams argues that an expert has traced it back to the Clinton campaign (D3: 49). Although Clinton may argue well for her innocence with regards to this matter, Williams cannot avoid affecting people’s view on Hillary by involving these matters, and maybe that is exactly what he intends to do. However, it has to be emphasized that Williams also shows a video clip of Obama criticizing Clinton for only mentioning what she helped to accomplish during the presidential term of Bill Clinton (D3: 795).

In the fourth debate, moderator Gibson also introduces a video clip of the Republican nominee John McCain (D4: 779). The involvement of this brings in a sudden possibility for Clinton and Obama to stand together as Democratic opponents of their Republican rival. Gibson also uses other examples of

---

<sup>36</sup> The day before the third debate between Clinton and Obama, a photo of Obama in a native garb went around the world. Although, he wore the garb in order to show his respect to a foreign country he was visiting, most media used with references to his African father being a Muslim.

intertextuality and interdiscursivity by referring to two previous speeches of Obama (D4: 114 and 288) but does not include any examples regarding Clinton.

Our final point in relation to the matter of intertextuality and interdiscursivity is that neither Clinton nor Obama include examples which the Republican Party has used against either of them. This is interesting to notice because it could have been an excellent attack at each other. We do believe, though, that none of them has chosen this tactic because it would have opened up the possibility of using counterattacks. This may very well have split the Democratic Party and thereby ruined their chance to beat the Republicans.

### **10.3 Social Representation, Ideology and Identity**

In order to explore the power structures in the debates, it is important first to investigate how the candidates might see themselves in terms of their social representation. One of the factors involved to determine a person's social representation is the socioeconomic goals of that person. As we have already revealed in chapter 7.2.3, both candidates have the goal of becoming the next president of the United States. This is probably the ultimate goal for any American carrying with it a high social status, money and not least a great amount of power. One can easily say that much is at stake in this race. In chapter 10.3, we will take a deeper look at what the two brings into the contest in the form of ideology, identity and subsequently, personality. Opposite the chapters of context and intertextuality and interdiscursivity, we will divide the analysis of these matters into two concerning Clinton and Obama in that order.

#### **10.3.1 Social Representation, Ideology and Identity of Hillary Clinton**

In the following, we will produce examples from the debates that seem to be descriptive of who Hillary Clinton is as a person in order to produce a depiction of the social representation of her. We have not found it necessary to produce each

and every statement from the debates that describes her, but have merely selected the most representative examples in order not to make the analysis exceedingly repetitive.

### **10.3.1.1 Ideology**

The first issue we will look into is that of ideology. Naturally, as a representative for the Democratic Party, Hillary Clinton has a liberal ideology<sup>37</sup>. This is partly expressed by differentiating her views from that of the Republicans. In the beginning of the LA debate, when asked about the differences between her and Obama, Clinton points out that those differences pale in comparison with those between the Republicans and the two Democratic candidates (D1: 92-94). There are several factors concerning the Republicans and the Bush Administration in particular that Clinton wishes to put quite a bit of distance to, should she be elected president. The first is the tax cuts that President Bush has provided for wealthy Americans (D2: 1249-1251), Medicare<sup>38</sup> and Drug companies under the HMOs<sup>39</sup> (D1: 478-482). Next, Clinton believes that the authorization she voted for in 2002 to let President George Bush invade Iraq was the wrong decision, and something she would not have voted for now, knowing what she now knows about how Bush used that authorization (D3: 1127-1129). Consequently, Clinton wants to bring the American troops home from Iraq:

*“So, when you talk about what we need to do in Iraq, we have to make judgments about what is in the best interest of America. And I believe this is in the best interest.”*

---

<sup>37</sup> The term liberal is used here in the American sense meaning left wing as opposed to the conservative right wing ideology of the Republicans.

<sup>38</sup> Health insurance for citizens aged 65 and above. The program is administered by the US government.

<sup>39</sup> Health maintenance organization from the health maintenance organization Act of 1973 that requires all employers with a staff of 25 or above to provide health insurance for their employees. HMOs have contracts with specific physicians and hospitals which the employees must use to stay within coverage of the plan.

(D3: 644-646).

The best interest of America seems to come before the best interest of the Iraqi people, as Clinton states in the Philadelphia debate that she would pull out the troops, even if it means setting back all the gains they have made in the country so far. (D4: 626-636).

Furthermore, Clinton believes that the foreign policies of the Bush Administration have been: "...*against our interests, because we have failed to reach out to countries, we have alienated our friends, and we have emboldened our enemies.*" (D2: 233-234). Instead, she calls for a full diplomatic effort on behalf of the US. Clinton states that she believes in coercive diplomacy (D1: 1224-1225) but that the use of force against another country should be used as a last resort only (D1: 1285-1286). In opposition to Obama, she does, however, not believe in meeting with dictators without preconditions in terms of e.g. heightened living conditions for the populations in those countries because, as she says, it would endanger the prestige of the American Presidency (D1: 113-116). Taking a swipe at Obama, Clinton even states that the nomination is - among other things - a chance for the voters to determine: "...*whether we're going to once again be proud of our country, and our leadership, and our moral authority in the world.*" (D1: 896-897). Taken out of context the statement seems aimed at the Bush Administration but was in fact uttered in relation to nominating a Democratic candidate.

The last issue that we will deal with in relation to how Clinton wants to distance herself from President Bush is what she and others have called a *war on science* that is very much a conservative, religious take on the world<sup>40</sup>.

---

<sup>40</sup> The war on science refers to the mixing of religion with science, holding the words of the Bible to be more valid than the words and practices of scientist and researchers (guardian.co.uk)

In the two first debates, there is also much talk on the subject of illegal immigrants, who appears to be a problem largely because they cannot demand minimum wage and thereby drive American citizens out of their jobs. It seems that the Republicans want to deal with the problem by deporting all illegal aliens, whereas Clinton - as well as Obama (D1: 563-566) - believes that they should instead be registered in order to legalize their stay in the country. Legalizing immigrants would make them able to demand minimum wage and would no longer let employers benefit financially by hiring illegal labor (D1: 609-625). This must, in our opinion, be the more humane of the two solutions. Another humane standpoint Clinton takes is that of commitment to caring for the lives of immigrant children, who are left orphaned in America because their parents have been deported (D2: 404-410).

A group in the population that Clinton feels strongly about is that of the middle-class. Throughout the four debates she repeats how she intends to protect the middle-class: *"We're certainly going to begin to get the tax code to reflect what the needs of middle class families are so we can rebuild a strong and prosperous middle class."* (D2: 345-347). She wants to take back the tax cuts that the Bush Administration gave to people earning more than \$250,000 a year (D2: 1249-1250), and a moratorium on foreclosures to let homeowners keep their homes (D1: 104-107). On more than one occasion she also emphasizes how she wants to make college educations more affordable, although she does not offer any solution to how she intends to make that happen (e.g. D2: 60 and 1253). She does not seem to give much attention to the people living underneath the official poverty line but stresses instead:

*"It's time we had a president for the middle class and working people, the people who get up every day and do the very best they can. And they deserve somebody who gets up in that White House and goes to bat for them."*

(D3: 775-779)

Focusing on the needs of the middle-class seems like the right tactical move to make as they will most likely have a much higher percentage of registered voters than those who are without means, and they are also more likely to be allowed a voice in the public media. The poor do not seem to have a choice in the election, as the Republicans do not look after their economic interests, making the Democrats their only option. The middle-class, however, is the large group in between that can go either way, and it is imperative for Clinton to win over as large a part of this group as possible.

Something that has a potential to help the poorer part of the population, nevertheless, is the plan Clinton offers to invest in so-called green collar jobs, giving companies a tax incentive to create the jobs and offer training programs for the workers to enable them to do the work (D3: 466-472). These jobs would entail setting up facilities for sustainable energy that has the benefits of reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions as well as making the US less dependent on oil from the Middle-East. Clinton believes that there is a potential for 5 million green collar jobs over the span of 10 years (D3: 480-481), but how many of these jobs are essentially blue collar jobs and how many are white collar jobs in the area of research and development is not stated.

The issue that Clinton most adamantly pushes throughout the four debates is that of universal health care. This would, of course, be of great benefit to those with no employer funded health care plan and thereby to the most vulnerable groups in American society. As we have already mentioned in chapter 9.2.2, Hillary Clinton has worked to reform the American national health system since her days as First Lady in the 1990s. Clinton states repeatedly that she is passionate about health care (e.g. D1: 245-246 and D3: 30-31) and that health care is a core Democratic

value (D1: 386-387, D2: 115-116 and D3: 125-127). On the subject of health care, Clinton differs from the standpoint of Obama who believes that health care insurance should be mandatory for children but not for adults.

Making insurance available to those with preexisting conditions and cutting down the cost will be enough to make people acquire the insurance (D1:1 42-144).

Clinton does not subscribe to that point of view as she claims without a mandate for all citizens to require insurance more people will end up uninsured and the costs of insurance will increase (D2: 940-942). The issue of health insurance is not purely an issue of compassion for the unfortunate as Clinton furthermore states: *"Every one of us with insurance will pay the hidden tax of approximately \$900 a year to make up for the lack of insurance."* (D2: 930-933). This shows solidarity with those who can afford insurance and it makes, to some extent, the uninsured out to be the villains who take advantage of the system.

The last subjects on ideology that we will deal with here are those of unification within the Democratic Party and cooperation with the Republicans. Clinton mentions on several occasions the call for a unified Democratic party in order to be able to accomplish the changes needed for the country (D1: 766-770, D2: 1277-1280 and D4: 93-95). Likewise, she stresses the need for coalition with the Republicans on the issues of health insurance (D1: 393-403) and foreign policies (D2: 235-239).

Many aspects of the Democratic ideology, stated by Clinton above, are of a nature that can be considered principally feminine. This is to be understood in the sense that they revolve around caring for those who are not able to care for themselves e.g. universal health care and taking care of abandoned children of immigrants. However, not all are of a feminine nature. The belief in coercive diplomacy and

the intent to use force – although, only as a last resort – on other countries are predominantly of a masculine nature.

Most of the measures Clinton wishes to take, should she become president, seem to be aimed to benefit the large American middle-class. Affordable college education is likely to still be hard to attain by those who are from the poorest groups in society. Partly because of the fact that their high school education does not live up to the same standards as those received by youths in the more prosperous suburbs, and partly because these people will still need to be able to support themselves while studying.

We believe that the focus on cleaner energy, although definitely a liberal value, is also brought to attention because of the interests of the middle-class. It is hard for us to believe that people who struggle to make ends meet will be very focused on such a broad issue as global warming that does not make a difference in the everyday lives of people who spend most of their time working to keep their children fed and clothed. Apart from the fact that she seems to strategically support the voters of the middle-class, Clinton also focuses on the economic burden that people, who refuses to buy health care, put on the American society.

### ***10.3.1.2 Identity***

A person's belief system, and thereby also ideologies, is a part of what constitutes the identity. Accordingly, Hillary Clinton's construction of Democratic ideology is also a part of her identity and she is a member of the social group that subscribe to a belief in Democratic ideology. Clinton's social identity is closely linked with this ideology as she places herself as a very possible leader of the Democratic group as well as the nation and the free world. When accused of not being independently running her own campaign and maybe not being able to run the presidential office

by herself, she claims back her independent identity by stating: *"You know, but the fact is that I'm running for president, and this is my campaign."* (D1: 193-1394).

Clinton's identity is also founded on origin be it geographical, socioeconomic, ethnic or gender based. Working our way through the aspects of origin we start from the back to point out the obvious fact that Clinton is a woman. Because America has never had a female president, Clinton is very aware of the fact that should she be elected, it would be a great transformation for the American society. Clinton acknowledges this by stating: *"I think having the first woman president would be a huge change for America and the world."* (D1:882-883). She does not in any of the debates comment on her being Caucasian, but only refers to race when they are different from her own. This is an indicator of how race does not seem to be an issue for her as long as it is Caucasian, and it can be considered a hidden discrimination against other races.

In chapter 9.2 we gave a brief biographical description of Hillary Clinton. In that we also explained her socioeconomic origin and geographical background, which are two aspects that partly overlap. The fact that she was raised in an upscale suburb of Chicago and that she has lived a great deal of her adulthood in the White House and different other mansions- first the Governor's mansion in Arkansas and later in the mansion she bought in New York when she became a Senator there – makes her used to a very comfortable lifestyle. This also implies that she would identify with the group of people who has the same social standing as herself. However, this is not what Clinton emphasizes during the debates. Instead she seems to identify with the people who have jobs that are hard physically and takes pride in getting their endorsement for her campaign (D1: 703-705).

Furthermore, she sees herself as a savior of the powerless without access to public discourse (D1: 806-808), and she takes pride in bringing a positive change in the lives of those less fortunate (D1: 839-842) as well as being the advocate for the hard working middle-class Americans (D3: 775-779). Probably, Clinton's identification with the working man is founded in the history of her family, as her paternal grandfather worked six-day weeks his whole life, from the age of 11, in a lace mill and managed to pay for college for all his three sons. It is also from her father's side of the family that she has inherited her Methodist faith that is also very much a part of her identity (D4: 153-158).

Finally Clinton takes pride in the work of her husband: "I'm very proud of my husband's administration. I think that there were a lot of good things that happened and those good things really changed people's lives." (D1: 981-982). She identifies with the Clinton Administration and seems to also take some of the credit for the things it accomplished during the eight years that Bill Clinton was president (D1: 247-251 and D4: 981-988).

### ***10.3.1.3 National Identity***

The national identity can also be said to be part of the personal identity as it constitutes the culture that a person is a part of. First of all Clinton expresses a national identity when she refers to the founding fathers in the Philadelphia debate and the work they put into the constitution in order to make a promise to future generations for a free and prosperous life (D4: 22-27). Later in the same debate, she agrees with the moderator, Stephanopoulos, on the point of using the knowledge from previous presidents – although, she does have difficulties in determining what she can use from the last administration. She goes on to say that the former presidents help to unify the country and that when they appear together representing the country they send out a very strong message (D4: 1257-1267).

Staying on the subject of representing the country, Clinton claims that people are ready for new leadership and a leadership: "... *that will summon them to something greater than themselves, and that we will deliver on that if given a chance.*" (D4: 175-177). What exactly it is that is greater than the voters themselves, is not specified, but what comes to mind is the phrase 'The promised land' that supposedly describes America as well as the line from the National Anthem "...*and the home of the brave.*" Another way that a national identity is expressed is through references to the US as being a world leader with moral authority (D4:664, 674-675).

The last thing we will comment on in relation to a national identity is the fact that Clinton - as does Obama (D1: 563-567) - believes that, although, there are benefits to having a second language, English should remain the first language in the country (D1: 619-621).

#### **10.3.1.4 Personality**

A great part of what is explicated about Hillary Clinton's personality during the debates comes in the form of her own word. Clinton speaks of how she will act as president and states that she is a woman of action more than words. Obama gives speeches and she offers solutions (D2: 677-679). Whether that is true or not only time can tell. Expressing her more feminine side Clinton also claims to be a person who will, listen, understand and react to the voter's wishes (D2: 549-559).

Another personality trait that Clinton claims to have is that of being a fighter, and looking at her political background only seems to prove her claim. In chapter 9.2.2 we revealed how she had been haunted by the press as well as the Republican during her time as First Lady. Clinton herself comments on that and says: "*Well, I think everybody here knows I've lived through some crises and some challenging moments in my life.*" (D2: 1337-1338) For this statement she receives applause from the in-house audience as an acknowledgment of the odds she has fought and proving

that her hardship is common knowledge. In the Cleveland debate she stipulates that she is a fighter and she will fight for the American people (D3: 787-788).

Maybe this willingness to fight is also what makes her feel as ready to become president as she claims she is:

*“I believe that I am prepared and ready on day one to be commander in chief, to be the president, to turn our economy around, and to begin making a lot of these very difficult decisions that we will inherit from George Bush.”*

(D2: 1037-1040)

It certainly seems as if she is ready to try and to take on the trials that a presidency offers, and she emphasizes how she is not a quitter by saying:

*“You know, when I wasn’t successful about getting universal health care, I didn’t give up. I just got to work and helped to create the Children’s Health Insurance Program.”*

(D3: 1244-1246)

Hillary Clinton is not a ‘polite little school girl’, who only speaks when asked to speak. The debates themselves show examples of how she will interrupt if she believes it is fair that she gets her word in and how she will not stop speaking only because a moderator decides her turn is over, or because her opponent feels it is his turn to make a comment. An example of Clinton speaking out, when she feels it is fair that she does (from her own point of view) occurs during the Cleveland debate. Clinton starts to comment on what Obama has just said, as soon as Obama has gives the word back to the moderator. The moderator, Brian Williams, appears to start formulating the next question, when Clinton starts to talk. Obama repeatedly tries to get a word in to comment on what Clinton says, and when he

finally succeeds in making a statement to counters those of Clinton's the moderator ask to change the subject. This, however, is also something that Clinton feels the need to comment on (D3: 216-244).

During the Philadelphia debate, however, her honesty is questioned as she is accused of manipulating the truth concerning to what extent her life was in danger, and what actually happened when she visited Bosnia at a stage when the country was in the midst of civil war (D4: 409-413). Clinton owns up to her 'mistake', and admits she was not telling the truth about the event (D4: 420-427).

#### ***10.3.1.5 Collected Social Representation***

From a sociocognitive point of view, Hillary Clinton shows - during the course of the debates - to have membership of different groups and thereby also to draw from different shared systems of social representation. The first group is that of the members of and voters for the Democratic Party. Although, the members of this group are by no means a homogeneous mass, and they differ on some of the aspects of how things should be done, they basically agree on what needs to be done in order to reach a common goal.

Clinton is not just a Democrat; she is also a woman and shows a feminine approach - in the traditional sense of being caring and nurturing - to the ideology in terms of how she prioritizes the issues that needs to be dealt with. First and foremost, she works for the establishing of a universal health care plan in order to protect every social layer of society. Secondly, she wants to bring the American troops home from Iraq because she considers this to be in her country's best interest - probably with most respect to the parents, spouses and children who have a family member stationed in Iraq. Thirdly, Clinton believes that the US should once again reach out to other countries in a full diplomatic effort and that in order to attain the goals that need to be set out for the country, it is paramount

to work across not just national but also partisan borders and to have a unified Democratic Party. The fourth issue that Clinton shows a feminine approach to, is that of illegal immigrants, who she wants to provide with a path to American citizenship as well as she wants to protect the children of illegal immigrants who are in some cases orphaned when their parents are deported.

However, far from all of Clinton's viewpoints are of a feminine nature. In the case of health care, she emphasizes how those without insurance are an economic burden to the rest of the society, playing the card of practicality instead of e.g. compassion and solidarity. The fact that she wants to bring the American troops home from Iraq, regardless of the dire consequences it might prove to have for the Iraqi people, may show concern for their families back home, but it certainly does not show concern for the people of Iraq. In the depiction of Clinton's personality above in chapter 10.3.1.5 she is quoted to have stated that she is a woman of action rather than word, which is traditionally regarded as a masculine characteristic. In terms of American foreign policies, Clinton emphasizes this statement by maintaining that she believes in coercive diplomacy and, although, she would only use force as a last resort, she would, nevertheless, use it against other countries. This can be considered a somewhat aggressive approach and is definitely not feminine in nature. The claim to be a fighter and the evidence we have brought forth to substantiate that claim also puts her in a grouping that is less feminine than what one would traditionally expect a woman to be.

Summing up the social representation that Clinton expresses in terms of gender, she is passionate towards issues that express feminine values such as protecting the vulnerable and collaboration internally as well as with external groupings, but she seems to show a more masculine and aggressive approach to the resolve of these issues.

Throughout the debates, Clinton shows a strong identification with the American middle-class making it the third and final group that we will include in her expressed social representation. Although, Clinton no longer belongs as a legitimate member of that group, she repeatedly emphasizes how important the group is to her, and she makes promises to them in the form of more jobs, a stop to foreclosures for homeowners and affordable college education. The pledge to invest in sustainable energy in order to create 5 million green collar jobs also seems directed more towards this societal group than any other.

### **10.3.2 Social Representation, Ideology and Identity of Barack Obama**

As with Clinton this chapter is to give an idea of who the person Barack Obama is through examples in the debates. These are just a few examples of how Obama like Clinton is referring to what he stands for, and the list is far from exhaustive. Furthermore, some examples have been left out because they have already been dealt with in relation to Clinton.

#### ***10.3.2.1 Ideology***

Also being faithful to the liberal ideology of the Democratic Party which Obama represents in his run to become president of the United States, all four debates are permeated by the thought that people are masters of their own fate but also deserve a chance, if they are unable to make it on their own. The first example of this is found in the LA debate (D1: 460). Here, Obama tries to defend tax increases by arguing that everybody will have a chance of accomplishing the American dream<sup>41</sup> if every citizen pays a little more. Later, he uses the phrase again in relation to the DREAM Act<sup>42</sup> (D1: 662) implying that tax from his point of view is the number one issue (D2: 285). As tax increases for those who can afford it (D2:

---

<sup>41</sup> Actually, this is also an example of metaphorical framing which we will get back to below (10.9).

<sup>42</sup> The DREAM Act stands for The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act and is supposed to enable all children of undocumented immigrants who have grown up as American citizens to go to college, etc. (dreamact2009.com).

289) will facilitate all the plans that the American people needs – with health care being the most important – the US can no longer afford tax breaks. Obama argues for this by using the phrase: “*You can’t get something for nothing...*” (D4: 973).

The Democratic value of securing the American nation<sup>43</sup> is also visible in Obama’s parts of the debates. For example, he is not afraid of stating that the US has to have control of its borders (D1: 557) although he believes there are better ways to do this than by building a fence along the Mexican border (D2: 570-573). However, keeping America safe and secure also entails a military force and the fact that Obama emphasizes that he will maintain the strongest military on earth is therefore important (D2: 1049). What this shows is a very masculine discourse in which Obama speaks directly to Bush and his administration when he states that it takes more than having the strongest military. It is also about using it wisely (D2: 1056). This can also be construed as a swipe on Clinton by referring to the fact that she voted for the war in Iraq (D1: 1250-1312).

However, it is important to stress that Obama begins the race between Hillary Clinton and himself with implying that they stand together and that he believes one of them will become the next president of the US (D1: 18). Furthermore, he emphasizes that he was friends with Clinton before the race and will be friends with her after the race too (D1: 21-23). Opposite from Clinton, it is not as important to Obama to begin with what he will do different than Clinton as it is for him to emphasize the importance of them standing together as what he later calls: “*...a working coalition for change*” (D2: 322), symbolizing change from George Bush (D1: 30-45). Although not saying this directly, it is implied in Obama’s use of expressions such as: “*...a new direction...*” (D1: 30), solving problems and his mentioning of the many issues and ways to do things that Clinton and he share

---

<sup>43</sup> The Democratic Party commits itself to keep the nation safe and secure (democrats.org).

(e.g. D1: 129 and D2: 856, 861). The paragraph of text (D1: 30-45) also reveals what it is all about for Obama. That it is not about skin color, gender, religion or anything else of that kind but instead about moving forward together.

Next to health care and tax increases, this is probably the most important issue to Obama as he keeps referring to this as his biggest goal. At one point, he argues that he has experience in bringing people together (D2: 1321) and by saying: "I believe that we can be a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants" (D1: 556) and mentioning examples of the many races in the US (e.g. D1: 547 and 680), he implies that he wants to create a United States with room for everybody. Instead of using the subject of illegal immigration as what he calls: "...a tactic to divide..." (D1: 575), Obama wants a USA in which there are not two classes of people but room for everyone to flourish (D2: 599-601). To Obama it is of absolute importance that the rhetoric in the immigration debate is toned down as it has become too ugly in its undertone and is also often directed at the Hispanic community (D2: 440-442).

One of the differences between Clinton and Obama in relation to this is whether or not bilingual children should be an issue. Opposite from Clinton, Obama considers learning two languages the solution as well as he considers a bilingual nation possible (D2: 641). From Obama's point of view, it would do America well if every student learns a second language (D2: 635) as Obama considers this the way to America's continued leadership of the world (D2: 645). By stating so, being bilingual suddenly becomes a very positive thing to be. However, he emphasizes that everyone has to learn English because it is the language that binds people together as a country (D2: 632), an issue he shares with Clinton.

Returning to the health care issue, there is also a clear difference between Clinton and Obama, although Obama stresses that 95% of their plans are similar (D1: 129).

The difference is, according to Obama, that Clinton wants to force everybody to buy health insurance while he finds it important to reduce costs, a solution that would entice people to buy it but not force them (D1: 142-146). The difference between the two also shows in their plans for dealing with the mortgage crisis as Obama, unlike Hillary, has not signed for an interest rates freeze (D1: 163). Finally, Obama believes that the number of Washington lobbyists has to be reduced (D1: 178), otherwise the important and useful proposals in Congress will never move forward. This is also why, Obama emphasizes that he has not accepted either PAC<sup>44</sup> money or lobbyist money in his campaign (D1: 184).

Being much more explicit about the war in Iraq than Clinton who says: *"I will do everything I can to get as many of our troops out as quickly as possible..."* (D1: 1042-1043), Obama states: *"I will end this war..."* (D1: 1056). This makes him look stronger. Furthermore, he emphasizes the importance of setting a date (D1: 1069) by using the worst case scenario. This has been expressed by the Republican senator McCain who said that the American troops will have to be in Iraq for the next 100 years (D1: 1059). Furthermore, Obama shows no sign of doubt when answering what he will do if the Iraqi government wants the US out of their country. Then, he says: *"...we cannot be there."* (D3: 598-600). However, Obama wishes to build a partnership with Iraq (D3: 601).

In relation to foreign affairs, Obama also mentions the complex matters that the US has to face in relation to Afghanistan, Pakistan, Latin America and China (D1: 1061-1063). Furthermore, Obama will force the Shia, the Sunni and the Kurds to negotiate and work together as this is the only way that their problems can be solved (D1: 1071-1073). According to Obama, this has to be done by being very

---

<sup>44</sup> PAC stands for Political Action Committee and refers to the private groups in the US who regardless of size elect political candidates and funding these. The PAC make donations to political campaigns with help from interest groups, corporations, etc. who cannot support political candidates otherwise than by paying contributions to the PAC (<http://en.wikipedia.org>).

clear about what America wants in order to make the enemy understand that the US is serious (D1: 1074). By using these examples of what he intend to do, Obama shows capability of acting. Obama concludes all this by explaining to the American people why he can be a clear contrast to Clinton. The reason for this is that he never has supported and never will support the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (D1: 1094-1100). Therefore, he has also been very clear in talking to the American people about what he would do to get out of the war with respect to Afghanistan (D3: 664-665).

Although not often, Obama also emphasizes the importance of getting jobs back to America, and he suggests that this is done through investments in solar power, wind power and biodiesel (D2: 310). Obama fights for several groups in America. Most important is the middle-class from which he too has his origin. Obama argues that Bush' tax cuts to the wealthy has to end (D2: 289) in order to give the middle-class and working Americans the tax breaks that they need (D2: 291-292). Another group is composed by the many groups of different races. Obama tries to embrace all of these groups by mentioning them all when he speaks to them and recognizing the problems that these groups are facing because of a failing economy which has led to an underfunded education system and infrastructure stop although taxes have gone up (D1: 567-572).

The children and young people in general are also of great importance to Obama as they are mentioned several times in relation to his health care plan (e.g. D1: 226-227) and the DREAM Act (see chapter xxx). He stresses this by mentioning that he has already spent years on providing insurance for people who did not have it through his years in Illinois (D1: 325) and the fact that his plan is paid for (D1: 442). Whether or not the latter has to do with the fact that he still has young children is difficult to say, but what we can say is that both Obama as well as the moderators refer to Obama's two daughters (e.g. D1: 1345-1370).

### **10.3.2.2 Identity**

Although there are differences, Obama's construction of Democratic ideology can also be compared to Clinton's. An identification which is heavily used in all four debates is the one of America as a business of which either Clinton or Obama can become the CEO (D1: 851), manager of the nation's economy (D2: 272) and Commander in Chief (HC D3: 517, BO D3: 673).

Obama identifies himself very much with the serious post that being president of the United States is. He points out how he as president will set the mission (D4: 688) as it is the president who decides (D4: 698). It is also important to stress how Obama speaks of 'talking to the American people' (D1: 800, D3: 664, D4: 8, 18, 1331, 1345), making them equal to him. Obama emphasizes that he wants to run a government who will recommence listening to the people (D2: 1291) and will make people a fellow player (D1: 331).

Most importantly, Obama compares change in USA to change in a company by using the management expressions of top down and bottom up (D4: 1339), meaning that the American people needs to want and develop change as well as the American government. By using such expressions he is referring to something that most people can relate to, making change less abstract. Also, many people know that corporate change can be successfully completed with the right strategy and speaking with appreciation of such knowledge, people may believe in change with Obama at the helm.

The attempts to identify himself as America's savior and the leader that America needs are also many, e.g. D2: 1046. In the first debate this shows in line 192-193 where he emphasizes that he wants: "...to elevate diplomacy..." in order to incorporate it in the American arsenal, serving the American people's interest and safety. In fact, keeping the American people safe is very important to Obama (D2:

1046) and he will do whatever it takes (D2: 1047, D4: 717). This has to be seen in relation to our mentioning above of his belief in maintaining the strongest military on earth (D2: 1049). Speaking of military, he states that he, as commander in chief, will always look out for American interests (D3: 675) and hunt down people who attack the US (D3: 682). All in all, Obama tries hard to convince the American people that he can 'fix things' no matter what (D2: 470). Again, this is very masculine and symbolizes the father looking out for his children, his family.

A final aspect that has to be included with regards to Obama's way of identifying himself and showing social representation is found in the last of the four debates in which he has a lot of references to the social constructions in American society. This can be seen in his reference to Clinton in which he argues that she was treated wrong because of her gender (D4: 238). Another example is when he implies that there are too many distractions in American society in order for the American people to figure out who they want and do not want for president on the basis of what the politicians say they will do (D4: 246-249). Although Obama recognizes that there is anger in the African-American community (D4: 305) and that race and gender still matter (D4: 1155-1158), Obama argues that his candidacy represents the fact that the American voters can move beyond this (D4: 310). This he emphasizes by reminding people that his story is not possible in any other country (D2: 1318-1320 and D4: 499-503). He does this by referring to the fact that he was born by a teenage mom, left by his father at age two and raised by a single mom and his grandparents. However, it is important to stress that Obama never mentions his race although he could have benefitted from the same things as Clinton who mentions that she has a chance of becoming the first woman president (10.3.1.2). What is also important is how Obama manages to identify himself with Hillary Clinton as he agrees with her on several things. This can be seen in the following examples: "*I agree on values...*" (D1: 765), "*Senator Clinton's*

*answer on this one is right...*" (D3: 390), *"I think Senator Clinton speaks accurately about him... (red. Medvedev)"* (D3: 1091) and: *"...Senator Clinton's right."* (D4: 236).

By continuously mentioning his story and referring to how he has gotten to this stage, he achieves two things. As many people in the US – African-Americans in particular – have experienced the same, they can identify with him, and finally, he becomes a symbol of the realization of the ultimate American dream – being president of the United States.

### **10.3.2.3 National Identity**

Besides referring to the founders that he share with the American people (D4: 74), Obama is good at presenting himself as one of the people. For example, he continuously uses examples of 'we' such as *"We should not accept..."* (D1: 936 and 939), *"We can bring..."* (D2: 116), *"We can push..."* (D2: 117) *"We are going to..."* (D3: 432), *"We've got to..."* (D3: 434), *"We are..."* (D4: 470 and 472) *"...we can..."* (D4: 1089).

This gives the audience a feeling of what Obama wishes them to believe; that he will stick with them, as one of them, opposite from what they have experienced with President Bush, who Obama feels has left the American people regardless of party affiliation with a feeling of distrust in the national government (D4: 1331-1333). Therefore, Obama will not only represent a system for Democrats but a system which is fair for both sides (D3: 862). All in all, Obama does well in presenting Bush and McCain as the others (e.g. D4: 78) and stating that: *"Washington is not listening to the people (D4: 160)* as well of referring to the Bush administration and the many years of George Bush policies (e.g. D4: 592). This is completed with an invitation to take action to all American Democratic supporters saying that no matter who is being nominated of Clinton and Obama,

the supporters of them respectively have to support this person and ignore their differences (D4: 81).

Finally, it is worth noticing that Obama has not forgotten where he came from; an origin that he is proud of. He has worked his way up the ladder and is now facing the final step – the chance of becoming the most powerful man in the world. Although, not coming from an underprivileged background like many other people, and African-Americans in particular, Obama identifies himself with these and other ethnicities. Firstly, he has experienced many of the things, they experience of which the most important is probably to have been a stranger in one's own country but he can also relate back to his childhood experience of living in a foreign country with a different language and culture. This makes it easy for people – immigrants in particular – to identify with him.

#### ***10.3.2.4. Personality***

Especially, the capability to identify with people is in our opinion also something that separates Obama from Clinton. However, this does not show explicitly but between the lines in form of his use of 'we' (e.g. D1: 936, D2: 116, D3: 432 and D: 1089) and his story which must be said to be extraordinary. In fact, Obama uses a lot of examples and storytelling throughout all four debates of which examples can be found in e.g. the following passages: D1: 446, D2:80-99, D3: 736-754 and D4: 9.

He uses this as his weapon against the great amount of experience that Hillary Clinton is within her rights to using, having been both governor wife, First Lady and senator. Having not been in politics for that many years (chapter 9.3.2), Obama naturally cannot compete with this record but he does well in continuously mentioning what he has managed to accomplish through his years as first a civil rights worker, constitutional law professor, politics on a state level

and finally, a member of Congress (ibid.). Altogether, this shows that he throughout most of his adult life has been on a mission of helping people in need and emphasizes his role as savior, making the Democratic voters think that he can continue this mission as their president.

However, Obama also seems to aim higher than the Democratic voters, as he speaks of an American people who regardless of party have lost trust in their government (D4: 1331-1333). As we mentioned above this is an attempt to show that he can represent a system which is fair for both sides (D3: 862) and with room for all people regardless of class (D1: 556) and races (e.g. D1: 547).

Like Clinton, Obama also illustrates himself as a fighter, although he does not do it explicitly. Instead, he does it by continuously referring to his story and his path to the stage of becoming president of the US which we described in chapter 9.3.2. One thing that Obama opposite from Clinton is explicit about, however, is his stance on the war in Iraq of which he states: *"I will end this war..."* (D1: 1056) and emphasizes that he as president will set a date (D1: 1069). This relates to a very masculine discourse contradicting Clinton's at times feminine discourse. Although often using this masculine discourse, Obama is not as dominant as men on the basis of recent research are supposed to be (chapter 8.1.1). In fact, he sometimes seems humble compared to Clinton who elbows her way through the debates and often takes the word as we have mentioned above (chapter 10.3.4.1).

Participating in the final race of becoming the Democratic Party's nominee, Barack Obama also has to touch upon the subjects of how he will act as president and, most importantly, how he will act differently from Clinton. One example of this is his references to their health care plan in which he mentions that he will not force people into buying insurance but makes it affordable for everybody (e.g. 143-145).

Also, one can find several examples of why Obama considers himself the better candidate. These can be found in e.g. D3: 1211 and D4: 215.

Finally, Obama does well in responding to any regrets or votes that he would like to take back (D3: 1151). Instead of trying to not delve further into examples of this, he admits to have made a mistake in his first year as a senator (D3: 1152) and concludes that he as a constitutional law professor should have known better (D3: 1159). What this shows is that he can make mistakes too and by mentioning only one throughout his whole career, it makes him stand in a much better light than Hillary Clinton. Especially, because he remembers to involve the fact that Clinton has done wrong more than once by e.g. creating a health care plan behind closed doors (D2: 895) and supporting Bush's authorization to enter Iraq (D3: 560-569). He emphasizes this by getting back at Clinton by using her own phrase in saying that she may be right on day one but he will be right on day one (e.g. D1: 1323-1325).

#### ***10.3.2.5 Collected Social Representation***

Above (chapter 10.3.1.5), we analyzed the social representation of Hillary Clinton. To be able to compare the two contestants, we will also do this in relation to Obama.

Like Hillary, Obama has membership of different groups and therefore draws on different shared systems of social representation. Opposite from Clinton, Obama is first and foremost a man. Relating to the aforementioned glass ceiling (chapter 8.1.4) this is on the paper an advantage compared to Clinton. However, he is also an African-American man with the middle name Hussein which may give him just as many disadvantages and possibly more. However, Obama managed to defeat these disadvantages by repeating that it is a moment of history if one of either him or Hillary Clinton becomes the next president of the US (e.g. D2: 77).

Furthermore, it gives him an advantage compared to both Clinton and McCain because many people of non-Caucasian origin can relate to not only his person but also his story of being so close to completing the American dream. As many people in the US – African-Americans in particular – have experienced the same problems regarding race and identification, they may see themselves in him. Furthermore, he becomes a symbol of the ultimate in the American dream being president of the United States.

Making a change from the Republicans is not a ground-breaking invention of neither Obama nor Clinton. However, making a change in order to create a US with only one class of people and room for everybody who wants to work for achieving the American dream is breaking and shows that also Obama is more than a Democrat. Naturally, as we have already mentioned (chapter 10.3.2.1), Obama also shares the membership of the Democratic Party and thereby ideology by first and foremost wanting universal health care for every American citizen, something that can be possible through tax increases for the wealthy Americans. Furthermore, he represents the middle class and is a strong advocate for the DREAM Act in order to help children of immigrants who are blameless in being in the US. Finally, he explicitly states that he will end the war in Iraq and set a date for leaving Iraq.

Speaking of this and taking the leadership in general, Obama appears to be very strong, and his use of a masculine discourse emphasizes this. This shows in his direct speech acts towards Bush and his administration. Furthermore, Obama becomes the symbol of a father looking out for his children, his family. However, as mentioned above, Obama not as dominant as men are most which is what recent research has shown (chapter 8.1.1). Instead, he is often interrupted by Clinton, although he is not a saint himself; he just interrupts more discretely (e.g. D3: 189-194).

## **10.4 Mental Models**

As the four debates are the last to be held before the final nomination of the Democratic candidate, the concept of time is very important in relation to the situational model of the two contestants. Not including the rallies they hold individually in different towns across America and the information that their campaign staff sends out to voters, this is their last chance to convince the public, and it is the last opportunity to influence and impress a national audience. Consequently, there is a lot at stake for both candidates, which moderators, audience and the candidates as well will be aware of in their situation models.

### **10.4.1 Mental Models of Hillary Clinton**

Apart from the importance of timing there are other factors relevant to Hillary Clinton's mental models which we will explicate in the following.

#### ***10.4.1.1 Situation Model***

The geographical location of the individual debates is something that Clinton obviously takes into consideration in her situation model. She makes sure to mention the respective cities, and in the Austin debate she emphasizes her personal relations to the city by mentioning friends and times spent in the city and what she has done for the state (D2: 15-39). In the Philadelphia debate she makes sure to make references to the city's importance in relation to the nation's founding fathers and the constitution (D4: 22-24).

The circumstances of the events are, of course, that of political debates, in which she has a high level of experience. With respect to the other participants in the debates, it is obvious that Clinton will include in her situation model past experiences with members of the press, which are represented by the moderators. Because she has previously suffered harsh attacks from this group, it will only be natural for her to consider the possibility of further assaults from the press. In

relation to the audience, she will respect responses from them be it positive or negative.

As stated above, Clinton identifies with different groups, mainly those of Democrats, women and the American middle-class. In her situation model she will accordingly include the ideologies and values that she associates with these groups, and she will assess the situation according to them.

#### ***10.4.1.2 Context Model***

Clinton and Obama share the same goal of becoming the next Democratic candidate for the general election, and as we showed in chapter 10.3.1.5, she believes herself to be a fighter and ready to take on the American presidency. Furthermore, she will have included in her context model the knowledge she has about her opponent, and it will be reflected in her expectations of his actions. She knows that they share the same basic ideology and values, and she knows his particular version of them. Because the candidates share the same goal, Clinton will have included in her context model a goal to come out on top in every debate, and she will use the model as a modifier of discourse in terms of what is appropriate for the goal and what is not.

#### **10.4.2. Mental Models of Barack Obama**

Although, the two contestants represent the same party and thereby share many ideological matters as well as values and political issues, the mental models of the two are different. We will therefore continue by looking into the ones of Obama.

##### ***10.4.2.1 Situation Model***

Barack Obama also understands how to benefit from the geographical locations of the debates. As the first debate takes place in California, he makes sure to involve Governor Schwarzenegger and other people who have worked hard in the effort of creating a health care plan for the people of California (D1: 232). Not forgetting

who has helped him to reach this position, Obama also refers to his home state – Illinois (D1: 325). Opposite from Clinton, he is, however, not that good at responding peoples questions by beginning with mentioning their names and the relevance of their questions (e.g. D1: 585).

Yet, it seems that Obama has paid attention to some of Clinton’s tricks as he in the second debate opens with thanking the University of Texas for hosting the debate (D2: 72). This is immediately followed by a reminder to the audience of the situation that the whole of America including Texas is in thanks to the failing economy (D2: 77-79) and several examples of people he has met and talked to since the last debate (D2: 80-99). Furthermore, he follows Clinton’s example by referring to Barbara Jordan (D2: 121). Finally, he benefits from the situation of being in Texas close to the Mexican border by referring to the ugly tone that has been in the immigration debate towards the Hispanic community in particular (D2: 440-445) and – like Clinton – speaking negatively of the fence along the border (D2: 563-573) although he has voted for it too (D2: 506).

The only example of referring to the situation in the Ohio debate appears when he involves Ohio in the discussion (D2: 425), making it more relevant for people in the audience as the debate takes place in Ohio. In the fourth debate he returns to opening with thanking both the audience and the moderators (D4: 3-4).

Furthermore, he refers to the decency and generosity he has met in Pennsylvania and in the American people as a whole (D4: 8). Finally, he promises commitment in return of votes (D4: 19-20).

Knowing that he cannot compete with Clinton’s many years in politics as Governor Wife, First Lady and now politician, Obama has to play a different game by constantly referring to what he has done and achieved as both volunteer and politician. Besides the mentioning of his achievements in Illinois, this also shows

in the many examples of experience and achievements that he mentions in the first debate (D1: 783-802) which he concludes by stating:

*“...I respect Senator Clinton’s record. I think it’s a terrific record. But I also believe that the skills that I have are the ones that are needed right now to move the country forward.”*

(D1: 803-805)

Furthermore, his involvement of important politicians who he has both worked and gotten support from is a way of dealing with the circumstances. As we have already mentioned examples of these above, we will not include them any further.

As we have argued for above, Obama as well as Clinton seem to identify with several groups in the US of which the middle class is important. However, the many groups of different races are also extremely important to Obama. Therefore, he as Clinton uses ideologies and values that associate with these groups as well as he will try to benefit from them in the different situations of the debates and thereby audiences.

#### **10.4.2.2 Context Model**

Particularly the resemblance in ideologies and groups, as well as the goal of becoming the Democratic nominee, result in shared goals of Clinton and Obama. There is no doubt that Obama entered the whole run with great amounts of knowledge of both the other candidates and all the moderators. However, it is likely that he has increased his focus to Hillary Clinton as she is the final contestant to conquer. His attempt to do so is first and foremost based on what he will do differently and thereby better than Hillary (...) as well as on how he knows Clinton usually argues for different political issues. This he emphasizes by mentioning – more than once – that he believes he is the better candidate (...) and constantly trying to win the arguments within the debates. Often these

conclusions can be found in his use of the words: "*I am happy to have that argument.*" (e.g. D1: 422, 462 and 1225).

## **10.5 Discourse Access Profiles**

In order to assess a discourse action profile we will in this chapter determine the position and roles with which the candidates enter the discourse(s) in order to evaluate the degree of symbolic power, they possess. Assuming that their access to power is very equal to each other, we will analyze this in terms of both Clinton and Obama.

### **10.5.1 Access Profiles of Clinton and Obama**

We have more than once argued that Clinton and Obama are equal on paper. Both are highly educated and have worked as a former high-profiled lawyer and constitutional law professor, respectively. Both also come from middle class families and have worked with exceedingly prestigious political matters.

However, Obama does not have Hillary Clinton's 35 years of experience; a period of time that she continuously mentions throughout the debates (e.g. D1: 247).

Being a former First Lady and at the time of the debates a US Senator as well as a household name in every layer of the American society (D4: 270), nobody can blame her for trying to make the best possible of it. Accordingly, she has a high level of access to public discourse. On top of that, most Americans will have a genuine interest in listening to her as this will be necessary in order to determine what she stands for. Furthermore, she has a campaign staff that works only to ensure that her message gets across to as many people as possible, and this makes her access to public discourse even more ubiquitous and explicit.

Clinton's many years in politics also means that she will inevitably have established a large network of friends and associates and that she has access to knowledge that is not attainable for everyone or even publicly available. Her

experience in the area of politics also adds to her level of credibility among the American public as she has shown results during her work as well as she has proven her ability to remain in a position of power and still strive for higher goals in spite of hardship.

As he did not enter the focus of the media until his star-making speech at the Democratic convention in 2004 (chapter 9.3.2), Obama has not been publicly known for decades like Clinton. Though, he do believe that he too has what it takes to be the next president of the US, as experience in his opinion is not the same as longevity in Washington (D3: 493-494). The fact that he is, however, known as a passionate, eloquent speaker (chapter 9.3.1), which Clinton even recognizes in the second debate (D2: 818), makes him somebody who people all over the world have interest in and want to listen to.

Consequently, they are probably both in the top three<sup>45</sup> of people outside the White House in their level of symbolic power and thereby access to public discourse. Clinton uses this power in the debate to take the word out of turn, when she feels it is justified and necessary that she makes her opinion clear, as we have showed above. Her level of power is probably also one of her own points of justification when she decides to take the word. This may also be a reason to why Obama does not seem as impulsive as Clinton. Instead, he uses many more discursive strategies which we will touch upon in the next chapter.

## **10.6 Discursive Strategies**

Because the two contestants belong to the same political party, it is only natural that they have some things in common. Reading through the texts, it soon becomes obvious that neither Clinton nor Obama feels a need to use 'denial of inequality' as a strategy in their argumentation. This makes perfect sense

---

<sup>45</sup> The two others are Democratic Senator, Barack Obama and Republican Senator, John McCain.

considering their party's ideology that includes protecting the weakest members of society and helping those who are in turn willing to help themselves.

A Strategy that both candidates do use, however, is that of polarization into 'us' and 'them' groupings. Most notably it is used for distancing themselves to the Republican Party and to the Bush Administration in particular. Throughout the debates it seems that merely mentioning the fact that either candidate will not do as the Bush Administration has done during the past 7½ years validates their arguments. Both candidates want to discontinue the tax cuts that the Bush Administration has given to the wealthiest, and to help make the tax cuts seem inappropriate they consistently refer to them as the 'Bush tax cuts' throughout the first two debates (BA e.g. D1: 424, D2: 289) (HC e.g. D1: 466-467, D2: 1249-1250).

Jokingly, Clinton speaks of the election on a whole and says:

*"You know, I wish the Republicans would apologize for the disaster of the Bush-Cheney years and not run anybody, just say that it's time for the Democrats to go back into the White House. (Laughter, applause.)"*

(D4: 567-569)

In the subject of foreign Policy concerning hostile groupings in the Middle East the same strategy is used both with respect to national government such as Iran and with individual terrorist organizations. (BA e.g. D1: 1329-1331, D4: 718-724 and D4: 714-716) (HC e.g. D4: 738-742, D4: 761-762 and D1: 1125-1128).

Another strategy that both candidates consistently use is to show how they are no stranger to the common man in America who has endured hardship because of the policies of the recent Bush Administration. To illustrate we show a statement from Clinton: *"There are people who have been pushed out of jobs and factories and meat processing plants, and all kinds of settings. And I meet them."* (D1: 591-592). Although,

most prominent in the first and last debate the candidates both use this strategy throughout all four debates.

Both candidates also demonstrate a strategy of preparedness as they emphasize how they are ready to become president and consequently also Commander in Chief. Not surprisingly, Clinton and Obama present plans for actions to be taken and how these actions should be financed in order to show that they are ready and have the amount of responsibility needed to be the president. This is apparent in e.g. the two health care plans they propose (HC e.g. D1: 257-262.) (BA e.g. D1: 423-430) and the questions to their individual readiness (HC e.g. D2: 1037-1040) (BA e.g. D2: 1056-1059)

Having exemplified which strategies the two candidates have in common, we now move on to show individual strategies for the two.

#### **10.6.1 Discursive strategies of Hillary Clinton**

A Strategy that Clinton relies heavily on throughout the debates is to show her 35 years of experience in politics. This in itself she sees as a qualifying factor, but she also emphasizes the results she has produced during her career: " *And I think year after year for now 35 years, I have a proven record of results.*" (D4: 269-270). Other statements with direct reference to her 35 years of experience can be found in e.g. the Austin and the Cleveland debates (D2: 698-701 and D3: 1241-1244).

When attacked on the grounds that her husband Bill Clinton seems to have been meddling too much in her campaign, she retaliates by saying that Obama has a spouse too and that they are both very passionate, which Obama is unable to deny, because that would make his wife seem indifferent to his cause (D1: 1378-1392).

The last strategy that we will include with regards to Clinton is the fact that she consistently directs her talk at the middle-class and that she does not seem to include the aspect of ethnicity. She does so, presumably, because the white middle-class consists of the people are that are most likely to vote for. However, this is a dangerous strategy as she runs the risk of alienating everybody else who does not belong to that particular group in society. Mentioning different ethnicities might also have made minorities feel more connected to her, especially seen in the light of her contestant being a minority member.

### **10.6.2 Discursive strategies of Barack Obama**

As is probably clear to everybody now, Obama does not have a long political career to refer to like Hillary Clinton. Hence, he has to focus on some of the biggest mistakes that Clinton, in his opinion, has done wrong during the period of time in which they have both been a member of Congress. For example he refers to how Clinton has once approached health care in the wrong way (D3: 822) but he also shows how he chose right and she wrong when voting in order to decide whether or not to go to war in Iraq:

*“...I believe I showed the judgment of a commander in chief. And I think that Senator Clinton was wrong in her judgments on that.”*

(D2: 1056-60)

Furthermore, Obama responds to Hillary’s experience by stating that experience is not equal to longevity in Washington (D3: 493). Instead, he wants the American voters to focus on the experience that he has with taking responsibility of bringing people together (D2: 1324-1325) and the 20 years of working on behalf of families: *“...having a tough time and seeking out the American dream.”* (D3: 729). Besides mentioning several examples of this throughout all the debates (e.g. D1: 545-546, 783-805, D2: 714-717, 1317-1334), Obama also uses great many examples of the

persuasive move storytelling (chapter 5.3.4). Some clear examples of this can be seen in the second debate in which Obama in 20 lines manages to tell five stories (D2: 80-100): "...*This week, I met a couple...*", "*I've met a young woman...*", "*In Youngstown, Ohio, talked to workers...*", "*And all across America...*" and "*One mother in Green Bay...*". Further examples can be found in e.g. D3: 736-754 and D4: 9. Finally, Obama is not afraid of expressing why he considers himself the better candidate (D3: 1211, D4: 215).

All five examples above share the reference to the common man in America, and the stories thereby become a strategy for him to unite with the American people. This is emphasized with other expressions such as: "...*when we are unified, there is nothing that we cannot tackle.*" (D4: 320). Finally, Obama uses a strategy of talking about the American people as a whole (e.g. D2: 580, 1167, D3: 664 and D4: 8, 1331, 1335).

Besides these strategies, we also consider it a strategy that Obama refers to the many people who support him and uses the exact words of late President John F. Kennedy (D2: 210). Knowing that he is constantly compared to Kennedy by the media (chapter xxx) and that these words have worked once before in a time when people needed hope (ibid.), this is a wise strategy. However, in the following debate, Obama admits that he is absolutely clear: "...*that hope is not enough.*" (D3: 829) which is a response to the video sequence of Clinton ridiculing him (D3: 707-711).

This leads us to another strategy of Obama which is showing good sport. Examples of this especially appear in the third debate where the fight has been intensified. For example, Obama accepts Clinton's version of the matter with the photo of him in a native garb and concludes that it can be set aside (D3: 60). Finally, he states that he actually thought that Clinton showed good humor by

making fun of him in the video clip (D3: 722). Thereby, he totally takes the blow out of her punch and furthermore shows that he is a man of humor. Finally, character trait shows in debate 4 in which he argues that some things just are part of the political process and that he therefore has to go through certain things (D4: 232). Obama stresses this by saying that he feels confident in the American people who can separate right and wrong (D4: 376) and believes that the American people deserve more credit (D4: 384) because they are smarter than what the media think of them (D4: 552)

Obama himself is also smart when he lets Clinton comment on issues first. An example in which he even mentions this explicitly can be found in the second debate where he says: “...I’m happy to let her speak first and then can pick up on anything that’s been left out.” (D2: 328-330). Besides giving him a chance to agree with Clinton (e.g. D1: 765; D3: 389, 390, 1091 and D4: 236), he succeeds in being polite and patient, although one could criticize him for thinking of the old fashion construction of ‘ladies first’ and thereby refer to gender. A final comment to this strategy is that it gives him a chance of getting the final word on issues which is important in a political debate.

The final strategy that we would like to include in relation to Obama is his strategy of slowly creating the image of himself as president of the United States. Throughout the three first debates (debate 1, 2 and 3) he uses expressions such as: “That’s what I intend to do as president of the United States of America.” (D1: 578, 1101 and D2: 254, D3: 304, 408) but in the three latter (debate 2, 3 and 4), these expressions have developed into:

“...when I’m president of the United States (D2: 1087 and D3: 155)

“...when I’m president of the US...” (D2: 481 and D4: 706, 716)

*“...when I am the nominee, if I am the nominee...” (D3: 858)*

*“...when I ‘m nominated for president of the United States. (D2: 1307)*

We consider these examples of discursive strategies to be very carefully planned and believe that Obama’s ability to use such strategies much more than Clinton is one of the particular reasons to why he succeeded in winning the run of becoming the Democratic Party’s nominee.

## **10.7 Audience and Values**

Beginning our rhetorical analysis, we will in the following investigate first the audience that the candidates have to influence in order to convince them of their arguments. Because there are bound to be a multitude of similarities in the audiences that the two are dealing with, we will not give individual definitions. On the subject of values, there are naturally many examples in the text on what the candidates set as a value in their approach to Democratic ideology. We have opted to present the best examples of what we believe is representative of their views and not include all, as it would be too repetitive. Investigating which methods the candidates use to establish a presence, we will use the same approach.

### **10.7.1 Audience**

Within the compounds of New Rhetoric, we expand the audience of the individual candidate to include the moderators, the spectators, and the other candidate, respectively. Whether the spectators are physically present or watching the debates on TV, they may seem like the most important part of the audience because they are for a large part comprised of the voters who will ultimately decide which candidate wins the nomination. The most sizeable part of the spectators will most likely have a predominantly liberal ideology but there are bound to be republicans watching the debates, as well and the candidates are very likely to suffer attacks from that side after each debate. Maybe more than any

other group, the republicans, , will hang on their every word and although it is probably impossible for the candidates to convince them of their values, it is important for the candidates not to supply this grouping with too much ammunition as it would hurt not just the individual candidate but the Democratic Party as whole.

The moderators are important to influence too. If a candidate is able to influence the individual moderator and convince him/her of the points of view presented, it is less likely that they will pose uncomfortable questions or take up issues that may be embarrassing or even put the candidate in hot water.

Convincing one's opponent, if at all possible, is also very beneficial for the speaker as it gives credibility to his/her propositions that the one person who is supposed to be against you agrees with your argument. This is especially relevant for the debates we have chosen to focus on, as both speakers share the basic values of the Democratic ideology and consequently, many of the same points of view. Completely rejecting a value of the opponent could easily mean distancing oneself from the democratic values and thereby also from the voters.

The examples above all exemplify particular audiences. Addressing a universal audience may alleviate the risk of supplying opponents with ammunition but is almost impossible in practice, because main the purpose of the debate is to stand out and to prove oneself better than the opponents. However, one can define a universal audience as one consisting of every American – legal or otherwise – and in fact both candidates seem to address such an audience (BO e.g. D4: 552) (HC e.g. D4: 559). Nevertheless, Clinton is not nearly as proficient at addressing this audience as Obama who speaks to the nation as a whole. One example of this is when he states that he is running for president because he wants the country to be as good as its promise (D2: 125-126) and when he refers to the collected

intelligence of the people (D4: 552) and, finally, how he believes they have lost trust in the current government (D4: 1331-1332). Obama, furthermore, makes sure to include the ethnic groupings in society when he addresses the American public to make people aware that he does not refer to the majority only but to all inhabitants in the country (D1: 545-550, 680-682, D4: 360-366).

This and a magnitude of other statements by Obama are directed to the nation as a whole, whereas Clinton focuses more on smaller audiences such as the large majority of the middle-class who is expected to vote for the Democrats. When she talks about health care, she says it is imperative for the country but at the same time, she also defines it as a core Democratic value. hereby she diminishes the audience that will adhere to her opinions and values by alienating all those who are adamantly rejecting democratic values but may be convinced of the necessity of health care for everyone (D1: 271-272). Likewise, when she refers to the current national economy as working only for the wealthy and well-connected (D1: 56-57) and talks about the 37 million Americans living below the poverty line (D1: 69-71), she only speaks to an audience of people who believe in the Democratic ideology.

### **10.7.2 Values**

Exploring the subject of values, it appears that Clinton and Obama takes the same approach to values as they did with audience. When Obama speaks to the universal American audience, he also often refers to universal values whereas Clinton speaks to a more particular audience – that of the Democratic voter – as we showed above and thereby makes references to particular Democratic values. This we will return to after illustrating how her opponent uses the concept of values. When Obama addresses the nation as a whole and refers to universal values, nobody in the audience is able to openly contest his values:

*“And the bet I was making was a bet on the American people; that they were tired of a politics that was about tearing about each other down, but wanted a politics that was about lifting the country up; that they didn’t want spin and PR out of their elected officials, they wanted an honest conversation.”*

(D4: 1339-1343)

All the things that Obama lists above are opposites of how he perceives the Bush Administration to be, and even if the Republicans do not agree with him, they could never openly admit to be in favor of e.g. dishonesty or other behavior that serves to obscure democracy rather than enhance it. Obama uses universal values once more when he speaks of the improvement of democracy with reference to his own campaign: *“The reason that this campaign has done so well is because people understand that it is not just a matter of putting forward policy positions.”* (D2: 748-749).

Because Obama refers to values that apply to a very large audience – as in the American population in total – they are also more valuable than they would have been, if they had applied to a smaller number of the population. Obama further enhances the value of his arguments when he refers to the longevity of the results that his solutions give: *“If we do that, I am confident that we can solve any problem and we can fulfill the destiny that America wants to see, not just next year, but in many years to come.”* (D1: 43-45).

Returning to Clinton, although she also refers to universal values, there are numerous examples of how she refers to values that finds adherence in the middle-class mainly:

*Middle-class tax cuts and support for the middle class, to make college affordable, retirement security possible, health insurance affordable: Those will be my priorities.*

(D2: 1249-1254)

... and:

*I think we have to invest in our infrastructure. That also will get the economy moving again, and I believe we could put about 3 million people to work in good union jobs where people get a good wage with a good set of benefits that can support a middle-class family with a rising standard of living.*

(D4: 904-907)

These references to improvement of living standards for mainly the middle-class are most prominent in the first, second and fourth debate: (D1: 56-60), (D2: 345-346, 1249-1254) and (D4: 798-807, 996-1000, 1299-1304, 1356-1359).

In the first debate Clinton makes a reference to a provision passed by the White House that criminalizes any person who aids an illegal alien and states that this provision criminalizes the Good Samaritan and Jesus Christ himself (D1: 693-696). By doing so she both emphasizes that she is a good Christian but also that the Republicans are setting themselves higher than the words of God, which undeniably is detested by those of faith in the Bible and may even be blasphemous. Looking at the hierarchies for values, those belonging to a divinity rank above those of man, and Clinton has hereby revealed that she is an advocate for the highest of values. In the final debate she makes a reference to her family's Christian denomination, as she mentions her grandfather being active in the local Methodist church (D4: 156).

Although, Clinton often refers to values that are specific for Democrats, she also refers to the universal value of responsibility as in responsibility for immigrant children left behind and refers to them as American values (e.g. D2: 404-410) and fiscal responsibility (e.g. D4: 989-991).

A value that both candidates emphasize throughout the debates is that of safety. This is seen in connection with national safety (BO D4: 610-616), public safety (BO D1: 744-747) (HC D4: 1104-1106), consumer safety (HC D1: 822-824) (BO D2: 300-304), worker safety (BO D2: 452-453) (HC D3: 271-273) and social safety as in a national health care plan. Common for the values represented by Clinton and Obama is that they are mostly abstract values that are hard to contest regardless of political ideology and thereby also safe in relation to adherence by the audience. The value of Christianity that Clinton presents is, however, more concrete as not every individual will subscribe to that conviction, although, it does seem to be prevalent with the majority in the US.

## **10.8 Types of Argumentation**

Investigating the different types of argumentation by the candidates we have opted to take up the issue of health care for two reasons. First of all, it is a subject that is debated in all four debates, which gives us an opportunity to investigate, if the argumentation changes in the course of the debates. Secondly, it is an issue on which they do not agree on a solution. This gives the candidates a chance to answer the questions asked and receive a response to it in real time. This again helps to show their preparedness for unexpected situations as they have had no prior preparation time for the questions, and how they handle the situation becomes an expression of their self-representation.

As stated in the template (chapter 7), we have included the factor of presence into the chapter on definition of type of argument, and we will accordingly assess how

a sense of presence is established in the course of the analysis below. This will help us in our evaluation of how well the individual arguments work for the candidates and thereby also how they establish a presentation of self through argumentation.

### **10.8.1 The Subject of Universal Health Care**

During the four debates, Obama repeatedly emphasizes that up to 95% of his and Clinton's plan for a health care reform is similar (e.g. D1: 129), and reading through their statements on the issue it soon becomes apparent that he is probably right. Basically, they both agree that the country needs a reform of its health care system to include all those who do not currently have insurance either because they have a preexisting condition that makes them unable to get insured or because they cannot afford the cost of insurance (D1: 131). They also seem to agree that the insurance companies currently have too much power, to which Clinton refers to them as cherry picking who they want to insure (D1: 374), making cost of insurance for the chronically ill unreasonably high (D1: 374-376) and basically deciding who lives and dies in America (D2: 848-849).

What they do not agree on is the way they want to finance their individual plan and whether there should be a mandate for people to buy insurance or not.

Because an argument does not start until there is a difference of opinion, this is where we will start our analysis.

### **10.8.2 Obama's Health Care Plan**

Obama introduces his approach to health care by introducing his plan as being similar to the plan that Clinton proposes and tells of the reason why a health care reform is necessary. Because there is virtually no difference in opinions on why a reform is needed, we will not dwell on that any further. Instead, we will move on

to why Obama believes some people do not have health care and how he wishes to make it attainable for them.

Obama blatantly states that the reason why people do not have health care is because they cannot afford it. He repeatedly meets people who are desperate for health care but simply cannot pay the cost of insurance. This is why the only way to make health care available is by reducing cost. Once that is done, people will purchase insurance. Bringing up the example of the people that he meets who are desperate for health care, he uses an argument that structures reality by way of generalization. Because the people he meets, who do not have health care, want it but cannot afford it, this must be the reason in all cases. He, furthermore, adds that he does not know of any who would not have insurance if it was affordable to them. This also builds on the same structure and helps to reinforce the argument. Meeting the people that he talks about also helps Obama to establish a presence with the audience. He is not just a politician; he meets with ordinary people and understands their problem. Establishing this presence further enhances his argument (D1: 137-157).

In the Los Angeles debate Obama is asked by moderator Cummings why his plan is superior to that of Clinton's as his proposal makes insurance voluntary and would consequently leave out 15 million people (D1: 210-213). In response he brushes away her argument stating that a large group of people are not covered by his plan by listing reasons why there cannot be 15 million people left out. This is another example of arguments that structure reality, as he illustrates why this number is not accurate. First, Obama refers back to his previous argument that people will buy insurance if it is affordable, next he states that his plan mandates parents to have insurance for their children, and by letting the children be covered by their parent's insurance until they reach the age of 25 (D1: 214-228).

In the Austin Debate Obama repeats his point that people without insurance will buy it if it is affordable (D2: 875-876). In the Cleveland debate Clinton contests his argument by saying that 20% of those currently without insurance can actually afford it. This group, she adds, consists mainly of young people who feel they are immortal (D3: 218-219). This is likewise an argument that structure reality and it takes the punch out of Obama's argument as it shows how he is building his argument on a wrong foundation as it restructures the perception of reality.

### **10.8.3 Clinton's Health Care Plan**

Clinton introduces her view on health care by defining universal health care as a right for the country and a moral responsibility and says that she has a plan to provide that for the American people. Her plan is similar to that of fellow Democratic Senator John Edwards who has only recently left the race (D1: 96-102 and D2: 825-827). First, Clinton appeals to the national identity of the audience which creates a presence as they are all Americans. Secondly, she refers to the value of moral responsibility that becomes a concrete value as it is with respect to universal health care only. With this approach she runs the risk of pushing away those who do not believe in universal healthcare but by saying that Senator John Edwards had a plan very similar to hers, she justifies it and proves it to be a Democratic value. This is a quasi-logical argument by definition because two Democrats having virtually the same plan must make it a part of Democratic values. Being a quasi-logical argument it can be contested but the fact that she has established as a common democratic value makes it work as both her and Obama are Democrats.

### **10.8.4 Points of disagreement**

The major difference between Clinton's and Obama's care plans lie in the fact that Obama wants insurance to be voluntary and Clinton wants universal health care that requires a mandate for people to purchase insurance. This lead to different

controversies throughout the debates as Obama consistently says that Clinton will force people into insurance no matter the cost. The mandate her plans takes is problematic because a mandate always requires way of enforcing it and that is a substantial difference between the two plans (D1: 148-154).

The type of argument that is used to defend the two different positions is the argument that structure reality. This is exemplified in the Cleveland debate in which Obama comments on the mandate that Clinton's health care calls for in order to be able to cover everybody. He claims that that a mandate is not the right way to go, because it forces people into something they cannot afford, this is illustrated by example as he describes how the state of Massachusetts fines people who seek medical assistance and do not have insurance. These people who are already down on their luck are pushed even closer to the edge as they now have to pay a fine on top of not having health care readily available to them (D3: 139-145).

Clinton on the other hand claims that a mandate is necessary, as other great presidents have not been to improve social standings for the disadvantaged without making the provisions mandatory. This was the case with Franklin D. Roosevelt and social security and with Lyndon Johnson and Medicare (D3: 169-171). This argument structures reality by way of example as well as by way of model as she includes the two former presidents to emphasize her point, making her argument a strong one.

Obama uses the approach when he on two occasions states that his plan has been deemed the most efficient at reducing cost by Bill Clinton's former secretary of labor (D2: 133-136, 879-881). Because Clinton thinks so highly of her husband's administration it is also very likely to assume that she will consider his staff to be admirable. If they were not, Bill Clinton could not have accomplished what he did and the staff would most certainly have been changed to accommodate for more

competent people. However, no matter how competent the former secretary of state has been, he cannot compete with history making former presidents.

The argument that structure reality is a powerful argument as long as the reality presented is not broken down by a counter argument that proves a different structure. Using a famous person as a model for one's argument further enhances its point as most people would have difficulties criticizing people they look up to. Reading through the debates we have found that the type of argument that structure reality is dominant over any other type of argument. Consequently, we could have given many more examples; however, we believe that they would only have shown more of the same.

#### **10.8.5 Establishing presence**

One way of establishing a presence with the audience is by using the appropriate language. Because the two candidates both direct their arguments to the common American it is important that they do not use words or phrases that can be difficult to understand. Both candidates seem to have the grasp of this notion as most of the discourse is in a down to earth understandable language. The only times they use technical terms are when referring to specific matters concerning e.g. insurance or tax cuts/hikes.

In order to establish a relationship with the audience, both candidates use pseudo-direct speech:

Obama: *"You know, Ted Kennedy said that he is confident that we will get universal health care with me as president..."* (D1: 318-319)

Clinton: *"Because, you know, there is a smart way to protect our borders, and there is a dumb way to protect our borders..."* (D2: 511-512)

This takes us to the final facet that we have deemed necessary to include in the analysis relating to New Rhetoric.

### **10.9 Modes of Persuasion**

Investigating which modes of persuasion the two candidates use along with their arguments, we have found many instances of ethos for both candidates. This is only natural in a political setting as much of what the individual candidate is judged by is his or her level of credibility.

One of the ways that Clinton uses this mode of persuasion is by referring to her experience in politics (e.g. D2: 698-70 and D4: 1241-1244). She also repeatedly tells the audience that she knows what she is talking about: *"I know this."* (D1: 389), *"And I know that, if we work together..."* (D2:57), *"I know we can meet the challenges of today"* (D4: 34) and *"I know it because I've been fighting with them about the northern border."* (D2: 516-517).

On the other hand, Obama uses ethos to persuade the audience by making him appear as an understanding person: *"Well, I understand. But I think that Senator Clinton made a..."* (D2: 949), *"And I understand that."* (D4: 231) and *"...we haven't whined about it because I understand that's the nature of these campaigns..."* (D3: 91-92).

In the last example, Obama also uses pathos to achieve understanding and sympathy from the audience. Although, he states that he has not whined in spite of the way he is being treated, the mere fact that he brings up this situation implies that there is a reason to feel sorry for him. In the Austin debate he uses this mode of persuasion again, to imply that he is not being treated fairly by Clinton: *I'm going to get filibattered -- I'm getting filibustered a little bit here."* (D2: 91-92), and just prior to that he excuses Clinton's behavior by telling moderator Brian Williams that he is sorry (D2: 189).

The last mode of persuasion left is that of logos which they both use to logically prove their arguments. For the most part of the debates we have found no difference in how they use logos. However, on one occasion Clinton uses it aggressively to force Obama into admitting that his health care plan has a mandate as well as hers:

Clinton: *“You know, Senator Obama has a mandate. He would enforce the mandate by requiring parents to buy insurance for their children.”*

Obama: *“This is true.”*

Clinton: *“That is the case.*

*If you have a mandate, it has to be enforceable. So there’s no difference here.”*

(D3: 159-164)

## **10.10 Framing**

Last but not one is the element of framing in which we will analyze how Clinton and Obama frame arguments and thereby themselves and the other, in order to determine if this technique works in their favor or not. This is relevant because the debates, as assumed (chapter 6.2) do not contain direct examples of manipulation. However, some of the examples of framing border on manipulation as they help to twist things and expressions in other directions. As some of the moderators also make use of framing in order to affect the self-representation of the contestants in a negative way, making them stand in a bad light, and play off the one against the other, we will begin with analyzing these.

### 10.10.1 Moderators' Use of Framing

Being an old hand in journalism, Blitzer is the one of the moderators who uses framing the most. Whether this is part of his journalistic discourse is difficult to determine as discourse as argued is immediate, relying on utterances and context (chapter 5.3.2). In the first example, he speaks of fine-tuning a question for Obama (D1: 294). This implies that Obama, according to Blitzer, has not answered the question of Cummings with regards to why his health plan is superior to Clinton's. Later on, he asks Obama: *"Is that a swipe at Senator Clinton"* (D1: 339), framing Obama for persecuting Clinton. However, Obama immediately unframes himself by denying that it is a swipe (D1: 341). It is, though, as if Blitzer has decided to prove that Obama is trying to get Clinton as he once again tries to argue: *"Senator Clinton, that's a clear swipe at you."* (D1: 1105). Again, Obama answers with an unframe saying: *"I wouldn't call it a swipe."* (D1: 1109). In between those frames, Blitzer also asks Obama if he is suggesting that: *"...Senator Clinton's policy was not, in your words, "humane"?"* (D1: 652) or *"...lacking on that front?"* (D1: 663) in relation to immigration and the DREAM Act, and once again Obama manages to unframe himself by speaking back: *"Wolf, you keep on trying to push on this issue."* (D1: 664).

Opposite from Blitzer, Jeanne Cummings is trying to frame Hillary Clinton as not being an agent of change, although Clinton claims to be so, by asking: *"How can you be an agent of change when we have had the same two families in the White House for the last 30 years?"* (D1: 969). Also McManus involves a frame directed at both Obama and Clinton by implying that the Republicans are going to call them: *"...tax-and-spend" liberal Democrats..."* (D1: 415). This he does in order to excite the debate.

In the second debate, moderator John King, the Chief National Correspondent for CNN tries to put Clinton in a bad light by asking: *"Does that mean that you think*

*your vote was wrong...?"* (D2: 533). Furthermore, King turns the debate in a new direction by saying that the two are being much too polite towards each other than usual (D2: 669-670). Therefore, he wants Clinton to explain the phrase 'talk versus action' (D2: 678-679) which Clinton previously has directed at Obama by saying: *"My opponent gives speeches; I offer solutions."* King thereby pushes the debate forward to deal with an issue that Clinton would probably have been happy not to be held responsible for in public.

A final interesting thing to notice in relation to the moderators is how they always seem to ask Clinton the questions first (e.g. D3: 250). Therefore, although we have argued that she seems to elbow her way, she may not always be to blame. There is, however, no doubt that the moderators try to make it fair for both contestants. An example of this can be found in debate 4 in which Gibson admits that he is *"...out of balance in terms of time."* (D4: 601-602). This is immediately commented by Hillary who says that she has noticed it and laughs (D4: 602).

### **10.10.2 Hillary Clinton's Use of Framing**

Opposite from Obama, it is not possible to detect many expressions in which Clinton uses framing. She has used it against Obama in a speech which, as just mentioned, is framed by King in debate 2. Furthermore, she has framed Bush by saying that he is: *"...all hat and no cattle."* (D2: 685). In chapter 10.2.2 we discussed her final example of framing in which she in a video clip framed Obama as speaking like a preacher (D3: 707-711).

Like with the frames, Clinton does not unframe herself as much as Obama. In fact, we have only found three examples and all of these are in the third debate. The two first examples of unframing are addressed to Mr. Russert who tries to set up a hypothetical scenario in Iraq. This Clinton responds to by saying: *"You know, Tim, you ask a lot of hypotheticals."* (D3; 630) and *"...you're making lots of different*

*hypothetical assessments.*" (D3: 633). By doing so, she tries to make the audience aware of what Russert, in her opinion, is doing. The third example is a respond to Obama who tries to frame Clinton as a person who can also use inaccurate information which is what she accuses him of doing in relation to her plan (D3: 61-94). Because Clinton is afraid of getting into deep water, she does not want to go further into this, and she therefore pushes the debate forward to something else (D3: 96-100). This naturally leads us to how Obama uses framing.

### **10.10.3 Barack Obama's Use of Framing**

As implied above, Obama uses framing much more than Clinton as a strategy to both make him look good and move the debate into areas where he wants to go.

Several examples of the first can be found in the Los Angeles debate in which Obama begins with lauding Edwards for an outstanding job (D1: 6-7) and thereby Clinton for a competitive race (D1: 25). Furthermore, he states that he was friends with Clinton before the run and will be it afterwards (D1: 21-23). These statements make Obama seem like a man of good sport who knows how to compete fairly. Other examples of this are respect of Clinton's record (e.g. D1: 803) and her magnificent campaign (e.g. D3: 1170ff). This Obama manages to turn into two statements saying: "*...she would be worthy as a nominee. Now, I think I'd be better. Otherwise I wouldn't be running*" (D3: 1199-1200) and explaining why he will be better (D3: 1211-1215).

An example of pushing the debates forwards can be found in the first debate where Obama pushes the debate forward by suggesting that they move on to 'some other stuff'. He uses the arguments that he does not want to belabor the issue of, because he is aware that they are running out of time (D1: 1315-1316). Another example appears in the first debate (D1: 460) where Obama tries to explain how everybody will have a chance of accomplishing the American dream,

like he has, if everybody pays a little more. Actually, this is also an example of metaphorical framing which we will get back to below. By putting it so, he makes tax increase a way to reaching the goals that every American strives for.

As already mentioned (chapter 10.10.1), Obama has to unframe himself in the first debate in order to get out of the bad light that Blitzer wants to put him in. Furthermore, he reacts on Clinton's claim of him leaving out 15 million people in his plan by stating that there is a different way of getting universal health care than what she believes (D2: 886-887). He even makes sure to, once again, getting a chance to say that the way Clinton approached it in 1993 was the wrong way to do it (D2: 892). Another example of Obama feeling untruly treated can be found in the second debate in which he respond to King's accusation of not being transparent when it comes to earmarked money (D2: 1198-1206) by saying: "*No, that's not true.*" (D2: 1207). Finally, in the fourth debate, Obama manages to unframe himself with help from Clinton (D4: 217-245). Picking up on her frame of him for being elitist is a lesson she has learned through her many years in politics, moving along with the process of the political game (D2: 232-236). Obama concludes his unframe with referring to Clinton's statement of being home baking cookies in 1992 which resulted in people calling her an elitist (D4: 236-242). Obama thereby makes Clinton stand in a very bad light by not being better than people she encountered during her first year as First Lady.

### **10.11 Metaphors**

The final element in our template concerns the use of orientational metaphors which we have chosen because they particularly rely on context and are used frequently in matters concerning politics (chapter 6.2.2.3).

Reading the debates, there are many examples of these throughout all four debates but there seems to be an overweight in the first and last debate. We do not

consider this is a coincidence as both politicians are well-educated speakers in terms of having worked as lawyers and senators in Congress. In our analysis of what kinds of orientational metaphors that can be found in the debates, we will therefore also focus on how the metaphors are used and what they say about the attitude of the speakers. As it is beyond the scope of this thesis to include each and every metaphor, we will focus on the most relevant examples and leave out those speaking of e.g. prices and costs going up.

### **10.11.1 Characteristics of the Orientational Metaphors**

In relation to what we have stated above, the expressions of Clinton and Obama share the goal of conquering The Republican Party and thereby take the US in another direction. This especially shows in what we could call a 'change' discourse which can be found throughout all four debates.

#### ***10.11.1.1 Following a Path***

The most repeated orientational metaphor in this discourse is related to the so-called PATH metaphor (chapter 6.2.2.3) of which the purpose is to take the American people from one place to another. The following extracts are examples of that:

Clinton:     *"We cannot get to universal health care..."* (D1: 271)

*"...as we move forward..."* (D1: 288)

Obama:       *"How do we take the country in a new direction?"* (D1: 30)

*"...issues...will not move forward..."* (D1: 180-181)

*"...we need to move forward with new leadership"* (D1: 781)

The essence of these statements is the concept of *moving forward* in order to *take the country in a new direction* and *get to* the goal of e.g. universal health care. Both Clinton and Obama are also more specific about the path that they follow as

representatives of the Democratic Party on a JOURNEY together. This can be seen in the following extracts:

Clinton: “...we need a path to legalization” (D2: 423)  
“We have got to get back to being the innovative nation” (D2: 389)  
“...we’ve got to get back to an economy that works for everyone.” (D4: 892)  
“If we had stayed on the path we were on at the end of my husband’s administration...”(D4: 982)

Obama: “...we’ve been walking on this road together (...) [and] we are still on that road...” (D1: 1428)  
“We’ve got a lot more road to travel...” (D1: 1429)  
“...this has been an extraordinary journey... (D4: 67)

Although using the same PATH metaphor, Hillary Clinton speaks of the path for the United States as the Democratic Party wishes it to be, including legalization of illegal immigrants in the US. The other three examples of Clinton are however expressions in which she speaks of *getting back* to how things were when her husband, Bill Clinton, left the Oval Office. What this expression shows is that she wants to follow the path of her husband, a time she thinks highly of (D1: 981-983) and although America may have had good times during his period, it can make the Democratic voters feel that she will not be progressive although saying so.

The way Obama uses the PATH metaphor in these examples relates to his JOURNEY with Hillary Clinton down the road to the White House which is far from over as the expressions are used in the first debate. In the final debate we can see a change as the journey has ended and therefore being referred to in past tense.

The last metaphor we will mention in relation to the PATH metaphor is the one of VEHICLE. This shows in the following expressions:

Clinton: “...*three ways we need to jump start the economy*” (D2: 377)

“...*get the economy moving again*” (D4: 904)

“*So I do want to shift gears*” (D2: 394)

Obama: “...*somewhere along the line, the straight talk express lost some wheels...*”  
(D1: 426)

The way Clinton speaks about *jumpstarting* the American economy and *making it move again*. This very much relate to the VEHICLE metaphor as it refers to what people usually do when/if their motor vehicle ceases to function. By using this metaphor, Clinton implies that she considers the American economy to be stone-dead. The final example of Clinton in which she speaks of *shifting gears* does, however, not refer to the American economy but the debate which she wants to push forward. Although, being used as a type of framing, this is not an example of metaphorical framing as it is considered a standard phrase.

The first expression of Obama is interesting because it relates to the Republican candidate, John McCain. Obama’s reason for using this metaphor is most likely to illustrate the U-turn that McCain made regarding Bush’s rounds of tax cuts. In fact, McCain seems to have been with Obama and Clinton along the aforementioned path; at least with regards to some issues.

A final example of the VEHICLE metaphor is actually used by moderator Blitzer who in the first debate argues that Democrats consider the fact that Obama and Clinton are the final two contestants to be: “*A dream ticket for the White House*” (D1: 1418). By using this metaphor he implies that Obama and Clinton are in a

fortunate position in terms of votes from the Democratic voters and those still undecided.

#### ***10.11.1.2 A Wish for Change***

Another example of moving forward towards something else is what we wish to call a CHANGE metaphor. That such a metaphor occurs in a political debate does not come by surprise. What is interesting here is, however, that the metaphor is being used in the same way as both Clinton and Obama wants change from Bush. This shows in the following expressions:

Clinton: “*The trajectory of change...*” (D1: 984)

“*...a sea change in our country and around the world...*” (D3: 1235)

Obama: “*...we also have to have change that brings the country together...*” (D1: 41-43)

What Hillary refers to in her first expression is the course that her husband shaped during his term as president and again this shows that she very much wishes to go back to the good old days. Shaping a course for something must be said to be closely connected to what we could call a NAUTICAL metaphor because this also embraces the second of her expressions in which she speaks of a *sea change*. This is used as an expression for what it would mean to both America and many other countries if a woman for the first time ever made it to the most powerful position in the world. Although, things can be implied in relation to some of the other metaphorical expressions, this is the only metaphor in which she really touches upon the subject of what a female president could offer the US as well as the rest of the world.

Opposite from Clinton, the expression of Obama fits with many of the expressions that we have highlighted in the previous chapters in which we pointed that Obama wants to bring the US together.

### ***10.11.1.3 Expressions of Up and Down***

The final examples of metaphor we will include are contradictory to all the ones above as they relate to the vertical kinds of orientational metaphors which we have also explained in chapter 6.2.2.3.

Most important is what we could call a LADDER metaphor which is shown in the expressions below:

Obama:     “...*ladders of opportunity*” (D4: 1153)

              “*That the kind of step that I would like to take as president...*” (D2: 254)

Clinton:    “...*there are steps I would take immediately...*” (D2: 362)

In the first of these examples Obama even refers to such a ladder by using metaphorical framing. How this shows will be explained in the chapter treating his use of metaphorical framing (10.11.3). Speaking of it as just a metaphor, it illustrates the *ladder of opportunity* that both he and the American people can climb up in order to make a better America and move it forward, as well as making it possible for the individual American citizen to achieve the American dream. The *step* he refers to in the second example is a step up from everything that Bush has represented, which according to the surrounding sentences of the expression equals seven years of damage (D2: 252). As can be seen in her expression, Clinton also refers to taking steps in order to take action on day one, indicating that she will step things up.

Finally, both Clinton and Obama use expressions which can be related to the MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN metaphor. In relation to Clinton an example can be

found in the expression where she speaks of a: "...*rising standard of living...*" (D4: 907). An example of Obama can be found in relation to foreign policy in which he will: "...*elevate diplomacy...*" (D1: 192).

Although we could have included many more examples of orientational metaphors, we will end the chapter here and move on to examples of metaphorical framing.

### 10.11.2 Clinton's Use of Metaphorical Framing

Although we could write many more pages about the use of this matter, we will only focus on a few of the examples of Clinton. All listed, these are:

*"...focus at creating a political coalition with the courage to stand up and change the immigration system"* (D1: 732-33)

*"The trajectory of change..."* (D1: 984)

*"...'talk vs. action'."* (D2: 678)

*"...all hat and no cattle..."* (D2: 685)

*"...create an umbrella of deterrence..."* (D4: 738)

Our reason for choosing these expressions is that we consider these examples of metaphorical framing to be the most eloquent expressions of Hillary Clinton. Common for all these statements is the masculine discourse. In the first example this shows in using the phrase 'political coalition' because we believe that men have an inclination to stand together and thereby stronger. Also, she speaks of a 'trajectory of change' when speaking of the course that her husband followed and she will try to get back to.

That Clinton can use a harsh tone with regards to others show in the third and fourth example. The third is quoted by moderator King but refers a phrase that Clinton has meant for Obama. It is to be understood as an accusation of using

nothing but empty words while her expressions show action. By using such a metaphorical frame she makes herself stand in a good light while placing Obama in the dark. The fourth is meant for Bush who she considers to be 'all hat and no cattle'. Being in Texas it is wise to use a phrase from the South about the man from Texas, although it means that she considers him to be without the least bit of political clout. Finally, the last expression that we have chosen to include really shows a masculine discourse because Clinton wants to create an umbrella of deterrence with regards to e.g. Israel and Iran.

### **10.11.3 Obama's Use of Metaphorical Framing**

Analyzing the debates it has become very clear that Obama uses metaphorical framing much more than Clinton. He does so by agreeing with her in using the technique against Bush. This can be seen in the following four examples:

*"...the Bush Administration..."* (D1: 172 and D2: 566)

*"...George Bush economic policies..."* (D4: 594 and 826)

*"...George Bush foreign policy..."* (D4: 595)

*"...the past versus the future..."* (D1: 36)

All of these examples indicate that Obama wants to separate himself from both Bush, his administration, his way of doing politics and finally, his successor, McCain. By connecting Bush's name to a certain administration and types of policies, Obama emphasizes that is the way things has been done but that he will do things differently. Although the last example can also be seen as an example of this, it says much more – that Obama opposite everybody else represents America's future.

Like with the metaphors the next five examples that we have found relevant to include show how Obama wants to unite a divided America:

*"...a tactic to divide"* (D1: 575)

*"...our history. Our nation"* (D2: 77)

*"...every American."* (D4: 1350)

*"...coalition for change."* (D2: 322)

*"...ladders of opportunity..."* (D4: 1153)

The first of these expressions refers to immigration which Obama, as mentioned before (chapter xxx) does not consider 'a tactic to divide'. By speaking of the divide in the US in terms of immigration and race, the statement becomes stronger than if he had just spoken of immigration alone. Making typical political issues 'our' strengthen the use of the terms 'history' and 'nation' and illustrates that Obama feels like one of the American group. This group is also represented in the third expression in which Obama includes 'every American'. Finally, he speaks of a *coalition for change* and the aforementioned *ladders of opportunity*. These share resemblance by being phrases of two very different terms. Used alone, not many voters would remember a politician speaking of a *coalition* and *ladders*. However, the phrases become memorable and goals to strive for because they are being combined with the terms with change and opportunity.

#### **10.11.4 Moderators' Use of Metaphorical Framing**

Before ending this chapter it is relevant to point out that Obama and Clinton do not act alone in using metaphorical framing. Like with framing, some of the moderators also use the tactic. For example, McManus states: *"The Republicans are going to call you "tax-and-spend" liberal Democrats"* (D1: 415). By using the phrase 'tax-and-spend' so obviously in the same sentence as liberal Democrats, McManus affect the American people and imply that Obama and Clinton will do whatever it takes to pay for their plans. If they do not have enough money to cover their expenses, they will only increase taxes even more. The conflict in this phrase is

that most people hate taxes but like spending. Therefore, a tax-and-spend solution is most likely to be considered a negative thing by most American people.

By asking Hillary Clinton how she: "...can be an agent of change when we have had the same two families in the White House for the last 30 years..." (D: 969-970), Cummings frames the question in order to imply that Clinton cannot be an agent of change. Although, she may speak of change, she will always just be another Clinton and thereby not the new thinker that the US and the rest of the world need. Finally, it is worth mentioning the expression "...cascade of e-mails, just about every day, questioning Senator Clinton's credibility." (D4: 450) used by Mr. Stephanopoulos in the fourth debate. If he had just used the terms 'e-mails' or 'many e-mails' he would not have had achieved what he does by placing 'cascade' in front of e-mails. This frame implies that Obama's campaign has fired off enormous amounts of e-mails each and every day with the purpose only to make some of them work in order to make her unreliable.

## 11. Conclusion

In the statement of problem we asked how the discourse(s) of Democratic candidates Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama correlates with the social construction of gender and power. In order to ask this question, however, it is important to first define which discourse(s) is used in the debates. In order to establish this we first defined the context of the debates.

The debates take place in the most public of spheres as they are all televised nationally to the American people, and as they are the last debates before the final nomination it is extremely important that both candidates are able to show their competency. This is, nevertheless, complicated by the fact that they, firstly, have to compete against each other and secondly are up against moderators of the debates who are all very experienced in this type of situation, and who will do their best to make the debates as exciting as possible, regardless of how this will affect the candidate's individual campaign. Accordingly, the debates can be described as an 'examiner- student' situation in which the moderators are the examiners at the candidate's exams, and just like an exam the Obama and Clinton has the power to influence the process but they do not have the power to completely control it.

On the subject of Intertextuality and interdiscursivity, we do find many instances of these phenomena, and when they occur, the text that is brought up is usually chosen as a means of getting one of the other participants into hot water. The person who has proven herself most proficient at including these phenomena is Clinton.

Taking a closer look at the individual candidates, they show many similarities in terms of their collected social representations. Common for both of them is, of course, the goal of becoming the next president of America, and the basic constructions of society that follow with the Democratic ideology. Likewise, they

both seem to agree to distance themselves as much as possible to President George W. Bush and his administration.

In our analysis we showed that Clinton identifies herself with the other women in the country, and that many of the issues that she feels most passionately about are an expression of traditional feminine values such as protecting the most vulnerable groups in society as well as belief that the best results are attained by collaboration and diplomacy. However, what we also showed was that her solutions to resolve the current problems in society are of a more masculine and aggressive nature. This she partly proves in her own word by stating she is a fighter.

Obama has a passion for the same causes as Clinton, and he approaches these with resoluteness and a strong presence that shows capability of leadership. His use of a masculine discourse only emphasizes this and is explicated in his direct speech acts toward the Bush administration. Although Obama shows clear signs of masculinity, he does not appear as dominant as many other men. Throughout the debates he shows a great level of politeness and appears as a father figure that will look out for his family and his country. With regards to the latter, he does not seem to make any difference between any race or creed, and he makes sure to always address the public not as Hispanic, Asian or otherwise, he simply addresses every American.

Even though Obama has a strong personality, he expresses a great deal of respect for Clinton's many years in politics, and he thereby also shows that he has prepared himself mentally for the challenges that she might face him with. Clinton, on the other hand, will probably have more respect towards the moderators than she will toward Obama. This is based on the fact that she has previously subjected to harsh lashings from the press.

Both candidates are in the country's top three of who has the best access to public discourse. Obama raises his level of access by being an eloquent speaker and Clinton raises hers with her 35 years of experience in politics and the knowledge that it has provided her with. Her level of political experience is also something she uses as a discursive strategy to prove she is capable of doing the job as president and commander in chief for the nation. Her other chief strategy is to direct her actions and her statements towards the American middle-class. This is countered by Obama who in turn consequently speaks to and of the nation as a whole, and who has a much wider range of strategies compared to those of Clinton. Obama uses a great many examples in his argumentation and his chief strategy is that of storytelling, which he uses to exemplify the points made in his arguments.

As we have already stated above, Obama makes sure to address everyone in the nation when he speaks. This we define as a universal audience in terms of the election and it gives him a much broader audience from which to gain adherence, whereas Clinton directs her argument to the narrower group of middle-class Americans. Both use references to abstract universal values in their arguments but Clinton supplements these with references to specific Democratic values as well as Christianity. This puts her in the risk of alienating all those who do not agree with her on those subjects. Setting up arguments for their points of view, the candidates do not display much difference in terms technique as both favor the powerful argument that structure reality. It does seem, however, that Clinton is better at forming a strong argument, than is Obama, on the subject of health care.

Using the different modes of persuasion, Clinton shows more aggressiveness than Obama in her use of logos. In turn Obama uses pathos to establish sympathy, which Clinton does not do at all. Obama also appears to be much more proficient at framing himself, his arguments and the other participants than Clinton does,

which we feel more than makes up for what his arguments lack in terms of impact and durability.

Analyzing framing this is used by moderators as well as Clinton and Obama.

However, it is the examples of the latter two which are the interesting. They use it in order to try to make each other look bad and thereby frame themselves as the better candidate plus moving the debates into areas where they feel 'safe'. Also, Obama shows much better control of unframing which he also uses much more than Hillary as a strategy to make himself stand in the best light possible.

Especially the example of 'being elitist' in which he turn Clinton's words into being in his favor, shows how well Obama is at unframing.

The most frequent type of orientational metaphor was that of the PATH metaphor including JOURNEY, VEHICLE AND CHANGE. Furthermore, we found examples of what we call the NAUTICAL AND LADDER metaphor. The essence of most of the metaphors is the concept of moving forward and take USA in another direction than the one of the 'Bush administration' which Obama and Clinton agree on using as a metaphorical frame. Where Obama refers to travelling with Clinton, Clinton speaks a lot of going back to the way things were during the term of her husband. This makes her the opposite from progress and can therefore be compared to shooting herself in the foot. However, she does use a metaphor to speak of the sea change her becoming the first female president of the US would be to both the American voters and the rest of the world.

As with the other examples of this, the metaphorical frames are used to frame the sayings of both Obama and Clinton in order to make their particular ideas and sayings worth remembering. The examples of metaphorical framing regarding Clinton are used in a very harsh tone of others. All of these examples indicate that Obama wants to separate himself from both Bush, his administration, his way of

doing politics and finally, his successor, McCain. Like Clinton, Obama uses metaphorical framing towards Bush's name and administration. However, he also uses this to speak of his united group of America and being a member of the American people.

Concluding on this we can now say that Clinton has a dominant and aggressive discourse that does not correlate with the construction of women being the nurturer and caregiver. Although she appears very capable in terms of political experience and commitment, she most likely have pushed away a great deal of voters who did not feel that she was representative of the American woman and who effectively have held up the glass ceiling, hindering her ascent to the presidency. By saying this, we can also conclude that Clinton's dominant discourse does not correlate with the social constructions in contemporary America and that although she has proven herself more than worthy of being in the race, she does not have the rhetorical proficiency of Obama to present herself in a way that will get her elected.

Because we must say that our analysis of the debates have proved Obama to be an eloquent speaker and thereby the better candidate. Despite his challenge of being a rather unknown, African-American, he succeeded in following a dominant discourse based on showing good sport, humor, leadership to change and most importantly, of telling his story, making people believe in the American dream. Furthermore, he continuously managed to address his statements to the public as a whole and thereby became a man of the people instead of for the few.

## **Bibliography:**

Bayor, Ronald H. (2003): *Race and Ethnicity in America - A Concise History*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Burcharth, Martin (2008): *Kometen – Barack Obamas kurs mod Det Hvide Hus*. København K: Informations Forlag.

Burr, Vivien (2008): *Social Constructionism*. East Sussex: Routledge.

Carroll, Susan J. & Richard L. Fox (2006): *Gender and Elections – Shaping the Future of American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chilton, Paul & Christina Schäffner (2002): *Politics as Text and Talk. Analytical Approaches to Political Discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company,

Clinton, Hillary (2003): *Living History*. Bidford on Avon: Simon & Schuster Inc.

Collin, Finn & Simo Køppe (2003): *Humanistisk Videnskabsteori*. DR Multimedie.

Dougherty, Steve (2007): *Hopes and Dreams. The story of Barack Obama*. New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, Inc.

Driscoll, Laura (2008): *Hillary Clinton – An American Journey*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap.

Duncan & Goddard (2003): *Contemporary America*. Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Epstein, Dwayne (2008): *Hillary Clinton*. Farmington Hills: Thomson Gale.

Ehrenreich, Michael (2007): *Hillary – En Amerikansk Historie, Gyldendal*. Gylling: Naryana Press.

Fairclough, Norman (1995): *Critical discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Fairclough, Norman (1999): *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, Norman (2003): *Analysing Discourse – Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Routledge.

- Fairclough (2001) *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd,
- Fairclough and Kress (1993) *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Fairclough and Wodak, (1997) *In: Phillips, Louise & Marianne W. Jørgensen (2002): Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. Cornwall: TJ International Ltd.
- Fairclough and Wodak, (1997) *In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Foucault, Michel(1972): *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge *In: Phillips, Louise & Marianne W. Jørgensen (2002): Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. Cornwall: TJ International Ltd.
- Giles, Howard & Robinson W. Peter (1990): *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Goatly, Andrew (1997): *The Language of Metaphors*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Hansen, Poul B. (2008): *Barack Obama – Arven fra Min Far*. Lindhardt and Ringhof Forlag A/S.
- Johnson, Mark (1992): *The Body in the Mind – the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Chicago: The University of California Press.
- Johnstone, Barbara (2002): *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Jørgensen, Charlotte & Onsberg, Merete (2004): *Praktisk argumentation*. Copenhagen: Nyt Teknisk Forlag.
- Kjørup, Søren (2008): *Menneskevidenskaberne 2: Humanistiske Forskningstraditioner*. Gylling: Naryana Press.
- Klujeff, Marie L. & Roer, Hanne 2006: *Retorikkens aktualitet, Grundbog i retorisk analyse*. Gylling: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Kövecses, Zoltán (2002): *Metaphor – a Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, George (2008): *The Political Mind – Why You Can't Understand 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Politics with an 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Brain*. New York: Penguin Group (USA) Inc.
- Lakoff, George & Mark Johnson (2003): *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff In: Ortony (1993): *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge University Press.

Litosseliti, Lia (2006): *Gender and Language*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Lorber, Judith & Susan A. Farrell (1991): *The Social Construction of Gender*. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Mendell, David (2007): *Obama – From Promise to Power*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Mullany, Louise (2007): *Gendered Discourse in the Professional Workplace*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ortony, Andrew (1993): *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge University Press.

Paltridge, Brian 2006: *Discourse Analysis – An Introduction*. London: Continuum.

Perelman, Chaïm 1982: *The Realm of Rhetoric*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Perelman, Chaïm, 2005: *Retorikkens rige*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Phillips, Louise & Marianne W. Jørgensen (2002): *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. Cornwall: TJ International Ltd.

Rabinow, Paul (1984): *The Foucault Reader*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books In: Fairclough, Norman (1999): *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Renkema, Jan (2004): *Introduction to Discourse Studies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Seidelin, Michael (2008): *Det Hvide Hus – og Magten i USA*. Politikens Forlag, JP/Politikens Forlagshus A/S.

Steinberg, Stephen (2000): *Race and Ethnicity in the United States – Issues & Debates*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Svennevig, Jan (2003): *Språklig samhandling. Indføring i kommunikasjonsteori og diskursanalyse*. Oslo: AIT AS e-dit.

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993): *Discourse & Society vol. 4(2)*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1995): *Discourse & Society vol. 6(2)*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1997): *Discourse as Social Interaction vol. 1*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2008a: *Discourse & Power*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2008b: *Discourse and Context – A Sociocognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1990) In: Giles, Howard & Robinson W. Peter 1990: *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 2001 In: Wodak and Meyer, 2001: *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Vile, M. J. C. (1999): *Politics in the US*. New York: Routledge.

Warnke, Georgia (2007): *After Identity – Rethinking Race, Sex, and Gender*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. (2008): *Dangerous Frames – How Ideas about Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Witt, Linda et al. (1995): *Running as a Woman – Gender and Power in American Politics*. , New York: The Free Press.

Wodak, Ruth (1997): Gender and Discourse In: Litosseliti, Lia & Jane Sunderland (2002): *Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer (2001): *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

### **Articles:**

Lakoff 1: Lakoff, George (1995): *Metaphor, Morality and Politics or Why Conservatives Have Left Liberals In The Dust*.

<http://www.wvcd.org/issues/Lakoff.html>

Lakoff 2: Lakoff, George (2003): *Framing the Issues: US Berkeley Professor George Lakoff Tells How Conservatives Use Language to Dominate Politics*.

[http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2003/10/27\\_lakoff.shtml](http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2003/10/27_lakoff.shtml)

## **Journals:**

Holmgreen, Lise-Lotte (2009): *Methaphorically Speaking: Constructions of Gender and Career in the Danish Financial Sector* *In: Gender and Language*, 2009, Equinox (in press).

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1995): *Ideological Discourse Analysis* *In: New Currant no. 4 - Interdisciplinary approaches to Discourse*, Department of English, University of Helsinki, SU.

## **Works of Reference:**

Longman 2003: *Dictionary of Contemporary English*, Pearson Education Limited, Harlow, UK

## **Internet:**

[http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2003/10/27\\_lakoff.shtml](http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2003/10/27_lakoff.shtml)

<http://dreamact2009.com/about>

<http://en.wikipedia.org>

[http://womenshistory.about.com/od/congress/p/barbara\\_jordan.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/od/congress/p/barbara_jordan.htm)

<http://www.america.gov/st/usg-english/2008/February/20080208171334hmnietsua0.6845209.html>

<http://www.congress.org/congressorg/directory/demographics>

<http://www.democrats.org/a/party/stand.html>

<http://www.electwomen.com>

<http://www.kvinfo.dk/side/508>

<http://www.wwcd.org/issues/Lakoff.html>

## **AVERT:**

1. <http://www.avert.org/usa-race-age.htm>

## **Census 2000:**

1. [http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTTable?\\_bm=y&-qr\\_name=DEC\\_2000\\_SF1\\_U\\_DP1&-geo\\_id=01000US&-ds\\_name=DEC\\_2000\\_SF1\\_U&-\\_lang=en&-format=&-CONTEXT=qt](http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTTable?_bm=y&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_DP1&-geo_id=01000US&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U&-_lang=en&-format=&-CONTEXT=qt)

## **CNN**

1. <http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune500/2009/>
2. <http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune500/2009/womenceos/>
3. Suzies fra Race/Ethnicity

## **New York Times:**

1. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/06/us/06modular.html?scp=7&sq=katrina%20victims&st=cse>
2. <http://theboard.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/02/21/bushs-popularity-a-really-new-low/?scp=2&sq=bush%20popularity%20poll&st=cse>

## **Politiken:**

1. <http://politiken.dk/politik/article684020.ece>

## **TV2:**

1. <http://finans.tv2.dk/nyheder/article.php?id=15678473>

## **US Department of Justice:**

1. <http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/emp/work.php>
2. <http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/intro/intro.php>
3. <http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting/misc/faq.php/aq01>
4. <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/crimoff.htm/lifetime>

## Dansk resumé

Emnet for vores speciale *Power in Discourse – a Critical Discourse Analysis of the Concluding Presidential Debates 2008* er valgt på baggrund af den store interesse, som vi begge har i det amerikanske samfund og deraf amerikansk politik; en interesse der blev yderligere vakt, da kampen om at blive nomineret til det demokratiske partis præsidentvalg i 2008 stod mellem Hillary Clinton og Barack Obama.

Med mere end 35 års erfaring i politik havde Clinton prøvet alle de politiske roller, som var mulige, idet hun havde været lokalpolitiker, guvernørfrue og førstedame samt senator i New York og dermed medlem af den amerikanske kongres. Tilbage var kun målet at blive USA's første kvindelige præsident – et mål der var realistisk, idet hun kun manglede at udkonkurrere en kandidat for at nå primærvalgene; Obama – den nærmest ukendte senator fra Illinois, som ydermere var af afroamerikansk herkomst. Modsat Clinton havde han muligheden for at blive USA's første afroamerikanske præsident, og selvom scenen var sat for en spændende dyst, som på alle måder ville blive historisk, førte Clinton stort i alle meningsmålinger.

Noget gik dog galt for Clinton, men godt for Obama, idet det lykkedes Obama at vinde over Clinton, og det er det, der har dannet grundlag for vores undren. Eftersom at ændringerne i meningsmålingerne vendte i den afgørende fase, som stod mellem Obama og Clinton alene, har vi været overbeviste om, at et svar kan findes i de debatter, som de to parter som eneste politiske medlemmer havde op til nomineringen. Dette beløber sig til i alt fire debatter, som fandt sted i henholdsvis januar, februar og april 2008 og vil danne grundlag for vores analyse. Ydermere, vil vores analyse bygge på en be-/afkræftelse af en mistanke, om at

sociale konstruktioner i det amerikanske samfund i forhold til køn og race har medvirket til det endelige udfald.

På baggrund af denne undren og en formodning om, at den politiske diskurs i amerikansk politik – i hvert fald indtil Obamas tiltrædelse – har været stærkt domineret af en hvid, mandlig diskurs, ønsker vi først og fremmest at undersøge 1) hvordan de to kandidaters gennemgående diskurser korrelerer med de sociale køn- og racekonstruktioner i nutidens USA med henblik på magt og dominans og 2) hvordan deres retoriske ekspertise påvirker diskurs(erne) i debatterne samt 3) hvilke redskaber de bruger med hensyn til argumentation og framing af sig selv for at fremstå overbevisende og positivt.

Eftersom de sociale konstruktioner er et bærende emne i hele specialet, har det været naturligt for at dykke ned i den del af den humanistiske videnskabsteori, som omhandler socialkonstruktionisme. Vores redegørelse for dette udgør kapitel 4 og inddrager desuden strukturalisme og poststrukturalisme, idet disse især inklusive deres 'fadere', Ferdinand de Saussure og Michel Foucault, har dannet grundlag for socialkonstruktionismen. Fordi han regnes for anen til alle de tilgange til diskursanalyse, som vi kender i dag, er især Foucault relevant for vores opgave. Hans mangeårige arbejde er delt op i to faser kaldet henholdsvis arkæologi og genealogi, og det interessante ved hans skifte mellem de to er netop, at han tilførte diskursen et magtelement. Endelig, argumenterede Foucault for vigtigheden af en kontekstuel analyse og dermed de elementer, som omgiver vores sprog.

Dette leder os videre til den teoretiske del, som udgøres af kapitel 5 og 6. Eftersom vi for at nå målet i denne opgave har valgt at anvende kritisk diskursanalyse (CDA), bygger førstnævnte på teori af Teun A. van Dijk, Norman Fairclough og Ruth Wodak, som på grund af deres mange bidrag til kritisk diskursanalyse

(CDA) må regnes for ledende indenfor feltet. Desuden var de blandt den lille gruppe, som i 1990'erne byggede videre på Frankfurterskolens kritiske tilgang til socialforskning. Vores speciale er især baseret på van Dijks sociokognitive tilgang til diskursanalyse, idet han især fokuserer på konteksten. Udover at indeholde de elementer, som vi finder centrale for vores analyse, fx kontekst, tekst, ideologi og magt, redegør vi i kapitlet om CDA for formålet med at lave en diskursanalyse og hvad analysens resultater kan bruges til i forhold til at påvise magt i diskurs og dermed bevis på dominans og ulighed.

For at belyse hvorvidt debatterne, diskurs(erne) i dem og deraf de sociale konstruktioner bliver præget af Obama og Clinton via deres sprog og kontekst fra en anden vinkel har vi desuden valgt at inddrage dele af retorikken i form af de klassiske appelformer og nyretorikken. Til dette formål har vi valgt Chaïm Perelman's tilgang (kapitel 6), som især er anvendelig, fordi han mener, at sprog aldrig anvendes på neutralt. Endelig indeholder dette kapitel vores sidste teoretiske aspekt, framing og metaforer. Førstnævnte bygger på et Lakoffs seneste værker *The Political Mind – Why You Can't Understand 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Politics with an 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Brain*, mens metaforerne tager udgangspunkt i Lakoff og Johnsons omdiskuterede bog fra 1980 og senere tilførsler til denne. Formålet med disse to aspekter er netop at kunne behandle argumentationen og de redskaber, som Clinton og Obama bruger gennem debatterne.

Netop fordi både Perelmans nyretoriske teori og ovennævnte værker forholder sig til den kognitive magt og det omkringliggende i samfundet, finder vi det særdeles fordelagtigt at forene disse med van Dijks sociokognitive tilgang, hvilket leder os frem til specialets kapitel 7. I dette kapitel forsøger vi med inspiration fra van Dijks *Discourse-Society-Cognition triangle* at opstille vores analysemodel og argumentere for strukturen af denne i forhold til at kontekst er det bærende element for tekst produktion og brugen af tekst. Dette er afgørende for vores

analyse, hvori vi med udgangspunkt i konteksten forsøger at påvise de elementer af magt og sociale konstruktioner, som gør sig gældende i debatterne. Denne viser blandt andet, hvordan diskursen påvirkes af de rammer, som der er sat for debatterne ved fx at finde sted på University of Texas nær den mexicanske grænse og med såkaldte Hispanics blandt både publikum og ordstyrere.

Analysen danner baggrund for vores konklusion, hvori vi kan konkludere, at de dominerende diskurser er en henholdsvis kvindelig og mandlig. Hvor man måske ville forvente at finde en afroamerikansk diskurs hos Obama, har vi ikke på noget tidspunkt kunne påvise en sådan. Til gengæld har vi kunnet føre bevis for, at Clinton til tider har en aggressiv mandlig diskurs, hvilket ikke er forligneligt med med de sociale konstruktioner i det amerikanske samfund. Samtidig har vi bevist, at Obama har en bedre evne end Clinton til at iscenesætte sig, hvilket har givet ham en fordel i valgkampen.

Under Bush administrationen, et udtryk som både Obama og Clinton framer den som, er USA gået i stå og har behov for at bevæge sig fremad. Dog er det kun et af mange eksempler på framing, som begge parter inkluderer. Når det kommer til metaforerne, er der ingen tvivl om, at både Clinton og Obama bruger mange af disse. Dog bruger sidstnævnte flere metaforer end Clinton. En gennemgående metafor er PATH (sti) metaforen, som er den absolut mest brugte. Også VEHICLE (køretøj) og JOURNEY (rejse) metaforen anvendes i forhold til fx at få genstartet den amerikanske økonomi og skifte gear og det faktum at Obama og Clinton er ude på en rejse til det Hvide Hus sammen. Af andre metaforer bruges eksempler i forhold til CHANGE (forandring), NAUTICAL (maritim) og LADDER (stige) i forhold til at udvise bevægelse til det bedre. Når det kommer til metaforisk framing, er Obama også bedre til at inddrage dette end Clinton. Dette element benyttes dog også, ligesom med framing, af ordstyrerne, som anvender det med udelukkende

to forhold – at præge debatterne og at få de respektive parter til at fremstå i dårligt lys. Dette udledes som det sidste punkt i vores konklusion, som udgør kapitel 11.

Målet med dette speciale har været at påvise, om sociale konstruktioner i samfundet og magt i diskurs kan gøre en forskel i debat og i så fald hvordan. Endelig har vi ønsket at kunne belyse hvordan disse elementer ved hjælp af en kobling kan hjælpe til svar på dette ud fra en betragtning at, CDA danner grundlag for hele metoden, men inddrager retorik, framing, metaforer og metaforisk framing i forhold til at få den brede vinkel med.

**AALBORG UNIVERSITET 2009**

Suzie Lauritzen & Malene Fisker

# APPENDIX



## POWER IN DISCOURSE

- CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCLUDING DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 2008

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DEBATE 1 (D1): JANUARY 31, 2008: THE KODAK THEATRE, LOS ANGELES, CA .....</b>	<b>1</b>
INTRODUCTION .....	2
TRANSCRIPT.....	3
<b>DEBATE 2 (D2) FEBRUARY 21, 2008: UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN, TX .....</b>	<b>48</b>
INTRODUCTION .....	49
TRANSCRIPT.....	50
<b>DEBATE 3 (D3) FEBRUARY 26, 2008: CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY, CLEVELAND, OH.....</b>	<b>92</b>
INTRODUCTION .....	93
TRANSCRIPT.....	94
<b>DEBATE 4 (D4) APRIL 16, 2008: NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER, PHILADELPHIA, PA.....</b>	<b>133</b>
INTRODUCTION .....	134
TRANSCRIPT.....	135
<b>5 REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>177</b>

# **Debate 1 (D1)**

January 31, 2008:

The Kodak Theatre,  
Los Angeles, CA

## Introduction

The Kodak Theater in Hollywood is mostly known as the home of the Oscar awards, but is also a place for concerts, ballet performances and Broadway shows ([kodaktheatre.com](http://kodaktheatre.com)).

**Moderator Wolf Blitzer:** Serves as the Lead Political Anchor for CNN but has a long history of in-depth reporting on international news and politics as well. Mr. Blitzer holds an MA degree in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C, and has won numerous awards for his work in journalism ([cnn.com](http://cnn.com) 1).

**Moderator Doyle McManus:** Is a columnist for the L.A. Times. Like Mr. Blitzer he is an award winning journalist, who reports on national as well as national news. He has covered every presidential campaign since 1984 and appears regularly on political TV-shows on commercial as well as non-commercial TV-stations. Doyle McManus is a graduate from Stanford University and has been with the L.A. Times for the past 30 years ([pbs.org](http://pbs.org)).

**Moderator Jeanne Cummings:** Is the Assistant Managing Editor in Charge of Enterprise at the web-based political news magazine Politico. She covers politics at both state and national level and has a special focus on tracking money in politics. Mrs. Cummings has covered five presidential campaigns to date ([politico.com](http://politico.com)).

# Transcript

(CNN) -- WOLF BLITZER, CNN: Let's begin with Senator Obama.

SEN. BARACK OBAMA, D-ILLINOIS: Wolf, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

5 Thank you. Thank you.

First of all, first of all, I want to acknowledge a candidate who left the race this week, John Edwards, who did such an outstanding job...

(APPLAUSE)

10 ... elevating the issues of poverty and the plight of working families all across the country. And we wish him and Elizabeth well. He's going to be a voice for this party and for this country for many years to come.

I also want to note something that you noted at the beginning, which is that, when we started off, we had eight candidates on this stage. We now are down to two after 17 debates.

15 And, you know, it is a testimony to the Democratic Party and it is a testimony to this country that we have the opportunity to make history, because I think one of us two will end up being the next president of the United States of America.

(APPLAUSE)

20 And I also want to note that I was friends with Hillary Clinton before we started this campaign; I will be friends with Hillary Clinton after this campaign is over.

(APPLAUSE)

25 She has done -- she's run a -- we're running a competitive race, but it's because we both love this country, and we believe deeply in the issues that are at stake.

I believe we're at a defining moment in our history. Our nation is at war; our planet is in peril. Families all across the country are struggling with everything from back-breaking health care costs to trying to stay in their homes.

30 And at this moment, the question is: How do we take the country in a new  
direction? How do we get past the divisions that have prevented us from  
35 solving these problems year after year after year?

I don't think the choice is between black and white or it's about gender or  
religion. I don't think it's about young or old. I think what is at stake right now  
35 is whether we are looking backwards or we are looking forwards. I think it is  
the past versus the future.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

OBAMA: And just to finish up, Wolf. And I think that, as we move forward in  
this debate, understand we are both Democrats and we understand the issues at  
stake. We want change from George Bush.

40 But we also have to have change that brings the country together, pushes back  
against the special interests in Washington, and levels with the American  
people about the difficult changes that we make. If we do that, I am confident  
that we can solve any problem and we can fulfill the destiny that America  
wants to see, not just next year, but in many years to come.

45 (APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator Clinton?

50 SEN. HILLARY CLINTON, D-NEW YORK: Well, on January 20, 2009, the next  
president of the United States will be sworn in on the steps of the Capitol. I, as a  
Democrat, fervently hope you are looking at that next president. Either Barack  
or I will raise our hand and swear to uphold the Constitution of the United  
States.

55 CLINTON: And then, when the celebrations are over, the next president will  
walk into the Oval Office, and waiting there will be a stack of problems,  
problems inherited from a failed administration: a war to end in Iraq and a war  
to resolve in Afghanistan; an economy that is not working for the vast majority  
of Americans, but well for the wealthy and the well-connected; tens of millions  
of people either without health insurance at all or with insurance that doesn't  
amount to much, because it won't pay what your doctor or your hospital need...

(APPLAUSE)

60 ... an energy crisis that we fail to act on at our peril; global warming, which the  
United States must lead in trying to contend with and reverse; and then all of  
the problems that we know about and the ones we can't yet predict.

65 It is imperative that we have a president, starting on day one, who can begin to solve our problems, tackle these challenges, and seize the opportunities that I think await.

I'm very grateful for the extraordinary service of John and Elizabeth Edwards.

70 CLINTON: And among the many contributions that they have made, both by their personal example of courage and leadership, is their reminder that in this land of such plenty and blessings, there are still 37 million Americans who are living below the poverty line and many others barely hanging on above.

So what we have to do tonight is to have a discussion about what each of us believes are the priorities and the goals for America. I think it's imperative we have a problem-solver, that we roll up our sleeves.

75 I'm offering that kind of approach, because I think that Americans are ready once again to know that there isn't anything we can't do if we put our minds to it.

So let's have that conversation.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Thank you. Thank you, Senator.

80 The first question will go to Doyle.

DOYLE MCMANUS, L.A. TIMES: Senator Clinton, your two campaigns have been going on for more than a year now and it's clear that the two of you have had different experiences in your lives. You have different styles.

85 But when most voters look at the two of you, they don't see a lot of daylight between you on policy.

So what I'd like to ask is: what do you consider the most important policy distinction between the two of you?

90 CLINTON: Well, I want to start by saying that whatever differences there are among us, between us now, it's hard to forget between -- we keep talking about all those who aren't here.

But the differences between Barack and I pale in comparison to the differences that we have with Republicans, and I want to say that first and foremost, because it's really...

(APPLAUSE)

95 ... a stark difference. But we do have differences and let me mention a couple. First, on health care. I believe absolutely passionately that we must have universal health care. It is a moral responsibility and a right for our country, and...

(APPLAUSE)

100 ... and I have put forth a plan similar to what Senator Edwards had before he left the race that would move us to universal health care.

Secondly, I think it's imperative that we approach this mortgage crisis with the seriousness that it is presenting. There are 95,000 homes in foreclosure in California right now. I want a moratorium on foreclosures for 90 days so we can  
105 try to work out keeping people in their homes instead of having them lose their homes, and I want to freeze interest rates for five years.

I think when it comes to how we approach foreign affairs, in particular, I believe that we've got to be realistic and optimistic, but we start with realism in the sense that we do have serious threats, we do have those who are,  
110 unfortunately and tragically, plotting against us, posing dangers to us and our friends and our allies.

And I think that we've got to have a full diplomatic effort, but I don't think the president should put the prestige of the presidency on the line in the first year to have meetings with out preconditions with five of the worst dictators in the  
115 world.

So we have differences both at home and around the world, but, again, I would emphasize that what really is important here, because the Republicans were in California debating yesterday, they are more of the same.

Neither of us, just by looking at us, you can tell, we are not more of the same.  
120 We will change our country.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: We heard Senator Clinton, Senator Obama, define some of the differences on policy issues she sees between the two of you.

125 What do you see as the most significant policy differences between the two of you?

OBAMA: Well, I actually think that a couple of the ones that Hillary mentioned are genuine policy differences that are worthy of debate.

Let's take health care. About 95 percent of our plans are similar. We both set up a government plan that would allow people who otherwise don't have health insurance because of a preexisting condition, like my mother had, or at least what the insurance said was a preexisting condition, let them get health insurance.

We both want to emphasize prevention, because we've got to do something about ever escalating costs and we don't want children, who I meet all the time, going to emergency rooms for treatable illnesses like asthma.

It is true we've got a policy difference, because my view is that the reason people don't have health care, and I meet them all the time, in South Carolina, a mother whose child has cerebral palsy and could not get insurance for and started crying during a town hall meeting, and Hillary, I'm sure, has had the same experiences.

What they're struggling with is they can't afford the health care. And so I emphasize reducing costs. My belief is that if we make it affordable, if we provide subsidies to those who can't afford it, they will buy it.

Senator Clinton has a different approach. She believes that we have to force people who don't have health insurance to buy it. Otherwise, there will be a lot of people who don't get it.

OBAMA: I don't see those folks. And I think that it is important for us to recognize that if, in fact, you are going to mandate the purchase of insurance and it's not affordable, then there's going to have to be some enforcement mechanism that the government uses. And they may charge people who already don't have health care fines, or have to take it out of their paychecks. And that, I don't think, is helping those without health insurance. That is a genuine difference.

On the mortgage crisis...

(APPLAUSE)

On the mortgage crisis, again, we both believe that this is a critical problem. It's a huge problem in California and all across the country. And we agree that we have to keep people in their homes.

I have put forward a \$10 billion home foreclosure prevention fund that would help to bridge the lender and the borrower so that people can stay in their homes.

I have not signed on to the notion of an interest rates freeze, and the reason is not because we need to protect the banks. The problem is, is that if we have such a freeze, mortgage interest rates will go up across the board and you will  
165 have a lot of people who are currently trying to get mortgages who will actually have more of a difficult time.

So, some of the people that we want to protect could end up being hurt by such a plan.

Now, keep in mind, the one thing I suspect that Senator Clinton and I agree on.  
170 Part of the reason we are in this mortgage mess is because there's been complete lack of oversight on the part of the Bush administration.

(APPLAUSE)

The mortgage lending industry spent \$185 billion -- \$185 million lobbying to prevent provisions that go against predatory lending, for example, that I  
175 introduced.

Which brings me to another difference. I believe that it is very important for us to reduce the influence of lobbyists and special interests in Washington.

(APPLAUSE)

I think that a lot of issues that both Senator Clinton and I care about will not  
180 move forward unless we have increased the kinds of ethics proposal that I passed just last year -- some of the toughest since Watergate -- and that's something that John Edwards and I both talked about repeatedly in this campaign. That's why I don't take federal PAC and federal lobbyist money. That is a difference.

185 And the last point I'll make is on Iraq. Senator Clinton brought this up.

I was opposed to Iraq from the start.

(APPLAUSE)

And that -- and I say that not just to look backwards, but also to look forwards, because I think what the next president has to show is the kind of judgment that  
190 will ensure that we are using our military power wisely.

It is true that I want to elevate diplomacy so that it is part of our arsenal to serve the American people's interests and to keep us safe.

And I have disagreed with Senator Clinton on, for example, meeting with Iran. I think, and the national intelligence estimate, the last report suggested that if we  
195 are meeting with them, talking to them, and offering them both carrots and

sticks, they are more likely to change their behavior. And we can do so in a way that does not ultimately cost billions of dollars, thousands of lives, and hurt our reputation around the world.

BLITZER: Those are three important issues...

200 (APPLAUSE)

... that you both have defined where there are some differences -- health care, the housing crisis, national security, Iraq, Iran. We're going to go through all of those issues over the course of this debate.

205 But let's start with health care, because this is a critical issue affecting millions and millions of Americans. And, Jeanne, you have a question on that.

JEANNE CUMMINGS, POLITICO: You both mentioned that health care is a priority for your party, but the truth is that most Democrats really do want full coverage, everybody covered.

210 Now, Senator Obama, this is a question for you. Under your plan, which is voluntary, it creates incentives for people to buy, but still is voluntary. There would be around -- about 15 million people who would still not be covered.

Now, why is your plan superior to hers?

215 OBAMA: Well, understand who we're talking about here. Every expert who looks at it says anybody who wants health care will be able to get health care under my plan. There won't be anybody out there who wants health care who will not be able to get it. That's point number one.

So the estimate is -- this is where the 15 million figure comes in -- is that there are 15 million people who don't want health care. That's the argument.

220 Now, first of all, I dispute that there are 15 million people out there who don't want it. I believe that there are people who can't afford it, and if we provide them enough subsidies, they will purchase it. Number one.

Number two, I mandate coverage for all children.

225 Number three, I say that young people, who are the most likely to be healthy but think they are invulnerable -- and decide I don't need health care -- what I'm saying is that insurance companies and my plan as well will allow people up to 25 years old to be covered under their parents' plan.

So, as a consequence, I don't believe that there will be 15 million out there.

OBAMA: Now, under any mandate, you are going to have problems with people who don't end up having health coverage. Massachusetts right now embarked on an experiment where they mandated coverage.

And, by the way, I want to congratulate Governor Schwarzenegger and the speaker and others who have been trying to do this in California, but I know that those who have looked at it understand, you can mandate it, but there's still going to be people who can't afford it. And if they cannot afford it, then the question is, what are you going to do about it?

Are you going to fine them? Are you going to garnish their wages?

You know, those are questions that Senator Clinton has not answered with respect to her plan, but I think we can anticipate that there would also be people potentially who are not covered and are actually hurt if they have a mandate imposed on them.

BLITZER: All right.

Senator Clinton, this is a substantive difference on health care between the two of you. Go ahead and respond.

CLINTON: Well, let me start by saying that this is the passionate cause of my public service.

I started trying to expand health care many years ago, first to children, then to rural areas in Arkansas, and obviously tackled it during my husband's administration. And the reason why I have designed a plan that, number one, tells people, if you have health insurance and you are happy with it, nothing changes, is because we want to maximize choice for people.

So, if you are satisfied, you're not one of the people who will necessarily, at this time, take advantage of what I'm offering. But if you are uninsured or underinsured, we will open the congressional health plan to you.

And contrary to...

(APPLAUSE)

Contrary to the description that Barack just gave, we actually will make it affordable for everyone, because my plan lowers costs aggressively, which is important for us all; improves quality for everyone, which is essential. And the way it covers all of those who wish to participate in the congressional plan is that it will provide subsidies, and it will also cap premiums, something that is really important, because we want to make sure that it is affordable for all.

So, when you draw the distinction that, "Well, it's not affordable, therefore people will have to be made to get it," well, the fact is, it has been designed to be affordable with health care tax credits.

265 And it's also important to recognize that right now, there are people who could afford health care, and they are not all young, they're people who just don't feel they have to accept that responsibility. There are many states which give families the option of keeping children up until 25 on their policies, but their rates of uninsurance are still very high.

270 We cannot get to universal health care, which I believe is both a core Democratic value and imperative for our country, if we don't do one of three things. Either you can have a single payer system, or -- which, I know, a lot of people favor, but for many reasons, is difficult to achieve. Or, you can mandate employers. Well, that's also very controversial. Or, you can do what I am  
275 proposing, which is to have shared responsibility.

Now, in Barack's plan, he very clearly says he will mandate that parents get health insurance for their children. So it's not that he is against mandatory provisions, it's that he doesn't think it would be politically acceptable to require that for everyone.

280 I just disagree with that. I think we as Democrats have to be willing to fight for universal health care.

(APPLAUSE)

285 And what I've concluded, when I was looking at this -- because I got the same kind of advice, which was, it's controversial, you'll run into all of this buzz saw, and I said, been there, done that. But if you don't start by saying, you're going to achieve universal health care, you will be nibbled to death.

290 And I think it's imperative that, as we move forward in this debate and into the campaign, that we recognize what both John Edwards and I did, that you have to bite this bullet. You have to say, yes, we are going to try to get universal health care. What I have designed makes it affordable, provides premium caps so it's never

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator Obama, let me just fine-tune the question, because I know you want to respond.

295 On this issue of mandates, those who don't, whether it's 10 million or 15 million, those who could afford it but don't wind up buying health insurance

for one reason or another, they wind up getting sick, they go to an emergency room, all of us wind up paying for their health care. That's the biggest criticism that's been leveled at your plan.

300 OBAMA: If people are gaming the system, there are ways we can address that. By, for example, making them pay some of the back premiums for not having gotten it in the first place.

But understand that, number one, Hillary says that she's got enough subsidies. Well, we priced out both our plan and Senator Clinton's plan, and some of the  
305 subsidies are not going to be sufficient. Point number one.

OBAMA: Point number two is that I am actually not interested in just capping premiums. I want to lower premiums by about an average of \$2,500 per family per year, because people right now cannot afford it.

I can't tell you how many folks I meet who have premiums that are so high that  
310 essentially they don't have health insurance, they have house insurance. What they do is...

(APPLAUSE)

... they have a \$10,000 deductible, or what have you, to try to reduce costs. They never go to a doctor. And that ends up something that we pay for, so I'm trying  
315 to reduce premiums for all families.

But the last point I want to make has to do with how we're going to actually get this plan done. You know, Ted Kennedy said that he is confident that we will get universal health care with me as president, and he's been working on it longer than I think about than anybody.

320 But he's gone through 12 of these plans, and each time they have failed. And part of the reason, I think, that they have failed is we have not been able to bring Democrats, Republicans together to get it done.

(APPLAUSE)

That's what I did in Illinois, to provide insurance for people who did not have  
325 it. That's what I will do in bringing all parties together, not negotiating behind closed doors, but bringing all parties together, and broadcasting those negotiations on C-SPAN so that the American people can see what the choices are.

(APPLAUSE)

330 Because part of what we have to do is enlist the American people in this process. And overcoming the special interests and the lobbyists who -- Senator Clinton is right. They will resist anything that we try to do. My plan, her plan, they will try to resist.

And the antidote to that is making sure that the American people understand  
335 what is at stake. I am absolutely committed to making sure that anybody in America who needs health care is going to get it.

BLITZER: I just want to be precise, and I'll let Senator Clinton respond. But you say broadcast on C-SPAN these deliberations. Is that a swipe at Senator Clinton because...

340 OBAMA: No, it's not a swipe. This is something that I've been talking about consistently. What I want to do is increase transparency and accountability to offset the power of the special interests and the lobbyists.

(APPLAUSE)

If a drug company -- if the drug companies or a member of Congress who's  
345 carrying water for the drug companies wants to argue that we should not negotiate for the cheapest available price on drugs, then I want them to make that argument in front of the American people.

And I will have experts who explain that, in fact, it is legitimate for drug  
350 companies to make profits, but they are making outsized profits on the backs of senior citizens who need those prescription drugs. And that is an argument that the American people have to be involved with, otherwise we're not going to get any plan through.

(APPLAUSE)

355 BLITZER: Senator Clinton, we remember in '93, when you were formulating your health care plan, it was done in secret.

CLINTON: Well, it was an effort to try to begin this conversation, which we're now continuing. It has been a difficult conversation. There have been a lot of efforts.

360 And I'm proud that one of the efforts I was involved in 10 years ago resulted in the Children's Health Insurance Program. We now have a million children in California...

(APPLAUSE)

... who every month get health insurance because of that bipartisan effort. We obviously are running into the presidential veto and not being able to expand it.

365 But this issue is so important, and I just want to underscore three really critical points.

First of all, I have said in my plan that we have to regulate the health insurance industry differently. We have to say to them that they can no longer deny coverage to anyone and they have to cover everyone, including every pre-  
370 existing condition.

(APPLAUSE)

And they have to compete on cost and quality, instead of the way they compete now, which is to try to cherry-pick people, and only insure the healthy, and make it so costly for people with diabetes or cancer or some other chronic  
375 condition.

Secondly, we've got to make it clear to the drug companies that they do deserve to be part of the solution, because we all benefit from the life-saving remedies they come up with, but we pay for it many times over.

It is American taxpayers who pay for the research. It is American taxpayers  
380 who pay for a lot of the clinical studies. That's why, while we're looking at getting to universal health care, we also have to give Medicare the right to negotiate with drug companies to get the price down, to begin to rein in those costs across the board.

(APPLAUSE)

385 And, finally, it is so important that, as Democrats, we carry the banner of universal health care. The health insurance industry is very clever and extremely well-funded.

I know this. I had \$300 million of incoming advertising and attacks during our efforts back in '93 and '94. And one of the reasons why I've designed the plan  
390 that I have put forward now is because I learned a lot about what people want, what people are willing to accept, and how we get the political process to work.

CLINTON: And, certainly, it is important that the president come up with the plan, but we'll have to persuade Congress to put all of those deliberations on C-  
SPAN. Now, I think we might be able to do that, but that's a little heavier lift  
395 than what the president is going to propose, because what happens is we have to have a coalition.

And I think the plan that I have proposed is if you take business, which pays the costs and wants to get those costs down, take labor that has to negotiate over health care instead of wages, take doctors, nurses, hospitals who want to get back into the business of taking care of people instead of working for insurance companies, I think we will have a coalition that can withstand the health insurance...

BLITZER: Thank you.

CLINTON: ... and the drug companies.

BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

CLINTON: And that's what I intend to do.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: All right. The next question, a related question, from Doyle.

MCMANUS: Senator Obama, one other thing both of your health insurance proposals have in common is they would cost billions of dollars in new spending and both of you have proposed raising taxes on a lot on Americans to pay for that and for other proposals.

Well, now, you know what's going to happen this fall in the general election campaign. The Republicans are going to call you "tax-and-spend" liberal Democrats, and that's a charge that's been effective in the past.

How are you going to counter that charge?

OBAMA: Well, first of all, I don't think the Republicans are going to be in a real strong position to argue fiscal responsibility, when they have added \$4 trillion or \$5 trillion...

(APPLAUSE)

... worth of national debt. I am happy to have that argument.

If John McCain, for example, is the nominee, I respect that John McCain, in the first two rounds of Bush tax cuts, said it is irresponsible that we have never before cut taxes at the same time as we're going into war.

And somewhere along the line, the straight talk express lost some wheels and now he is in favor of extending Bush tax cuts that went to some of the wealthiest Americans who don't need them and we're not even asking for them.

So I've already said a sizeable portion of my health care plan will be paid for because we emphasize savings. We invest in prevention.

430 So that as I said before, the chronically ill that account for 20 percent -- or the 20 percent of chronically ill patients that account for 80 percent of the costs, that they're getting better treatment. We are actually paying for a dietitian for people to lose weight as opposed to paying for the \$30,000 foot amputation. That will save us money.

435 We can conservatively save...

(APPLAUSE)

... \$100 billion to \$150 billion a year under my plan. That pays for part of it.

Part of it is paid for by rolling back the Bush tax cuts on the top one percent.

Now...

440 (APPLAUSE)

So my plan is paid for. But one thing that I think we're going to have to do as Democrats when we go after the Republicans is -- the question is not tax cuts, tax hikes. The question is who are the tax cuts for, who are the tax hikes imposed upon.

445 What we have had right now is a situation where we've cut taxes for people who don't need them. Warren Buffett has said, "You know, I made \$46 million last year. It was a bad year for me. But I can still afford to pay more than my secretary, who has a higher tax rate than I do."

That is not fair and I want to change that.

450 We've got \$1 trillion worth of corporate tax loopholes and tax havens and I've said I will close those and I will give tax cuts to people making \$75,000 or less by offsetting their payroll tax. Senior citizens making less than \$50,000 a year, we want to eliminate taxes for them.

455 So the question is can we restore a sense of balance to our economy and make sure that those of us who are blessed and fortunate and have thrived in this economy, in this global economy, that we can afford to pay a little bit more so that that child in east Los Angeles who is in a crumbling school, with teachers that are having to dig into their own pockets for school supplies, that they are having a chance at the American dream, as well.

460 (APPLAUSE)

I'm happy to have that argument.

BLITZER: Senator Clinton, your health care plan, it is estimated, will cost \$110 billion annually. You want to tax the rich to pay for that, is that what you're saying?

465 CLINTON: Well, let me say that the way I would pay for this is to take the Bush tax cuts that are set to expire on people making more than \$250,000 a year. That would raise about \$55 billion and I would put that into the subsidies for the health care tax credit, so that people would be able to afford the health care that we are offering.

470 The other \$55 billion would come from the modernization and the efficiencies that I believe we can obtain. We spend more money than anybody in the world on health care and there is no end in sight.

CLINTON: Yet, we don't get the best results. We don't have the longest life span. We don't have the best infant mortality rates.

475 We could do so much better. And here are some of the ideas that I have put on the table.

Number one, the Bush administration has given enormous tax giveaways to HMOs and drug companies under the Medicare prescription Part D program, under the HMO program in Medicare. I would rein those in. They are not being  
480 earned. They do not produce the results that are supposedly being touted by the Bush administration.

I would also move for electronic medical records, something that I have worked on for nearly five years on a bipartisan basis. Started with Newt Gingrich and Bill Frist. We passed my legislation through the Senate a year ago. Didn't get it  
485 through the Republican House. Now we're going to try again in the Democratic Congress.

If we had electronic medical records, according to RAND Corporation -- hardly a bastion of liberal thinking...

(LAUGHTER)

490 ... they have said we would save \$77 billion a year. That money can be put into prevention. It could be put into chronic care management. It can be put into making sure that our health care system has enough access so that if you are in a rural community somewhere in California or somewhere in Tennessee or somewhere in Georgia, you'll have access to health care. If you are in an inner-  
495 city area and you see your hospital, like the Drew Medical Center, closed on you, then you are going to have a place once again where you can get health care in the immediate area.

500 So we can begin to be more effective and more sensible about how we cover everybody, and use the money from the top-end tax cuts and from modernizing the system.

BLITZER: Jeanne has a question on a different subject...

(APPLAUSE)

505 ... but I just want to be precise. When you let -- if you become president, either one of you -- let the Bush tax cuts lapse, there will be effectively tax increases on millions of Americans.

OBAMA: On wealthy Americans.

CLINTON: That's right.

OBAMA: And look...

BLITZER: And you are willing to go into...

510 (CROSSTALK)

OBAMA: I'm not bashful about it.

CLINTON: Absolutely. Absolutely.

OBAMA: I suspect a lot of this crowd -- it looks like a pretty well-dressed crowd -- potentially will pay a little bit more. I will pay a little bit more.

515 But as I said, you know, we have, I believe, a moral obligation to make sure that everybody has the opportunity to get health care in this country.

520 And one last point I want to make. We will have to make some upfront costs. That's why in either of our plans, you know, if we want to invest in electronic medical records, then we have got to go to rural hospitals who might not be able to afford it and say, we're going to help you buy the computer software and the machinery to make sure that this works.

525 But that investment will pay huge dividends over the long term, and the place where it will pay the biggest dividends is in Medicare and Medicaid. Because if we can get a healthier population, that is the only way over the long term that we can actually control that spending that is going to break the federal budget.

CLINTON: But Wolf, it's just really important to underscore here that we will go back to the tax rates we had before George Bush became president. And my memory is, people did really well during that time period.

(APPLAUSE)

530 And they will keep doing really well.

BLITZER: All right, Jeanne?

CUMMINGS: On immigration. The Republicans have had a pretty fierce debate over immigration. And it's now pretty clear that that's going to be an issue for you all, as well, not just in the general, but it's bubbled up in some of the  
535 primaries. And it's a divisive issue for you all, as it is for the Republicans. And that was pretty evident when we got a question through Politico.

This is from Kim Millman (ph) from Burnsville, Minnesota. And she says, "there's been no acknowledgement by any of the presidential candidates of the negative economic impact of immigration on the African-American community.  
540 How do you propose to address the high unemployment rates and the declining wages in the African-American community that are related to the flood of immigrant labor?"

Senator Obama, you want to go first on that? And it's for both of you.

OBAMA: Well, let me first of all say that I have worked on the streets of  
545 Chicago as an organizer with people who have been laid off from steel plants, black, white, Hispanic, Asian, and, you know, all of them are feeling economically insecure right now, and they have been for many years. Before the latest round of immigrants showed up, you had huge unemployment rates among African-American youth.

550 And, so, I think to suggest somehow that the problem that we're seeing in inner-city unemployment, for example, is attributable to immigrants, I think, is a case of scapegoating that I do not believe in, I do not subscribe to.

(APPLAUSE)

And this is where we do have a very real difference with the other party.

555 OBAMA: I believe that we can be a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants.

Now, there is no doubt that we have to get control of our borders. We can't have hundreds of thousands of people coming over to the United States without us having any idea who they are.

I also believe that we do have to crack down on those employers that are taking  
560 advantage of the situation, hiring folks who cannot complain about worker conditions, who aren't getting the minimum wage sometimes, or aren't getting overtime. We have to crack down on them. I also believe we have to give a pathway to citizenship after they have paid a fine and learned English, to those

565 who are already here, because if we don't, they will continue to undermine U.S. wages.

But let's understand more broadly that the economic problems that African-Americans are experiencing, whites are experiences, blacks and Latinos are experiencing in this country are all rooted in the fact that we have had an economy out of balance. We've had tax cuts that went up instead of down. We  
570 have had a lack of investment in basic infrastructure in this country. Our education system is chronically underfunded.

(APPLAUSE)

And so, there are a whole host of reasons why we have not been generating the kinds of jobs that we are generating. We should not use immigration as a tactic  
575 to divide. Instead, we should pull the country together to get this economy back on track.

That's what I intend to do as president of the United States of America.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: All right.

580 Senator Clinton, we're going to stay on this subject, but Doyle has a follow-up.

MCMANUS: Senator Clinton, Senator Obama has said that he favors allowing illegal immigrants to obtain drivers' licenses, and you oppose that idea.

Why?

585 CLINTON: Well, let me start with the original question from Kim, because I think it deserves an answer.

I believe that in many parts of our country, because of employers who exploit undocumented workers and drive down wages, there are job losses. And I think we should be honest about that.

(APPLAUSE)

590 There are people who have been pushed out of jobs and factories and meat processing plants, and all kinds of settings. And I meet them.

You know, I was in Atlanta last night, and an African-American man said to me, "I used to have a lot of construction jobs, and now it just seems like the only people who get them anymore are people who are here without  
595 documentation." So, I know that what we have to do is to bring our country together to have a comprehensive immigration reform solution.

(APPLAUSE)

That is the answer. And it is important that we make clear to Kim and people who are worried about this that that is actually in the best interests of those  
600 who are concerned about losing their jobs or already have.

Because if we can tighten our borders, if we can crack down on employer who exploit workers, both those who are undocumented and those who are here as citizens, or legal, if we can do more to help local communities cope with the cost that they often have to contend with, if we do more to help our friends to  
605 the south create more jobs for their own people, and if we take what we know to be the realities that we confront -- 12 to 14 million people here, what will we do with them?

Well, I hear the voices from the other side of the aisle. I hear voices on TV and radio. And they are living in some other universe, talking about deporting  
610 people, rounding them up.

I don't agree with that, and I don't think it's practical. And therefore, what we've got to do is to say, come out of the shadows. We will register everyone. We will check, because if you have committed a crime in this country or the country you came from, then you will not be able to stay, you will have to be  
615 deported.

But for the vast majority of people who are here, we will give you a path to legalization if you meet the following condition: pay a fine because you entered illegally, be willing to pay back taxes over time, try to learn English -- and we have to help you do that, because we've cut back on so many of those services --  
620 and then you wait in line.

That not only is, I think, the best way to approach the problem of our 12 million to 14 million who are here, but that also says to Kim, Kim, this is the best answer, as well, because once we have those conditions met, and people agree, then, they will not be in a labor market that undercuts anybody else's wages.

625 BLITZER: Senator...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: And therefore, it's imperative we approach it this way, only after people have agreed to these conditions, Doyle, and that they have been willing to say, yes, they will meet those conditions, do I think we ought to talk about  
630 privileges like drives' licenses? Because otherwise, I think you will further undermine the labor market for people like the ones Kim is referring to.

CLINTON: We need to solve this problem, not exacerbate it. And that's what intend to do as president.

(APPLAUSE)

635 BLITZER: All right. All right, we have a follow-up.

Senator Obama, in an interview with CNN this week, you said this. You said, quote, "I stood up for a humane and intelligent immigration policy in a way that, frankly, none of my other opponents did." What did you mean by that?

640 OBAMA: Well, what I meant was that, when this issue came up -- not driver's licenses, but comprehensive immigration reform generally -- I worked with Ted Kennedy. I worked with Dick Durbin. I worked with John McCain, although he may not admit it now...

(LAUGHTER)

645 ... to move this issue forward aggressively. And it's a hard political issue. Let's be honest. This is not an issue that polls well. But I think it is the right thing to do.

(APPLAUSE)

650 And I think we have to show leadership on the issue. And it is important for us, I believe, to recognize that the problems that workers are experiencing generally are not primarily caused by immigration. There is...

BLITZER: Are you suggesting that Senator Clinton's policy was not, in your words, "humane"?

OBAMA: That is -- what I said was that we have to stand up for these issues when it's tough, and that's what I've done.

655 I did it when I was in the state legislature, sponsoring the Illinois version of the DREAM Act, so that children who were brought here through no fault of their own are able to go to college, because we actually want well-educated kids in our country...

(APPLAUSE)

660 ... who are able to -- who are able to succeed and become part of this economy and part of the American dream.

BLITZER: Was she lacking on that front?

OBAMA: Wolf, you keep on trying to push on this issue.

BLITZER: I'm just trying to find out what you mean.

665 OBAMA: There are those who were opposed to this issue, and there have been those who have flipped on the issue and have run away from the issue. This wasn't directed particularly at Senator Clinton. But the fact of the matter is I have stood up consistently on this issue.

670 On the driver's license issue, I don't actually want -- I don't believe that we're going to have to deal with this if we have comprehensive immigration reform, because, as I said before, people don't come here to drive. They come here to work.

(APPLAUSE)

675 And if we have signed up them -- if we have registered them, if they have paid a fine, if they are learning English, if they are going to the back of the line, if we fix our legal immigration system, then I believe we will not have this problem of undocumented workers in this country, because people will be able to actually go on a pathway to citizenship.

680 That, I think, is the right approach for African-Americans; I think it's the right approach for Latinos; I think it's a right approach for white workers here in the United States.

BLITZER: I want to let Senator Clinton respond. But were you missing in action when Senator Obama and Senator McCain and Senator Kennedy started formulating comprehensive immigration reform?

685 CLINTON: Well, actually, I co-sponsored comprehensive immigration reform in 2004 before Barack came to the Senate.

(APPLAUSE)

So I've been on record on behalf of this for quite some time.

690 And representing New York, the homeland with the Statue of Liberty, bringing all of our immigrants to our shores, has been not only an extraordinary privilege, but given me the opportunity to speak out on these issues.

695 When the House of Representatives passed the most mean-spirited provision that said, if you were to give any help whatsoever to someone here illegally, you would commit a crime, I stood up and said that would have criminalized the Good Samaritan and Jesus Christ himself.

I have been on record on this against this kind of demagoguery, this mean-spiritedness.

700 And, you know, it is something that I take very personally, because I have not only worked on behalf of immigrants; I have been working to make conditions better for many years.

(APPLAUSE)

I was so honored to get the farm workers endorsement last week, because for so many years I have stood with farm workers who do some of the hardest work there is anywhere in our country.

705 So we may be looking at the immigration reform issue as a political issue, and it certainly has been turned into one by those who I think are undermining the values of America.

710 It is a serious question. We have to fix this broken system. But let's do it in a practical, realistic approach. Let's bring people together. And I think, as president, I can.

You know, I've been going to town halls all over America, and I see the people out there, thousands of them who come to hear me, and they're nervous about immigration, and for the reasons that the economy isn't working for people.

715 The average American family has lost \$1,000 in income. They're looking for some explanation as to why this is happening. And they edge or a real amount of anxiety in their voice.

And then I ask them, well, what would you do?

CLINTON: If you want to round up into four people, how many tens of thousands of federal law enforcement officials would that take?"

720 BLITZER: All right.

CLINTON: And how much authority would they have to be given to knock on every door of every business and every home? I don't think Americans would stand for that.

BLITZER: Senator, Senator...

725 CLINTON: So we have to get realistic and practical about this.

BLITZER: Very quickly, Senator, why not, then, if you're that passionate about it, let them get driver's licenses?

730 CLINTON: Well, we disagree on this. I do not think that it is either appropriate to give a driver's license to someone who is here undocumented, putting them, frankly, at risk, because that is clear evidence that they are not here legally, and

I believe it is a diversion from what should be the focus at creating a political coalition with the courage to stand up and change the immigration system.

(APPLAUSE)

735 OBAMA: The only point I would make is Senator Clinton gave a number of different answers over the course of six weeks on this issue, and that did appear political.

Now, at this point, she's got a clearer position, but it took a whole and...

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well...

740 OBAMA: I'm just being -- just in fairness. Initially, in a debate, you said you were for it. Then you said you were against it. And the only reason I bring that up is to underscore the fact that this is a difficult political issue.

745 From my perspective, I agree with Bill Richardson that there is a public safety concern here and that we're better off, because I don't want a bunch of hit-and-run drivers, because they're worried about being deported and so they don't report an accident. That is a judgment all.

(APPLAUSE)

But I do think it is important to recognize that this can be tough and the question is who is going to tackle this problem and solve it.

750 Many of the solutions that Senator Clinton just talked about are solutions that I agree with, that I've been working on for many years, and my suspicion is whatever our differences, we're going to have big differences with the Republicans, but I think a practical, common sense solution to the problem is what the American people are looking for.

755 CLINTON: Well, I just have to correct the record for one second, because, obviously, we do agree about the need to have comprehensive immigration reform.

And if I recall, about a week after I said that I would try to support my governor, although I didn't agree with it personally, you

760 So this is a difficult issue and both of us have to recognize...

(APPLAUSE)

... that it is not something that we easily come to, because we share a lot of the same values.

OBAMA: I agree.

765 CLINTON: We want to -- we want to be fair to people. We want to respect the dignity of every human being, every person who is here. But we are trying to work our way through to get to where we need to be and that is to have a united Democratic Party, with fair-minded Republicans who will join us to fix this broken immigration system.

770 (APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: All right. We're going to talk a lot more about this. We're going to take a quick break. We have a lot more to talk about. You can follow all of the action, by the way, on [cnnpolitics.com](http://cnnpolitics.com) and there's a lively dialogue going on there right now, [cnnpolitics.com](http://cnnpolitics.com).

775 We'll take a quick break. We'll pick up with two issues, experience and character, and then move on to a lot more right after.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

OBAMA: ... Americans disagree.

(APPLAUSE)

780 And think that we need to move forward with new leadership. So that's why we are having this contest.

You know, I have spent my entire adult life trying to bring about change in this country. I started off as a community organizer, working on the streets of Chicago, providing job training and after-school programs and economic  
785 development for neighborhoods that have been devastated by steel plants that had closed.

I worked as a civil rights attorney, turning down lucrative corporate jobs to provide justice for those who had been denied on the job on at the ballot box.

(APPLAUSE)

790 I worked as a state legislator for years, providing health care to people who did not have it, reforming a death penalty system that was broken, providing tax relief to those who needed it.

And in the United States Senate, I worked on everything from nuclear proliferation to issues of alternative energy.

795 And in each instance, what I found is that the leadership that's needed is the ability to bring people together, who otherwise don't see anything in common.

The ability to overcome the special interests. And I passed both in Washington in Illinois comprehensive ethics reform that opened up government so that the American people could be involved. And talking straight to the American  
800 people about how we're going to solve these problems, and putting in the hard work of negotiations to get stuff done.

So I respect Senator Clinton's record. I think it's a terrific record. But I also believe that the skills that I have are the ones that are needed right now to move the country forward.

805 CLINTON: And I really spent a great deal of my early adulthood, you know, bringing people together to help solve the problems of those who were without a voice and were certainly powerless.

I was honored to be appointed by President Carter to the Legal Services Corporation, which I chaired, and we grew that corporation from 100 million to  
810 300 million. It is the primary vehicle by which people are given access to our courts when they have civil problems that need to be taken care of.

You know, I've run projects that provided aid for prisoners in prisons. I helped to reform the education system in Arkansas and expand rural health care. And I've had a lot of varied experiences, both in the private sector, as well as the  
815 public, and the not-for-profit sector.

And certainly during the eight years that I was privileged to be in the White House, I had a great deal of responsibility that was given to me to not only work on domestic issues, like health care -- and when we weren't successful on universal health care, I just turned around and said, well, we're going to get the  
820 Children's Health Insurance Program. And I'm so proud we do, because now six million children around the country every month get health care. And I took on the drug companies to make sure that they would test drugs to see if they were safe and effective for our kids.

And began to change the adoption and foster care system. Here in California,  
825 because of the Adoption and Safe Families Act, we have three times more children being adopted out of foster care.

(APPLAUSE)

And certainly the work that I was able to do around the world, going to more than 82 countries, negotiating with governments like Macedonia to open their  
830 border again, to let Kosovar refugees in. Speaking on behalf of women's rights as human rights in Beijing, to send a message across the world that this is critical of who we are as Americans.

(APPLAUSE)

835 And to go to the Senate and to begin to work across the party lines with people  
who honestly never thought they would work with me. But I believe public  
service is a trust. And I get up every day trying to make change in people's  
lives.

840 And today we have 20,000 National Guard and Reserve members in California  
who have access to health care because I teamed up with Senator Lindsey  
Graham of South Carolina to get that done. Really positive change in people's  
lives, in real ways, that I am very proud of.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Jeanne Cummings of Politico, go ahead.

845 CUMMINGS: Well, we've got a question on this that's come in on politico.com,  
and it echoes, I think, a message that you all might be fighting up against if Mitt  
Romney turns out to be your opponent come the fall. We've talked about  
McCain, now we have Romney's strengths to address.

850 Now, Howard Meyerson (ph) of Pasadena, California, says he views the  
country as a very large business, and neither one of you have ever run a  
business. So, why should either of you be elected to be CEO of the country?

CLINTON: Well, I would, with all due respect, say that the United States  
government is much more than a business. It is a trust.

(APPLAUSE)

855 It is the most complicated organization. But it is not out to make a profit. It is  
out to help the American people. It is about to stand up for our values and to do  
what we should at home and around the world to keep faith with who we are  
as a country.

And with all due respect, we have a president who basically ran as the CEO,  
MBA president, and look what we got. I am not too happy about the results.

860 (APPLAUSE)

OBAMA: Let me -- let me just also point out that, you know, Mitt Romney  
hasn't gotten a very good return on his investment during this presidential  
campaign.

(APPLAUSE)

865 And so, I'm happy to take a look at my management style during the course of this last year and his. I think they compare fairly well.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Go ahead, Doyle.

MCMANUS: I want to switch to a different theme.

870 Senator Clinton, this week, as you know, Senator Obama was endorsed by Senator Ted Kennedy and Caroline Kennedy. And they both argued that the country is ready for a new generation of leaders, and they said Barack Obama, like John F. Kennedy in 1960, is that kind of leader.

How do you respond to that?

875 CLINTON: Well, I have the greatest respect for Senator Kennedy and the Kennedy family. And I'm proud to have three of Senator Robert Kennedy's children, Bobby and Kathleen and Kerry, supporting me. But what I this is...

(APPLAUSE)

880 What I think is exciting is that the way we are looking at the Democratic field, now down to the two of us is, is we're going to get big change. We're going to have change. I think having the first woman president would be a huge change for America and the world.

(APPLAUSE)

885 CLINTON: But, of course, despite the enthusiasm of our supporters or our endorsers -- and we're both proud of everyone who has come to be part of our campaign -- this is about the two of us.

890 You have to, as voters, determine who you think can be the best president, to tackle all those problems on day one, waiting in the Oval Office, who can be the best nominee for the Democratic Party to be able to withstand whatever they decide to do on the other side of the aisle, and come out victorious.

895 But, ultimately, this is really about the American people. It's about your lives. It's about your jobs, your health care, whether you can afford to send your children to college, whether you'll be able to withstand the pressure of the rising interest rates on a home foreclosure that might come your way, and whether we're going to once again be proud of our country, and our leadership, and our moral authority in the world.

And so I think that, as we look at these upcoming contests -- 22 of them now on Tuesday -- really, every voter should be looking and examining what they want out of the next president.

900 What are the criteria that you have for determining who you will vote for, what you think our country needs, what you and your family are really looking for? And then you evaluate the two of us, because no one else will be on the ballot.

This is a very exciting and humbling experience, I think I can say for both of us.

BLITZER: All right. Senator...

905 CLINTON: Neither one of us would have either predicted -- you know, not very long ago -- we would be sitting here. And it is a great tribute to the Democratic Party and to America.

(APPLAUSE)

But now we have to decide who would be the best president.

910 (APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator Obama, I want you to respond, but also in the context of this. A lot of Democrats remember the eight years of the Clinton administration, a period of relative peace and prosperity, and they remember it fondly.

Are they right? Should they be remembering those eight years with pleasure?

915 OBAMA: Well, I think there's no doubt that there were good things that happened during those eight years of the Clinton administration. I think that's undeniable.

Look, we're all Democrats. And, particularly, when looked through the lens of the last eight years with George Bush, they look even better.

920 (LAUGHTER)

So I don't want to diminish some of the accomplishments that occurred during those eight years. And I absolutely agree with Senator Clinton, that ultimately each of us have to be judged on our own merits.

925 All of us have endorsers, and ultimately you've got to take a look and see: Who do you want in that White House?

I do think that there was something that happened, and we've been seeing it all across the country. We saw it at the event with Senator Kennedy. We are bringing in a whole generation of new voters...

(APPLAUSE)

930 ... which I think is exciting. And part of the task, I believe, of leadership is the hard nuts-and-bolts of getting legislation passed and managing the bureaucracy, but part of it is also being able to call on the American people to reach higher, to say we shouldn't settle for an economy that does very well for some, but leaves millions of people behind.

935 We should not accept a school in South Carolina that was built in the 1800s, where kids are having to learn in trailers, and every time the railroad goes by the tracks, the building shakes and the teacher has to stop teaching.

We should not accept a foreign policy that has seen our respect diminish around the world and has not made us more safe.

940 (APPLAUSE)

So the question is -- part of the question is: Who can work the levers of power more effectively? Part of the question is also: Who can inspire the American people to get re-engaged in their government again, push back the special interests, reduce the influence of lobbyists?

945 And that is something that I have worked on all my life and we are seeing in this campaign. And one of the things I'm thrilled with -- and this is good news for Democrats...

BLITZER: All right.

OBAMA: ... every single election that we've had so far in this contest you've  
950 seen the number of people participating in the Democratic primary double.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, that's not all due to me. Senator Clinton is attracting enthusiasm and support, as well. But I can say, for example, in Iowa, about 60 percent of those new voters voted for me.

955 And that, I think, changes the electoral map in such a way where we're going to have more people ready to move forward on the agendas that we all agree with. That's part of the leadership I want to provide as president.

BLITZER: We have a follow-up question from Jeanne.

Go ahead, Jeanne.

960 CUMMINGS: Well, Senator Obama mentioned the generational issue. And when we look at returns and exit polls, there is something going on there. And

we've got a question along those lines from Karen Roper (ph) from Pickens, South Carolina.

965 CUMMINGS: She asks to you: "Senator Clinton, that you have claimed that your presidency would bring change to America. I'm 38 years old and I have never had an opportunity to vote in a presidential election in which a Bush or a Clinton wasn't on the ticket.

"How can you be an agent of change when we have had the same two families in the White House for the last 30 years?"

970 (APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Well, as I have often said, I regret deeply that there is a Bush in the White House at the time.

975 But I think that what's great about our political system is that we are all judged on our own merits. We come forward to the American public and it's the most grueling political process one can imagine.

We start from the same place. Nobody has an advantage no matter who you are or where you came from. You have to raise the money. You have to make the case for yourself.

980 And I want to be judged on my own merits. I don't want to be advantaged or disadvantaged. I'm very proud of my husband's administration. I think that there were a lot of good things that happened and those good things really changed people's lives.

The trajectory of change during those eight years went from deficits and debt to a balanced budget and a surplus, all those 22 million new jobs and the...

985 (APPLAUSE)

... and the hopefulness that people brought with them. And, you know, it did take a Clinton to clean after the first Bush and I think it might take another one to clean up after the second Bush.

(APPLAUSE)

990 BLITZER: All right, Senators, stand by. We're going to take another quick break. We have a lot more to go through. Remember, you can go to [cnnpolitics.com](http://cnnpolitics.com) and you can monitor what's going on. There's a lively discussion going on at [cnnpolitics.com](http://cnnpolitics.com) right now.

995 We'll take a short break. Much more of this Democratic presidential debate right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BLITZER: We're at the Kodak Theatre here in Los Angeles. Thousands of people are outside, Hillary Clinton supporters, Barack Obama supporters. We're continuing this presidential debate right now.

1000 The next question goes to Doyle McManus.

MCMANUS: A question about the issue of Iraq.

Senator Clinton, you've both called for a gradual withdrawal of combat troops from Iraq, but Senator Obama says he wants all combat troops out within 16 months of his inauguration and you haven't offered a specific end date.

1005 Why shouldn't voters worry that your position could turn into an open-ended commitment?

CLINTON: Well, because, Doyle, I've been very clear in saying that I will begin to withdraw troops in 60 days. I believe that it will take me one to two brigades a month, depending on how many troops we have there, and that nearly all of them should be out within a year.

It is imperative, though, that we actually plan and execute this right. And you may remember last spring, I got into quite a back-and-forth with the Pentagon, because I was concerned they were not planning for withdrawal, because that was contrary to their strategy, or their stated position.

1015 And I began to press them to let us know, and they were very resistant, and gave only cursory information to us.

So I've said that I will ask the Joint Chiefs and the secretary of defense and my security advisers the very first day I'm president, to begin to draw up such a plan so that we can withdraw.

1020 But I just want to be very clear with people, that it's not only bringing our young men and women and our equipment out, which is dangerous. They have got to go down those same roads where they have been subjected to bombing and so much loss of life and injury. We have to think about what we're going to do with the more than 100,000 Americans civilians who are there, working for the embassy, working for businesses, working for charities.

1025 And I also believe we've got to figure out what to do with the Iraqis who sided with us. You know, a lot of the drivers and translators saved so many of your young men and women's lives, and I don't think we can walk out on them without having some plan as to how to take care of those who are targeted.

1030 At the same time, we have got to tell the Iraqi government there is no -- there is no more time. They are out of time. They have got to make the tough decisions they have avoided making. They have got to take responsibility for their own country.

(APPLAUSE)

1035 And, you know, I think both Barack and I have tried in these debates -- and sometimes been pushed by some of our opponents -- to be as responsible as we can be, because we know that this president, based on what he said in the State of the Union, intends to leave at least 130,000, if not more, troops in Iraq as he exits. It's the most irresponsible abdication of what should be a presidential  
1040 commitment to end what he started.

So, we will inherit it. And therefore, I will do everything I can to get as many of our troops out as quickly as possible, taking into account all of these contingencies that we're going to have to contend with once we are in charge and once we can get into the Pentagon to figure out what's really there and  
1045 what's going on.

BLITZER: But you can't make a commitment, though, that 16 months after your inauguration will be enough time?

CLINTON: I certainly hope it will be. And I've said I hope to have nearly all of them out within a year.

1050 BLITZER: Go ahead.

OBAMA: Well, you know, I think it is important for us to be as careful getting out as we were careless getting in.

(LAUGHTER)

(APPLAUSE)

1055 So I have said very clearly: I will end this war. We will not have a permanent occupation and we will not have permanent bases in Iraq.

(APPLAUSE)

When John McCain suggests that we might be there 100 years, that, I think, indicates a profound lack of understanding that we've got a whole host of  
1060 global threats out there, including Iraq, but we've got a big problem right now in Afghanistan. Pakistan is of great concern. We are neglecting potentially our foreign policy with respect to Latin America. China is strengthening.

OBAMA: And if we neglect our economy by spending \$200 billion every year in this war that has not made us more safe, that is undermining our long-term security.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: All right.

OBAMA: But the -- but I do think it is important for us to set a date. And the reason I think it is important is because if we are going to send a signal to the Iraqis that we are serious, and prompt the Shia, the Sunni and the Kurds to actually come together and negotiate, they have to have clarity about how serious we are.

It can't be muddy, it can't be fuzzy. They've got to know that we are serious about this process. And I also think we've got to be very clear about what our mission is. And there may be a difference here between Senator Clinton and myself in terms of the four structures that we would leave behind.

Both of us have said that we would make sure that our embassies and our civilians are protected. Both of us have said that we've got to care for Iraqi civilians, including the four million who have been displaced already. We already have a humanitarian crisis, and we have not taken those responsibilities seriously.

We both have said that we need to have a strike force that can take out potential terrorist bases that get set up in Iraq. But the one thing that I think is very important is that we not get mission creep, and we not start suggesting that we should have troops in Iraq to blunt Iranian influence.

If we were concerned about Iranian influence, we should not have had this government installed in the first place.

(APPLAUSE)

We shouldn't have invaded in the first place. It was part of the reason that I think it was such a profound strategic error for us to go into this war in the first place.

(APPLAUSE)

And that's one of the reasons why I think I will be -- just to finish up this point, I think I will be the Democrat who will be most effective in going up against a John McCain, or any other Republican -- because they all want basically a continuation of George Bush's policies -- because I will offer a clear contrast as somebody who never supported this war, thought it was a bad idea. I don't

want to just end the war, but I want to end the mindset that got us into war in the first place.

1100 That's the kind of leadership I'm going to provide as president of the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: And of course...

BLITZER: Senator Clinton, that's a clear swipe at you.

1105 CLINTON: Really?

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: We're having -- we're having such a good time.

OBAMA: I wouldn't call it a swipe.

1110 CLINTON: We're having such a good time. We are. We are. We're having a wonderful time.

OBAMA: Yes, absolutely.

1115 CLINTON: And I am so -- I am so proud to have the support of leaders like Congresswoman Maxine Waters, who is here with us tonight, who was one of the -- who was one of the original conveners of the Out of Iraq Caucus. Because it is imperative that as we move forward, with what will be a very difficult process -- there are no good options here.

We have to untangle ourselves and navigate through some very treacherous terrain. And as we do so, it is absolutely clear to me that we have to send several messages at once.

1120 Yes, we are withdrawing, and I personally believe that is the best message to send to the Iraqis. That they need to know that they have to get serious, because so far they have been under the illusion that the Bush administration and the Republicans who have more of the same will be there indefinitely.

1125 And I also think it's important to send that message to the region, because I think that Iran, Syria, the other countries in the neighborhood, are going to find themselves in a very difficult position as we withdraw. You know, be careful what you wish for.

1130 They will be dragged into what is sectarian divisiveness with many different factions among the three main groups. Therefore, we need to start diplomatic efforts immediately, getting the Iranians, the Syrians, and others to the table. It's

in their interest, it's in our interest, and it certainly is in the Iraqis' interest. few debates ago -- we've had so many of them -- to join with me on legislation which he has agreed to do that's very important to prevent President Bush from committing our country to an ongoing presence in Iraq. That is something he is trying to push.

1135

(APPLAUSE)

And we are pushing legislation to prevent him from doing that.

He has taken the view that I find absolutely indefensible, that he doesn't have to bring any such agreement about permanent bases, about ongoing occupation.

1140

And if Senator McCain is the nominee, 100 years as stretching forward, he doesn't have to bring that to the United States Congress. He only has to get the approval of the Iraqi parliament.

CLINTON: Well, we are saying absolutely no. And we're going to do everything we can to prevent him from binding any of us, going into the future, in a way that will undermine America's interests. So that's a critical issue.

1145

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: We have a follow-up question on this subject from Jeanne Cummings.

Go ahead, Jeanne.

CUMMINGS: Senator Clinton, this one is for you. Judgment has been an issue that's been raised as part of this debate about Iraq. It's been raised by Senator Obama on a number of occasions.

1150

And as this debate has gone on, more than half of the Politico readers have voted for this question, and it is, in effect, a judgment question. It comes from Howard Schumann (ph) from Phippsburg, Maine.

1155

And he asks, "Before the U.S. invasion of Iraq, you could have voted for the Levin amendment which required President Bush to report to Congress about the U.N. inspection before taking military action. Why did you vote against that amendment?"

CLINTON: Well, Howard, that's an important question. And the reason is because, although I believe strongly that we needed to put inspectors in, that was the underlying reason why I at least voted to give President Bush the authority, put those inspectors in, let them do their work, figure out what is there and what isn't there.

1160

1165 And I have the greatest respect for my friend and colleague, Senator Levin. He's my chairman on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The way that amendment was drafted suggested that the United States would subordinate whatever our judgment might be going forward to the United Nations Security Council. I don't think that was a good precedent. Therefore, I  
1170 voted against it.

I did vote with Senator Byrd to limit the authority that was being given to President Bush to one year, and that also was not approved.

You know, I've said many times if I had known then what I know now, I never would have given President Bush the authority. It was a sincere vote based on  
1175 my assessment at the time and what I believed he would do with the authority he was given.

He abused that authority; he misused that authority. I warned at the time it was not authority for a preemptive war. Nevertheless, he went ahead and waged one, which has led to the position we find ourselves in today.

1180 But I think now we have to look at how we go forward. There will be a great debate between us and the Republicans, because the Republicans are still committed to George Bush's policy, and some are more committed than others, with Senator McCain's recent comments.

He's now accusing me of surrendering because I believe we should withdraw starting within 60 days of my becoming president. Well, that is a debate I  
1185 welcome, because I think the Democrats have a much better grasp of the reality of the situation that we are confronting. And we have to continue to press that case.

It will be important, however, that our nominee be able to present both a  
1190 reasoned argument against continuing our presence in Iraq and the necessary credentials and gravitas for commander-in- chief. That has to cross that threshold in the mind of every American voter.

The Republicans will try to put either one of us into the same box that, if we oppose this president's Iraq policy, somehow we cannot fully represent the  
1195 interests of the United States, be commander-in- chief. I reject that out of hand, and I actually welcome that debate with whomever they nominate.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator? Look, I want you to respond, Senator, but also in the context of what we've heard from General David Petraeus, that there has been some progress made lately.

The number of U.S. casualties has gone down. There has been some stability in parts of Iraq where there was turmoil before and that any quick, overly quick withdrawal could undermine all of that and all of that progress would be for naught.

1205 What do you say when you'll hear that argument?

OBAMA: I welcome the progress. This notion that Democrats don't want to see progress in Iraq is ridiculous.

I have to hug mothers in rope lines during town hall meetings as they weep over their fallen sons and daughters. I want to get our troops home safely, and I want us as a country to have this mission completed honorably.

But the notion that somehow we have succeeded as a consequence of the recent reductions in violence means that we have set the bar so low it's buried in the sand at this point.

(APPLAUSE)

1215 And I've said this before. We went from intolerable levels of violence and a dysfunctional government to spikes and horrific levels of violence and a dysfunctional government. And now, two years later, we're back to intolerable levels of violence and a dysfunctional government.

And in the meantime, we have spent billions of dollars, lost thousands of lives.

1220 OBAMA: Thousands more have been maimed and injured as a consequence and are going to have difficulty putting their lives back together again.

So understand that this has undermined our security. In the meantime, Afghanistan has slid into more chaos than existed before we went into Iraq.

I am happy to have that argument. I also think it is going to be important, though, for the Democrat -- you know, Senator Clinton mentioned the issue of gravitas and judgment. I think it is much easier for us to have the argument, when we have a nominee who says, I always thought this was a bad idea, this was a bad strategy.

(APPLAUSE)

1230 It was not just a problem of execution. It was not just a problem of execution.

I mean, they screwed up the execution of it in all sorts of ways. And I think even Senator McCain has acknowledged that.

The question is: Can we make an argument that this was a conceptually flawed mission, from the start?

1235 And we need better judgment when we decide to send our young men and  
women into war, that we are making absolutely certain that it is because there  
is an imminent threat, that American interests are going to be protected, that we  
have a plan to succeed and to exit, that we are going to train our troops  
properly and equip them properly and put them on proper rotations and treat  
1240 them properly when they come home.

And that is an argument that I think we are going to have an easier time making  
if they can't turn around and say: But hold on a second; you supported this.

And that's part of the reason why I think that I would be the strongest nominee  
on this argument of national security.

1245 (APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: I'm going to let Senator Clinton respond. Senator Clinton, you always  
say, if you knew then what you know now, you wouldn't have voted like that.  
But why can't you just say right now that that vote was a mistake?

1250 CLINTON: Well, Wolf, I think that if you look at what was going on at the time  
-- and certainly, I did an enormous amount of investigation and due diligence  
to try to determine what if any threat could flow from the history of Saddam  
Hussein being both an owner of and a seeker of weapons of mass destruction.

The idea of putting inspectors back in -- that was a credible idea. I believe in  
coercive diplomacy. I think that you try to figure out how to move bad actors in  
1255 a direction that you prefer in order to avoid more dire consequences.

And if you took it on the face of it and if you took it on the basis of what we  
hoped would happen with the inspectors going in, that in and of itself was a  
policy that we've used before. We have used the threat of force to try to make  
somebody change their behavior.

1260 I think what no one could have fully appreciated is how obsessed this president  
was with this particular mission. And unfortunately, I and others who warned  
at the time, who said, let the inspectors finish their work, you know, do not  
wage a preemptive war, use diplomacy, were just talking to a brick wall.

1265 But you know, it's clear that if I had been president, we would have never  
diverted our attention from Afghanistan. When I went to Afghanistan the first

time and was met by a young soldier from New York, in the 10th Mountain Division who told me that I was being welcomed to the forgotten frontlines in the war against terror, that just, you know, just struck me so forcefully.

1270 We have so many problems that we are going to have to untangle. And it will take everyone -- it will take a tremendous amount of effort.

1275 But the one thing I'm convinced of is that, if we go into our campaign against the Republicans with the idea that we are as strong as they are and we are better than they are on national security, that we can put together an effective strategy to go after the terrorists -- because that is real, that is something that we cannot ignore at our peril -- then we will be able to join the issues of the future.

1280 And I think that's what Americans are focused on. What are we going to do going forward? Because day after day, what I spend my time working on is trying to help pick up the pieces for families and for injured soldiers, you know, trying to make sure that they get the help that they need, trying to give the resources that are required.

We had to fight to get body armor. You know, George Bush sent people to war without body armor.

BLITZER: So what I -- what I...

1285 CLINTON: We need a president who will be sensitive to the implications of the use of force and understand that force should be a last resort, not a first resort.

BLITZER: So, what I hear you saying -- and correct me if I'm wrong -- is that you were naive in trusting President Bush?

CLINTON: No, that's not what you heard me say.

(AUDIENCE BOOING)

1290 Good try, Wolf. Good try. You know...

BLITZER: Was she naive, Senator Obama? deserve to answer.

BLITZER: I thought you weren't going to answer.

CLINTON: You know, I think that, you know, that is a good try, Wolf.

(LAUGHTER)

1295 You know, the point is that I certainly respect Senator Obama making his speech in 2002 against the war. And then when it came to the Senate, we've had the same policy because we were both confronting the same reality of trying to deal with the consequences of George Bush's action.

1300 I believe that it is abundantly clear that the case that was outlined on behalf of going to the resolution -- not going to war, but going to the resolution -- was a credible case. I was told personally by the White House that they would use the resolution to put the inspectors in. I worked with Senator Levin to make sure we gave them all the intelligence so we would know what's there.

1305 Some people now think that this was a very clear open and shut case. We bombed them for days in 1998 because Saddam Hussein threw out inspectors. We had evidence that they had a lot of bad stuff for a very long time which we discovered after the first Gulf War.

1310 Knowing that he was a megalomaniac, knowing he would not want to compete for attention with Osama bin Laden, there were legitimate concerns about what he might do. So, I think I made a reasoned judgment. Unfortunately, the person who actually got to execute the policy did not.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: Senator?

1315 OBAMA: I don't want to -- I don't want to belabor this, because I know we're running out of time and I'm sure you guys want to move on to some other stuff, but I do just have to say this -- the legislation, the authorization had the title, an authorization to use U.S. military force, U.S. military force, in Iraq. I think everybody, the day after that vote was taken, understood this was a vote potentially to go to war.

1320 (APPLAUSE)

I think were very clear about that. That's the -- if you look at the headlines.

The reason that this is important, again, is that Senator Clinton, I think, fairly, has claimed that she's got the experience on day one. And part of the argument that I'm making in this campaign is that, it is important to be right on day one.

1325 (APPLAUSE)

And that the judgment that I've presented on this issue, and some other issues is relevant to how we're going to make decisions in the future. You know, it's not a function just of looking backwards, it's a function of looking forwards and how are we going to be making a series of decisions in a very dangerous world.

1330 I mean, the terrorist threat is real. And precisely because it's real -- and we've got finite resources. We don't have the capacity to just send our troops in anywhere we decide, without good intelligence, without a clear rationale.

That's the kind of leadership that I think we need from the next president of the United States. That's what I intend to provide.

1335 (APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: All right.

We're going to take a quick break and we're going to continue this. We have one more break to go through.

A lot more coming up, including questions involving character.

1340 And remember, you can go to [cnnpolitics.com](http://cnnpolitics.com) and watch this online discussion that's being waged right now.

We'll be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

1345 OBAMA: ... and, as a parent, yes, I am concerned about what's coming over the airwaves. Now, right now, my daughters mostly are on Nickelodeon, but they know how to work that remote.

(LAUGHTER)

And, you know, the primary responsibility is for parents. And I reject the notion of censorship as an approach to dealing with this problem.

1350 (APPLAUSE)

I do think that it is important for us to make sure that we are giving parents the tools that they need in order to monitor what their children are watching. And, obviously, the problem we have now is not just what's coming over the airwaves, but what's coming over the Internet.

1355 And so for us to develop technologies and tools and invest in those technologies and tools, to make sure that we are, in fact, giving parents power -- empowering parents I think is important.

1360 The one other thing I will say is -- I don't mean to be insulting here -- but I do think that it is important for those in the industry to show some thought about who they are marketing some of these programs that are being produced to.

(APPLAUSE)

And I'm concerned about sex, but I'm also concerned, you know, some of the violent, slasher, horror films that come out, you see a trailer, and I'm thinking, "I

1365 don't want my 6-year-old or 9-year-old seeing that trailer while she's watching  
'American Idol.'"

And sometimes you see that kind of stuff coming up. I think it is appropriate, in a cooperative way, to work with the industry to try to deal with that problem. And I intend to work in that fashion when I'm president of the United States of America.

1370 BLITZER: Thank you, Senator.

(APPLAUSE)

All right, we've got another question from Jeanne.

Go ahead, Jeanne.

1375 CUMMINGS: Well, since we've dealt with the kids, let's deal with the spouses for a second.

Senator Clinton...

CLINTON: He has a spouse, too.

(LAUGHTER)

1380 OBAMA: Thankfully Michelle is not on stage. I'm sure she could tell some stories, as well.

CUMMINGS: Senator Clinton, your husband has set off several firestorms in the last few weeks in early primary states with the way that he has criticized Senator Obama.

1385 CUMMINGS: Greg Craig, who was one of your husband's top lawyers campaign can't control the former president now, what will it be like when you're in the White House?

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: Well, one thing I think is fair to say, both Barack and I have very passionate spouses...

1390 OBAMA: We do, no doubt.

CLINTON: ... who promote and defend us at every turn.

You know, but the fact is that I'm running for president, and this is my campaign.

(APPLAUSE)

1395 And I have made it very clear that I want the campaign to stay focused on the issues that I'm concerned about, the kind of future that I want for our country, the work that I have done for all of these years. And that is what the campaign is about.

1400 And of course, I'm thrilled to have my husband and my daughter, who is here tonight, you know, representing me and traveling around the country...

(APPLAUSE)

1405 ... speaking with people, but at the end of the day, it's my name that is on the ballot, and it will be my responsibility as president and commander in chief, after consulting broadly with a lot of people who have something to contribute to difficult decisions, I will have to make the call. And I am fully prepared to do that.

1410 And I know that as we go forward in this campaign, it's a choice between the two of us. And we are proud of our spouses, we're proud of our families, we're proud of everybody supporting us. But at the end of the day, it's a lonely job in the White House, and it is the president of the United States who has to make the decisions. And that is what I'm asking to be entrusted to do.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: This will be the last question. It will go to both of you, to Senator Obama first.

1415 The more I speak to Democrats out there -- not only the Democrats here at the Kodak Theatre, but all over the country -- they take a look at the two of you and they see potentially a dream ticket. A dream ticket for the White House.

(APPLAUSE)

1420 There may have been some nasty words exchanged or angry words or whatever, but the question is this: Would you consider an Obama/Clinton or Clinton/Obama ticket going down the road?

OBAMA: Well, obviously there's a big difference between those two.

(LAUGHTER)

(APPLAUSE)

1425 But, look, let me say this. And I said this at the top. I respect Senator Clinton. I think her service to this country has been extraordinary. And I'm glad that we've been walking on this road together and that we are still on that road.

We've got a lot more road to travel. And so I think it's premature for either of us to start speculating about vice presidents, et cetera. I think it would be premature and presumptuous.

1430

I can say this about -- about who I want not just as vice president but as a cabinet member. Part of what I would like to do is restore a sense of what is possible in government.

(APPLAUSE)

And that means having people of the greatest excellence and competence. It means people with integrity. It means people with independence, who are willing to say no to me so, so that, you know, no more yes-men or women in the White House.

1435

(APPLAUSE)

Because I'm not going to be right on every single issue.

1440

But you know, it is really important, I think, for us also to give the American people this sense, as they are struggling with their mortgages and struggling with their health care and trying to figure out how to get their kids in a school that will teach them and prepare them and equip them for this century, that they get a sense that government's on their side, that government is listening to them, that it's carrying their voices into the White House.

1445

And that's not what's happened over the last seven years. And whether it's my cabinet or it is the lowest federal civil servant out there, I want them to understand they are working for the American people, to help the American people achieve their dreams.

1450

That's the reason I'm running for president of the United States of America.

(APPLAUSE)

BLITZER: So, is the answer yes -- it sounds like a yes, that she would be on your short list.

OBAMA: I -- you know, I'm sure Hillary would be on anybody's short list. So.

1455

BLITZER: All right. What about, Senator Clinton, what do you think about a Clinton/Obama, Obama/Clinton ticket?

CLINTON: Well, I have to agree with everything Barack just said.

(LAUGHTER)

(APPLAUSE)

1460

BLITZER: That means it's a yes, right?

CLINTON: This has been an extraordinary campaign, and I think both of us have been overwhelmed by the response that we have engendered, the kind of enthusiasm and intensity that people feel about each of us. And so, clearly, we  
1465 are both dedicated to doing the best we can to win the nomination, but there is no doubt we will have a unified Democratic Party.

(APPLAUSE)

We will go into the November election prepared to win. And -- and I want to just add that, you know, on Monday night, I'm going to have a national town  
1470 hall, an interactive town hall. It will be carried on the Hallmark Channel and on my Web site, HillaryClinton.com, because I know you had tens of thousands of questions.

OBAMA: What about my Web site?

(APPLAUSE)

1475 CLINTON: Yes. I want your folks to participate, too.

OBAMA: I'm just kidding.

CLINTON: And it's going to be across the country.

Monday night at 9:00 Eastern, 6:00 here on the West Coast.

BLITZER: All right. answered, please, log on, turn on, and continue to be part of  
1480 this really, really exciting election for both of us.

BLITZER: Here is the bottom line -- we do the plugs here. You guys can do the plugs out on the campaign trail.

That has to end our conversation this evening.

I want to thank both of you for coming very much.

1485 OBAMA: Thank you.

CLINTON: Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

# **Debate 2 (D2)**

February 21, 2008:

University of Texas,  
Austin, TX

## Introduction

The University of Texas at Austin was founded in 1883 and was ranked second among American public universities by *The Times* in London, UK. Presently, African- American, Hispanic, and Asian American students make up more than 32 percent of the enrollment (utexas.edu).

**Moderator Campbell Brown:** Anchors the morning show on political affairs on CNN, Campbell Brown. Reportedly the only non-partisan cable news anchor, Mrs. Brown talks to newsmakers and moderates vigorous with people representing all points of political view. Campbell Brown graduated from Regis College in Denver with a BA degree in political science (cnn.com 2).

**Moderator John King:** Works as the Chief National Correspondent for CNN as well as he anchors his own weekly show: *State of the Union with John King*. The show is a four hour news program airing on Sundays and consists of e.g. interviews with people in the news, political analysis as well as it holds a general focus on national and international affairs. Mr. King holds a BA degree in journalism from the University of Rhode Island (cnn.com 3).

**Moderator Jorge Ramos:** Is a newscaster with the Hispanic television company Univision. He has been listed as one of the 25 most influential Hispanics in the US by *Time Magazine* and *People Magazine* (jorgeramos.com). Most of the information on Mr. Ramos is, however, in Spanish and consequently, it is not possible for us to list any further information on his background.

## Transcript

CNN's CAMPBELL BROWN: And the candidates have taken their seats. We are ready to get started. On behalf of CNN, Univision and the candidates, we want to thank our hosts, the University of Texas and the LBJ School and Library.

5 And now I want to give you an idea of what to expect over the next 90 minutes or so. We want to have a real conversation between these two candidates on the issues important to Texas and the entire nation, so we won't have any hard and fast rules for them to follow. We simply ask the candidates to keep their answers to a reasonable length and to stay on point.

10 And we have given the candidates the opportunity to make opening statements. The order was determined by a draw. Senator Obama won the draw and elected to go second.

So please go ahead, Senator Clinton.

SEN. HILLARY CLINTON: Well, thank you.

15 And I am just delighted to be back here in Austin. You know, nearly 36 years ago I came to Austin for my very first political job, and that was registering voters in south Texas. And I had the great privilege of living for a while in Austin and in San Antonio, and meeting people and making friends that have stayed with me for a lifetime.

20 And I found that we had a lot in common, a lot of shared values, a belief that hard work is important, that self-reliance and individual responsibility count for a lot.

CLINTON: And among the people whom I got to know, who became not only friends, but heroes, were Barbara Jordan, who taught me a lot about courage, and today...

25 (APPLAUSE)

...would actually be her birthday. I remember all the time about how she got up every single morning, facing almost insurmountable odds, to do what she did.

And another was my great friend Ann Richards, who taught me so much...

(APPLAUSE)

30 ... about determination. Ann was a great champion for the people of Texas. She also reminded us that every so often it is good to have a laugh about what it is we're engaged in.

And as I think back on those years and the work that I've done ever since, you know, for me politics is about making real differences in people's lives. I am  
35 very, very proud that over these years I have been able to make a difference in the lives of people in Texas, Ohio and elsewhere.

CLINTON: You know, 350,000 children in Texas get health care every month because I helped to start the Children's Health Insurance Program.

(APPLAUSE)

40 And 21,000 National Guard and Reserve members get access to health care because I went across the party line and joined up with a Republican senator to make that happen.

So there's a lot that we've already done. But there's so much more to do.

I want to take on the tough issues that face us now. I want to stop the health  
45 insurance companies from discriminating against people because they're sick. You know, it's unconstitutional to discriminate on the basis of race or gender or ethnic origin or religion, but it's OK to discriminate against sick people.

And we're going to end that, because it's time we said no more.

(APPLAUSE)

50 And I want to continue the work that I've done in the Senate to take care of our veterans.

CLINTON: It was shocking and shameful, what happened, that we discovered about a year ago at Walter Reed. We can do so much better, to take care of the people who've taken care of us.

55 And there is a lot of work ahead. I offer a lifetime of experience and proven results. And I know that, if we work together, we can take on the special interests, transfer \$55 billion of all those giveaways and subsidies that President Bush has given them, back to the middle class, to create jobs and provide health care and make college affordable.

60 (APPLAUSE)

And I ask you -- I ask you to join in my campaign. It's now up to the people of Texas, Ohio, and the other states ahead.

65 So, if you'll be part of this campaign, which is your really your campaign, about  
your futures, your families, your jobs and your health care, we'll continue to  
make a difference for America.

Thank you all very much.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Senator Clinton, thank you.

BROWN: Senator Obama?

70 (APPLAUSE)

75 SEN. BARACK OBAMA: First of all, thank you so much to the University of  
Texas for hosting us, and it's a great honor to share the stage once again with  
Senator Clinton. I've said before that we've been friends before this campaign  
started; we'll be friends afterwards, unified to bring about changes in this  
country.

You know, we are at a defining moment in our history. Our nation is at war,  
and our economy is increasingly in shambles. And the families of Texas and all  
across America are feeling the brunt of that failing economy.

80 This week, I met a couple in San Antonio, who -- as a consequence of entering  
into a predatory loan -- are on the brink of foreclosure and are actually seeing  
them having to cut back on their medical expenses, because their mortgage  
doubled in two weeks.

85 OBAMA: I've met a young woman who gets three hours of sleep a night  
because she has to work the night shift even as she's going to school full time,  
and still can't afford to provide the health care for her sister who's ill.

In Youngstown, Ohio, talked to workers who have seen their plants shipped  
overseas as a consequence of bad trade deals like NAFTA, literally seeing  
equipment unbolted from the floors of factories and shipped to China, resulting  
in devastating job losses and communities completely falling apart.

90 And all across America I'm meeting not just veterans, but also the parents of  
those who have fallen.

95 One mother in Green Bay gave me this bracelet in memory of a 20- year-old son  
who had been killed in a roadside bomb, as a consequence of a war that I  
believe should have never been authorized and should have never been waged  
and has cost us billions of dollars that could have been invested here in the  
United States in roads and bridges and infrastructure and making sure that

young people can go to college and that those who need health care actually get it.

OBAMA: Now, Senator Clinton...

100 (APPLAUSE)

... Senator Clinton and I have been talking about these issues for the last 13 months. We both offer detailed proposals to try to deal with them. Some of them are the same. Some we have differences of opinion.

105 But I think we both recognize that these problems have to be dealt with and that we have seen an administration over the last seven years that has failed to address them and -- in many ways -- has made them worse.

But understand that what is lacking right now is not good ideas.

OBAMA: The problem we have is that Washington has become a place where good ideas go to die. They go to die because the lobbyists...

110 (APPLAUSE)

They go to die because lobbyists and special interests have a strangle-hold on the agenda in Washington. They go to die in Washington because too many politicians are interested in scoring political points rather than bridging differences in order to get things done.

115 And so the central premise of this campaign is that we can bring this country together, that we can push against the special interests that have come to dominate the agenda in Washington, that we can be straight with the American people about how we're going to solve these problems and enlist them in taking back their government.

120 You know, Senator Clinton mentioned Barbara Jordan, somebody who was an inspiration to me and so many people throughout the country. And she said that what the American people want is very simple: They want an America that is as good as its promise.

125 OBAMA: I'm running for president because I want to help America be as good as its promise.

Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: All right, Senator Obama, thank you, and let's begin with questions.

Jorge Ramos?

130 UNIVISION's JORGE RAMOS: Thank you very much (SPEAKING IN SPANISH).

Thank you so much for being with us, and let me start with a little news. After nearly half a century in office, Fidel Castro resigned as the head of the Cuban government. Ninety miles off the coast of the United States, we might have a  
135 new opportunity.

The question for you, Senator Clinton: Would you be willing to sit down with Raul Castro, or whoever leads the Cuban dictatorship when you take office at least just once, to get a measure of the man?

140 CLINTON: Well, Jorge, I hope we have an opportunity. The people of Cuba deserve to have a democracy. And this gives the Cuban government, under Raul Castro, a chance to change direction from the one that was set for 50 years by his brother.

I'm going to be looking for some of those changes: releasing political prisoner, ending some of the oppressive practices on the press, opening up the economy.

145 Of course the United States stands ready. And, as president, I would be ready to reach out and work with a new Cuban government, once it demonstrated that it truly was going to change that direction.

I want to bring the region together, our European allies who have influence with Cuba, to try to push for some of those changes, and to make it very clear  
150 that, if Cuba moves toward democracy and freedom for its people, the United States will welcome that.

CLINTON: And as president, I would look for opportunities to try to make that happen and to create the momentum that might eventually lead to a presidential visit.

155 But there has to be evidence that indeed the changes are real; that they are taking place; and that the Cuban people will finally be given an opportunity to have their future determined by themselves.

RAMOS: Very simply, would you meet with him or not, with Raul Castro?

160 CLINTON: I would not meet with him until there was evidence that change was happening, because I think it's important that they demonstrate clearly that they are committed to change the direction. Then I think, you know, something like diplomatic encounters and negotiations over specifics could take place.

But we've had this conversation before, Senator Obama and myself, and I believe that we should have full diplomatic engagement where appropriate. But

165 a presidential visit should not be offered and given without some evidence that  
it will demonstrate the kind of progress that is in our interest, and in this case,  
in the interests of the Cuban people.

BROWN: Senator Obama, just to follow up, you had said in a previous CNN  
debate that you would meet with the leaders of Cuban, Iran, North Korea,  
170 among others, so presumably you would be willing to meet with the new  
leader of Cuba.

OBAMA: That's correct. Now, keep in mind that the starting point for our  
policy in Cuba should be the liberty of the Cuban people. And I think we  
recognize that that liberty has not existed throughout the Castro regime. And  
175 we now have an opportunity to potentially change the relationship between the  
United States and Cuba after over half a century.

I would meet without preconditions, although Senator Clinton is right that  
there has to be preparation. It is very important for us to make sure that there  
was an agenda, and on that agenda was human rights, releasing of political  
180 prisoners, opening up the press. And that preparation might take some time.

But I do think that it's important for the United States not just to talk to its  
friends, but also to talk to its enemies. In fact, that's where diplomacy makes the  
biggest difference.

(APPLAUSE)

185 OBAMA: One other thing that I've said, as a show of good faith that we're  
interested in pursuing potentially a new relationship, what I've called for is a  
loosening of the restrictions on remittances from family members to the people  
of Cuba, as well as travel restrictions for family members who want to visit  
their family members in Cuba.

190 And I think that initiating that change in policy as a start and then suggesting  
that an agenda get set up is something that could be useful, but I would not  
normalize relations until we started seeing some of the progress that Senator  
Clinton was talking about.

BROWN: But that's different from your position back in 2003. You called U.S.  
195 policy toward Cuba a miserable failure, and you supported normalizing  
relations.

BROWN: So you've backtracked now...

OBAMA: I support the eventual normalization. And it's absolutely true that I  
think our policy has been a failure. I mean, the fact is, is that during my entire

200 lifetime, and Senator Clinton's entire lifetime, you essentially have seen a Cuba that has been isolated, but has not made progress when it comes to the issues of political rights and personal freedoms that are so important to the people of Cuba.

205 So I think that we have to shift policy. I think our goal has to be ultimately normalization. But that's going to happen in steps. And the first step, as I said, is changing our rules with respect to remittances and with respect to travel.

210 And then I think it is important for us to have the direct contact, not just in Cuba, but I think this principle applies generally. I recall what John F. Kennedy once said, that we should never negotiate out of fear, but we should never fear to negotiate. And this moment, this opportunity when Fidel Castro has finally stepped down, I think, is one that we should try to take advantage of.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Senator Clinton, do you want a quick response?

215 CLINTON: Well, I agree, absolutely, that we should be willing to have diplomatic negotiations and processes with anyone. I've been a strong advocate of opening up such a diplomatic process with Iran, for a number of years.

220 Because I think we should look for ways that we can possibly move countries that are adversarial to us, you know, toward the world community. It's in our interests. It's in the interests of the people in countries that, frankly, are oppressed, like Cuba, like Iran.

225 But there has been this difference between us over when and whether the president should offer a meeting, without preconditions, with those with whom we do not have diplomatic relations. And it should be part of a process, but I don't think it should be offered in the beginning. Because I think that undermines the capacity for us to actually take the measure of somebody like Raul Castro or Ahmadinejad and others.

CLINTON: And, as President Kennedy said, he wouldn't be afraid to negotiate, but he would expect there to be a lot of preparatory work done, to find out exactly what we would get out of it.

230 And therefore, I do think we should be eliminating the policy of the Bush administration, which has been very narrowly defined, and frankly against our interests, because we have failed to reach out to countries, we have alienated our friends, and we have emboldened our enemies.

235 So I would get back to very vigorous diplomacy, and I would use bipartisan  
diplomacy. I would ask emissaries from both political parties to represent me  
and our country, because I want to send a very clear message to the rest of the  
world that the era of unilateralism, preemption and arrogance of the Bush  
administration is over and we're going to...

(APPLAUSE)

240 BROWN: Very briefly and then we're going to move on.

(APPLAUSE)

OBAMA: I think, as I said before, preparation is actually absolutely critical in  
any meeting. And I think it is absolutely true that either of us would step back  
from some of the Bush unilateralism that's caused so much damage.

245 But I do think it is important precisely because the Bush administration has  
done so much damage to American foreign relations that the president take a  
more active role in diplomacy than might have been true 20 or 30 years ago.

250 Because the problem is, if we think that meeting with the president is a  
privilege that has to be earned, I think that reinforces the sense that we stand  
above the rest of the world at this point in time. And I think that it's important  
for us in undoing the damage that has been done over the last seven years, for  
the president to be willing to take that extra step.

OBAMA: That is the kind of step that I would like to take as president of the  
United States.

255 (APPLAUSE)

BROWN: A question now on the economy.

John King?

CNN's JOHN KING: Campbell, Senators, good evening, first.

260 I want to bring the conversation back home. You know from your travels -- you  
don't need to look at the polls or anything else -- that the economy is by far now  
the dominant issue that voters want to hear about from the candidates.

265 For some, that is a question about: What should we do about an economy that is  
at the edge or perhaps in the early stages of a recession? For some, it is more  
focused. Maybe it is: Will you raise the minimum wage? Maybe it's about trade  
deals that they think leave them on the raw end, as you mentioned in your  
opening statement, Senator Obama.

But when we ask Democrats, "How are these two candidates different?," they even think they don't know.

270 Senator Obama, beginning with you, tell us as specifically as you can, how would a President Obama be different than a President Clinton in managing the nation's economy?

OBAMA: Well, first of all, let me emphasize the point that you just made, which is: You don't need an economist or the Federal Reserve to tell the American people that the economy's in trouble, because they've been experiencing it for  
275 years now.

Everywhere you go, you meet people who are working harder for less, wages and incomes have flatlined, people are seeing escalating costs of everything from health care to gas at the pump.

280 And so people have been struggling for a long time. In some communities, they have been struggling for decades now. So this has to be a priority of the next president.

Now, what I've said is that we have to restore a sense of fairness and balance to our economy, and that means a couple of things.

285 Number one, with our tax code: We've got to stop giving tax breaks to companies that are shipping jobs overseas and invest those tax breaks in companies that are investing here in the United States of America.

(APPLAUSE)

We have to end the Bush tax cuts to the wealthy...

(APPLAUSE)

290 ... and to provide tax breaks to middle-class Americans and working Americans who need them.

OBAMA: So I've said that if you are making \$75,000 a year or less, I want to give an offset to your payroll tax that will mean \$1,000 extra in the pockets of ordinary Americans. Senior citizens making less than \$50,000, you shouldn't  
295 have to pay income tax on your Social Security.

We pay for these by closing tax loopholes and tax havens that are being manipulated.

(APPLAUSE)

300 On our trade deals, I think it is absolutely critical that we engaged in trade, but it has to be viewed not just through the lens of Wall Street, but also Main Street, which means we've got strong labor standards and strong environmental standards and safety standards, so we don't have toys being shipped in the United States with lead paint on them.

(APPLAUSE)

305 So these are all issues that I've talked about repeatedly, and I think there are also opportunities in our economy around creating a green economy. We send \$1 billion to foreign countries every day because of our addiction to foreign oil.

OBAMA: And for us to move rapidly to cap greenhouse gases, generate billions of dollars that we can reinvest in solar and wind and biodiesel -- that can put  
310 people back to work. So...

(APPLAUSE)

Now, I don't want to take too much time. And I'm sure we'll be spend more time discussing this.

315 Senator Clinton and I, I think, both agree on many of these issues. And I think it's a credit to the Democratic Party as a whole that the other candidates who were involved earlier on agreed with us on many of these issues.

I think that there is a real, solid agenda for moving change forward in the next presidency.

The question people are going to have to ask is: How do we get it done?

320 And it is my strong belief that the changes are only going to come about if we're able to form a working coalition for change. Because people who were benefiting from the current tax code are going to resist. The special interests and lobbyists are going to resist.

325 And I think it has to be a priority for whoever the next president is to be able to overcome the dominance of the special interests in Washington, to bring about the kinds of economic changes that I'm talking about.

OBAMA: And that's an area where Senator Clinton and I may have a slight difference. But I'm happy to let her speak first and then can pick up on anything that's been left out.

330 KING: Let's give Senator Clinton that opportunity then.

(APPLAUSE)

As you have campaigned, Senator, on this issue and others, but specifically on this issue, you have said, "I am ready on day one to take charge of the economy."

335 The clear implication, since you have one opponent at the moment, is that you're ready; he's not.

What would you do differently on day one than a President Obama would when it comes to managing the nation's economy?

340 CLINTON: Well, I would agree with a lot that Senator Obama just said, because it is the Democratic agenda.

CLINTON: We are going to rid the tax code of these loopholes and giveaways.

We're going to stop giving a penny of your money to anybody who ships a job out of Texas, Ohio or anywhere else to another country.

345 We're certainly going to begin to get the tax code to reflect what the needs of middle class families are so we can rebuild a strong and prosperous middle class.

You know, the wealthy and the well-connected have had a president the last seven years, and I think it's time that the rest of America had a president to work for you every single day.

350 (APPLAUSE)

We will also have a different approach toward trade.

355 We're going to start having trade agreements that not only have strong environmental and labor standards, but I want to have a trade time-out. We're going to look and see what's working and what's not working, and I'd like to have a trade prosecutor to actually enforce the trade agreements that we have before we enter into any others.

360 We're also going to put much tougher standards in place so that people cannot import toys with lead paint, contaminated pet food, contaminated drugs into our market. We're going to have much more vigorous enforcement of safety standards.

CLINTON: Now, in addition, there are steps I would take immediately. One is on this foreclosure crisis. I have been saying for nearly a year we had to crack down on the abusive practices of the lenders. But we also need a moratorium on home foreclosures.

365 Everywhere I go, I meet people who either have been or about to lose their home. 85,000 homes in foreclosure in Texas; 90,000 in Ohio. I've met the families: the hairdresser, the single mom who's going to lose her home, the postal worker who got really hoodwinked into an agreement that wasn't fair to him.

370 So I would put a moratorium for 90 days, to give us time to work out a way for people to stay in their homes, and I would freeze interest rates for five years. Because these adjustable-rate mortgages, if they keep going up, millions of Americans are going to be homeless. And vacant homes will be across the neighborhoods of Texas and America.

375 (APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Now, in addition, there are three ways we need to jump start the economy.

Clean green jobs; I've been promoting this. I wanted it to be part of the stimulus package. I thought a \$5 billion investment in clean green jobs would put  
380 hundreds of thousands of Americans to work helping to create our future.

We also need to invest in our infrastructure. We don't have enough roads to take care of the congestion, we have crumbling bridges and tunnels. We need to rebuild America, and that will also put people to work.

And, finally, we need to end George Bush's war on science, which has been  
385 waged against scientists and researchers...

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Thank you, Senator. And we've got a lot of ground to cover...

CLINTON: This is about how we fund the future. We've got to get back to being the innovation nation. Think of everything that goes on at this great university  
390 to create the new economy...

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: All right. Senator Clinton, thank you very much.

BROWN: And, as I was saying, we've got a lot to get through. So I do want to shift gears and go on to another topic especially important here in Texas, which  
395 is immigration.

And, Jorge, you have a question.

RAMOS: (SPEAKING IN SPANISH) Federal raids by immigration enforcement officials on homes and businesses have generated a great deal of fear and anxiety in the Hispanic community and have divided the family of some of the  
400 3 million U.S.-born children who have at least one undocumented parent.

Would you consider stopping these raids once you take office until comprehensive immigration reform can be passed?

CLINTON: I would consider that, except in egregious situations where it would be appropriate to take the actions you're referring to.

405 But when we see what's been happening, with literally babies being left with no one to take care of them, children coming home from school, no responsible adult left, that is not the America that I know.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: That is against American values. And it is...

410 (APPLAUSE)

And it is a stark admission of failure by the federal government. We need comprehensive immigration reform. I have been for this. I signed onto the first comprehensive bill back in 2004. I've been advocating for it: tougher, more secure borders, of course, but let's do it the right way, cracking down on  
415 employers, especially once we get to comprehensive immigration reform, who exploit undocumented workers and drive down wages for everyone else.

I'd like to see more federal help for communities like Austin and others like Laredo, where I was this morning, that absorb the health care, education, and law enforcement costs.

420 And I personally, as president, would work with our neighbors to the south, to help them create more jobs for their own people.

Finally, we need a path to legalization, to bring the immigrants out of the shadows, give them the conditions that we expect them to meet, paying a fine for coming here illegally, trying to pay back taxes, over time, and learning  
425 English.

If they had a committed a crime in our country or the country they came from, then they should be deported. But for everyone else, there must be a path to legalization. I would introduce that in the first 100 days of my presidency.

(APPLAUSE)

430 BROWN: Senator Obama, is your position the same as Hillary Clinton's?

OBAMA: There are a couple of things I would add. Comprehensive immigration reform is something that I have worked on extensively.

435 Two years ago, we were able to get a bill out of the Senate. I was one of the group of senators that helped to move it through, but it died in the House this year. Because it was used as a political football instead of a way of solving a problem, nothing happened.

And so there are a couple of things that I would just add to what Senator Clinton said.

440 Number one, it is absolutely critical that we tone down the rhetoric when it comes to the immigration debate, because there has been an undertone that has been ugly.

Oftentimes, it has been directed at the Hispanic community. We have seen hate crimes skyrocket in the wake of the immigration debate as it has been conducted in Washington, and that is unacceptable.

445 We are a nation of laws and we are a nation of immigrants, and we can reconcile those two things. So we need comprehensive reform...

(APPLAUSE)

450 ... we need comprehensive reform, and that means stronger border security. It means that we are cracking down on employers that are taking advantage of undocumented workers because they can't complain if they're not paid a minimum wage.

OBAMA: They can't complain if they're not getting overtime. Worker safety laws are not being observed.

455 We have to crack down on those employers, although we also have to make sure that we do it in a way that doesn't lead to people with Spanish surnames being discriminated against, so there's got to be a safeguard there.

460 We have to require that undocumented workers, who are provided a pathway to citizenship, not only learn English, pay back taxes and pay a significant fine, but also that they're going to the back of the line, so that they are not getting citizenship before those who have applied legally, which raises two last points.

Number one, it is important that we fix the legal immigration system, because right now we've got a backlog that means years for people to apply legally.

(APPLAUSE)

465 And what's worse is, we keep on increasing the fees, so that if you've got a hard working immigrant family, they've got to hire a lawyer; they've got to pay thousands of dollars in fees. They just can't afford it. And it's discriminatory against people who have good character, we should want in this country, but don't have the money. So we've got to fix that.

OBAMA: So we've got to fix that.

470 The second thing is, we have to improve our relationship with Mexico and work with the Mexican government so that their economy is producing jobs on that side of the border.

And the problem that we have...

(APPLAUSE)

475 The problem that we have is that we have had an administration that came in promising all sorts of leadership on creating a U.S.- Mexican relationship. And, frankly, President Bush dropped the ball. He has been so obsessed with Iraq that we have not seen the kinds of outreach and cooperative work that would ensure that the Mexican economy is working not just for the very wealthy in  
480 Mexico, but for all people. And that's as policy that I'm going to change when I'm president of the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: All right, Senator Obama.

485 We're going to stay with this topic. I want to have John King ask another question.

Go ahead, John.

KING: I want to stay on the issue, but move to a controversial item that was not held up when the immigration debate collapsed in Washington, and that is the border fence.

490 KING: To many Americans, it is a simple question of sovereignty and security. America should be able to keep people out that it doesn't want in.

But, as you know in this state, especially if you go to the south of here, along the border, and in other border states, to many people it's a much more personal question. It could be a question of their livelihood. It could be a  
495 question of cross-border trade. It might be an issue to a rancher of property rights. It might be a simple question of whether someone can take a walk or a short drive to see their family members.

Senator, back in 2006, you voted for the construction of that fence. As you know, progress has been slow.

500 As president of the United States, would you commit tonight that you would finish the fence and speed up the construction, or do you think it's time for a president of the United States to raise his or her hand and say, "You know what? Wait a minute. Let's think about this again. Do we really want to do this?"

505 CLINTON: Well, I think both Senator Obama and I voted for that as part of the immigration debate.

CLINTON: And having been along the border for the last week or so -- in fact, last night I was at the University of Texas at Brownsville -- and this is how absurd this has become under the Bush administration. Because, you know,  
510 there is a smart way to protect our borders, and there is a dumb way to protect our borders.

(APPLAUSE)

And what I learned last night when I was there with Congressman Ortiz is that the University of Texas at Brownsville would have part of its campus cut off.

515 This is the kind of absurdity that we're getting from this administration. I know it because I've been fighting with them about the northern border. Their imposition of passports and other kinds of burdens are separating people from families, interfering with business and commerce, the movement of goods and people.

520 So what I've said is that I would say, wait a minute, we need to review this. There may be places where a physical barrier is appropriate.

I think when both of us voted for this, we were voting for the possibility that where it was appropriate and made sense, it would be considered. But as with so much, the Bush administration has gone off the deep end, and they are  
525 unfortunately coming up with a plan that I think is counterproductive.

CLINTON: So I would have a review. I would listen to the people who live along the border, who understand...

(APPLAUSE)

... what it is we need to be doing to protect our country.

530 (APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Let me go on, again -- John?

KING: Does that mean that you think your vote was wrong, or the implementation of it was wrong?

535 Because, as you know, when they first built the fence in the San Diego area, it only went so far. And what it did was it sopped the people coming straight up the path of where that was built, and they simply moved. And California's problem became Arizona's problem.

(LAUGHTER)

540 CLINTON: But, you know, John, there is -- there's a lot we've learned about technology and smart fencing. You know, there is technology that can be used instead of a physical barrier.

CLINTON: It requires us having enough personnel along the border so that people can be supervising a certain limited amount of space and will be able to be responsive in the event of people attempting to cross illegally.

545 I think that the way that the Bush administration is going about this, filing eminent domain actions against landowners and municipalities, makes no sense.

550 So what I have said is, yes, there are places when after a careful review, again listening to the people who live along the border, there may be limited places where it would work. But let's deploy more technology and personnel, instead of the physical barrier.

I frankly think that will work better and it will give us an opportunity to secure our borders without interfering with family relations, business relations, recreation and so much else that makes living along the border, you know, wonderful.

BROWN: All right.

CLINTON: And the people who live there need to have a president who understands it, will listen to them and be responsive.

BROWN: All right, Senator Clinton.

560 (APPLAUSE)

Senator Obama, go ahead please.

565 OBAMA: Well, this is an area where Senator Clinton and I almost entirely agree. I think that the key is to consult with local communities, whether it's on the commercial interests or the environmental stakes of creating any kind of barrier.

And the Bush administration is not real good at listening. That's not what they do well.

(LAUGHTER)

570 And so I will reverse that policy. As Senator Clinton indicated, there may be areas where it makes sense to have some fencing. But for the most part, having border patrolled, surveillance, deploying effective technology, that's going to be the better approach.

575 The one thing I do have to say, though, about this issue is, it is very important for us, I think, to deal with this problem in terms of thousands of -- hundreds of thousands of people coming over the borders on a regular basis if we want to also provide opportunity for the 12 million undocumented workers who are here.

580 OBAMA: Senator Clinton and I have both campaigned in places like Iowa and Ohio and my home state of Illinois, and I think that the American people want fairness, want justice. I think they recognize that the idea that you're going to deport 12 million people is ridiculous, that we're not going to be devoting all our law enforcement resources...

(APPLAUSE)

... to sending people back.

585 But what they do also want is some order to the process. And so, we're not going to be able to do these things in isolation. We're not going to be able to deal with the 12 million people who are living in the shadows and give them a way of getting out of the shadows if we don't also deal with the problem of this constant influx of undocumented workers.

590 And that's why I think comprehensive reform is so important. That's the kind of leadership that I've shown in the past; that's the kind of leadership that I'll show in the future.

595 One last point I want to make on the immigration issue because we may be moving to different topics: Something that we can do immediately that I think is very important is to pass the Dream Act, which allows children who through no fault of their own are here but have essentially grown up as Americans, allow them the opportunity for higher education.

OBAMA: I do not want two classes of citizens in this country.

(APPLAUSE)

600 I want everybody to prosper. That's going to be a top priority.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: OK, we've got one last question on immigration.

Jorge, go ahead.

605 RAMOS: (SPEAKING SPANISH) Right now, there are more than 30 million people in this country who speak Spanish.

(APPLAUSE)

610 Many of them are right here. By the year 2050, there will be 120 million Hispanics in the United States. Now, is there any downside, Senator Clinton, to the United States becoming (SPEAKING SPANISH) becoming a bilingual nation? Is there a limit?

CLINTON: Well, I think it's important for as many Americans as possible to do what I have never been able to do, and that is learn another language and try to be bilingual because that connects us to the rest of the world.

615 I think it is important, though, that English remain our common unifying language because that brings our country together in a way that we have seen generations of immigrants coming to our shores be able to be part of the American experience and pursue the American dream.

620 You know, I have been adamantly against the efforts by some to make English the official language. That I do not believe is appropriate, and I have voted against it and spoken against it.

CLINTON: I represent New York. We have 170 languages in New York City alone. And I do not think that we should be, in any way, discriminating against people who do not speak English, who use facilities like hospitals or have to go to court to enforce their rights.

625 But I do think that English does remain an important part of the American experience. So I encourage people to become bilingual. But I also want to see English remain the common, unifying language of our country.

(APPLAUSE)

630 RAMOS: Senator Obama, is there any down side to the United States becoming a bilingual nation?

OBAMA: Well, I think it is important that everyone learns English and that we have that process of binding ourselves together as a country. I think that's very important.

I also think that every student should be learning a second language, because...

635 (APPLAUSE)

... you know, so, when you start getting into a debate about bilingual education, for example, now, I want to make sure that children who are coming out of Spanish-speaking households had the opportunity to learn and are not falling behind.

640 OBAMA: If bilingual education helps them do that, I want to give them the opportunity.

But I also want to make sure that English-speaking children are getting foreign languages because this world is becoming more interdependent and part of the process of America's continued leadership in the world is going to be our  
645 capacity to communicate across boundaries, across borders, and that's something frankly where we've fallen behind.

One of the failures of No Child Left Behind, a law that I think a lot of local and state officials have been troubled by, is that it is so narrowly focused on standardized tests that it has pushed out a lot of important learning that needs  
650 to take place.

(APPLAUSE)

And foreign languages is one of those areas that I think has been neglected. I want to put more resources into it.

BROWN: All right.

655 We're going to take a quick break. We've got to go to a commercial. We'll be back with a lot more. There is also a debate we should mention raging online right now. Go to our Web site, CNNpolitics.com, and join in. The debate here at the University of Texas in Austin continues right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

660 BROWN: And we are back. We're here in Austin, Texas, the capital city. Welcome back to the Texas Democratic debate at the University of Texas, Austin.

The first question now goes to John King.

665 KING: Senator, as I'm sitting here, we're about 45 minutes into the discussion tonight, and I'm having what I like to call one of those parallel universe moments.

I've been watching each of you give speeches in arenas not unlike this one individually. And the tone is often quite different than the very polite, substantive discourse we've had tonight.

670 (LAUGHTER)

(APPLAUSE)

And so, I want to ask you about that. There are times when each of you seems to call into question the other one's credibility or truthfulness.

675 And, Senator Clinton, I want to talk specifically about some words you've spoken here in the state of Texas over the past couple of days.

You've said, quote, "My opponent gives speeches; I offer solutions."

You said the choice for Democrats in this campaign is, quote, "talk versus action."

680 Now, in a campaign that some of us are old enough to remember, maybe not many of the students here, this would be called the "Where's the beef?" question.

685 But, since we're in Texas, I'd like to borrow a phrase that they often use here and you've used yourself in the context of President Bush. Are you saying that your opponent is all hat and no cattle, and can you say that after the last 45 minutes?

CLINTON: Well, I have said that about President Bush, and I think our next president needs to be a lot less hat and a lot more cattle.

(APPLAUSE)

690 You know, I think you can tell from the first 45 minutes, you know, Senator Obama and I have a lot in common. We both care passionately about our country. We are devoted to public service. We care deeply about the future, and we have run a very vigorous and contested primary campaign, which has been by most standards, I think, very positive and extremely civil.

695 CLINTON: But there are differences between us. And I think, in our efforts to draw those contrasts and comparisons, we obviously try to let voters know how we see the world differently.

And I do offer solutions. That's what I believe in and what I have done. And it's what I offer to voters because it's part of my life, over the last 35 years, working to get kids health care, working to expand legal services for the poor, working to register voters, working to make a difference. Because I think that this country has given me so much.

And there are differences between our records and our accomplishments. I have to confess, I was somewhat amused, the other night, when, on one of the TV shows, one of Senator Obama's supporters couldn't.

So I know that there are comparisons and contrasts to be drawn between us. And it's important that voters get that information. So, yes, I do think that words are important and words matter, but actions speak louder than words. And I offer...

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Senator Obama, go ahead.

BROWN: Senator Obama, do you want to respond?

OBAMA: Well, I think actions do speak louder than words, which is why over the 20 years of my public service I have acted a lot to provide health care to people who didn't have it, to provide tax breaks to families that needed it, to reform a criminal justice system that had resulted in wrongful convictions, to open up our government and to pass the toughest ethics reform legislation since Watergate, to make sure that we create transparency...

(APPLAUSE)

... to make sure that we create transparency in our government so that we know where federal spending is going and it's not going to a bunch of boondoggles and earmarks that are wasting taxpayer money that could be spent on things like early childhood education.

You know, I think if you talk to those wounded warriors at Walter Reed who, prior to me getting to the Senate, were having to pay for their meals and have to pay for their phone calls to their family while they're recovering from amputations, I think they've said that I've engaged not just in talk, but in action.

(APPLAUSE)

OBAMA: Now, I think that Senator Clinton has a fine record and I don't want to denigrate that record. I do think there is a fundamental difference between us in terms of how change comes about. Senator Clinton of late has said: Let's get

real. The implication is that the people who've been voting for me or involved in my campaign are somehow delusional.

(LAUGHTER)

735 And that, you know, the 20 million people who've been paying attention to 19 debates and the editorial boards all across the country at newspapers who have given me endorsements, including every major newspaper here in the state of Texas.

(APPLAUSE)

740 OBAMA: You know, the thinking is that somehow, they're being duped, and eventually they're going to see the reality of things.

Well, I think they perceive reality of what's going on in Washington very clearly. What they see is that if we don't bring the country together, stop the endless bickering, actually focus on solutions and reduce the special interests that have dominated Washington, then we will not get anything done. And the  
745 reason that this campaign has done so well...

(APPLAUSE)

The reason that this campaign has done so well is because people understand that it is not just a matter of putting forward policy positions.

750 OBAMA: Senator Clinton and I share a lot of policy positions. But if we can't inspire the American people to get involved in their government and if we can't inspire them to go beyond the racial divisions and the religious divisions and the regional divisions that have plagued our politics for so long, then we will continue to see the kind of gridlock and nonperformance in Washington that is resulting in families suffering in very real ways.

755 I'm running for president to start doing something about that suffering, and so are the people who are behind my campaign.

(APPLAUSE)

760 BROWN: I think one of the points -- I think one of the points that John King was alluding to in talking about some of Senator Clinton's comments is there has been a lot of attention lately on some of your speeches, that they are very similar to some of the speeches by your friend and supporter Deval Patrick, the governor of Massachusetts, and Senator Clinton's campaign has made a big issue of this. To be blunt, they've accused you of plagiarism.

OBAMA: Right.

765 BROWN: How do you respond?

OBAMA: Well, look, the -- first of all, it's not a lot of speeches. There are two lines in speeches that I've been giving over the last couple of weeks.

I've been campaigning now for the last two years. Deval is a national co-chairman of my campaign, and suggested an argument that I share, that words  
770 are important. Words matter. And the implication that they don't I think diminishes how important it is to speak to the American people directly about making America as good as its promise. Barbara Jordan understood this as well as anybody.

OBAMA: And the notion that I had plagiarized from somebody who was one of  
775 my national co-chairs...

(APPLAUSE)

... who gave me the line and suggested that I use it, I think, is silly, and...

(APPLAUSE)

... you know, this is where we start getting into silly season, in politics, and I  
780 think people start getting discouraged about it...

(LAUGHTER)

... and they don't want...

(APPLAUSE)

What they want is, how are we going to create good jobs and good wages?

785 How are we going to provide health care to the American people?

How are we going to make sure that college is affordable?

So what I've been talking about, in this speeches -- and I've got to admit, some of them are pretty good.

(APPLAUSE)

790 What I've been talking about is not just hope and not just inspiration. It's a \$4,000 tuition credit for every student, every year, in exchange for national service...

(APPLAUSE)

... so that college becomes more affordable.

795 OBAMA: I've been talking about making sure that we change our tax code so that working families actually get relief. I have been talking about making sure that we bring an end to this war in Iraq so that we can start bringing our troops home and invest money here in the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

800 So just to finish up, these are very specific, concrete, detailed proposals, many of them which I have been working on for years now. Senator Clinton has a fine record. So do I. I'm happy to have a debate on the issues, but what we shouldn't be spending time doing is tearing each other down. We should be spending time lifting the country up.

805 (APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Senator Clinton, is it the silly season?

CLINTON: Well, I think that if your candidacy is going to be about words, then they should be your own words. That's, I think, a very simple proposition.

(APPLAUSE)

810 And, you know, lifting whole passages from someone else's speeches is not change you can believe in, it's change you can Xerox. And I just don't think...

OBAMA: Come on.

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: No, but, you know, but, Barack, it is.

815 Because, you know, if you look -- if you look -- if you look at the YouTube of these videos, it does raise questions.

Now, there is no doubt that you are a passionate, eloquent speaker, and I applaud you for that. But when you look at what we face in this country, we do need to unite the country, but we have to unite it for a purpose around very  
820 specific goals.

CLINTON: It is not enough to say, "Let's come together." We know we're going to have to work hard to overcome the opposition of those who do not want the changes to get to universal health care.

You know, when I proposed a universal health care plan, as did Senator  
825 Edwards, we took a big risk, because we know it's politically controversial to say we're going to cover everyone.

And you chose not to do that. You chose to put forth a health care plan that will leave out at least 15 million people. That's a big difference.

830 When I said we should put a moratorium on home foreclosures, basically your response was, well, that wouldn't work.

And, you know, in the last week, even President Bush has said we have to do something like that.

I just believe that we've got to look hard at the difficult challenges we face, especially after George Bush leaves the White House.

835 CLINTON: The world will breathe a sigh of relief once he is gone. We all know that.

(APPLAUSE)

840 But then we've got to do the hard work of not just bringing the country together, but overcoming a lot of the entrenched opposition to the very ideas that both of us believe in, and for some of us have been fighting for, for a very long time. You know, when I took on...

(APPLAUSE)

845 When I took on universal health care back in '93 and '94, it was against a firestorm of special interest opposition. I was more than happy to do that, because I believe passionately in getting quality affordable health care to every American.

I don't want to leave anybody out. I see the results of leaving people out. I am tired of health insurance companies deciding who will live or die in America.

(APPLAUSE)

850 BROWN: All right, Senator Clinton, thank you.

Senator Obama, please respond.

(APPLAUSE)

855 OBAMA: Well, I think that Senator Clinton mentioned two specific issue areas where we've got some differences. I'm happy to debate those, which is what I think should be the focus of this campaign. We both want universal health care.

When I released my plan a few months later, we were in a debate and Senator Clinton said we all want universal health care. Of course, I was down 20 points in the polls at the time, and so my plan was pretty good. It's not as good now, but my plan hasn't changed. The politics have changed a little bit.

860 We both -- 95 percent of our plans are similar. We both want to set up a system in which any person is going to be able to get coverage that is as good as we have as members of Congress. And we are going to subsidize those who can't afford it.

OBAMA: We're going to make sure that we reduce costs by emphasizing  
865 prevention. And I want to make sure that we're applying technology to improve quality, cut bureaucracy.

Now, I also want to make sure that we're reducing costs for those who already have health insurance. So we put in place a catastrophic reinsurance plan that would reduce costs by \$2,500 per family per year.

870 So we've got a lot of similarities in our plan. We've got a philosophical difference, which we've debated repeatedly, and that is that Senator Clinton believes the only way to achieve universal health care is to force everybody to purchase it.

And my belief is, the reason that people don't have it is not because they don't  
875 want it but because they can't afford it.

And so I emphasize reducing costs.

(APPLAUSE)

And as has been noted by many observers, including Bill Clinton's former  
880 secretary of labor, my plan does more than anybody to reduce costs, and there is nobody out there who wants health insurance who can't have it.

OBAMA: Now, there are legitimate arguments for why Senator Clinton and others have called for a mandate, and I'm happy to have that debate.

But the notion that I am leaving 15 million people out somehow implies that we  
885 are different in our goals of providing coverage to all Americans, and that is simply not true. We think that there's going to be a different way of getting there.

One last point I want to make on the health care front. I admire the fact that Senator Clinton tried to bring about health care reform back in 1993. She deserves credit for that.

890 (APPLAUSE)

But I said before, I think she did it in the wrong way, because it wasn't just the fact that the insurance companies, the drug companies were battling here, and no doubt they were. It was also that Senator Clinton and the administration

895 went behind closed doors, excluded the participation even of Democratic members of Congress who had slightly different ideas than the ones that Senator Clinton had put forward.

And, as a consequence, it was much more difficult to get Congress to cooperate.

900 OBAMA: And I've said that I'm going to do things differently. I think we have to open up the process. Everybody has to have a seat at the table. And most importantly, the American people have to be involved and educated about how this change is going to be brought about.

905 The point is this, you know, we can have great plans, but if we don't change how the politics is working in Washington, then neither of our plans are going to happen, and we're going to be four years from now debating once again how we're going to bring universal health care to this country.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: All right, we've got some time constraints here, so we've got to take another real quick break. Stay with us. We've got a lot more ahead.

910 You can compare the candidates on the issues any time; just go to our Web site, Cnnpolitics.com. A lot more ahead here at the University of Texas. We'll be right back.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: An enthusiastic crowd here at the University of Texas.

915 Welcome back to the Texas Democratic debate. Let's get right to it. Jorge Ramos with the next question.

RAMOS: Senator Clinton, yesterday you said, and I'm quoting, "One of us is ready to be commander in chief."

920 Are you saying that Senator Obama is not ready and not qualified to be commander in chief?

CLINTON: Well, I believe that I am ready and I am prepared. And I will leave that to the voters to decide.

But I want to get back to health care, because I didn't get a chance to respond after Senator Obama finished. No, let me finish, Jorge...

925 RAMOS: But I would like to come back...

CLINTON: This is a significant difference. You know, Senator Obama has said it's a philosophical difference. I think it's a substantive difference.

930 He has a mandate for parents to be sure to ensure their children. I agree with that. I just know that if we don't go and require everyone to have health insurance, the health insurance industry will still game the system. Everyone of us with insurance will pay the hidden tax of approximately \$900 a year to make up for the lack of insurance.

(APPLAUSE)

935 And you know, in one of our earlier debates, John Edwards made a great point. It would be as though Social Security were voluntary. Medicare, one of the great accomplishments of President Johnson, was voluntary.

(APPLAUSE)

I do not believe that is going to work. So it's not just a philosophical difference.

940 CLINTON: You look at what will work and what will not work. If you do not have a plan that starts out attempting to achieve universal health care, you will be nibbled to death, and we will be back here with more and more people uninsured and rising costs.

(APPLAUSE)

945 BROWN: All right. We appreciate that you want to make a point, Senator Obama. We have limited time, so I would like Jorge to move on to another subject or we're going to be out of time.

(CROSSTALK)

OBAMA: Well, I understand. But I think that Senator Clinton made a...

(LAUGHTER)

950 You know, she's making a point, and I think I should have the opportunity to respond very briefly. And I'll try to make...

BROWN: Very briefly, absolutely.

955 OBAMA: Number one, understand that when Senator Clinton says a mandate, it's not a mandate on government to provide health insurance, it's a mandate on individuals to purchase it. And Senator Clinton is right; we have to find out what works.

OBAMA: Now, Massachusetts has a mandate right now. They have exempted 20 percent of the uninsured because they have concluded that that 20 percent can't afford it.

960 In some cases, there are people who are paying fines and still can't afford it, so now they're worse off than they were. They don't have health insurance and they're paying a fine.

(APPLAUSE)

965 In order for you to force people to get health insurance, you've got to have a very harsh penalty, and Senator Clinton has said that we won't go after their wages. Now, this is a substantive difference. But understand that both of us seek to get universal health care. I have a substantive difference with Senator Clinton on how to get there.

BROWN: All right, Senator Clinton?

970 CLINTON: Wait a minute, no, this is too important. This is the number one issue that people talk to me about. You know, when a mother grabs my arm and says, "I can't get the operation my son needs because I don't have health insurance," it is personal for me.

CLINTON: And I just fundamentally disagree.

975 You know, Senator Obama's plan has a mandate on parents and a fine if parents do not...

OBAMA: That's right.

CLINTON: ... insure their children.

OBAMA: That's right.

980 CLINTON: Because he recognizes that unless we have some kind of restriction, we will not get there.

OBAMA: There's a reason.

CLINTON: He's also said that if people show up at a hospital sick, without health insurance, well, maybe at that point you can fine them.

985 We would not have a social compact with Social Security and Medicare if everyone did not have to participate. I want a universal health care plan.

(APPLAUSE)

OBAMA: Now, that's -- that mother -- that mother who is desperate to get health care for her child, will be able to get that health care under my plan.  
990 Point number one.

Point number two, the reason a mandate for children can be effective is we've got an ability to make affordable health care available to that child, right now.

OBAMA: There are no excuses. If a parent is not providing health care for that child, it's because the parent's not being responsible, under my plan. And those  
995 children don't have a choice. But I think that adults are going to be able to see that they can afford it, under my plan; they will get it, under my plan.

And it is true that, if it turns out that some are gaming the system, then we can impose, potentially, some penalties on them for gaming the system.

But the notion that, somehow, I am interested in leaving out 15 million people,  
1000 without health insurance, is simply not true.

BROWN: All right. Jorge...

CLINTON: We disagree on that.

BROWN: OK. Jorge -- let's let Jorge re-ask his question, because I don't think anyone remembers that one.

1005 (LAUGHTER)

RAMOS: Let me try again, and not in Spanish, OK?

(LAUGHTER)

Here we go again. Because we also believe the war in Iraq is very important.

And here's the question. Are you suggesting that Senator Obama is not ready;  
1010 he doesn't have the experience to be commander in chief? That's a question of: What did you mean by that phrase?

CLINTON: What I mean is that, you know, for more than 15 years, I've been honored to represent our country in more than 80 countries to negotiate on matters such as opening borders for refugees during the war in Kosovo, to  
1015 stand up for women's rights as human rights around the world. I've served on the Senate...

(APPLAUSE)

I've served on the Senate Armed Services Committee, and I have worked as one of the leaders in the Congress on behalf of Homeland Security in the very  
1020 difficult challenges we face.

1025 You know, just this week, it's a good example. We had elections in Pakistan, we had change in government in Cuba -- or at least the leadership. We've had the elections that, you know, should have happened that haven't happened and just changed the leader the way they do in Cuba. We've had Kosovo declaring independence, and we have had our embassy set on fire in Serbia.

So we have serious problems that pose a real question about presidential leadership, and also some great opportunities. You know, we now have opportunities perhaps with Cuba, I hope with President Musharraf, for him to do the right thing.

1030 CLINTON: I supported the independence of Kosovo because I think it is imperative that in the heart of Europe we continue to promote independence and democracy. And I would be moving very aggressively to hold the Serbian government responsible with their security forces to protect our embassy. Under international law, they should be doing that.

1035 So when you think about everything that is going to happen, what we can predict and what we cannot predict, I believe that I am prepared and ready on day one to be commander in chief, to be the president, to turn our economy around, and to begin making a lot of these very difficult decisions that we will inherit from George Bush. And that is what I am putting forth to the voters.

1040 (APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Senator Obama?

OBAMA: I wouldn't be running if I didn't think I was prepared to be commander-in-chief.

(APPLAUSE)

1045 My number one job as president will be to keep the American people safe. I will do whatever is required to accomplish that. I will not hesitate to act against those that would do America harm.

1050 Now, that involves maintaining the strongest military on earth, which means that we are training our troops properly and equipping them properly, and putting them on proper rotations. And there are an awful lot of families here in Texas who have been burdened under two and three and four tours because of the poor planning of the current commander-in-chief, and that will end when I am president.

(APPLAUSE)

1055 OBAMA: But it also means using our military wisely. And on what I believe was the single most important foreign policy decision of this generation, whether or not to go to war in Iraq, I believe I showed the judgment of a commander in chief. And I think that Senator Clinton was wrong in her judgments on that.

1060 (APPLAUSE)

Now, that has consequences -- that has significant consequences, because it has diverted attention from Afghanistan where al Qaeda, that killed 3,000 Americans, are stronger now than at any time since 2001.

1065 You know, I've heard from an Army captain who was the head of a rifle platoon -- supposed to have 39 men in a rifle platoon. Ended up being sent to Afghanistan with 24 because 15 of those soldiers had been sent to Iraq.

1070 OBAMA: And as a consequence, they didn't have enough ammunition, they didn't have enough humvees. They were actually capturing Taliban weapons, because it was easier to get Taliban weapons than it was for them to get properly equipped by our current commander in chief.

1075 Now, that's a consequence of bad judgment. And you know, the question is, on the critical issues that we face right now, who's going to show the judgment to lead? And I think that on every critical issue that we've seen in foreign policy over the last several years -- going into Iraq originally, I didn't just oppose it for the sake of opposing it.

I said this is going to distract us from Afghanistan; this is going to fan the flames of anti-American sentiment; it's going to cost us billions of dollars and thousands of lives and overstretch our military. And I was right.

1080 On the question of Pakistan, which Senator Clinton just raised -- we just had an election there. But I've said very clearly that we have put all our eggs in the Musharraf basket. That was a mistake. We should be going after al Qaeda and making sure that Pakistan is serious about hunting down terrorists, as well as expanding democracy. And I was right about that.

1085 On the issues that have come up that a commander in chief is going to have to make decisions on, I have shown the judgment to lead. That is the leadership that I want to show when I'm president of the United States.

OBAMA: On the issues that have come up, that a commander in chief is going to have to make decisions on, I have shown the judgment to lead. That is the leadership that I want to show when I'm president of the United States.

1090 (APPLAUSE)

BROWN: All right. We're going to stay with this and stay on Iraq.

John King?

1095 KING: I want to continue in this vein, and hone in on the very point you just made. Because one of you, unless this remarkable campaign here takes another wacky, unpredictable turn, is going to be running against a decorated war hero, who is going to say that you don't have the experience to be commander in chief.

And you have both said, it's not about that type of experience; it's about judgment.

1100 You both had to make a judgment, a short time ago, in your job in the United States Senate, about whether to support the surge. And as that was going on, Senator Clinton, you had the commanding general in Iraq before you. And you said, "I think that the reports provide to us really require the willing suspension of disbelief" -- your words to General Petraeus.

1105 KING: I want you to look at Iraq now and listen to those who say the security situation is better. Ideal, no, but better -- some say significantly, in recent days, even some steps toward a political reconciliation.

Is Iraq today better off than it was six months or a year ago because of the surge?

1110 CLINTON: Well, John, I think you forget a very important premise of the surge. The rationale of the surge was to create the space and time for the Iraqi government to make the decisions that only it can make.

1115 Now, there is no doubt, given the skill and the commitment of our young men and women in uniform that putting more of them in will give us a tactical advantage and will provide security in some places, and that has occurred.

CLINTON: But the fact is that the purpose of it has not been fulfilled. The Iraqi government has slowly inched toward making a few of the decisions in a less than complete way, but it hasn't taken advantage of the sacrifice and the losses of life and billions of dollars that have occurred since the surge began.

1120 That is why I have said, upon taking office I would ask the secretary of defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and my security advisers to give me a plan so that I could begin withdrawing our troops within 60 days.

And I would begin that with...

(APPLAUSE)

1125 ... with a very clear message to the Iraqis that they no longer had a blank check, as they had been given by President Bush, that as we withdraw our troops, probably one to two brigades a month, they would have to step up and make these decisions.

1130 CLINTON: I believe that is in the best interest of our military, which has been stretched thin.

Last night in Brownsville, you know, a woman grabbed my hand and said, "Please, my husband's there for the third time. Bring him home."

1135 And I told her privately what I have said publicly many times -- I will bring him home because I do not think it is in the interest of America or of the Iraqis that we continue to be there. It is up to the Iraqis to decide the kind of future they will have.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Senator Obama, in the same vein, you were also opposed to the surge from the beginning. Were you wrong?

1140 OBAMA: Well, I think it is indisputable that we've seen violence reduced in Iraq. And that's a credit to our brave men and women in uniform.

In fact, you know, the 1st Cavalry, out of Fort Hood, played an enormous role in pushing back al Qaeda out of Baghdad.

(APPLAUSE)

1145 OBAMA: And, you know, we honor their service.

But this is a tactical victory imposed upon a huge strategic blunder.

(LAUGHTER)

1150 And I think that, when we're having a debate with John McCain, it is going to be much easier for the candidate who was opposed to the concept of invading Iraq in the first place to have a debate about the wisdom of that decision...

(APPLAUSE)

... than having to argue about the tactics subsequent to the decision.

(LAUGHTER)

1155 Because, ultimately, that's what's at stake. Understand, not only have we been  
diverted from Afghanistan. We've been diverted from focusing on Latin  
America.

We contribute -- our entire foreign aid to Latin America is \$2.7 billion,  
approximately what we spend in Iraq in a week.

1160 OBAMA: And it is any surprise, then, that you've seen people like Hugo  
Chavez and countries like China move into the void, because we've been  
neglectful of that.

Iran is the single biggest strategic beneficiary of us having invaded Iraq, and  
that is something that I think John McCain has to come to terms with.

So that is a debate that I'm happy to have.

1165 One last point I want to make on this, and that is, the incredible burden that has  
been placed on the American people, starting with military families, and the  
fact that we still are not doing right by our veterans, that we still don't honor  
their service, that there are still homeless veterans, that we still don't screen  
properly for post-traumatic stress disorder and make sure that they're getting  
1170 mental services that they need, that we are still...

(APPLAUSE)

... having veterans in south Texas have to drive 250 miles to access a veterans  
hospital.

1175 OBAMA: That's unacceptable. But we talked about the economy earlier, the fact  
that we're spending \$12 billion every month in Iraq means that we can't engage  
in the kind of infrastructure improvements that are going to make us more  
competitive. It means that we can't deliver on the kinds of health care reforms  
that both Senator Clinton and I are looking for.

1180 And that is also an argument that we have to have with John McCain because  
he has said that he is willing to have these troops over there for 100 years. The  
notion that we would sustain that kind of effort and neglect not only making us  
more secure here at home, more competitive here at home, allow our economy  
to sink. As John McCain says, he doesn't really understand the economy that  
well. It is clear from his embrace of George Bush's policies that he doesn't, and  
1185 that's what I intend to change when I am president of the United States of  
America.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: All right. We've got to take another quick break. We've got a lot more ahead. Stay with us. We'll be right back.

1190 (COMMERCIAL BREAK)

BROWN: Welcome back to the Texas Democratic debate.

Stay with us after the debate. Anderson Cooper and the best political team on television will have lots of analysis.

But back to the debate.

1195 John King?

KING: Thank you.

Both of you have been harshly critical of the Bush administration for its secrecy, what you consider overuse of secrecy and executive power.

1200 Tonight, Senator Obama, you've talked about more transparency. You also at one point criticized earmarks.

And yet, a recent report came out that identified you -- lower on the list in terms how much money senators seek and sneak into the budget for these pork barrel spending projects, but it still said you were responsible for \$91 million in earmarks.

1205 And you have refused to say where the money went, what it's for. Why?

OBAMA: No, that's not true. We've actually disclosed, John, all our earmarks. And so, you know, we'll be happy to provide you with that information, because I believe very strongly in transparency.

1210 OBAMA: As I indicated earlier, one of the things that I did last year was to pass a bill with Tom Coburn, very conservative Republican but a sincere fiscal conservative. And we got together and created what we call Google for Government. It's a searchable database, where every single dollar of federal spending is posted on the Internet, so that ordinary voters can take a look. And if they see a bridge to nowhere being built, they know where it's going and who  
1215 sponsored it. And if they see a no-bid contract going to Halliburton, they can check that out, too.

And you know, the idea is that we open up the process so that the American people can make judgments about whether or not government is doing what it's supposed to be doing with its taxpayer money. And I've been consistently in  
1220 favor of more disclosure around earmarks.

OBAMA: Now, keep in mind, a lot of these are worthy projects in our states. I have actively pursued projects that I think are important. But I want to make sure that they're not done in the dark of night, that they're not done in committee, that everybody stands up and says, "this is the kind of spending that I think is important."

1225

I have consistently supported those efforts. I will push for those as president of the United States of America.

KING: Senator Clinton, as you know, I think your number was about \$342 million. You say they're worthy projects, as Senator Obama did, for your state and that's part of your job, to get money for worthy projects back in your state.

1230

Senator McCain, as you know, is proud of going around the country earmark.

On the specific issue of pork barrel spending, fiscal accountability by the government at a time when many Americans frankly think, whether it is the House or the Senate, that you all waste money on things that aren't important to them, don't affect their daily lives, does he have a better case to make to the American people that, "I have done this my entire career; I will do it as president," on the issue of on the issue of wasteful pork barrel spending?

1235

CLINTON: Well, no, not at all. Because he supported the wasteful tax cuts of the Bush administration and the Iraq war, with the billions of dollars...

1240 (APPLAUSE)

... that have been spent, and wants it to continue.

You know, when President Bush came into office, he inherited a balanced budget and a surplus. And it is gone. And we now are looking at a projected deficit of \$400 billion, under the new Bush budget, and a \$9 trillion debt.

1245 We borrow money from the Chinese to buy oil from the Saudis. That is not a winning strategy for America.

(APPLAUSE)

I will get us back to fiscal responsibility. And I will make it clear that the Bush tax cuts on the upper income, those making more than \$250,000 a year, will be allowed to expire.

1250

CLINTON: Middle-class tax cuts and support for the middle class, to make college affordable, retirement security possible, health insurance affordable: Those will be my priorities.

1255 And I think it's important that we look at where the money has gone under President Bush -- no-bid contracts, cronyism, outsourcing the government in ways that haven't saved us money and have reduced accountability.

So the larger question is, who really is going to move us toward fiscal responsibility, and I believe that we can get back on the path we were on. It was working well. It was one of the reasons why the economy was booming.

1260 I've got that, you know, clearly in my economic blueprint, which is something that I've published the last few days, because it's part of what we have to do again. And I think that I will be very comfortable and effective in taking on Senator McCain over the fiscal irresponsibility of the Republican Party that he's been a part of.

1265 (APPLAUSE)

BROWN: All right.

An issue relating to the current election.

Jorge?

1270 RAMOS: As we can see, this has been an extremely close nomination battle that will come down to superdelegates. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, the highest ranking Democrat in government, said recently, and I'm quoting, "It would be a problem" -- and this is a question for you, Senator Clinton -- "it would be a problem for the party if the verdict would be something different than the public has decided."

1275 Do you agree?

CLINTON: Well, you know, these are the rules that are followed, and you know, I think that it will sort itself out. I'm not worried about that. We will have a nominee, and we will have a unified Democratic Party, and we will go on to victory in November.

1280 (APPLAUSE)

BROWN: Senator Obama, go ahead. Do you have a response to Senator Clinton?

1285 OBAMA: Well, I think it is important, given how hard Senator Clinton and I have been working, that these primaries and caucuses count for something. And so my belief is that...

(APPLAUSE)

... the will of the voters, expressed in this long election process, is what ultimately will determine who our next nominee is going to be.

1290 OBAMA: But understand what I think is most important to the voters, and that is that we have a government that is listening to them again. They feel as if they've been shut out.

You know, when I meet mothers who are trying to figure out how to get health care for their kids, it's not just the desperation of that single mom. It's also that when they try to find some help, oftentimes they're hitting a brick wall.

1295 And they don't get a sense that the debates that are happening in Washington right now relate to them at all. And what they believe is that people are trying to get on TV and they're trying to score points and they're trying to win elections, and that they're not interested in knocking down the barriers that stand between the American people and their dreams.

1300 And I have no doubt that the Democratic Party at its best can summon a sense of common purpose again and higher purpose for the American people.

OBAMA: And I think that the next nominee going into the November election is going to have a lot to talk about because the American people are tired of politics that is dominated by the powerful, by the connected. They want their  
1305 government back, and that's what I intend to provide them when I'm nominated for president of the United States.

(APPLAUSE)

BROWN: We have time for just one final question, and we thought we would sort of end on a more philosophical question. You've both spent a lot of time  
1310 talking about leadership, about who's ready and who has the right judgment to lead if elected president.

A leader's judgment is most tested at times of crisis. I'm wondering if both of you will describe what was the moment that tested you the most, that moment of crisis.

1315 BROWN: Senator Obama?

OBAMA: Well, you know, I wouldn't point to a single moment. But what I look at is the trajectory of my life because, you know, I was raised by a single mom. My father left when I was two, and I was raised by my mother and my  
grandparents.

1320 And, you know, there were rocky periods during my youth, when I made mistakes and was off course. And what was most important, in my life, was

learning to take responsibility for my own actions, learning to take responsibility for not only my own actions but how I can bring people together to actually have an impact on the world.

1325 And so, working as a community organizer on the streets of Chicago, with ordinary people, bringing them together and organizing them to provide jobs and health care, economic security to people who didn't have it, then working as a civil rights attorney and rejecting the jobs on Wall Street to fight for those who were being discriminated against on the job -- that cumulative experience,  
1330 I think, is the judgment that I now bring.

OBAMA: It's the reason that I have the capacity to bring people together, and it's the reason why I am determined to make sure that the American people get a government that is worthy of their decency and their generosity.

(APPLAUSE)

1335 BROWN: Senator Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think everybody here knows I've lived through some crises and some challenging moments in my life. And...

(APPLAUSE)

And I am grateful for the support and the prayers of countless Americans.

1340 But people often ask me, "How do you do it?" You know, "How do you keep going?" And I just have to shake my head in wonderment, because with all of the challenges that I've had, they are nothing compared to what I see happening in the lives of Americans every single day. along with Senator McCain, as the only two elected officials, to speak at the opening at the Intrepid Center at  
1345 Brooke Medical Center in San Antonio, a center designed to take care of and provide rehabilitation for our brave young men and women who have been injured in war.

And I remember sitting up there and watching them come in. Those who could walk were walking. Those who had lost limbs were trying with great courage to get themselves in without the help of others. Some were in wheelchairs and  
1350 some were on gurneys. And the speaker representing these wounded warriors had had most of his face disfigured by the results of fire from a roadside bomb.

CLINTON: You know, the hits I've taken in life are nothing compared to what goes on every single day in the lives of people across our country.

1355 And I resolved at a very young age that I'd been blessed and that I was called by my faith and by my upbringing to do what I could to give others the same opportunities and blessings that I took for granted.

That's what gets me up in the morning. That's what motivates me in this campaign.

1360 (APPLAUSE)

And, you know, no matter what happens in this contest -- and I am honored, I am honored to be here with Barack Obama. I am absolutely honored.

(APPLAUSE)

1365 CLINTON: Whatever happens, we're going to be fine. You know, we have strong support from our families and our friends. I just hope that we'll be able to say the same thing about the American people, and that's what this election should be about.

(APPLAUSE)

1370 BROWN: All right, a standing ovation here in Austin, Texas. Our thanks to Senator Barack Obama and Senator Hillary Clinton. We appreciate your time tonight.

(APPLAUSE)

And to John and Jorge as well.

1375 We also want to thank our debate partners, the University of Texas at Austin and the Texas Democratic Party, the LBJ Library as well, and the city of Austin.

# **Debate 3 (D3)**

February 26, 2008:

Cleveland State University,  
Cleveland, OH

## Introduction

Established in 1964, Cleveland State University is a young institution that holds 16,000 students. It is located in the metropolitan area of Cleveland, OH (csuohio.edu).

### **Moderator Brian Williams: Anchors and is the Managing Editor of *NBC***

*Nightly News* where he replaced the longtime anchor, Tom Brokaw in 2004 (msnbc.msn.com 1). Mr. Williams did not manage to complete his studies at the Catholic University of America, but has instead worked his way into national news broadcasting from a position as an intern with the previous Carter administration (wikipedia.org).

**Moderator Tim Russert:** Was, until his death in June, 2008, the moderator of NBC's *Meet the Press*, the longest running TV-show in history as well as the most quoted news program in the world. He also served as a political analyst for *NBC Nightly News* and the *TODAY* program as well as he anchored The Tim Russert Show. Additionally, he served as Senior Vice President and Washington Bureau Chief of NBC News. Mr. Russert graduated from John Carroll University and with honors from the Cleveland-Marshall College of Law (msnbc.msn.com 2).

## Transcript

MR. WILLIAMS: A lot has been said since we last gathered in this forum, certainly since -- in the few days since you two last debated. Senator Clinton, in  
5 your comments especially, the difference has been striking. And let's begin by taking a look.

SEN. CLINTON: (From videotape.) You know, no matter what happens in this contest -- and I am honored, I am honored to be here with Barack Obama. I am absolutely honored. (Cheers, applause.)

10 (From videotape.) So shame on you, Barack Obama. It is time you ran a campaign consistent with your messages in public. That's what I expect from you. Meet me in Ohio. Let's have a debate about your tactics and your -- (cheers, applause).

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Clinton, we're here in Ohio. Senator Obama is here.  
15 This is the debate. You would agree the difference in tone over just those 48 hours was striking.

SEN. CLINTON: Well, this is a contested campaign. And as I have said many times, I have a great deal of respect for Senator Obama, but we have differences. And in the last several days, some of those differences in tactics and the choices  
20 that Senator Obama's campaign has made regarding flyers and mailers and other information that has been put out about my health care plan and my position on NAFTA have been very disturbing to me.

And therefore, I think it's important that you stand up for yourself and you point out these differences so that voters can have the information they need to  
25 make a decision.

You know, for example, it's been unfortunate that Senator Obama has consistently said that I would force people to have health care whether they could afford it or not. You know, health care reform and achieving universal health care is a passion of mine. It is something I believe in with all my heart.  
30 And every day that I'm campaigning, and certainly here throughout Ohio, I've met so many families -- happened again this morning in Lorain -- who are just devastated because they don't get the health care they deserve to have. And unfortunately it's a debate we should have that is accurate and is based in facts about my plan and Senator Obama's plan, because my plan will cover everyone

35 and it will be affordable. And on many occasions, independent experts have concluded exactly that.

And Senator Obama's plan does not cover everyone. It would leave, give or take, 15 million people out. So we should have a good debate that uses accurate information, not false, misleading, and discredited information, especially on something as important as whether or not we will achieve quality, affordable health care for everyone. That's my goal. That's what I'm fighting for, and I'm going to stand up for that.

MR. WILLIAMS: On the topic of accurate information, and to that end, one of the things that has happened over the past 36 hours -- a photo went out the website The Drudge Report, showing Senator Obama in the native garb of a nation he was visiting, as you have done in a host country on a trip overseas.

Matt Drudge on his website said it came from a source inside the Clinton campaign. Can you say unequivocally here tonight it did not?

SEN. CLINTON: Well, so far as I know, it did not. And I certainly know nothing about it and have made clear that that's not the kind of behavior that I condone or expect from the people working in my campaign. But we have no evidence where it came from.

So I think that it's clear what I would do if it were someone in my campaign, as I have in the past: asking people to leave my campaign if they do things that I disagree with.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Obama, your response.

SEN. OBAMA: Well, first of all, I take Senator Clinton at her word that she knew nothing about the photo. So I think that's something that we can set aside.

I do want to focus on the issue of health care because Senator Clinton has suggested that the flyer that we put out, the mailing that we put out, was inaccurate. Now, keep in mind that I have consistently said that Senator Clinton's got a good health care plan. I think I have a good health care plan. I think mine is better, but I have said that 95 percent of our health care plan is similar.

I have endured over the course of this campaign repeatedly negative mailing from Senator Clinton in Iowa, in Nevada and other places suggesting that I want to leave 15 million people out.

According to Senator Clinton, that is accurate. I dispute it, and I think it is inaccurate. On the other hand, I don't fault Senator Clinton for wanting to point out what she thinks is an advantage to her plan.

The reason she thinks that there are more people covered under her plan than mine is because of a mandate. That is not a mandate for the government to provide coverage to everybody; it is a mandate that every individual purchase health care.

And the mailing that we put out accurately indicates that the main difference between Senator Clinton's plan and mine is the fact that she would force in some fashion individuals to purchase health care.

If it was not affordable, she would still presumably force them to have it, unless there is a hardship exemption as they've done in Massachusetts, which leaves 20 percent of the uninsured out. And if that's the case, then, in fact, her claim that she covers everybody is not accurate.

Now, Senator Clinton has not indicated how she would enforce this mandate. She hasn't indicated what level of subsidy she would provide to assure that it was, in fact, affordable. And so it is entirely legitimate for us to point out these differences.

But I think it's very important to understand the context of this, and that is that Senator Clinton has -- her campaign, at least -- has constantly sent out negative attacks on us, e-mail, robocalls, flyers, television ads, radio calls.

And, you know, we haven't whined about it because I understand that's the nature of these campaigns, but to suggest somehow that our mailing is somehow different from the kinds of approaches that Senator Clinton has taken throughout this campaign I think is simply not accurate.

MR. WILLIAMS: And Senator Clinton, on this subject --

SEN. CLINTON: But I have to -- I have to respond to that because this is not just any issue, and certainly we've had a vigorous back and forth on both sides of our campaign. But this is an issue that goes to the heart of whether or not this country will finally do what is right, and that is to provide quality affordable health care to every single person.

Senator Obama has a mandate in his plan. It's a mandate on parents to provide health insurance for their children. That's about 150 million people who would

105 be required to do that. The difference between Senator Obama and myself is that I know, from the work I've done on health care for many years, that if everyone's not in the system we will continue to let the insurance companies do what's called cherry picking -- pick those who get insurance and leave others out.

We will continue to have a hidden tax, so that when someone goes to the emergency room without insurance -- 15 million or however many -- that amount of money that will be used to take care of that person will be then spread among all the rest of us.

110 And most importantly, you know, the kind of attack on my health care plan, which the University of Pennsylvania and others have said is misleading -- that attack goes right to the heart of whether or not we will be able to achieve universal health care. That's a core Democratic Party value. It's something that ever since Harry Truman we have stood for.

115 And what I find regrettable is that in Senator Obama's mailing that he has sent out across Ohio, it is almost as though the health insurance companies and the Republicans wrote it, because in my plan there is enough money, according to the independent experts who've evaluated it, to provide the kind of subsidies so that everyone would be able to afford it. It is not the same as a single state  
120 trying to do this, because the federal government has many more resources at its disposal.

SEN. OBAMA (?): (Inaudible.)

SEN. CLINTON: So I think it's imperative that we stand as Democrats for universal health care. I've staked out a claim for that. Senator Edwards did.  
125 Others have. But Senator Obama has not.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Obama, a quick response.

SEN. OBAMA: Well, look, I believe in universal health care, as does Senator Clinton. And this is -- this is, I think, the point of the debate, is that Senator Clinton repeatedly claims that I don't stand for universal health care. And, you  
130 know, for Senator Clinton to say that, I think, is simply not accurate.

Every expert has said that anybody who wants health care under my plan will be able to obtain it. President Clinton's own secretary of Labor has said that my plan does more to reduce costs and as a consequence makes sure that the people who need health care right now all across Ohio, all across Texas, Rhode

135 Island, Vermont, all across America, will be able to obtain it. And we do more to reduce costs than any other plan that's been out there.

Now, I have no objection to Senator Clinton thinking that her approach is superior, but the fact of the matter is, is that if, as we've heard tonight, we still don't know how Senator Clinton intends to enforce a mandate, and if we don't  
140 know the level of subsidies that she's going to provide, then you can have a situation, which we are seeing right now in the state of Massachusetts, where people are being fined for not having purchased health care but choose to accept the fine because they still can't afford it, even with the subsidies.

And they are then worse off. They then have no health care and are paying a  
145 fine above and beyond that.

MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you.

SEN. OBAMA: That is a genuine difference between myself and Senator Clinton.

And the last point I would make is, the insurance companies actually are happy  
150 to have a mandate. The insurance companies don't mind making sure that everybody has to purchase their product. That's not something they're objecting to. The question is, are we going to make sure that it is affordable for everybody? And that's my goal when I'm president of the United States.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator, as you two --

155 SEN. CLINTON: You know, Brian -- Brian, wait a minute. I've got -- this is too important.

You know, Senator Obama has a mandate. He would enforce the mandate by requiring parents to buy insurance for their children.

SEN. OBAMA: This is true.

160 SEN. CLINTON: That is the case.

If you have a mandate, it has to be enforceable. So there's no difference here.

SEN. OBAMA: No, there is a difference.

SEN. CLINTON: It's just that I know that parents who get sick have terrible consequences for their children. So you can insure the children, and then you've

165 got the bread-winner who can't afford health insurance or doesn't have it for him or herself.

And in fact, it would be as though Franklin Roosevelt said let's make Social Security voluntary -- that's -- you know, that's -- let's let everybody get in it if they can afford it -- or if President Johnson said let's make Medicare voluntary.

170 SEN. OBAMA: Well, let me --

SEN. CLINTON: What we have said is that at the point of employment, at the point of contact with various government agencies, we would have people signed up. It's like when you get a 401(k), it's your employer. The employer automatically enrolls you. You would be enrolled.

175 And under my plan, it is affordable because, number one, we have enough money in our plan. A comparison of the plans like the ones we're proposing found that actually I would cover nearly everybody at a much lower cost than Senator Obama's plan because we would not only provide these health care tax credits, but I would limit the amount of money that anyone ever has to pay for  
180 a premium to a low percentage of your income. So it will be affordable.

Now, if you want to say that we shouldn't try to get everyone into health insurance, that's a big difference, because I believe if we don't have universal health care, we will never provide prevention.

185 I have the most aggressive measures to reduce costs and improve quality. And time and time again, people who have compared our two approaches have concluded that.

SEN. OBAMA: Brian, I'm sorry.

SEN. CLINTON: So let's -- let's have a debate about the facts.

190 SEN. OBAMA: I'm going to get filibattered -- I'm getting filibustered a little bit here.

MR. WILLIAMS: The last answer on this topic.

SEN. OBAMA: I mean, it is just not accurate to say that Senator Clinton does more to control costs than mine. That is not the case. There are many experts who have concluded that she does not.

195 I do provide a mandate for children, because, number one, we have created a  
number of programs in which we can have greater assurance that those  
children will be covered at an affordable price. On the -- on the point of many  
adults, we don't want to put in a situation in which, on the front end, we are  
mandating them, we are forcing them to purchase insurance, and if the  
200 subsidies are inadequate, the burden is on them, and they will be penalized.  
And that is what Senator Clinton's plan does.

Now, I am -- I am happy to have a discussion with Senator Clinton about how  
we can both achieve the goal of universal health care. What I do not accept --  
and which is what Senator Clinton has consistently done and in fact the same  
205 experts she cites basically say there's no real difference between our plans, that  
are -- that they are not substantial.

But it has to do with how we are going to achieve universal health care. That is  
an area where I believe that if we make it affordable, people will purchase it. In  
fact, Medicare Part B is not mandated, it is voluntary. And yet people over 65  
210 choose to purchase it, Hillary, and the reason they choose to purchase it is  
because it's a good deal. And if people in Cleveland or anywhere in Ohio end  
up seeing a plan that is affordable for them, I promise you they are snatching it  
up because they are desperate to get health care. And that's what I intend to  
provide as president of the United States.

215 MR. WILLIAMS: Senator, I'm going to change the subject.

SEN. CLINTON: About 20 percent of -- about 20 percent of the people who are  
uninsured have the means to buy insurance. They're often young people --

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator --

SEN. CLINTON: -- who think they're immortal --

220 SEN. OBAMA: Which is why I cover them.

SEN. CLINTON: -- except when the illness or the accident strikes. And what  
Senator Obama has said, that then, once you get to the hospital, you'll be forced  
to buy insurance, I don't think that's a good idea. We ought to plan for it --

SEN. OBAMA: With respect --

225 SEN. CLINTON: -- and we ought to make sure we cover everyone.

That is the only way to get to universal health care coverage.

SEN. OBAMA: With respect --

SEN. CLINTON: That is what I've worked for for 15 years --

SEN. OBAMA: With respect --

230 SEN. CLINTON: -- and I believe that we can achieve it. But if we don't even  
have a plan to get there, and we start out by leaving people, you'll never ever  
control costs, improve quality, and cover everyone.

SEN. OBAMA: With respect to the young people, my plan specifically says that  
235 up until the age of 25 you will be able to be covered under your parents'  
insurance plan, so that cohort that

Senator Clinton is talking about will, in fact, have coverage.

MR. WILLIAMS: Well, a 16-minute discussion on health care is certainly a start.  
(Laughter.) I'd like to change up --

SEN. CLINTON: Well, there's hardly anything be more important? I think it  
240 would be good to talk about health care and how we're we going get to  
universal health care.

MR. WILLIAMS: I -- well, here's another important topic, and that's NAFTA,  
especially where we're sitting here tonight. And this is a tough one depending  
on who you ask. The Houston Chronicle has called it a big win for Texas, but  
245 Ohio Democratic Senator Brown, your colleague in the Senate, has called it a  
job-killing trade agreement. Senator Clinton, you've campaigned in south  
Texas. You've campaigned here in Ohio. Who's right?

SEN. CLINTON: Well, can I just point out that in the last several debates, I seem  
to get the first question all the time. And I don't mind. I -- you know, I'll be  
250 happy to field them, but I do find it curious, and if anybody saw "Saturday  
Night Live," you know, maybe we should ask Barack if he's comfortable and  
needs another pillow. (Laughter, boos.) I just find it kind of curious that I keep  
getting the first question on all of these issues. But I'm happy to answer it.

You know, I have been a critic of NAFTA from the very beginning. I didn't have  
255 a public position on it, because I was part of the administration, but when I  
started running for the Senate, I have been a critic. I've said it was flawed. I said

that it worked in some parts of our country, and I've seen the results in Texas. I was in Laredo in the last couple of days. It's the largest inland port in America now. So clearly, some parts of our country have been benefited.

260 But what I have seen, where I represent up-state New York, I've seen the factories closed and moved. I've talked to so many people whose children have left because they don't have a good shot. I've had to negotiate to try to keep factories open, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, because the companies got tax benefits to actually move to another country.

265 So what I have said is that we need to have a plan to fix NAFTA. I would immediately have a trade timeout, and I would take that time to try to fix NAFTA by making it clear that we'll have core labor and environmental standards in the agreement.

270 We will do everything we can to make it enforceable, which it is not now. We will stop the kind of constant sniping at our protections for our workers that can come from foreign companies because they have the authority to try to sue to overturn what we do to keep our workers safe.

275 This is rightly a big issue in Ohio. And I have laid out my criticism, but in addition my plan, for actually fixing NAFTA. Again, I have received a lot of incoming criticism from Senator Obama. And the Cleveland Plain Dealer examined Senator Obama's attacks on me regarding NAFTA and said they were erroneous. So I would hope that, again, we can get to a debate about what the real issues are and where we stand because we do need to fix NAFTA. It is not working. It was, unfortunately, heavily disadvantaging many of our  
280 industries, particularly manufacturing. I have a record of standing up for that, of chairing the Manufacturing Caucus in the Senate, and I will take a tough position on these trade agreements.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator, thank you.

Before we turn the questioning over to Tim Russert, Senator Obama.

285 SEN. OBAMA: Well, I think that it is inaccurate for Senator Clinton to say that she's always opposed NAFTA. In her campaign for Senate, she said that NAFTA, on balance, had been good for New York and good for America. I disagree with that. I think that it did not have the labor standards and environmental standards that were required in order to not just be good for  
290 Wall Street but also be good for Main Street. And if you travel through Youngstown and you travel through communities in my home state of Illinois,

you will see entire cities that have been devastated as a consequence of trade agreements that were not adequately structured to make sure that U.S. workers had a fair deal.

295 Now, I think that Senator Clinton has shifted positions on this and believes that we should have strong environmental standards and labor standards, and I think that's a good thing. But you know, when I first moved to Chicago in the early '80s and I saw steelworkers who had been laid off of their plants -- black, white, and Hispanic -- and I worked on the streets of Chicago to try to help  
300 them find jobs, I saw then that the net costs of many of these trade agreements, if they're not properly structured, can be devastating.

And as president of the United States, I intend to make certain that every agreement that we sign has the labor standards, the environmental standards and the safety standards that are going to protect not just workers, but also  
305 consumers. We can't have toys with lead paint in them that our children are playing with. We can't have medicines that are actually making people more sick instead of better because they're produced overseas. We have to stop providing tax breaks for companies that are shipping jobs overseas and give those tax breaks to companies that are investing here in the United States of  
310 America.

And if we do those things, then I believe that we can actually get Ohio back on the path of growth and jobs and prosperity. If we don't, then we're going to continue to see the kind of deterioration that we've seen economically here in this state.

315 MR. RUSSERT: I want to ask you both about NAFTA because the record, I think, is clear. And I want to -- Senator Clinton. Senator Obama said that you did say in 2004 that on balance NAFTA has been good for New York and America. You did say that. When President Clinton signed this bill -- and this was after he negotiated two new side agreements, for labor and environment --  
320 President Clinton said it would be a force for economic growth and social progress. You said in '96 it was proving its worth as free and fair trade. You said that -- in 2000 -- it was a good idea that took political courage. So your record is pretty clear.

Based on that, and which you're now expressing your discomfort with it, in the  
325 debate that Al Gore had with Ross Perot, Al Gore said the following: "If you don't like NAFTA and what it's done, we can get out of it in six months.

The president can say to Canada and Mexico, we are out. This has not been a good agreement." Will U.S. president say we are out of NAFTA in six months?

330 SEN. CLINTON: I have said that I will renegotiate NAFTA, so obviously, you'd have to say to Canada and Mexico that that's exactly what we're going to do. But you know, in fairness --

MR. RUSSERT: Just because -- maybe Clinton --

SEN. CLINTON: Yes, I am serious.

335 MR. RUSSERT: You will get out. You will notify Mexico and Canada, NAFTA is gone in six months.

SEN. CLINTON: No, I will say we will opt out of NAFTA unless we renegotiate it, and we renegotiate on terms that are favorable to all of America.

340 But let's be fair here, Tim. There are lots of parts of New York that have benefitted, just like there are lots of parts of Texas that have benefitted. The problem is in places like upstate New York, places like Youngstown, Toledo, and others throughout Ohio that have not benefitted. And if you look at what I have been saying, it has been consistent.

You know, Senator Obama told the farmers of Illinois a couple of years ago that he wanted more trade agreements. I -- right now --

345 MR. RUSSERT: We're going to get -- we're going to get to Senator Obama, but I want to stay on your terms --

SEN. CLINTON: Well, but that -- but that is important --

350 MR. RUSSERT: -- because this was something that you wrote about as a real success for your husband. You said it was good on balance for New York and America in 2004, and now you're in Ohio and your words are much different, Senator. The record is very clear.

355 SEN. CLINTON: Well, I -- I -- you don't have all the record because you can go back and look at what I've said consistently. And I haven't just said things; I have actually voted to toughen trade agreements, to try to put more teeth into our enforcement mechanisms. And I will continue to do so.

But you know, Tim, when you look at what the Cleveland Plain Dealer said when they examined the kind of criticism that Senator Obama was making of

me -- it's not me saying it -- they said it was erroneous. And it was erroneous because it didn't look at the entire picture, both at what I've said and what I've  
360 done.

But let's talk about what we're going to do. It is not enough just to criticize NAFTA, which I have, and for some years now. I have put forward a very specific plan about what I would do, and it does include telling Canada and Mexico that we will opt out unless we renegotiate the core labor and  
365 environmental standards -- not side agreements, but core agreements; that we will enhance the enforcement mechanism; and that we will have a very clear view of how we're going to review NAFTA going forward to make sure it works, and we're going to take out the ability of foreign companies to sue us because of what we do to protect our workers.

370 I would also say that you can go back and look at from the very beginning -- I think David Gergen was on TV today remembering that I was very skeptical about it.

It has worked in some parts of America. It has not worked in Ohio. It has not worked in upstate New York. And since I've been in the Senate -- neither of us  
375 voted on this. That wasn't something either of us got to cast an independent vote on. Since I have been in the Senate, I have worked to try to ameliorate the impact of these trade agreements.

MR. RUSSERT: But let me button this up. Absent the change that you're suggesting, you are willing to opt out of NAFTA in six months?

380 SEN. CLINTON: I'm confident that as president, when I say we will opt out unless we renegotiate, we will be able to renegotiate.

MR. RUSSERT: Senator Obama, you did in 2004 talk to farmers and suggest that NAFTA had been helpful. The Associated Press today ran a story about NAFTA, saying that you have been consistently ambivalent towards the issue.  
385 Simple question: Will you, as president, say to Canada and Mexico, "This has not worked for us; we are out"?

SEN. OBAMA: I will make sure that we renegotiate, in the same way that Senator Clinton talked about. And I think actually Senator Clinton's answer on this one is right. I think we should use the hammer of a potential opt-out as  
390 leverage to ensure that we actually get labor and environmental standards that are enforced. And that is not what has been happening so far.

That is something that I have been consistent about. I have to say, Tim, with respect to my position on this, when I ran for the United States Senate, the Chicago Tribune, which was adamantly pro-NAFTA, noted that, in their  
395 endorsement of me, they were endorsing me despite my strong opposition to NAFTA.

And that conversation that I had with the Farm Bureau, I was not ambivalent at all. What I said was that NAFTA and other trade deals can be beneficial to the United States because I believe every U.S. worker is as productive as any  
400 worker around the world, and we can compete with anybody. And we can't shy away from globalization. We can't draw a moat around us. But what I did say, in that same quote, if you look at it, was that the problem is we've been negotiating just looking at corporate profits and what's good for multinationals, and we haven't been looking at what's good for communities here in Ohio, in  
405 my home state of Illinois, and across the country.

And as president, what I want to be is an advocate on behalf of workers. Look, you know, when I go to these plants, I meet people who are proud of their jobs. They are proud of the products that they've created. They have built brands and profits for their companies. And when they see jobs shipped overseas and  
410 suddenly they are left not just without a job, but without health care, without a pension, and are having to look for seven-buck-an-hour jobs at the local fast-food joint, that is devastating on them, but it's also devastating on the community. That's not the way that we're going to prosper as we move forward.

415 MR. RUSSERT: Senator, two journalists here in Ohio wrote a piece called "Business as Usual," which is very well known, suggesting it wasn't trade or manufacturing jobs that were being lost because of it, but rather business as usual: lack of patents, lack of innovation, lack of investment, 70 percent of the Ph.D.s in biology, chemistry, engineering leaving the state.

420 The fact is, exports now have the highest share of our national income ever. Ohio ranks fourth in terms of exports to Canada and Mexico. Are you sure this has not been better for Ohio than you're suggesting?

SEN. OBAMA: I'm positive it hasn't been better for Ohio. But you are making a very legitimate point, which is, is that this trade (can/can't ?) be the only part of  
425 our economic agenda. But we've seen seven years in which we have a president who has been looking out for the well-heeled and people who are doing very well in the global economy, in the financial industries, in the

telecommunications industries, and has not been looking out for ordinary workers.

430 What do we have to do? We're going to have to invest in infrastructure to make  
sure that we're competitive. And I've got a plan to do that. We're going to have  
to invest in science and technology. We've got to vastly improve our education  
system. We have to look at energy and the potential for creating green jobs that  
435 building windmills that will produce manufacturing jobs here in Ohio, can put  
rural communities back on their feet by working on alternative fuels, making  
buildings more energy efficient.

We can hire young people who are out of work and put them to work in the  
trade. So there are all sorts of things that we're going to have to do to make the  
440 United States economy much more competitive, and those are plans that I have  
put forward in this campaign and I expect to pursue as president of the United  
States of America.

MR. RUSSERT: Senator Clinton, on the issue of jobs, I watched you the other  
day with your economic blueprint in Wisconsin saying, this is my plan; hold me  
445 accountable. And I've had a chance to read it very carefully. It does say that you  
pledge to create 5 million new jobs over 10 years.

And I was reminded of your campaign in 2000 in Buffalo, my hometown, just  
three hours down Route 90, where you pledged 200,000 new jobs for upstate  
New York. There's been a net loss of 30,000 jobs. And when you were asked  
450 about your pledge, your commitment, you told The Buffalo News, "I might  
have been a little exuberant." Tonight will you say that the pledge of 5 million  
jobs might be a little exuberant?

SEN. CLINTON: No, Tim, because what happened in 2000 is that I thought Al  
Gore was going to be president. And when I made the pledge I was counting on  
455 having a Democratic White House, a Democratic president who shared my  
values about what we needed to do to make the economy work for everyone  
and to create shared prosperity.

And as you know, despite the difficulties of the Bush administration and a  
Republican Congress for six years of my first term I have worked very hard to  
460 create jobs but obviously as president I will have a lot more tools at my  
disposal. And the reason why we can create at least 5 million new jobs -- I  
mean, this is not a big leap. Twenty-two point seven million new jobs were

created during the eight years of the Clinton administration under my husband. We can create at least 5 million new jobs.

465 I'm not just talking about it. I helped to pass legislation to begin a training program for green collar jobs. I want to see people throughout Ohio being trained to do the work that will put solar panels on roofs, install wind turbines, do geothermal, take advantage of biofuels, and I know that if we had put \$5 billion into the stimulus package to really invest in the training and the tax  
470 incentives that would have created those jobs as the Democrats wanted, as I originally proposed, we would be on the way to creating those.

You know, take a country like Germany. They made a big bet on solar power. They have a smaller economy and population than ours.

They've created several hundred thousand new jobs, and these are jobs that  
475 can't be outsourced. These are jobs that have to be done in Youngstown, in Dayton, in Cincinnati. These are jobs that we can create here with the right combination of tax incentives, training, and a commitment to following through. So I do think that at least 5 million jobs are fully capable of being produced within the next 10 years.

480 MR. RUSSERT: Brian?

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Obama, yesterday Senator Clinton gave a speech on foreign policy and I'm going to read you a quote from it. Quote, "We've seen the tragic result of having a president who had neither the experience nor the wisdom to manage our foreign policy and safeguard our national security. We  
485 cannot let that happen again. America has already taken that chance one time too many." Some of the comments in the speech were more pointed. The senator has compared your foreign policy expertise to that of George W. Bush at the same period. Provided you could be going into a general election against a Republican with vast foreign policy expertise and credibility on national  
490 security, how were her comments about you unfair?

SEN. OBAMA: Well, Senator Clinton I think equates experience with longevity in Washington. I don't think the American people do and I don't think that if you look at the judgments that we've made over the last several years that that's the accurate measure. On the most important foreign policy decision that we  
495 face in a generation -- whether or not to go into Iraq -- I was very clear as to why we should not -- that it would fan the flames of anti-American sentiment -- that it would distract us from Afghanistan -- that it would cost us billions of

dollars, thousands of lives, and would not make us more safe, and I do not believe it has made us more safe.

500 Al Qaeda is stronger than anytime since 2001 according to our own intelligence estimates, and we are bogged down in a war that John McCain now suggests might go on for another 100 years, spending \$12 billion a month that could be invested in the kinds of programs that both Senator Clinton and I are talking about. So on Pakistan, during the summer I suggested that not only do we have  
505 to take a new approach towards Musharraf but we have to get much more serious about hunting down terrorists that are currently in northwestern Pakistan.

And many people said at the time well, you can't target those terrorists because Musharraf is our ally and we don't want to offend him. In fact, what we had  
510 was neither stability in Pakistan nor democracy in Pakistan, and had we pursued a policy that was looking at democratic reforms in Pakistan we would be much further along now than we are. So on the critical issues that actually matter I believe that my judgment has been sound and it has been judgment that I think has been superior to Senator Clinton's as well as Senator McCain's.

515 MR. WILLIAMS: Well, Senator Clinton, in the last debate you seemed to take a pass on the question of whether or not Senator Obama was qualified to be commander in chief. Is your contention in this latest speech that America would somehow be taking a chance on Senator Obama as commander in chief?

520 SEN. CLINTON: Well, I have put forth my extensive experience in foreign policy, you know, helping to support the peace process in Northern Ireland, negotiating to open borders so that refugees fleeing ethnic cleansing would be safe, going to Beijing and standing up for women's rights as human rights and so much else. And every time the question about qualifications and credentials for commander in chief are raised, Senator Obama rightly points to the speech  
525 he gave in 2002. He's to be commended for having given the speech. Many people gave speeches against the war then, and the fair comparison is he didn't have responsibility, he didn't have to vote; by 2004 he was saying that he basically agreed with the way George Bush was conducting the war. And when he came to the Senate, he and I have voted exactly the same. We have voted for  
530 the money to fund the war until relatively recently. So the fair comparison was when we both had responsibility, when it wasn't just a speech but it was actually action, where is the difference? Where is the comparison that would in some way give a real credibility to the speech that he gave against the war?

535 And on a number of other issues, I just believe that, you know, as Senator  
Obama said, yes, last summer he basically threatened to bomb Pakistan, which I  
don't think was a particularly wise position to take. I have long advocated a  
much tougher approach to Musharraf and to Pakistan, and have pushed the  
White House to do that.

540 And I disagree with his continuing to say that he would meet with some of the  
worst dictators in the world without preconditions and without the real, you  
know, understanding of what we would get from it.

545 So I think you've got to look at, you know, what I have done over a number of  
years, traveling on behalf of our country to more than 80 countries, meeting and  
working out a lot of different issues that are important to our national security  
and our foreign policy and our values, serving on the Senate Armed Services  
Committee for now five years. And I think that, you know, standing on that  
stage with Senator McCain, if he is, as appears to be, the nominee, I will have a  
much better case to make on a range of the issues that really America must  
confront going forward, and will be able to hold my own and make the case for  
550 a change in policy that will be better for our country.

MR. WILLIAMS: Senator Obama, a quick response.

555 SEN. OBAMA: Let me just follow up. My objections to the war in Iraq were  
simply -- not simply a speech. I was in the midst of a U.S. Senate campaign. It  
was a high-stakes campaign. I was one of the most vocal opponents of the war,  
and I was very specific as to why.

And so when I bring this up, it is not simply to say "I told you so," but it is to  
give you an insight in terms of how I would make decisions.

560 And the fact was, this was a big strategic blunder. It was not a matter of, well,  
here is the initial decision, but since then we've voted the same way. Once we  
had driven the bus into the ditch, there were only so many ways we could get  
out. The question is, who's making the decision initially to drive the bus into the  
ditch? And the fact is that Senator Clinton often says that she is ready on day  
one, but in fact she was ready to give in to George Bush on day one on this  
critical issue. So the same person that she criticizes for having terrible judgment,  
565 and we can't afford to have another one of those, in fact she facilitated and  
enabled this individual to make a decision that has been strategically damaging  
to the United States of America.

570 With respect to Pakistan, I never said I would bomb Pakistan. What I said was that if we have actionable intelligence against bin Laden or other key al Qaeda officials, and we -- and Pakistan is unwilling or unable to strike against them, we should. And just several days ago, in fact, this administration did exactly that and took out the third-ranking al Qaeda official.

575 That is the position that we should have taken in the first place. And President Musharraf is now indicating that he would generally be more cooperative in some of these efforts, we don't know how the new legislature in Pakistan will respond, but the fact is it was the right strategy.

580 And so my claim is not simply based on a speech. It is based on the judgments that I've displayed during the course of my service on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, while I've been in the United States Senate, and as somebody who, during the course of this campaign, I think has put forward a plan that will provide a clean break against Bush and Cheney. And that is how we're going to be able to debate John McCain. Having a debate with John McCain where your positions were essentially similar until you started running for president, I think, does not put you in a strong position.

585 Tim Russert.

SEN. CLINTON: Well, I guess that --

590 MR. RUSSERT: Let me talk about the future -- let me talk the future about Iraq, because this is important, I think, to Democratic voters particularly. You both have pledged the withdrawal of troops from Iraq. You both have said you'd keep a residual force there to protect our embassy, to seek out al Qaeda, to neutralize Iran. If the Iraqi government said, President Clinton or President Obama, you're pulling out your troops this quickly?

595 You're going to be gone in a year, but you're going to leave a residual force behind? No. Get out. Get out now. If you don't want to stay and protect us, we're a sovereign nation. Go home now." Will you leave?

SEN. OBAMA: Well, if the Iraqi government says that we should not be there, then we cannot be there. This is a sovereign government, as George Bush continually reminds us.

600 Now, I think that we can be in a partnership with Iraq to ensure the stability and the safety of the region, to ensure the safety of Iraqis and to meet our national security interests.

But in order to do that, we have to send a clear signal to the Iraqi government that we are not going to be there permanently, which is why I have said that as soon as I take office, I will call in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we will initiate a  
605 phased withdrawal, we will be as careful getting out as we were careless getting in. We will give ample time for them to stand up, to negotiate the kinds of agreements that will arrive at the political accommodations that are needed. We will provide them continued support. But it is important for us not to be held hostage by the Iraqi government in a policy that has not made us more  
610 safe, that's distracting us from Afghanistan, and is costing us dearly, not only and most importantly in the lost lives of our troops, but also the amount of money that we are spending that is unsustainable and will prevent us from engaging in the kinds of investments in America that will make us more competitive and more safe.

615 MR. RUSSERT: Senator Clinton, if the Iraqis said I'm sorry, we're not happy with this arrangement; if you're not going to stay in total and defend us, get out completely; they are a sovereign nation, you would listen?

SEN. CLINTON: Absolutely. And I believe that there is no military solution that the Americans who have been valiant in doing everything they were asked  
620 to do can really achieve in the absence of full cooperation from the Iraqi government. And --

MR. RUSSERT: Let me ask -- let me ask you this, Senator. I want to ask you --

SEN. CLINTON: And they need to take responsibility for themselves. And --

625 MR. RUSSERT: I want to ask both of you this question, then. If we -- if this scenario plays out and the Americans get out in total and al Qaeda resurges and Iraq goes to hell, do you hold the right, in your mind as American president, to re-invade, to go back into Iraq to stabilize it?

SEN. CLINTON: You know, Tim, you ask a lot of hypotheticals. And I believe that what's --

630 MR. RUSSERT: But this is reality.

SEN. CLINTON: No -- well, it isn't reality. You're -- you're -- you're making lots of different hypothetical assessments.

I believe that it is in America's interests and in the interests of the Iraqis for us to have an orderly withdrawal. I've been saying for many months that the

635 administration has to do more to plan, and I've been pushing them to actually do it. I've also said that I would begin to withdraw within 60 days based on a plan that I asked begun to be put together as soon as I became president.

And I think we can take out one to two brigades a month. I've also been a leader in trying to prevent President Bush from getting us committed to staying in Iraq  
640 regardless for as long as Senator McCain and others have said it might be, 50 to a hundred years.

So, when you talk about what we need to do in Iraq, we have to make judgments about what is in the best interest of America. And I believe this is in the best interest.

645 But I also have heard Senator Obama refer continually to Afghanistan, and he references being on the Foreign Relations Committee. He chairs the Subcommittee on Europe. It has jurisdiction over NATO. NATO is critical to our mission in Afghanistan. He's held not one substantive hearing to do oversight, to figure out what we can do to actually have a stronger presence  
650 with NATO in Afghanistan.

You have to look at the entire situation to try to figure out how we can stabilize Afghanistan and begin to put more in there to try to get some kind of success out of it, and you have to work with the Iraqi government so that they take responsibility for their own future.

655 MR. RUSSERT: Senator Obama, I want you to respond to not holding oversight for your subcommittee. But also, do you reserve a right as American president to go back into Iraq, once you have withdrawn, with sizable troops in order to quell any kind of insurrection or civil war?

660 SEN. OBAMA: Well, first of all, I became chairman of this committee at the beginning of this campaign, at the beginning of 2007. So it is true that we haven't had oversight hearings on Afghanistan.

I have been very clear in talking to the American people about what I would do with respect to Afghanistan.

665 I think we have to have more troops there to bolster the NATO effort. I think we have to show that we are not maintaining permanent bases in Iraq because Secretary Gates, our current Defense secretary, indicated that we are getting resistance from our allies to put more troops into Afghanistan because they continue to believe that we made a blunder in Iraq and I think even this

administration acknowledges now that they are hampered now in doing what  
670 we need to do in Afghanistan in part because of what's happened in Iraq.

Now, I always reserve the right for the president -- as commander in chief, I  
will always reserve the right to make sure that we are looking out for American  
interests. And if al Qaeda is forming a base in Iraq, then we will have to act in a  
way that secures the American homeland and our interests abroad. So that is  
675 true, I think, not just in Iraq, but that's true in other places. That's part of my  
argument with respect to Pakistan.

I think we should always cooperate with our allies and sovereign nations in  
making sure that we are rooting out terrorist organizations, but if they are  
planning attacks on Americans, like what happened in 9/11, it is my job -- it will  
680 be my job as president to make sure that we are hunting them down.

MR. WILLIAMS: And Senator, I need to reserve --

SEN. CLINTON: Well, but I have -- I just have to add --

MR. WILLIAMS: I'm sorry, Senator, I've got to --

SEN. CLINTON: Now wait a minute, I have to add --

685 MR. WILLIAMS: I've got to get us to a break because television doesn't stop.

SEN. CLINTON: -- because the question -- the question was about invading --  
invading -- Iraq.

MR. WILLIAMS: Can you hold that thought until we come back from a break?  
We have limited commercial interruptions tonight, and we have to get to one of  
690 them now. Despite the snowstorm swirling outside here in Cleveland, we're  
having a warm night in the arena. We'll return to it right after this. (Laughter,  
applause.)

(Announcements.)

(Cheers, applause.)

695 MR. WILLIAMS: We are back, and because our first segment went long and we  
are in a large arena -- (cheers, applause) --

AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Off mike) -- for Hillary!

MR. WILLIAMS: -- we are just now welcoming back both of our candidates to the stage and asking our cooperation of the audience.

700 We're back live tonight in Cleveland, Ohio.

Senator Obama, we started tonight talking about what could be construed as a little hyperbole. Happens from time to time on the campaign trail. You have recently been called out on some yourself. I urge you to look at your monitor and we'll take a look.

705 SEN. CLINTON: (From videotape.) Now I could stand up here and say: Let's just get everybody together. Let's get unified. The sky will open -- (laughter) -- the light will come down -- (laughter) -- celestial choirs will be singing -- (laughter) -- and everyone will know we should do the right thing, and the world will be perfect!

710 SEN. OBAMA: Sounds good! (Laughter.)

MR. WILLIAMS: Of all the charges -- (laughter, applause) -- of all the charges and countercharges made tonight, we can confirm that is not you, Senator Obama.

SEN. OBAMA: (Chuckles.)

715 MR. WILLIAMS: That was Senator Clinton. But since we played that tape, albeit in error, for this segment, how did you take that?

SEN. CLINTON: (Laughs.)

(Laughter.)

MR. WILLIAMS: How did you take those remarks when you heard them?

720 SEN. OBAMA: Well, I thought Senator Clinton showed some good humor there. I would give her points for delivery.

SEN. CLINTON: (Laughs.)

(Laughter.)

725 SEN. OBAMA: Look, I understand the broader point that Senator Clinton's been trying to make over the last several weeks. You know, she characterizes it typically as speeches, not solutions, or talk versus action. And as I said in the

last debate, I've spent 20 years devoted to working on behalf of families who are having a tough time and they're seeking out the American dream. That's how I started my career in public service, that's how I brought Democrats and  
730 Republicans together to provide health care to people who needed it, that's how I helped to reform a welfare system that wasn't working in Illinois, that's how I've provided tax breaks to people who really needed them as opposed to just the wealthy, and so I'm very proud of that track record.

And if Senator Clinton thinks that it's all talk, you know, you got to tell that to the wounded warriors at Walter Reed who had to pay for their food and pay for their phone calls before I got to the Senate. And I changed that law. Or talk to those folks who I think have recognized that special interests are dominating Washington and pushing aside the agenda of ordinary families here in Ohio.

And so when I pass an ethics reform bill that makes sure that lobbyists can't get gifts or meals or provide corporate jets to members of Congress and they have to disclose who they're getting money from and who they're bundling it for, that moves us in the direction of making sure that we have a government that is more responsive to families.

Just one point I'll make, I was in Cincinnati, met with four women at a table like this one. And these were middle-aged women who, as one woman put it, had done everything right and never expected to find themselves in the situation where they don't have health care. One of them doesn't have a job. One of them is looking after an aging parent. Two of them were looking after disabled children. One of them was dipping into their retirement accounts because she  
750 had been put on disability on the job. And you hear these stories and what you realize is nobody has been listening to them. That is not who George Bush or Dick Cheney has been advocating for over the last seven years.

And so I am not interested in talk. I am not interested in speeches. I would not be running if I wasn't absolutely convinced that I can put an economic agenda  
755 forward that is going to provide them with health care, is going to make college more affordable, and is going to get them the kinds of help that they need not to solve all their problems, but at least to be able to achieve the American dream.

MR. WILLIAMS: Well, let me ask you, Senator Clinton: What did you mean by that piece of videotape we saw from the campaign?

760 SEN. CLINTON: Well, I was having a little fun. You know, it's hard to find time to have fun on the campaign trail, but occasionally you can sneak that in.

But the larger point is that I know trying to get health insurance for every American that's affordable will not be easy. It's not going to come about just because we hope it will or we tell everybody it's the right thing to do. You  
765 know, 15 years ago I tangled with the health insurance industry and the drug companies, and I know it takes a fighter. It takes somebody who will go toe-to-toe with the special interests.

You know, I have put forth very specific ideas about how we can get back \$55 billion from the special interests -- the giveaways to the oil companies, the  
770 credit card companies, the student loan companies, the health insurance companies. These have all been basically pushed on to these special interests not just because of what the White House did, but because members of Congress went along. And I want to get that money back and invest it in the American middle class -- health care, college affordability, the kinds of needs  
775 that people talk to me about throughout Ohio, because what I hear as I go from Toledo to Parma to Cleveland to, you know, Dayton is the same litany that people are working harder than ever, but they're not getting ahead. They feel like they're invisible to their government. So when it came time to vote on Dick Cheney's energy bill, I voted no, and Senator Obama voted yes. When it came  
780 time to try to cap interest rates for credit cards at 30 percent -- which I think is way too high, but it was the best we could present -- I voted yes and Senator Obama voted no.

MR. WILLIAMS: And Senator -- Senator --

SEN. CLINTON: So part of what we have to do here is recognize that the  
785 special interests are not going to give up without a fight. And I believe that I am a fighter, and I will fight for the people of Ohio and the people of America.

MR. WILLIAMS: What I was attempting to do here is to show something Senator Obama said about you, and I'm told it's ready.

MR. RUSSERT: Let's try it.

790 MR. WILLIAMS: Let's try it. Hang on. Watch your monitor.

Let's try it. We're going to come back to you.

SEN. OBAMA: But I'm going to have an opportunity to respond to this.

SEN. OBAMA: (From videotape.) -- herself as co-president during the Clinton years. Every good thing that happened she says she was a part of. And so the

795 notion that you can selectively pick what you take credit for and then run away from what isn't politically convenient, that doesn't make sense.

MR. WILLIAMS: Now, Senator Obama, you can react to it and whatever you wanted to react to from earlier, but I've been wanting to ask you about this assertion that Senator Clinton has somehow cast herself as co-president.

800 SEN. OBAMA: Well, I think what is absolutely true is, is that when Senator Clinton continually talks about her experience, she is including the eight years that she served as first lady, and you know, often says, you know, "Here's what I did."

"Here's what we did." "Here's what we accomplished" -- which is fine.

805 And I have not -- I have not in any way said that that experience is not relevant, and I don't begrudge her claiming that as experience. What I've said, and what I would continue to maintain, is you can't take credit for all the good things that happened but then, when it comes to issues like NAFTA, you say, well, I -- behind the scenes, I was disagreeing. That doesn't work. So you have to, I think,  
810 take both responsibility as well as credit.

Now there are several points that I think Senator Clinton made that I -- we need to discuss here. First of all, she talked about me objecting to caps on credit cards. Keep in mind, I objected to the entire bill -- a bill that Senator Clinton, in its previous version, in 2001 had voted for. And in one of the debates with you  
815 guys said, well, I voted for it, but I hoped it wouldn't pass -- which, as a general rule, doesn't work. If you don't want it to pass, you vote against it. (Laughter.)

You know, she mentioned that she is a fighter on health care. And look -- I do not in any way doubt that Senator Clinton genuinely wants to provide health care to all Americans.

820 What I have said is that the way she approached it back in '93, I think, was wrong in part because she had the view that what's required is simply to fight. And Senator Clinton ended up fighting not just the insurance companies and the drug companies, but also members of her own party. And as a consequence, there were a number of people, like Jim Cooper of Tennessee and Bill Bradley  
825 and Pat Moynihan, who were not included in the negotiations. And we had the potential of bringing people together to actually get something done.

I am absolutely clear that hope is not enough. And it is not going to be easy to pass health care. If it was, it would have already gotten done. It's not going to

830 be easy to have a sensible energy policy in this country. ExxonMobil made \$11 billion last quarter. They are not going to give up those profits easily.

835 But what I also believe is that the only way we are going to actually get this stuff done is, number one, we're going to have to mobilize and inspire the American people so that they're paying attention to what their government is doing. And that's what I've been doing in this campaign, and that's what I will do as president.

And there's nothing romantic or silly about that. If the American people are activated, that's how change is going to happen.

The second thing we're going to have to do is we're actually going to have to go after the special interests.

840 Senator Clinton in one of these speeches -- it may have been the same speech where you showed the clip -- said you can't just wave a magic wand and expect special interests to go away. That is absolutely true, but it doesn't help if you're taking millions of dollars in contributions from those special interests. They are less likely to go away.

845 So it is important for us to crack down on how these special interests are able to influence Congress. And yes, it is important for us to inspire and mobilize and motivate the American people to get involved and pay attention.

850 MR. RUSSERT: Senator Obama, let me ask you about motivating, inspiring, keeping your word. Nothing more important. Last year you said if you were the nominee you would opt for public financing in the general election of the campaign; try to get some of the money out. You checked "Yes" on a questionnaire. And now Senator McCain has said, calling your bluff, let's do it. You seem to be waffling, saying, well, if we can work on an arrangement here.

855 Why won't you keep your word in writing that you made to abide by public financing of the fall election?

860 SEN. OBAMA: Tim, I am not yet the nominee. Now, what I've said is, is that when I am the nominee, if I am the nominee -- because we've still got a bunch of contests left and Senator Clinton's a pretty tough opponent. If I am the nominee, then I will sit down with John McCain and make sure that we have a system that is fair for both sides, because Tim, as you know, there are all sorts of ways of getting around these loopholes.

Senator McCain is trying to explain some of the things that he has done so far where he accepted public financing money, but people aren't exactly clear whether all the T's were crossed and the I's were dotted.

865 Now what I want to point out, though, more broadly is how we have  
approached this campaign. I said very early on I would not take PAC money. I  
would not take money from federal-registered lobbyists. That -- that was a  
multimillion-dollar decision but it was the right thing to do and the reason we  
870 were able to do that was because I had confidence that the American people, if  
they were motivated, would in fact finance the campaign.

We have now raised 90 percent of our donations from small donors, \$25, \$50.  
We average -- our average donation is \$109 so we have built the kind of  
organization that is funded by the American people that is exactly the goal and  
the aim of everybody who's interested in good government and politics  
875 supports.

MR. RUSSERT: So you may opt out of public financing. You may break your  
word.

SEN. OBAMA: What I -- what I have said is, at the point where I'm the  
nominee, at the point where it's appropriate, I will sit down with John McCain  
880 and make sure that we have a system that works for everybody.

MR. RUSSERT: Senator Clinton, an issue of accountability and credibility. You  
have loaned your campaign \$5 million. You and your husband file a joint  
return. You refuse to release that joint return, even though former President  
Clinton has had significant overseas business dealings.

885 Your chief supporter here in Ohio, Governor Strickland, made releasing his  
opponent's tax return one of the primary issues of the campaign, saying  
repeatedly, "Accountability, transparency." If he's not releasing, his campaign  
said, his tax return, what is he hiding? We should question what's going on.

890 Why won't you release your tax return, so the voters of Ohio, Texas, Vermont,  
Rhode Island know exactly where you and your husband got your money, who  
might be in part bankrolling your campaign?

SEN. CLINTON: Well, the American people who support me are bankrolling  
my campaign. That's -- that's obvious. You can look and see the hundreds of  
thousands of contributions that I've gotten. And ever since I lent my campaign  
895 money, people have responded just so generously. I'm thrilled at so many

people getting involved. And we're raising, on average, about a million dollars a day on the Internet. And if anybody's out there, wants to contribute, to be part of this campaign, just go to HillaryClinton.com, because that's who's funding my campaign.

900 And I will release my tax returns. I have consistently said that. And I will --

MR. RUSSERT: Why not now?

SEN. CLINTON: Well, I will do it as others have done it: upon becoming the nominee, or even earlier, Tim, because I have been as open as I can be.

905 You have -- the public has 20 years of records for me, and I have very extensive filings with the Senate where --

MR. RUSSERT: So, before next Tuesday's primary?

910 SEN. CLINTON: Well, I can't get it together by then, but I will certainly work to get it together. I'm a little busy right now; I hardly have time to sleep. But I will certainly work toward releasing, and we will get that done and in the public domain.

915 MR. RUSSERT: One other issue. You talked about releasing documents. On January 30th, the National Archives released 10,000 pages of your public schedule as first lady. It's now in the custody of former President Clinton. Will you release that -- again, during this primary season that you claim that eight years of experience, let the public know what you did, who you met with those eight years?

920 SEN. CLINTON: Absolutely. I've urged that the process be as quick as possible. It's a cumbersome process, set up by law. It doesn't just apply to us, it applies to everyone in our position. And I have urged that our end of it move as expeditiously as we can. Now, also, President Bush claims the right to look at anything that is released, and I would urge the Bush White House to move as quickly as possible.

MR. RUSSERT: But you've had it for more than a month. Will you get to him -- will you get it to the White House immediately?

925 SEN. CLINTON: As soon as we can, Tim. I've urged that, and I hope it will happen.

MR. RUSSERT: Senator Obama, one of the things in a campaign is that you have to react to unexpected developments.

930 On Sunday, the headline in your hometown paper, Chicago Tribune: "Louis Farrakhan Backs Obama for President at Nation of Islam Convention in Chicago." Do you accept the support of Louis Farrakhan?

935 SEN. OBAMA: You know, I have been very clear in my denunciation of Minister Farrakhan's anti-Semitic comments. I think that they are unacceptable and reprehensible. I did not solicit this support. He expressed pride in an African-American who seems to be bringing the country together. I obviously can't censor him, but it is not support that I sought. And we're not doing anything, I assure you, formally or informally with Minister Farrakhan.

MR. RUSSERT: Do you reject his support?

940 SEN. OBAMA: Well, Tim, you know, I can't say to somebody that he can't say that he thinks I'm a good guy. (Laughter.) You know, I -- you know, I -- I have been very clear in my denunciations of him and his past statements, and I think that indicates to the American people what my stance is on those comments.

MR. RUSSERT: The problem some voters may have is, as you know, Reverend Farrakhan called Judaism "gutter religion."

945 OBAMA: Tim, I think -- I am very familiar with his record, as are the American people. That's why I have consistently denounced it.

950 This is not something new. This is something that -- I live in Chicago. He lives in Chicago. I've been very clear, in terms of me believing that what he has said is reprehensible and inappropriate. And I have consistently distanced myself from him.

RUSSERT: The title of one of your books, "Audacity of Hope," you acknowledge you got from a sermon from Reverend Jeremiah Wright, the head of the Trinity United Church. He said that Louis Farrakhan "epitomizes greatness."

955 He said that he went to Libya in 1984 with Louis Farrakhan to visit with Moammar Gadhafi and that, when your political opponents found out about that, quote, "your Jewish support would dry up quicker than a snowball in Hell."

RUSSET: What do you do to assure Jewish-Americans that, whether it's Farrakhan's support or the activities of Reverend Jeremiah Wright, your pastor,  
960 you are consistent with issues regarding Israel and not in any way suggesting that Farrakhan epitomizes greatness?

OBAMA: Tim, I have some of the strongest support from the Jewish community in my hometown of Chicago and in this presidential campaign. And the reason is because I have been a stalwart friend of Israel's. I think they are one of our  
965 most important allies in the region, and I think that their security is sacrosanct, and that the United States is in a special relationship with them, as is true with my relationship with the Jewish community.

And the reason that I have such strong support is because they know that not only would I not tolerate anti-Semitism in any form, but also because of the fact  
970 that what I want to do is rebuild what I consider to be a historic relationship between the African-American community and the Jewish community.

You know, I would not be sitting here were it not for a whole host of Jewish Americans, who supported the civil rights movement and helped to ensure that justice was served in the South. And that coalition has frayed over time around  
975 a whole host of issues, and part of my task in this process is making sure that those lines of communication and understanding are reopened.

But, you know, the reason that I have such strong support in the Jewish community and have historically -- it was true in my U.S. Senate campaign and it's true in this presidency -- is because the people who know me best know that  
980 I consistently have not only befriended the Jewish community, not only have I been strong on Israel, but, more importantly, I've been willing to speak out even when it is not comfortable.

When I was -- just last point I would make -- when I was giving -- had the honor of giving a sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church in conjunction with  
985 Martin Luther King's birthday in front of a large African-American audience, I specifically spoke out against anti-Semitism within the African-American community. And that's what gives people confidence that I will continue to do that when I'm president of the United States.

WILLIAMS: Senator...

990 CLINTON: I just want to add something here, because I faced a similar situation when I ran for the Senate in 2000 in New York. And in New York, there are more than the two parties, Democratic and Republican. And one of the

parties at that time, the Independence Party, was under the control of people who were anti-Semitic, anti- Israel. And I made it very clear that I did not want their support. I rejected it. I said that it would not be anything I would be comfortable with. And it looked as though I might pay a price for that. But I would not be associated with people who said such inflammatory and untrue charges against either Israel or Jewish people in our country.

And, you know, I was willing to take that stand, and, you know, fortunately the people of New York supported me and I won. But at the time, I thought it was more important to stand on principle and to reject the kind of conditions that went with support like that.

RUSSET: Are you suggesting Senator Obama is not standing on principle?

CLINTON: No. I'm just saying that you asked specifically if he would reject it. And there's a difference between denouncing and rejecting. And I think when it comes to this sort of, you know, inflammatory -- I have no doubt that everything that Barack just said is absolutely sincere. But I just think, we've got to be even stronger. We cannot let anyone in any way say these things because of the implications that they have, which can be so far reaching.

OBAMA: Tim, I have to say I don't see a difference between denouncing and rejecting. There's no formal offer of help from Minister Farrakhan that would involve me rejecting it. But if the word "reject" Senator Clinton feels is stronger than the word "denounce," then I'm happy to concede the point, and I would reject and denounce.

CLINTON: Good. Good. Excellent.

(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMS: Rare audience outburst on the agreement over rejecting and renouncing.

We're going to take advantage of this opportunity to take the second of our limited breaks. We'll be back live from Cleveland right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

WILLIAMS: We are back from Cleveland State University. We continue with our debate.

The question beginning this segment is for you, Senator Obama.

1025 The National Journal rates your voting record as more liberal than that of Ted Kennedy.

In a general election, going up against a Republican Party, looking for converts, Republicans, independents, how can you run with a more liberal voting record than Ted Kennedy?

1030 OBAMA: Well, first of all, let's take a look at what the National Journal rated us on.

1035 It turned out that Senator Clinton and I had differences on two votes. The first was on an immigration issue, where the question was whether guest workers could come here, work for two years, go back for a year, and then come back and work for another two years, which meant essentially that you were going to have illegal immigrants for a year, because they wouldn't go back, and I thought it was bad policy.

1040 The second -- and this, I think, is telling in terms of how silly these ratings are -- I supported an office of public integrity, an independent office that would be able to monitor ethics investigations in the Senate, because I thought it was important for the public to know that if there were any ethical violations in the Senate, that they weren't being investigated by the Senators themselves, but there was somebody independent who would do it.

This is something that I've tried to push as part of my ethics package.

1045 OBAMA: It was rejected. And according to the National Journal, that position is a liberal position.

1050 Now, I don't think that's a liberal position. I think there are a lot of Republicans and a lot of Independents who would like to make sure that ethic investigations are not conducted by the people who are potentially being investigated. So the categories don't make sense.

1055 And part of the reason I think a lot of people have been puzzled, why is it that Senator Obama's campaign, the supposed liberal, is attracting more Independent votes than any other candidate in the Democratic primary, and Republican votes as well, and then people are scratching their head? It's because people don't want to go back to those old categories of what's liberal and what's conservative.

1060 They want to see who is making sense, who's fighting for them, who's going to go after the special interests, who is going to champion the issues of health care and making college affordable, and making sure that we have a foreign policy that makes sense? That's what I've been doing, and that's why, you know, the proof is in the pudding. We've been attracting more Independent and Republican support than anybody else, and that's why every poll shows that right now I beat John McCain in a match-up in the general election.

WILLIAMS: Let's go from domestic to foreign affairs and Tim Russert.

1065 RUSSERT: Before the primary on Tuesday, on Sunday, March 2, there's an election in Russia for the successor to President Putin. What can you tell me about the man who's going to be Mr. Putin's successor?

1070 CLINTON: Well, I can tell you that he's a hand-picked successor, that he is someone who is obviously being installed by Putin, who Putin can control, who has very little independence, the best we know. You know, there's a lot of information still to be acquired. That the so-called opposition was basically run out of the political opportunity to wage a campaign against Putin's hand-picked successor, and the so-called leading opposition figure spends most of his time praising Putin. So this is a clever but transparent way for Putin to hold on to  
1075 power, and it raises serious issues about how we're going to deal with Russia going forward.

I have been very critical of the Bush administration for what I believe to have been an incoherent policy toward Russia. And with the reassertion of Russia's role in Europe, with some of the mischief that they seem to be causing in  
1080 supporting Iran's nuclear ambitions, for example, it's imperative that we begin to have a more realistic and effective strategy toward Russia. But I have no doubt, as president, even though technically the meetings may be with the man who is labeled as president, the decisions will be made by Putin.

RUSSERT: Who will it be? Do you know his name?

1085 CLINTON: Medvedev -- whatever.

RUSSERT: Yes.

CLINTON: Yes.

RUSSERT: Senator Obama, do you know anything about him?

OBAMA: Well, I think Senator Clinton speaks accurately about him. He is  
1090 somebody who was hand-picked by Putin. Putin has been very clear that he  
will continue to have the strongest hand in Russia in terms of running the  
government. And, you know, it looks -- just think back to the beginning of  
President Bush's administration when he said -- you know, he met with Putin,  
1095 looked into his eyes and saw his soul, and figured he could do business with  
him.

He then proceeded to neglect our relationship with Russia at a time when Putin  
was strangling any opposition in the country when he was consolidating  
power, rattling sabers against his European neighbors, as well as satellites of  
1100 the former Soviet Union. And so we did not send a signal to Mr. Putin that, in  
fact, we were going to be serious about issues like human rights, issues like  
international cooperation that were critical to us. That is something that we  
have to change.

RUSSERT: He's 42 years old, he's a former law professor. He is Mr. Putin's  
1105 campaign manager. He is going to be the new president of Russia. And if he  
says to the Russian troops, you know what, why don't you go help Serbia  
retake Kosovo, what does President Obama do?

OBAMA: Well, I think that we work with the international community that has  
also recognized Kosovo, and state that that's unacceptable. But, fortunately, we  
have a strong international structure anchored in NATO to deal with this issue.

1110 We don't have to work in isolation. And this is an area where I think that the  
Clinton administration deserves a lot of credit, is, you know, the way in which  
they put together a coalition that has functioned.

OBAMA: It has not been perfect, but it saved lives. And we created a situation  
1115 in which not only Kosovo, but other parts of the former Yugoslavia at least have  
the potential to over time build democracies and enter into the broader  
European community.

But, you know, be very clear: We have recognized the country of Kosovo as an  
independent, sovereign nation, as has Great Britain and many other countries in  
the region. And I think that that carries with it, then, certain obligations to  
1120 ensure that they are not invaded.

RUSSERT: Before you go, each of you have talked about your careers in public  
service. Looking back through them, is there any words or vote that you'd like  
to take back?

Senator Clinton?

1125 CLINTON: Well, obviously, I've said many times that, although my vote on the 2002 authorization regarding Iraq was a sincere vote, I would not have voted that way again.

I would certainly, as president, never have taken us to war in Iraq. And I regret deeply that President Bush waged a preemptive war, which I warned against and said I disagreed with.

1130

But I think that this election has to be about the future. It has to be about what we will do now, how we will deal with what we're going to inherit.

You know, we've just been talking about Russia. We could have gone around the world. We could have gone to Latin America and talked about, you know, the retreat from democracy. We could have talked about Africa and the failure to end the genocide in Darfur.

1135

We could have gone on to talk about the challenge that China faces and the Middle East, which is deteriorating under the pressures of Hamas, Hezbollah, and the interference that is putting Israel's security at stake.

We could have done an entire program, Tim, on what we will inherit from George Bush.

1140

And what I believe is that my experience and my unique qualifications on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue equip me to handle with the problems of today and tomorrow and to be prepared to make those tough decisions in dealing with Putin and others, because we have so much work to do, and we don't have much time to try to make up for our losses.

1145

RUSSET: But to be clear, you'd like to have your vote back?

CLINTON: Absolutely. I've said that many times.

RUSSET: Senator Obama, any statements or vote you'd like to take back?

1150 OBAMA: Well, you know, when I first arrived in the Senate that first year, we had a situation surrounding Terri Schiavo. And I remember how we adjourned with a unanimous agreement that eventually allowed Congress to interject itself into that decisionmaking process of the families.

1155 It wasn't something I was comfortable with, but it was not something that I stood on the floor and stopped. And I think that was a mistake, and I think the American people understood that that was a mistake. And as a constitutional law professor, I knew better.

And so that's an example I think of where inaction...

RUSSERT: This is the young woman with the feeding tube...

1160 OBAMA: That's exactly right.

RUSSERT: ... and the family disagreed as to whether it should be removed or not.

OBAMA: And I think that's an example of inaction, and sometimes that can be as costly as action.

1165 But let me say this, since we're wrapping up this debate. We have gone through 20 debates now. And, you know, there is still a lot of fight going on in this contest, and we've got four coming up, and maybe more after that.

1170 But the one thing I'm absolutely clear about is Senator Clinton has campaigned magnificently. She is an outstanding public servant. And I'm very proud to have been campaigning with her.

And part of what I think both of us are interested in, regardless of who wins the nomination, is actually delivering for the American people.

1175 You know, there is a vanity aspect and ambition aspect to politics. But when you spend as much time as Senator Clinton and I have spent around the country, and you hear heartbreaking story after heartbreaking story, and you realize that people's expectations are so modest.

1180 You know, they're not looking for government to solve all of their problems. They just want a little bit of a hand-up to keep them in their homes if they're about to be foreclosed upon, or to make sure their kids can go to college to live out the American dream.

You know, it is absolutely critical that we change how business is done in Washington and we remind ourselves of what government is supposed to be about.

1185 And, you know, I have a lot of confidence that whoever ends up being the nominee that the Democratic standard-bearer will try to restore that sense of public service to our government. That's why I think we're both running, and I'm very pleased that I've had this opportunity to run with Senator Clinton.

RUSSERT: But the voters can only choose one, Brian.

RUSSERT: And I think you have a question.

1190 WILLIAMS: Well, we don't have such thing in our format as a closing statement, but I am going to ask a closing and fundamental question of you both. And I'll ask it of you first, Senator Obama.

1195 What is the fundamental question you believe Senator Clinton must answer along the way to the voters here in Ohio and in Texas, and for that matter across the country, in order to prove her worthiness as the nominee? And then we will ask the same question of Senator Clinton.

1200 OBAMA: I have to say, Brian, I think she is -- she would be worthy as a nominee. Now, I think I'd be better. Otherwise, I wouldn't be running. But there's no doubt that Senator Clinton is qualified and capable and would be a much better president than John McCain, who I respect and I honor his service to this country, but essentially has tethered himself to the failed policies of George Bush over the last seven years.

1205 On economics, he wants to continue tax cuts to the wealthy that we can't afford, and on foreign policy he wants to continue a war that not only can we not afford in terms of money, but we can't afford in terms of lives and is not making us more safe. We can't afford it in terms of strategy.

So I don't think that Senator Clinton has to answer a question as to whether she's capable of being president or our standard bearer.

1210 I will say this, that the reason I think I'm better as the nominee is that I can bring this country together I think in a unique way, across divisions of race, religion, region. And that is what's going to be required in order for us to actually deliver on the issues that both Senator Clinton and I care so much about.

1215 And I also think I have a track record, starting from the days I moved to Chicago as a community organizer, when I was in my 20s, on through my work in state government, on through my work as a United States senator, I think I

bring a unique bias in favor of opening up government, pushing back special interests, making government more accountable so that the American people can have confidence that their voice is being heard.

1220 Those are things -- those are qualities that I bring to this race, and I hope that the people of Ohio, Texas, Rhode Island and Vermont decide that those are qualities that they need in the next president of the United States.

1225 WILLIAMS: Senator Clinton, same question, and that is again -- is there a fundamental question Senator Obama must answer to the voters in this state and others as to his worthiness?

CLINTON: Well, Brian, there isn't any doubt that, you know, both of us feel strongly about our country, that we bring enormous energy and commitment to this race and would bring that to the general election and to the White House.

1230 As I said last week, you know, it's been an honor to campaign. I still intend to do everything I can to win, but it has been an honor, because it has been a campaign that is history making.

You know, obviously I am thrilled to be running, to be the first woman president, which I think would be a sea change in our country and around the world, and would give enormous...

1235 (APPLAUSE)

... you know, enormous hope and, you know, a real challenge to the way things have been done, and who gets to do them, and what the rules are.

So I feel that either one of us will make history.

1240 The question that I have been posing is, who can actually change the country? And I do believe that my experience over 35 years in the private sector as well as the public and the not-for-profit sector, gives me an understanding and an insight into how best to make the changes that we all know we have to see.

1245 You know, when I wasn't successful about getting universal health care, I didn't give up. I just got to work and helped to create the Children's Health Insurance Program. And, you know, today in Ohio 140,000 kids have health insurance. And yet this morning in Lorain, a mother said that she spent with the insurance and everything over \$3 million taking care of her daughter, who had a serious

accident. And she just looked at me, as so many mothers and fathers have over so many years, and said, "will you help us?"

1250 That's what my public life has been about. I want to help the people of this country get the chances they deserve to have. And I will do whatever I can here in Ohio, in Texas, Rhode Island, in the states to come making that case. Because I think we do need a fighter back in the White House.

1255 You know, the wealthy and the well-connected have had a president. It's time we had a president for the middle class and working people, the people who get up every day and do the very best they can. And they deserve somebody who gets up in that White House and goes to bat for them.

And that's what I will do.

WILLIAMS: Senator, thank you.

# **Debate 4 (D4)**

April 16, 2008:

National Constitution  
Center, Philadelphia, PA

## Introduction

Philadelphia is the nation's first capitol and the place where the nation's founding fathers signed the Declaration of Independence. The National Constitution Center is located only two blocks away from the Liberty Bell, and stands as an independent, non-partisan, and non-profit organization dedicated to increasing public understanding of, and appreciation for, the Constitution, its history, and its relevance at present time ([constitutioncenter.org](http://constitutioncenter.org)).

**Moderator Charlie Gibson:** Serving as co-anchor on ABCNEWS' Good Morning America, Mr. Gibson covers national news and has over the years interviewed each of the last seven presidents as well as he has reported from many significant events in recent American history. Mr. Gibson is a graduate of Princeton University, where he was news director for the university's radio station, WPRB-FM ([abcnews.go.com](http://abcnews.go.com) 1).

**Moderator George Stephanopoulos:** Anchors the Sunday morning political affairs program, *This Week with George Stephanopoulos* and serves as the Chief Washington Correspondent for ABC News. In the capacity of Chief Correspondent Mr. Stephanopoulos oversees the network's coverage of presidential and Congressional politics and reports on political and policy stories for all ABC News platforms. Stephanopoulos holds an MA degree in theology from Balliol College, Oxford University, England. Additionally, he holds a BA degree from Columbia University where he graduated summa cum laude in Political Science ([abcnews.go.com](http://abcnews.go.com) 2).

## **Transcript**

MR. GIBSON: So we're going to begin with opening statements, and we had a flip of the coin, and the brief opening statement first from Senator Obama.

SENATOR OBAMA: Thank you very much, Charlie and George, and thanks to all in the audience and who are out there.

5 You know, Senator Clinton and I have been running for 15 months now. We've been traveling across Pennsylvania for at least the last five weeks. And everywhere I go, what I've been struck by is the core decency and generosity of people of Pennsylvania and the American people.

10 But what I've also been struck by is the frustration. You know, I met a gentleman in Latrobe who had lost his job and was trying to figure out how he could find the gas money to travel to find a job. And that story, I think, is typical of what we're seeing all across the country. People are frustrated not only with jobs moving and incomes being flat, health care being too expensive, but also that special interests have come to dominate Washington, and they  
15 don't feel like they're being listened to.

I think this election offers us an opportunity to change that, to transform that frustration into something more hopeful, to bring about real change. And I'm running for president to ensure that the American people are heard in the White House. That's my commitment, if the people of Pennsylvania vote for me  
20 and the people of America vote for me.

MR. GIBSON: Senator Clinton?

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, we meet tonight here in Philadelphia where our founders determined that the promise of America would be available for future generations if we were willing and able to make it happen.

25 You know, I am here, as is Senator Obama. Neither of us were included in those original documents. But in a very real sense, we demonstrate that that promise of America is alive and well. But it is at risk.

30 There is a lot of concern across Pennsylvania and America. People do feel as though their government is not solving problems, that it is not standing up for them, that we've got to do more to actually provide the good jobs that will

support families, deal once and for all with health care for every American, make our education system the true passport to opportunity, restore our standing in the world.

35 I am running for president because I know we can meet the challenges of today, that we can continue to fulfill that promise that was offered to successive generations of Americans starting here so long ago.

And I hope that this evening, voters in Pennsylvania and others across the country will listen carefully to what we have to say, will look at our records, will look at the plans we have.

40 And I offer those on my website, [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com), for more detail. Because I believe with all my heart that we the people can have the kind of future that our children and grandchildren so richly deserve.

MR. GIBSON: Thank you both.

45 And with that as preamble, we will take a very short commercial break. And we will come back and begin 90 minutes of debate. The Pennsylvania Democratic Debate continues after just one minute.

(Announcements.)

50 MR. GIBSON: We'll begin each of the segments of this debate with short quotes from the Constitution that are apropos to what we're going to talk about. And it is good to be back here at the National Constitution Center.

So let's start. And I'm going to give a general question, before we get to the issues, to both of you on politics.

55 There have already been many votes in many states, and you have each, as you analyze the vote, appealed disproportionately to different constituencies in the party, and that dismays many in the party. Governor Cuomo, an elder statesman in your party, has come forward with a suggestion. He has said, look, fight it to the end.

60 Let every vote be counted. You contest every delegate. Go at each other to the -- right till the end. Don't give an inch to one another. But pledge now that whichever one of you wins this contest, you'll take the other as your running mate, and that the other will agree if they lose, to take second place on the ticket.

So I put the question to both of you: Why not?

(Pause, laughter.)

65 Don't all speak at once. (Laughter.)

SENATOR OBAMA: Well, I'm happy to start with a response. Look, this has been an extraordinary journey that both Senator Clinton and I have been on and a number of other able candidates. And I think very highly of Senator Clinton's record. But as I've said before, I think it's premature at this point for us to talk  
70 about who vice presidential candidates will be because we're still trying to determine who the nominee will be.

But one thing I'm absolutely certain of is that come August, when we're in Denver, the Democratic Party will come together, because we have no choice if we want to deliver on the promises that not only we've made but the founders  
75 made. We are seeing peoples' economic status slipping further and further behind. We've seen people who have not only lost their jobs but now are at risk of losing their homes.

We have a sharp contrast in terms of economic policies. John McCain wants to continue four more years of George Bush policies and, on the foreign policy  
80 front, wants to continue George Bush's foreign policy.

So I'm confident that both Senator Clinton's supporters and Senator Obama's supporters will be supporting the Democratic nominee when we start engaging in that general election.

MR. GIBSON: But Senator Clinton, Governor Cuomo made that suggestion  
85 because he's not so sure. And other Democrats are not so sure.

Just to quote from the Constitution again, "In every case," Article Two, Section One, "after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice president."

If it was good enough in colonial times, why not in these times.

90 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, Charlie, I'm going to do everything I possibly can to make sure that one of us takes the oath of office next January. I think that has to be the overriding goal, whatever we have to do.

Obviously we are still contesting to determine who will be the nominee. But  
95 once that is resolved, I think it is absolutely imperative that our entire party  
close ranks, that we become unified.

I will do everything to make sure that the people who supported me support  
our nominee.

100 I will go anywhere in the country to make the case. And I know that Barack  
feels the same way, because both of us have spent 15 months traveling our  
country. I have seen the damage of the Bush years. I've seen the extraordinary  
pain that people have suffered from because of the failed policies; you know,  
those who have held my hands who have lost sons or daughters in Iraq, and  
those who have lost sons or daughters because they didn't have health  
insurance.

105 And so, regardless of the differences there may be between us, and they are  
differences, they pale in comparison to the differences between us and Senator  
McCain.

So we will certainly do whatever is necessary to make sure that a Democrat is in  
the White House next January.

110 MR. GIBSON: All right. I will let this go. I don't think Governor Cuomo has any  
takers yet.

Let me start with a question to you, Senator Obama.

SENATOR OBAMA: Yes.

115 MR. GIBSON: Talking to a closed-door fundraiser in San Francisco 10 days ago,  
you got talking in California about small-town Pennsylvanians who have had  
tough economic times in recent years. And you said they get bitter, and they  
cling to guns or they cling to their religion or they cling to antipathy toward  
people who are not like them.

120 Now, you've said you misspoke; you said you mangled what it was you  
wanted to say. But we've talked to a lot of voters. Do you understand that some  
people in this state find that patronizing and think that you said actually what  
you meant?

SENATOR OBAMA: Well, I think there's no doubt that I can see how people were offended. It's not the first time that I've made, you know, a statement that  
125 was mangled up. It's not going to be the last.

But let me be very clear about what I meant, because it's something that I've said in public, it's something that I've said in television, which is that people are going through very difficult times right now and we are seeing it all across the country. And that was true even before the current economic hardships that are  
130 stemming from the housing crisis. This is the first economic expansion that we just completed in which ordinary people's incomes actually went down, when adjusted for inflation, at the same time as their costs of everything from health care to gas at the pump have skyrocketed.

And so the point I was making was that when people feel like Washington's not  
135 listening to them, when they're promised year after year, decade after decade, that their economic situation is going to change, and it doesn't, then politically they end up focusing on those things that are constant, like religion.

They end up feeling "This is a place where I can find some refuge. This is something that I can count on." They end up being much more concerned about  
140 votes around things like guns, where traditions have been passed on from generation to generation. And those are incredibly important to them.

And yes, what is also true is that wedge issues, hot-button issues, end up taking prominence in our -- in our politics. And part of the problem is that when those issues are exploited, we never get to solve the issues that people really have to  
145 get some relief on, whether it's health care or education or jobs.

So this is something that I've said before. It is something that I will repeat again. And yes, people are frustrated and angry about it, but what we're seeing in this election is the opportunity to break through that frustration. And that's what  
150 our campaign has been about, saying that if the American people get involved and engaged, then we are going to start seeing change. And that's what makes this election unique.

MR. GIBSON: Senator Clinton?

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, I am the granddaughter of a factory worker from Scranton who went to work in the Scranton lace mills when he was 11 years  
155 old, worked his entire life there, mostly six-day weeks.

He was also very active in the Court Street Methodist Church. And he raised three sons and was very proud that he sent all of them to college.

160 I don't believe that my grandfather or my father, or the many people whom I have had the privilege of knowing and meeting across Pennsylvania over many years, cling to religion when Washington is not listening to them. I think that is a fundamental, sort of, misunderstanding of the role of religion and faith in times that are good and times that are bad.

165 And I similarly don't think that people cling to their traditions, like hunting and guns, either when they are frustrated with the government. I just don't believe that's how people live their lives.

Now, that doesn't mean that people are not frustrated with the government. We have every reason to be frustrated, particularly with this administration.

170 But I can see why people would be taken aback and offended by the remarks. And I think what's important is that we all listen to one another and we respect one another and we understand the different decisions that people make in life, because we're a stronger country because of that.

175 And certainly the weeks that I have spent criss-crossing Pennsylvania, from Erie to Lancaster County, and meeting a lot of wonderful people, says to me that despite whatever frustration anyone has with our government, people are resilient, they are positive, and they're ready for leadership again that will summon them to something greater than themselves, and that we will deliver on that if given a chance.

MR. GIBSON: We're going to have some other questions on the same theme, so you'll be able to get back that.

180 MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Let me pick up on this. When these comments from Senator Obama broke on Friday, Senator McCain's campaign immediately said that it was going to be a killer issue in November.

185 Senator Clinton, when Bill Richardson called you to say he was endorsing Barack Obama, you told him that Senator Obama can't win. I'm not going to ask you about that conversation. I know you don't want to talk about it. But a simple yes-or-no question: Do you think Senator Obama can beat John McCain or not?

190 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, I think we have to beat John McCain, and I have every reason to believe we're going to have a Democratic president and it's going to be either Barack or me. And we're going to make that happen.

And what is important is that we understand exactly the challenges facing us in order to defeat Senator McCain.

195 He will be a formidable candidate. There isn't any doubt about that. He has a great American story to tell. He's a man who has served our country with distinction over many years, but he has the wrong ideas about America. And those ideas will be tested in the cauldron of this campaign.

200 But I also know, having now gone through 16 years of being on the receiving end of what the Republican Party dishes out, how important it is that we try to go after every single vote everywhere we possibly can to get to those electoral votes that we're going to need to have the next president elected.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: But the question is, do you think Senator Obama can do that? Can he win?

SENATOR CLINTON: Yes. Yes. Yes.

205 Now, I think that I can do a better job. (Laughter.) I mean, obviously, that's why I'm here. I think I am better able and better prepared in large measure because of what I've been through and the work that I've done and the results that I've produced for people and the coalition that I have put together in this campaign, that Charlie referred to earlier.

210 Obviously, I believe I would be the best president, or I would not still be here, standing on this stage, and I believe I'm the better and stronger candidate against Senator McCain, to go toe to toe with him on national security and on how we turn the economy around.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Obama, do you think Senator Clinton can win?

215 SENATOR OBAMA: Absolutely, and I've said so before. But I too think that I'm the better candidate. (Laughter.) And I don't think that surprises anybody.

Let me just pick up on a couple of things that Senator Clinton said, though, because during the course of the last few days, you know, she's said I'm elitist, out of touch, condescending. Let me be absolutely clear. It would be pretty hard

220 for me to be condescending towards people of faith, since I'm a person of faith and have done more than most other campaigns in reaching out specifically to people of faith, and have written about how Democrats make an error when they don't show up and speak directly to people's faith, because I think we can get those votes, and I have in the past.

225 The same is true with respect to gun owners. I have large numbers of sportsmen and gun owners in my home state, and they have supported me precisely because I have listened to them, and I know them well.

So the problem that we have in our politics, which is fairly typical, is that you take one person's statement, if it's not properly phrased, and you just beat it to death. And that's what Senator Clinton's been doing over the last four days.  
230 And I understand that.

That's politics, and I expect to have to go through this -- this process.

But I do think it's important to recognize that it's not helping that person who's sitting at the kitchen table who is trying to figure out how to pay the bills at the  
235 end of the month.

And Senator Clinton's right. She has gone through this. You know, I recall when back in 1992, when she made a statement about how, what do you expect, should I be at home baking cookies?

And people attacked her for being elitist and this and that. And I remember  
240 watching that on TV and saying, well, that's not who she is; that's not what she believes; that's not what she meant. And I'm sure that that's how she felt as well.

But the problem is that that's the kind of politics that we've been accustomed to. And I think Senator Clinton learned the wrong lesson from it, because she's  
245 adopting the same tactics.

What the American people want are not distractions. They want to figure out, how are we actually going to deliver on health care; how are we going to deliver better jobs for people; how are we going to improve their incomes; how are we going to send them to college?

250 That's what we have to focus on. And yes, they are in part frustrated and angry, because this is what passes for our politics in terms -- instead of figuring out, how do we build coalitions to actually move things forward?

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, could I --

255 MR. GIBSON: Senator Clinton, before I move on, do you want to do a brief response?

SENATOR CLINTON: Oh, I do.

Well, first of all, I want to be very clear. My comments were about your remarks.

260 And I think that's important, because it wasn't just me responding to them, it was people who heard them, people who felt as though they were aimed at their values, their quality of life, the decisions that they have made.

265 Now, obviously, what we have to do as Democrats is make sure we get enough votes to win in November. And as George just said, you know, the Republicans, who are pretty shrewd about what it takes to win, certainly did jump on the comments.

270 But what's important here is what we each stand for and what our records are and what we have done over the course of our lives to try to improve the circumstances of those who deserve to live up to their own potential, to make the decisions that are right for them and their families. And I think year after year for now 35 years, I have a proven record of results.

275 And what I'm taking into this campaign is my passion for empowering people, for giving people the feeling that they can make a better future for themselves. And I think it's important that that starts from a base of respect and connection in order to be able to get people to follow you and believe that you will lead them in the better direction.

280 MR. GIBSON: Senator Obama, since you last debated, you made a significant speech in this building on the subject of race and your former pastor, the Reverend Jeremiah Wright. And you said subsequent to giving that speech that you never heard him say from the pulpit the kinds of things that so have offended people.

But more than a year ago, you rescinded the invitation to him to attend the event when you announced your candidacy. He was to give the invocation. And according to the reverend, I'm quoting him, you said to him, "You can get kind of rough in sermons. So what we've decided is that it's best for you not to

285 be out there in public." I'm quoting the reverend. But what did you know about his statements that caused you to rescind that invitation?

SENATOR OBAMA: Well --

MR. GIBSON: And if you knew he got rough in sermons, why did it take you more than a year to publicly disassociate yourself from his remarks?

290 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, understand that I hadn't seen the remarks that ended up playing on YouTube repeatedly. This was a set of remarks that had been quoted in Rolling Stone Magazine and we looked at them and I thought that they would be a distraction since he had just put them forward.

295 But, Charlie, I've discussed this extensively. Reverend Wright is somebody who made controversial statements but they were not of the sort that we saw that offended so many Americans. And that's why I specifically said that these comments were objectionable; they're not comments that I believe in.

And I disassociated myself with them.

300 What I also said was, the church and the body of Reverend Wright's work, over the course of 30 years, were not represented in those snippets that were shown on television, and that the church has done outstanding work in ministries on HIV/AIDS, prison ministries, providing people with the kind of comfort that we expect in our churches.

305 And so what I think I tried to do in the speech here at the Constitution Center was speak to a broader context, which is that there is anger in the African American community that sometimes gets expressed, whether in the barbershop or in the church.

310 That's true not just in the African American community. That's true in other communities as well. But what we have the opportunity to do is to move beyond it. And that's what I think my candidacy represents.

And Senator Clinton mentioned earlier that we have to connect with people. That's exactly what we've done throughout this campaign.

315 The reason we've attracted new people into the process, the reason we've generated so much excitement, the reason that we have been so successful in so many states across the country, bridging racial lines, bridging some of the old divisions, is because people recognize that unless we do, then we're not going

to be able to deliver on the promises that people hear every 4 years, every 8 years, every 12 years.

320 And it's my job in this campaign to try to move beyond some of those divisions, because when we are unified, there is nothing that we cannot tackle.

MR. GIBSON: Senator Clinton, let me -- I'm sorry, go ahead. Senator Clinton, let me follow up, and let me add to that. You have said that he would not have been my pastor, and you said that you have to speak out against those kinds of remarks, and implicitly by getting up and moving, and I presume you mean out  
325 of the church.

There are 8,000 members of Senator Obama's church. And we have heard the inflammatory remarks of Reverend Wright, but so too have we heard testament to many great things that he did. Do you honestly believe that 8,000 people should have gotten up and walked out of that church?

330 SENATOR CLINTON: I was asked a personal question, Charlie, and I gave a personal answer. Obviously, one's choice of church and pastor is rooted in what one believes is what you're seeking in church and what kind of, you know, fellowship you find in church. But I have to say that, you know, for Pastor Wright to have given his first sermon after 9/11 and to have blamed the United  
335 States for the attack, which happened in my city of New York, would have been intolerable for me. And therefore I would have not been able to stay in the church, and maybe it's, you know, just, again, a personal reflection that regardless of whatever good is going on -- and I have no reason to doubt that a lot of good things were happening in that church -- you get to choose your  
340 pastor. You don't choose your family, but you get to choose your pastor. And when asked a direct question, I said I would not have stayed in the church.

SENATOR OBAMA: Well, let me just respond to -- to two things. Absolutely many of these remarks were objectionable. I've already said that I didn't hear them, because I wasn't in church that day. I didn't learn about those statements  
345 until much later.

But --

MR. GIBSON: But you did rescind the invitation to him --

SENATOR OBAMA: But that was on -- that was on something entirely different, Charlie. That -- that was on a different statement. And I think that

350 what Senator Clinton referred to was extremely offensive, to me and a lot of people.

But what I should also point out is that Senator Clinton's former pastor, I think, publicly talked about how Reverend Wright was being caricatured and that in fact this is somebody who had maintained an extraordinary ministry for many years.

355 And so there are two important points: Number one, I wasn't aware of all these statements, and I can understand how people would take offense; but number two, the church is a community that extends beyond the pastor and that church has done outstanding work for many, many years.

360 The third point I guess I would make is once again that unless we can bridge some of these divides we're not going to solve problems in this country. And what my entire body of work over the last 20 years has been devoted to is getting blacks, whites, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, young, old to work together, starting when I was a community organizer. And my own life embodies that diversity. That's what America's about and that's what this campaign has been about.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator, two questions. Number one, do you think Reverend Wright loves America as much as you do? And number two, if you get the nomination, what will you do when those sermons are played on television again and again and again?

370 SENATOR OBAMA: You know, George, look, if it's not this, then it would be something else. I promise you, if Senator Clinton got the nomination, there will be a whole bunch of video clips about other things. In a general election, we know that there are going to be all kinds of attacks launched and leveled. There have been quite a few leveled in this primary campaign.

380 And I have confidence in the American people that when you talk to the American people honestly and directly about what I believe in, what my plans are on health care, on energy, when they see my track record of the work that I've done on behalf of people who really need help, I have absolute confidence that they can rally behind my campaign.

And, you know, the notion that somehow that the American people are going to be distracted once again by comments not made by me but by somebody who is associated with me, that I have disowned, I think doesn't give the American people enough credit.

385 MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: You've disowned him?

SENATOR OBAMA: The comments, comments that I've disowned. Then that is not something that I think --

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: But you do believe he's as patriotic as you are?

SENATOR OBAMA: This is somebody who's a former Marine. And so I have --  
390 I believe that he loves this country, but I also believe that he's somebody who, because of the experiences he's had over the course of a lifetime, is also angry about the injustices that he's seen.

MR. GIBSON: I'm getting a little out of balance here. Do you want to take a few seconds, or do you want to go to the next question?

395 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, I think, in addition to the questions about Reverend Wright and what he said and when he said it, and for whatever reason he might have said these things, there were so many different variations on the explanations that we heard. And it is something that I think deserves further exploration, because clearly what we've got to figure out is how we're  
400 going to bring people together in a way that overcomes the anger, overcomes the divisiveness and whatever bitterness there may be out there.

It is clear that, as leaders, we have a choice who we associate with and who we apparently give some kind of seal of approval to. And I think that it wasn't only the specific remarks, but some of the relationships with Reverend Farrakhan,  
405 with giving the church bulletin over to the leader of Hamas to put a message in. You know, these are problems, and they raise questions in people's minds.

And so this is a legitimate area, as everything is when we run for office, for people to be exploring and trying to find answers.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Clinton, we also did a poll today, and there  
410 are also questions about you raised in this poll. About six in 10 voters that we talked to say they don't believe you're honest and trustworthy. And we also asked a lot of Pennsylvania voters for questions they had. A lot of them raised this honesty issue and your comments about being under sniper fire in Bosnia.

Here's Tom Rooney from Pittsburgh.

415 Q Senator, I was in your court until a couple of weeks ago. How do you reconcile the campaign of credibility that you have when you've made those

comments about what happened getting off the plane in Bosnia, which totally misrepresented what really happened on that day? You really lost my vote. And what can you tell me to get that vote back?

420 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, Tom, I can tell you that I may be a lot of things, but I'm not dumb. And I wrote about going to Bosnia in my book in 2004. I laid it all out there. And you're right. On a couple of occasions in the last weeks I just said some things that weren't in keeping with what I knew to be the case and what I had written about in my book. And, you know, I'm embarrassed by it. I have  
425 apologized for it. I've said it was a mistake. And it is, I hope, something that you can look over, because clearly I am proud that I went to Bosnia. It was a war zone.

General Wesley Clark is here in the audience with me as one of my major supporters. He and I were talking about it before I came out. You know, our  
430 soldiers were there to try to police and keep the peace in a very dangerous area. They were totally in battle gear. There were concerns about the potential dangers. The former president of Bosnia has said that he was worried about the safety of the situation.

So I know that it is something that some people have said, "Wait a minute.  
435 What happened here?" But I have talked about this and written about it. And then, unfortunately, on a few occasions I was not as accurate as I have been in the past.

But I know too that, you know, being able to rely on my experience of having gone to Bosnia, gone to more than 80 countries, having represented the United  
440 States in so many different settings gives me a tremendous advantage going into this campaign, particularly against Senator McCain.

So I will either try to get more sleep, Tom, or, you know, have somebody who, you know, is there as a reminder to me. You know, you can go back for the past 15 months. We both have said things that, you know, turned out not to be  
445 accurate. You know, that happens when you're talking as much as we have talked.

But you know, I'm very sorry that I said it. And I have said that, you know, it just didn't jibe with what I had written about and knew to be the truth.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Obama, your campaign has sent out a  
450 cascade of e-mails, just about every day, questioning Senator Clinton's

credibility. And you yourself have said she hasn't been fully truthful about what she would do as president.

Do you believe that Senator Clinton has been fully truthful about her past?

455 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, look, I think that Senator Clinton has a strong record to run on. She wouldn't be here if she didn't. And you know, I haven't commented on the issue of Bosnia. You know, I --

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Your campaign has.

SENATOR OBAMA: Of course, but --

SENATOR CLINTON: (Laughs.)

460 SENATOR OBAMA: Because we're asked about it.

But look, the fact of the matter is, is that both of us are working as hard as we can to make sure that we're delivering a message to the American people about what we would do as president.

465 Sometimes that message is going to be imperfectly delivered, because we are recorded every minute of every day. And I think Senator Clinton deserves, you know, the right to make some errors once in a while. I'm -- obviously, I make some as well.

470 I think what's important is to make sure that we don't get so obsessed with gaffes that we lose sight of the fact that this is a defining moment in our history. We are going to be tackling some of the biggest issues that any president has dealt with in the last 40 years. Our economy is teetering not just on the edge of recession, but potentially worse. Our foreign policy is in a shambles. We are involved in two wars. People's incomes have not gone up, and their costs have. And we're seeing greater income inequality now than any time since the 1920s.

475 In those circumstances, for us to be obsessed with this -- these kinds of errors I think is a mistake. And that's not what our campaign has been about.

480 What our campaign has been about is offering some specific solutions to how we move these issues forward and identifying the need to change the culture in Washington, which we haven't talked at all about, but that has blocked real reform decade after decade after decade. That, I think, is the job of the next president of the United States.

That's what I intend to do. That's why I'm running.

MR. GIBSON: And Senator Obama, I want to do one more question, which goes to the basic issue of electability. And it is a question raised by a voter in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, a woman by the name of Nash McCabe. Take a look.

NASH MCCABE (Latrobe, Pennsylvania): (From videotape.) Senator Obama, I have a question, and I want to know if you believe in the American flag. I am not questioning your patriotism, but all our servicemen, policemen and EMS wear the flag. I want to know why you don't.

MR. GIBSON: Just to add to that, I noticed you put one on yesterday. But -- you've talked about this before, but it comes up again and again when we talk to voters. And as you may know, it is all over the Internet. And it's something of a theme that Senators Clinton and McCain's advisers agree could give you a major vulnerability if you're the candidate in November. How do you convince Democrats that this would not be a vulnerability?

SENATOR OBAMA: Well, look, I revere the American flag, and I would not be running for president if I did not revere this country. This is -- I would not be standing here if it wasn't for this country.

And I've said this -- again, there's no other country in which my story is even possible; somebody who was born to a teenage mom, raised by a single mother and grandparents from small towns in Kansas, you know, who was able to get an education and rise to the point where I can run for the highest office in the land. I could not help but love this country for all that it's given me.

And so what I've tried to do is to show my patriotism by how I treat veterans when I'm working in the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee; by making sure that I'm speaking forcefully about how we need to bring this war in Iraq to a close, because I think it is not serving our national security well and it's not serving our military families and our troops well; talking about how we need to restore a sense of economic fairness to this country because that's what this country has always been about, is providing upward mobility and ladders to opportunity for all Americans. That's what I love about this country. And so I will continue to fight for those issues.

And I am absolutely confident that during the general election that when I'm in a debate with John McCain, people are not going to be questioning my patriotism, they are going to be questioning how can you make people's lives a little bit better.

And let me just make one last point on this issue of the flag pin. As you noted, I wore one yesterday when a veteran handed it to me, who himself was disabled and works on behalf of disabled veterans. I have never said that I don't wear  
520 flag pins or refuse to wear flag pins. This is the kind of manufactured issue that our politics has become obsessed with and, once again, distracts us from what should be my job when I'm commander in chief, which is going to be figuring out how we get our troops out of Iraq and how we actually make our economy better for the American people.

525 MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator, if you get the nomination, you'll have to -- (applause) -- (inaudible).

I want to give Senator Clinton a chance to respond, but first a follow-up on this issue, the general theme of patriotism in your relationships. A gentleman named William Ayers, he was part of the Weather Underground in the 1970s.  
530 They bombed the Pentagon, the Capitol and other buildings. He's never apologized for that. And in fact, on 9/11 he was quoted in The New York Times saying, "I don't regret setting bombs; I feel we didn't do enough."

An early organizing meeting for your state senate campaign was held at his house, and your campaign has said you are friendly. Can you explain that  
535 relationship for the voters, and explain to Democrats why it won't be a problem?

SEN. OBAMA: George, but this is an example of what I'm talking about.

This is a guy who lives in my neighborhood, who's a professor of English in Chicago, who I know and who I have not received some official endorsement  
540 from. He's not somebody who I exchange ideas from on a regular basis.

And the notion that somehow as a consequence of me knowing somebody who engaged in detestable acts 40 years ago when I was 8 years old, somehow reflects on me and my values, doesn't make much sense, George.

The fact is, is that I'm also friendly with Tom Coburn, one of the most  
545 conservative Republicans in the United States Senate, who during his campaign once said that it might be appropriate to apply the death penalty to those who carried out abortions.

Do I need to apologize for Mr. Coburn's statements? Because I certainly don't agree with those either.

550 So this kind of game, in which anybody who I know, regardless of how flimsy  
the relationship is, is somehow -- somehow their ideas could be attributed to me  
-- I think the American people are smarter than that. They're not going to  
suggest somehow that that is reflective of my views, because it obviously isn't.

555 SEN. CLINTON: Well, I think that is a fair general statement, but I also believe  
that Senator Obama served on a board with Mr. Ayers for a period of time, the  
Woods Foundation, which was a paid directorship position.

And if I'm not mistaken, that relationship with Mr. Ayers on this board  
continued after 9/11 and after his reported comments, which were deeply  
hurtful to people in New York, and I would hope to every American, because  
560 they were published on 9/11 and he said that he was just sorry they hadn't done  
more. And what they did was set bombs and in some instances people died. So  
it is -- you know, I think it is, again, an issue that people will be asking about.  
And I have no doubt -- I know Senator Obama's a good man and I respect him  
greatly but I think that this is an issue that certainly the Republicans will be  
565 raising.

And it goes to this larger set of concerns about, you know, how we are going to  
run against John McCain. You know, I wish the Republicans would apologize  
for the disaster of the Bush-Cheney years and not run anybody, just say that it's  
time for the Democrats to go back into the White House. (Laughter, applause.)

570 Unfortunately, they don't seem to be willing to do that. So we know that they're  
going to be out there, full force. And you know, I've been in this arena for a  
long time. I have a lot of baggage, and everybody has rummaged through it for  
years. (Laughter.) And so therefore, I have, you know, an opportunity to come  
to this campaign with a very strong conviction and feeling that I will be able to  
575 withstand whatever the Republican sends our way.

580 SENATOR OBAMA: I'm going to have to respond to this just really quickly, but  
by Senator Clinton's own vetting standards, I don't think she would make it,  
since President Clinton pardoned or commuted the sentences of two members  
of the Weather Underground, which I think is a slightly more significant act  
than me --

AUDIENCE MEMBER: (Applauds.)

MR. GIBSON: Please.

SENATOR OBAMA: -- than me serving on a board with somebody for actions that he did 40 years ago.

585 Look, there is no doubt that the Republicans will attack either of us. What I've been able to display during the course of this primary is that I can take a punch. I've taken some pretty good ones from Senator Clinton. And I don't begrudge her that. That's part of what the political contest is about.

I am looking forward to having a debate with John McCain, and I think every  
590 poll indicates that I am doing just as well, if not better, in pulling together the coalition that will defeat John McCain.

And when it comes to November, and people are going into the polling place, they're going to be asking, are we going to go through four more years of George Bush economic policies; are we going to go through four more years of  
595 George Bush foreign policy?

And if we as Democrats and if I as the nominee have put forward a clear vision for how we're going to move the country forward, deal with issues like energy dependence, lower gas prices, provide health care, get our troops out of Iraq, that is a debate that I'm happy to have and a debate that I'm confident I can  
600 win.

MR. GIBSON: And Senator Clinton, I'm getting out of balance in terms of time.

SENATOR CLINTON: I've noticed. (Laughs.)

MR. GIBSON: And you're getting shortchanged here. And so if you want to reply here, fine. If you want to wait, we'll do it in the next half hour.

605 SENATOR CLINTON: We can wait.

MR. GIBSON: All right.

We will take a commercial break. We will come back. And the Democratic debate, from the city of Philadelphia before the Pennsylvania primary, will continue. Stay with us. (Applause.)

610 (Announcements.)

MR. GIBSON: Another quote from the Constitution, apropos because we are here, as you heard just a moment ago, at the Constitution Center.

615 Senator Clinton, a question for you. We talked about the military applications from the Constitution and this is a question that involves the war in Iraq. It comes from Mandy Garber of Pittsburgh. Take a look.

620 MANDY GARBER (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania): So, the real question is, I mean, do the candidates have a real plan to get us out of Iraq or is it just real campaign propaganda? And you know, it's really unclear. They keep saying we want to bring the troops back, but considering what's happening on the ground, how is that going to happen?

625 MR. GIBSON: Let me just add a little bit to that question, because your communications director in your campaign, Howard Wolfson on a conference call recently was asked, "Is Senator Clinton going to stick to her announced plan of bringing one or two brigades out of Iraq every month whatever the realities on the ground?" And Wolfson said, "I'm giving you a one-word answer so we can be clear about it, the answer is yes."

630 So if the military commanders in Iraq came to you on day one and said this kind of withdrawal would destabilize Iraq, it would set back all of the gains that we have made, no matter what, you're going to order those troops to come home?

635 SENATOR CLINTON: Yes, I am, Charlie. And here's why: You know, thankfully we have a system in our country of civilian control of the military. And our professional military are the best in the world. They give their best advice and then they execute the policies of the president. I have watched this president as he has continued to change the rationale and move the goalposts when it comes to Iraq.

640 And I am convinced that it is in America's best interest, it is in the best interest of our military, and I even believe it is in the best interest of Iraq, that upon taking office, I will ask the secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and my security advisers to immediately put together for me a plan so that I can begin to withdraw within 60 days. I will make it very clear that we will do so in a responsible and careful manner, because obviously, withdrawing troops and equipment is dangerous.

645 I will also make it clear to the Iraqis that they no longer have a blank check from the president of the United States, because I believe that it will be only through our commitment to withdraw that the Iraqis will begin to do what they have failed to do for all of these years.

I will also begin an intensive diplomatic effort, both within the region and internationally, to begin to try to get other countries to understand the stakes  
650 that we all face when it comes to the future of Iraq.

But I have been convinced and very clear that I will begin to withdraw troops within 60 days. And we've had other instances in our history where some military commanders have been very publicly opposed to what a president was proposing to do.

655 But I think it's important that this decision be made, and I intend to make it.

MR. GIBSON: But Senator Clinton, aren't you saying -- I mean, General Petraeus was in Washington. You both were there when he testified, saying that the gains in Iraq are fragile and are reversible. Are you essentially saying, "I know better than the military commanders here"?

660 SENATOR CLINTON: No, what I'm saying, Charlie, is that no one can predict what will happen. There are many different scenarios. But one thing I am sure of is that our staying in Iraq, our continuing to lose our men and women in uniform, having many injured, the Iraqi casualties that we are seeing as well, is -- is no way for us to maintain a strong position in the world.

665 It's not only about Iraq. It is about ending the war in Iraq, so that we can begin paying attention to all of the other problems we have. There isn't any doubt that Afghanistan has been neglected. It has not gotten the resources that it needs. We hear that from our military commanders responsible for that region of the world. And there are other problems that we have failed to address.

670 So the bottom line for me is, we don't know what will happen as we withdraw. We do know what will happen if we stay mired in Iraq. The Iraqi government will not accept responsibility for its own future.

Our military will continue to be stretched thin, and our soldiers will be on their second, third, even their fourth deployment. And we will not be able to reassert  
675 our leadership and our moral authority in the world.

And I think those are the kind of broad issues that a president has to take into account.

MR. GIBSON: And Senator Obama, your campaign manager, David Plouffe, said, when he is -- this is talking about you -- when he is elected president, we

680 will be out of Iraq in 16 months at the most; there should be no confusion about that.

So you'd give the same rock-hard pledge, that no matter what the military commanders said, you would give the order: Bring them home.

685 SENATOR OBAMA: Because the commander in chief sets the mission, Charlie. That's not the role of the generals. And one of the things that's been interesting about the president's approach lately has been to say, well, I'm just taking cues from General Petraeus.

690 Well, the president sets the mission. The general and our troops carry out that mission. And unfortunately we have had a bad mission, set by our civilian leadership, which our military has performed brilliantly. But it is time for us to set a strategy that is going to make the American people safer.

695 Now, I will always listen to our commanders on the ground with respect to tactics. Once I've given them a new mission, that we are going to proceed deliberately in an orderly fashion out of Iraq and we are going to have our combat troops out, we will not have permanent bases there, once I've provided that mission, if they come to me and want to adjust tactics, then I will certainly take their recommendations into consideration; but ultimately the buck stops with me as the commander in chief.

700 And what I have to look at is not just the situation in Iraq, but the fact that we continue to see al Qaeda getting stronger in Afghanistan and in Pakistan, we continue to see anti-American sentiment fanned all cross the Middle East, we are overstretched in a way -- we do not have a strategic reserve at this point. If there was another crisis that was taking place, we would not have a brigade that we could send to deal with that crisis that isn't already scheduled to be  
705 deployed in Iraq. That is not sustainable. That's not smart national security policy, and it's going to change when I'm president.

710 MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Obama, let's stay in the region. Iran continues to pursue a nuclear option. Those weapons, if they got them, would probably pose the greatest threat to Israel. During the Cold War, it was the United States policy to extend deterrence to our NATO allies. An attack on Great Britain would be treated as if it were an attack on the United States. Should it be U.S. policy now to treat an Iranian attack on Israel as if it were an attack on the United States?

715 SEN. OBAMA: Well, our first step should be to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of the Iranians, and that has to be one of our top priorities. And I will make it one of our top priorities when I'm president of the United States.

I have said I will do whatever is required to prevent the Iranians from obtaining nuclear weapons. I believe that that includes direct talks with the Iranians where we are laying out very clearly for them, here are the issues that we find 720 unacceptable, not only development of nuclear weapons but also funding terrorist organizations like Hamas and Hezbollah, as well as their anti-Israel rhetoric and threats towards Israel. I believe that we can offer them carrots and sticks, but we've got to directly engage and make absolutely clear to them what our posture is.

725 Now, my belief is that they should also know that I will take no options off the table when it comes to preventing them from using nuclear weapons or obtaining nuclear weapons, and that would include any threats directed at Israel or any of our allies in the region.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: So you would extend our deterrent to Israel?

730 SENATOR OBAMA: As I've said before, I think it is very important that Iran understands that an attack on Israel is an attack on our strongest ally in the region, one that we -- one whose security we consider paramount, and that -- that would be an act of aggression that we -- that I would -- that I would consider an attack that is unacceptable, and the United States would take 735 appropriate action.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Clinton, would you?

740 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, in fact, George, I think that we should be looking to create an umbrella of deterrence that goes much further than just Israel. Of course I would make it clear to the Iranians that an attack on Israel would incur massive retaliation from the United States, but I would do the same with other countries in the region.

You know, we are at a very dangerous point with Iran. The Bush policy has failed. Iran has not been deterred. They continue to try to not only obtain the fissile material for nuclear weapons but they are intent upon and using their 745 efforts to intimidate the region and to have their way when it comes to the support of terrorism in Lebanon and elsewhere.

And I think that this is an opportunity, with skillful diplomacy, for the United States to go to the region and enlist the region in a security agreement vis-a-vis Iran. It would give us three tools we don't now have.

750 Number one, we've got to begin diplomatic engagement with Iran, and we want the region and the world to understand how serious we are about it. And I would begin those discussions at a low level. I certainly would not meet with Ahmadinejad, because even again today he made light of 9/11 and said he's not even sure it happened and that people actually died. He's not someone who  
755 would have an opportunity to meet with me in the White House. But I would have a diplomatic process that would engage him.

And secondly, we've got to deter other countries from feeling that they have to acquire nuclear weapons. You can't go to the Saudis or the Kuwaitis or UAE and others who have a legitimate concern about Iran and say: Well, don't  
760 acquire these weapons to defend yourself unless you're also willing to say we will provide a deterrent backup and we will let the Iranians know that, yes, an attack on Israel would trigger massive retaliation, but so would an attack on those countries that are willing to go under this security umbrella and forswear their own nuclear ambitions.

765 And finally we cannot permit Iran to become a nuclear weapons power. And this administration has failed in our efforts to convince the rest of the world that that is a danger, not only to us and not just to Israel but to the region and beyond.

Therefore we have got to have this process that reaches out, beyond even who  
770 we would put under the security umbrella, to get the rest of the world on our side to try to impose the kind of sanctions and diplomatic efforts that might prevent this from occurring.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Let me turn to the economy. That is the number one issue on Americans' minds right now.

775 Yesterday, Senator McCain singled that the number one issue, in the general election campaign on the economy, is going to be taxes. And he says that both of you are going to raise taxes, not just on the wealthy but on everyone. Here's what he said in his speech yesterday.

780 SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN (R-AZ): (Pre-recorded remarks.) All these tax increases are under the fine print of the slogan: hope. They're going to raise

your taxes by thousands of dollars a year. And they have the audacity to hope you don't mind.

(Laughter.)

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Clinton, two-part question.

785 Two-part question: Can you make an absolute, read-my-lips pledge that there will be no tax increases of any kind for anyone earning under \$200,000 a year?

And if the economy is as weak a year from now as it is today, will you -- will you persist in your plans to roll back President Bush's tax cuts for wealthier Americans?

790 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, George, I have made a commitment that I will let the taxes on people making more than \$250,000 a year go back to the rates that they were paying in the 1990s.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Even if the economy is weak?

795 SENATOR CLINTON: Yes. And here's why: Number one, I do not believe that it will detrimentally affect the economy by doing that. As I recall, you know, we used that tool during the 1990s to very good effect and I think we can do so again.

I am absolutely committed to not raising a single tax on middle class Americans, people making less than \$250,000 a year. In fact, I have a very  
800 specific plan of \$100 billion in tax cuts that would go to help people afford health care, security retirement plans, you know, make it possible for people to get long-term care insurance and care for their parents and grandparents who they are trying to support, making college affordable and so much else.

805 Well, if you look at how we'd have to sequence that, we might not be able to do all of that at once. But if you go to my website, HillaryClinton.com, it is laid out there how I will pay for everything, because everything I have proposed, I have put in how I would pay for it.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: An absolute commitment, no middle-class tax increases of any kind.

810 SENATOR CLINTON: No, that's right. That is my commitment.

MR. GIBSON: Senator Obama?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Would you take the same pledge?

SENATOR OBAMA: Well, I not only have pledged not to raise their taxes, I've been the first candidate in this race to specifically say I would cut their taxes.

815 And one of the centerpieces of my economic plan would be to say that we are going to offset the payroll tax, the most regressive of our taxes, so that families who are earning -- who are middle-income individuals making \$75,000 a year or less, that they would get a tax break so that families would see up to a thousand dollars worth of relief.

820 Senior citizens who have earnings of less than \$50,000 wouldn't have to pay income tax on their Social Security. And middle-class homeowners who currently don't itemize on their tax filings, they would be able to get a deduction the same way that wealthy individuals do.

Now, here's the reason why that's important. We have seen wages and incomes  
825 flat or declining at a time when costs have gone up. And one of the things that we've learned from George Bush's economic policies, which John McCain now wants to follow, is that pain trickles up. And so, partly because people have been strapped and have had a tough time making ends meet, we're now seeing a deteriorating housing market.

830 That's also as a consequence of the lack of oversight and regulation of these banks and financial institutions that gave loans that they shouldn't have. And part of it has to do with the fact that you had \$185 million by mortgage lenders spent on lobbyists and special interests who were writing these laws.

835 So the rules in Washington -- the tax code has been written on behalf of the well connected. Our trade laws have -- same thing has happened. And part of how we're going to be able to deliver on middle-class tax relief is to change how business is done in Washington. And that's been a central focus of our campaign.

840 MR. GIBSON: Senator Obama, you both have now just taken this pledge on people under \$250,000 and 200-and-what, 250,000.

SENATOR OBAMA: Well, it depends on how you calculate it. But it would be between 200 and 250,000.

MR. GIBSON: All right.

845 You have however said you would favor an increase in the capital gains tax. As a matter of fact, you said on CNBC, and I quote, "I certainly would not go above what existed under Bill Clinton, which was 28 percent."

It's now 15 percent. That's almost a doubling if you went to 28 percent. But actually Bill Clinton in 1997 signed legislation that dropped the capital gains tax to 20 percent.

850 SENATOR OBAMA: Right.

MR. GIBSON: And George Bush has taken it down to 15 percent.

SENATOR OBAMA: Right.

855 MR. GIBSON: And in each instance, when the rate dropped, revenues from the tax increased. The government took in more money. And in the 1980s, when the tax was increased to 28 percent, the revenues went down. So why raise it at all, especially given the fact that 100 million people in this country own stock and would be affected?

860 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, Charlie, what I've said is that I would look at raising the capital gains tax for purposes of fairness. We saw an article today which showed that the top 50 hedge fund managers made \$29 billion last year -- \$29 billion for 50 individuals. And part of what has happened is that those who are able to work the stock market and amass huge fortunes on capital gains are paying a lower tax rate than their secretaries. That's not fair.

865 And what I want is not oppressive taxation. I want businesses to thrive and I want people to be rewarded for their success. But what I also want to make sure is that our tax system is fair and that we are able to finance health care for Americans who currently don't have it and that we're able to invest in our infrastructure and invest in our schools.

870 And you can't do that for free, and you can't take out a credit card from the Bank of China in the name of our children and our grandchildren and then say that you're cutting taxes, which is essentially what John McCain has been talking about. And that is irresponsible.

875 You know, I believe in the principle that you pay as you go, and you don't propose tax cuts unless you are closing other tax breaks for individuals. And you don't increase spending unless you're eliminating some spending or you're finding some new revenue. That's how we got an additional \$4 trillion worth of

debt under George Bush. That is helping to undermine our economy, and it's going to change when I'm president of the United States.

880 MR. GIBSON: But history shows that when you drop the capital gains tax, the revenues go up.

SENATOR OBAMA: Well, that might happen or it might not. It depends on what's happening on Wall Street and how business is going. I think the biggest problem that we've got on Wall Street right now is the fact that we've got a housing crisis that this president has not been attentive to and that it took John  
885 McCain three tries before he got it right.

And if we can stabilize that market and we can get credit flowing again, then I think we'll see stocks do well, and once again I think we can generate the revenue that we need to run this government and hopefully to pay down some of this debt.

890 MR. GIBSON: Senator Clinton.

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, let me start by saying that I think we know that we've got to get back to an economy that works for everyone. The president has been very good for people who are doing well, and that's great. But it was better for our country when we had an economy that lifted everyone up at the  
895 same time, and we had that during the 1990s; you know, 22.7 million new jobs, more people lifted out of poverty than any time in our recent history. A typical family saw a \$7,000 increase in income.

And we have lost that. You know, now the typical family has lost at least \$1,000. And the fact is that, you know, I don't want to take one more penny of  
900 tax money from anybody. But what I want to do is make some smart investments. And I was the first to come out with a strategic energy fund, where we need to be investing in clean renewable energy. And I think we could put 5 million Americans to work.

I think we have to invest in our infrastructure. That also will get the economy  
905 moving again, and I believe we could put about 3 million people to work in good union jobs where people get a good wage with a good set of benefits that can support a middle-class family with a rising standard of living.

I want to see us actually tackle the housing crisis, something I've been talking about for over a year. If I had been president a year ago, I believe we would  
910 have begun to avoid some of the worst of the mortgage and credit crisis,

because we would have started much earlier than we have -- in fact, I don't think we've really done very much at all yet -- in dealing with a way of freezing home foreclosures, of freezing interest rates, getting money into communities to be able to withstand the problems that are caused by foreclosures.

915 Governor Rendell has done a great job in Pennsylvania. He saw this coming. And unlike our current president, who either didn't know it or didn't care about it, he has really held the line, and Pennsylvania has been much less affected by home foreclosures. But the president hasn't done that, and what I have proposed would do that.

920 So you've got to look at the entire economy. And from my perspective, yes, taxes is a piece of it. But you've got to figure out what is it we would invest in that would make us richer and safer and stronger tomorrow, which would be helping everybody.

MR. GIBSON: I'm going to go to a commercial break. But I just want to come  
925 back to one thing you said, and I want to be clear. The question was about capital gains tax. Would you say, "No, I'm not going to raise capital gains taxes"?

SENATOR CLINTON: I wouldn't raise it above the 20 percent if I raised it at all. I would not raise it above what it was during the Clinton administration.

930 MR. GIBSON: "If I raised it at all." Would you propose an increase in the capital gains tax?

SENATOR CLINTON: You know, Charlie, I'm going to have to look and see  
935 what the revenue situation is. You know, we now have the largest budget deficit we've ever had, \$311 billion. We went from a \$5.6 trillion projected surplus to what we have today, which is a \$9 trillion debt.

I don't want to raise taxes on anybody. I'm certainly against one of Senator Obama's ideas, which is to lift the cap on the payroll tax, because that would impose additional taxes on people who are, you know, educators here in the Philadelphia area or in the suburbs, police officers, firefighters and the like.

940 So I think we have to be very careful about how we navigate this.

So the \$250,000 mark is where I am sure we're going. But beyond that, we're going to have to look and see where we are.

MR. GIBSON: Very quickly, because I owe Senator Clinton time, but, yeah, you wanted to respond.

945 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, Charlie, I just have to respond real quickly to Senator Clinton's last comment. What I have proposed is that we raise the cap on the payroll tax, because right now millionaires and billionaires don't have to pay beyond \$97,000 a year.

950 That's where it's kept. Now most firefighters, most teachers, you know, they're not making over \$100,000 a year. In fact, only 6 percent of the population does. And I've also said that I'd be willing to look at exempting people who are making slightly above that.

955 But understand the alternative is that because we're going to have fewer workers to more retirees, if we don't do anything on Social Security, then those benefits will effectively be cut, because we'll be running out of money.

MR. GIBSON: But Senator, that's a tax. That's a tax on people under \$250,000.

960 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, no, look, let me -- let me finish my point here, Charlie. Senator Clinton just said she certainly wouldn't do this; this was a bad idea. In Iowa she, when she was outside of camera range, said to an individual there she'd certainly consider the idea. And then that was recorded, and she apparently wasn't aware that it was being recorded.

So this is an option that I would strongly consider, because the alternatives, like raising the retirement age, or cutting benefits, or raising the payroll tax on everybody, including people who make less than \$97,000 a year --

965 MR. GIBSON: But there's a heck of a lot of --

SENATOR OBAMA: -- those are not good policy options.

MR. GIBSON: Those are a heck of a lot of people between \$97,000 and \$200,000 and \$250,000. If you raise the payroll taxes, that's going to raise taxes on them.

970 SENATOR OBAMA: And that's -- and that's -- and that's why I've said, Charlie, that I would look at potentially exempting those who are in between.

But the point is, we're going to have to capture some revenue in order to stabilize the Social Security system. You can't -- you can't get something for

975 nothing. And if we care about Social Security, which I do, and if we are firm in  
our commitment to make sure that it's going to be there for the next generation,  
and not just for our generation, then we have an obligation to figure out how to  
stabilize the system.

980 And I think we should be honest in presenting our ideas in terms of how we're  
going to do that and not just say that we're going to form a commission and try  
to solve the problem some other way.

985 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, in fact, I am totally committed to making sure  
Social Security is solvent. If we had stayed on the path we were on at the end of  
my husband's administration, we sure would be in a lot better position because  
we had a plan to extend the life of the Social Security Trust Fund and again,  
President Bush decided that that wasn't a priority, that the war in Iraq and tax  
cuts for the wealthiest of Americans were his priorities, neither of which he's  
ever paid for. I think it's the first time we've ever been taken to war and had a  
president who wouldn't pay for it.

990 But when it comes to Social Security, fiscal responsibility is the first and most  
important step. You've got to begin to reign in the budget, pay as you go, to try  
to replenish our Social Security Trust Fund.

995 And with all due respect, the last time we had a crisis in Social Security was  
1983. President Reagan and Speaker Tip O'Neill came up with a commission.  
That was the best and smartest way, because you've got to get Republicans and  
Democrats together.

That's what I will do. And I will say, number one, don't cut benefits on current  
beneficiaries; they're already having a hard enough time. And number two, do  
not impose additional tax burdens on middle-class families.

1000 There are lots of ways we can fix Social Security that don't impose those  
burdens, and I will do that.

1005 SENATOR OBAMA: That commission raised the retirement age, Charlie, and  
also raised the payroll tax. And so Senator Clinton, if she -- she can't have it  
both ways. You can't come at me for proposing a solution that will save Social  
Security without burdening middle- income Americans, and then suggest that  
somehow she's got a magic solution.

SENATOR CLINTON: But there are more progressive ways of doing it than, you know, lifting the cap. And I think we'll work it out. I have every confidence we're going to work it out. I know that we can make this happen.

MR. GIBSON: On that point, we're going to take a break, a commercial break.  
1010 The Democratic debate from here in Philadelphia before the Pennsylvania primary will continue. Stay with us. We'll be back. (Applause.)

(Announcements.)

MR. GIBSON: Back to the Philadelphia Debate, the Democratic Debate, just less than a week now before the Pennsylvania primary.

1015 And I would be remiss tonight if I didn't take note of the fact that today is the one-year anniversary of Virginia Tech. And I think it's fair to say that probably every American during this day, at one point or another, said a small prayer for the great people at that university and for those who died.

1020 It also, I suspect, makes this an appropriate time to talk about guns. And it has not been talked about much in this campaign and it's an important issue in the state of Pennsylvania.

Both of you, in the past, have supported strong gun control measures. But now when I listen to you on the campaign, I hear you emphasizing that you believe in an individual's right to bear arms.

1025 Both of you were strong advocates for licensing of guns. Both of you were strong advocates for the registration of guns.

Why don't you emphasize that now, Senator Clinton?

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, Charlie, on Friday, I was with Mayor Nutter, who's here, in West Philadelphia at the YMCA there, to talk about what we  
1030 could do together to bring down the crime rate that has ravaged Philadelphia.

You know, more than one person, on average, a day is murdered in Philadelphia. And Mayor Nutter is very committed, as the mayor of this great city, to try to do what he can to stem the violence.

1035 And what I said then is what I have been saying, that I will be a good partner, for cities like Philadelphia, as president. Because I will bring back the COPS program, the so-called COPS program, where we had 100,000 police on the

street, which really helped drive down the crime rate and also helped create better community relations.

1040 I will also work to reinstate the assault weapons ban. We had it during the 1990s. It really was an aid to our police officers, who are now once again, because it has lapsed -- the Republicans will not reinstate it -- are being outgunned on our streets by these military- style weapons.

1045 I will also work to make sure that police departments in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, across America get access to the federal information that will enable them to track illegal guns, because the numbers are astounding. Probably 80 percent of the guns used in gun crimes are in the hands of that criminal, that gang member -- unfortunately, people who are sometimes, you know, mentally challenged -- because it got there illegally. And under the Republicans, that information was kept from local law enforcement.

1050 So I believe that we can balance what I think is the right equation. I respect the Second Amendment. I respect the rights of lawful gun owners to own guns, to use their guns, but I also believe that most lawful gun owners whom I have spoken with for many years across our country also want to be sure that we keep those guns out of the wrong hands.

1055 And as president, I will work to try to bridge this divide, which I think has been polarizing and, frankly, doesn't reflect the common sense of the American people.

1060 So we will strike the right balance to protect the constitutional right but to give people the feeling and the reality that they will be protected from guns in the wrong hands.

MR. GIBSON: Senator Obama, the District of Columbia has a law, it's had a law since 1976, it's now before the United States Supreme Court, that prohibits ownership of handguns, a sawed-off shotgun, a machine gun or a short-barreled rifle. Is that law consistent with an individual's right to bear arms?

1065 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, Charlie, I confess I obviously haven't listened to the briefs and looked at all the evidence.

1070 As a general principle, I believe that the Constitution confers an individual right to bear arms. But just because you have an individual right does not mean that the state or local government can't constrain the exercise of that right, and, you know, in the same way that we have a right to private property but local

governments can establish zoning ordinances that determine how you can use it.

And I think that it is going to be important for us to reconcile what are two realities in this country.

1075 There's the reality of gun ownership and the tradition of gun ownership that's passed on from generation to generation. You know, when you listen to people who have hunted, and they talk about the fact that they went hunting with their fathers or their mothers, then that is something that is deeply important to them and, culturally, they care about deeply.

1080 But you also have the reality of what's happening here in Philadelphia and what's happening in Chicago.

And...

Mr. GIBSON: But do you still favor the registration of guns? Do you still favor the licensing of guns?

1085 And in 1996, your campaign issued a questionnaire, and your writing was on the questionnaire that said you favored a ban on handguns.

SENATOR OBAMA: No, my writing wasn't on that particular questionnaire, Charlie. As I said, I have never favored an all-out ban on handguns.

1090 What I think we can provide is common-sense approaches to the issue of illegal guns that are ending up on the streets. We can make sure that criminals don't have guns in their hands. We can make certain that those who are mentally deranged are not getting a hold of handguns. We can trace guns that have been used in crimes to unscrupulous gun dealers that may be selling to straw purchasers and dumping them on the streets.

1095 The point is, is that what we have to do is get beyond the politics of this issue and figure out what, in fact, is working.

Look, in my hometown of Chicago, on the south side of Chicago, we've had 34 gun deaths last year of Chicago public school children.

1100 And I think that most law-abiding gun owners all across America would recognize that it is perfectly appropriate for local communities and states and the federal government to try to figure out, how do we stop that kind of killing?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Clinton, you have a home in D.C.

Do you support the D.C. ban?

1105 SENATOR CLINTON: You know, George, I want to give local communities the opportunity to have some authority over determining how to keep their citizens safe.

This case you're referring to, before the Supreme Court, is apparently dividing the Bush administration. You know, the Bush administration basically said, we don't have enough facts to know whether or not it is appropriate.

1110 And Vice President Cheney who, you know, is a fourth special branch of government all unto himself -- (laughter) -- has actually filed a brief saying, oh, no, we have to, you know, we have to prevent D.C. from doing this.

So --

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: But what do you think? Do you support it or not?

1115 SENATOR CLINTON: Well, what I support is sensible regulation that is consistent with the constitutional right to own and bear arms.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Is the D.C. ban consistent with that right?

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, I think a total ban, with no exceptions under any circumstances, might be found by the court not to be. But I don't know the facts.

1120 But I don't think that should blow open a hole that says that D.C. or Philadelphia or anybody else cannot come up with sensible regulations to protect their people and keep, you know, machine guns and assault weapons out of the hands of folks who shouldn't have them.

1125 MR. GIBSON: Well, with all due respect, and I'm not sure I got an answer from Senator Obama. But do you still favor licensing and registration of handguns?

1130 SENATOR CLINTON: What I favor is what works in New York. You know, we have a set of rules in New York City and we have a totally different set of rules in the rest of the state. What might work in New York City is certainly not going to work in Montana. So, for the federal government to be having any kind of, you know, blanket rules that they're going to try to impose, I think doesn't make sense.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: But Senator, you were for that when you ran for Senate in New York.

1135 SENATOR CLINTON: I was for -- I was for the New York rules, that's right. I was for the New York rules because they have worked over time. And there isn't a lot of uproar in New York about changing them, because I go to upstate New York, where we have a lot of hunters and people who are collectors and people who are sport shooters; they have every reason to believe that their rights are being respected. You walk down the street with a police officer in  
1140 Manhattan; he wants to be sure that there is some way of protecting him and protecting the people that are in his charge.

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Obama, last May we talked about affirmative action, and you said at the time that affluent African Americans like your daughters should probably be treated as pretty advantaged when they  
1145 apply to college, and that poor white children -- kids -- should get special consideration, affirmative action.

So, as president, how specifically would you recommend changing affirmative action policies so that affluent African Americans are not given advantages, and poor, less affluent whites are?

1150 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, I think that the basic principle that should guide discussions not just on affirmative action but how we are admitting young people to college generally is, how do we make sure that we're providing ladders of opportunity for people? How do we make sure that every child in America has a decent shot in pursuing their dreams?

1155 And race is still a factor in our society. And I think that for universities and other institutions to say, you know, we're going to take into account the hardships that somebody has experienced because they're black or Latino or because they're women --

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Even if they're wealthy?

1160 SENATOR OBAMA: I think that's something that they can take into account, but it can only be in the context of looking at the whole situation of the young person. So if they look at my child and they say, you know, Malia and Sasha, they've had a pretty good deal, then that shouldn't be factored in. On the other hand, if there's a young white person who has been working hard, struggling,  
1165 and has overcome great odds, that's something that should be taken into account.

1170 So I still believe in affirmative action as a means of overcoming both historic and potentially current discrimination, but I think that it can't be a quota system and it can't be something that is simply applied without looking at the whole person, whether that person is black or white or Hispanic, male or female.

What we want to do is make sure that people who have been locked out of opportunity are going to be able to walk through those doors of opportunity in the future.

1175 MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Clinton, would you agree to that kind of change?

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, here's the way I'd prefer to think about it.

1180 I think we've got to have affirmative action generally to try to give more opportunities to young people from disadvantaged backgrounds -- whoever they are. That's why I'm a strong supporter of early childhood education and universal pre-kindergarten.

That's why I'm against No Child Left Behind as it is currently operating. And I would end it, because we can do so much better to have an education system that really focuses in on kids who need extra help.

1185 That's why I'm in favor of much more college aid, not these outrageous predatory student loan rates that are charging people I've met, across Pennsylvania, 20, 25, 28 percent interest rates. Let's make college affordable again.

1190 See, I think we have to look at what we're trying to achieve here somewhat differently. We do have a real gap. We have a gap in achievement. We have a gap in income. But we don't have a potential gap.

I think our job should be to try to create the conditions that enable people to live up to their God-given potential. And that means health care for everyone -- no exceptions, nobody left out. And it means taking a hard look at what we need to do to compete and win in the global economy.

1195 So that's how I prefer to think about it. You know, let's affirmatively invest in our young people and make it possible for them to have a good middle-class life in today's much more competitive economy.

MR. GIBSON: We're running short on time. Let me just give some quick questions here, and let me give you a minute each to answer. What are you going to do about gas prices? It's getting to \$4 a gallon. It is killing truckers.

SENATOR CLINTON: That's right.

MR. GIBSON: People are in trouble. And yet the whole world pays a whole lot more for gas than we do. What are you going to do about it?

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, I met with a group of truckers in Harrisburg about a week and a half ago, and here's what I told them. Number one, we are going to investigate these gas prices. The federal government has certain tools that this administration will not use, in the Federal Trade Commission and other ways, through the Justice Department, because I believe there is market manipulation going on, particularly among energy traders. We've seen this movie before, in Enron, and we've got to get to the bottom to make sure we're not being taken advantage of.

Number two, I would quit putting oil into the Strategic Petroleum Reserve and I would release some to help drive the price down globally.

And thirdly, if there is any kind of gas tax moratorium, as some people are now proposing --

MR. GIBSON: Like John McCain.

SENATOR CLINTON: -- like John McCain, and some Democrats, frankly -- I think Senator Menendez and others have said that we may have to do something, because when you get to \$4-a-gallon gas, people are not going to be able to afford to drive to work. And what I would like to see us do is to say if we have that, then we should have a windfall profits tax on these outrageous profits of the oil companies, and put that money back into the highway trust fund, so that we don't lose out on repair and construction and rebuilding.

But ultimately, Charlie, we've got to have a long-term energy strategy. We are so much more dependent on foreign oil today than we were on 9/11, and that is a real indictment of our leadership. And I've laid out a comprehensive plan to move us toward energy independence that I hope I will have the opportunity to implement as president.

MR. GIBSON: Very quickly, Senator Obama, I -- the same thing. But we've heard from politicians for a long time we're going to end dependence on foreign

oil. I just have a quote: "The generation-long growth in our dependence on foreign oil will be stopped dead in its tracks right now." That was Jimmy Carter in 1979. And it's gotten a whole lot worse since then.

1235 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, you're right. And that's why people are cynical, because decade after decade, we talk about energy policy or we talk about health care policy, and through Democratic and Republican administrations, nothing gets done.

1240 Now, I think many of the steps that Senator Clinton outlined are similar to the plans that we talked about. It is absolutely true that we've got to investigate potential price gouging or market manipulation. I have strongly called for a windfall profits tax that can provide both consumers relief and also invest in renewable energies.

1245 I think that long term, we're going to have to raise fuel efficiency standards on cars, because the only way that we're going to be able to reduce gas prices is if we reduce demand. You've still got a billion people in China, and maybe 700 million in India, who still want cars. And so the long-term trajectory is that we're going to have to get serious about increasing our fuel efficiency standards and investing in new technologies.

1250 That's something I'm committed to doing. I've talked about spending \$150 billion over 10 years in an Apollo Project, a Manhattan Project to create the alternative energy strategies that will work not only for this generation but for the next.

1255 MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: We're running out of time for this segment. Very quickly, for each of you, 30 seconds. Senator Clinton, you've said that you believe in using former presidents. How would you use George W. Bush if you were president? (Laughter.)

1260 SENATOR CLINTON: I'm going to have to give some serious thought to that. (Laughter.) You know, I do believe that it's a way to unify our country. I thought that President Bush was right when he asked his father and Bill to represent us during the aftermath of the tsunami. I thought it sent a great message here at home and around the world. And I'm sure that there will be opportunities to ask all the former presidents to work on behalf of our nation.

1265 You know, we've got to come together. And the former presidents really exemplify that, whether one agrees with them politically or not. When they're all together, representing our country, that sends a strong message. And I

would look for a way to use all our former presidents, but that'll take some careful thought on my part. (Laughter.)

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Senator Obama.

1270 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, you know, I think that having the advice and counsel of all former presidents is important. I'm probably more likely to ask advice of the current president's father than president himself because I think that when you look back at George H.W. Bush's foreign policy, it was a wise foreign policy.

1275 And how we executed the Gulf War, how we managed the transition out of the Cold War, I think, is an example of how we can get bipartisan agreement. I don't think the Democrats have a monopoly on good ideas. I think that there are a lot of thoughtful Republicans out there.

1280 The problem is, we've been locked in a divided politics for so long that we've stopped listening to each other. And I think that this president in particular has fed those divisions. That's something that we've tried to end in this campaign, and I think we're being successful.

MR. GIBSON: All right.

We're going to take one more commercial break, come back with a final question for both of you in just a moment.

1285 (Announcements.)

MR. GIBSON: Final question, now, to finish what I think has been a fascinating debate, and I appreciate both of you being here -- thanking you in advance.

1290 I -- it is hard to see how either one of you win this nomination on the basis of pledged delegates in primaries. And it could well come down to superdelegates. And I know you've been talking to them all along. But let's say you're at the convention in Denver, and you're talking to a group of 20 undecided superdelegates. How are you going to make the case to them why you're the better candidate and more electable in November?

1295 What do you say to them -- minute-and-a-half each. And by a flip of the coin, Senator Clinton goes first.

SENATOR CLINTON: Well, I say to them what I've said to voters across America -- that we need a fighter back in the White House. We need someone who's going to take on the special interests.

1300 And I have a plan to take away \$55 billion of the giveaways and the subsidies that the president and Congress have lavished on the drug companies and the oil companies and the insurance companies and Wall Street. And I have a plan to give that money back -- give it back in tax cuts to the middle class -- people who deserve it, who have been struggling under this president, who feel invisible, who feel like, you know, they're not even seen anymore.

1305 And we're going to make everybody feel like they're part of the American family again. And we're going to tackle the problems that have been waiting for a champion back in the White House.

Now, obviously, I can't do this alone. I can only do it if I get people who believe in me and support me and who look at my track record and know that, you  
1310 know, I've spent a lifetime trying to empower people, trying to fight for them.

And I think it's going to be challenging, but it is absolutely what we must do in order to keep faith with our country and to give our children the future that they deserve.

So I will tell everyone who listens that I'm ready to be the commander in chief.  
1315 I've 35 generals and admirals, including two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wesley Clark and others, who believe that I am the person to lead us out of Iraq, to take on al Qaeda, to rebuild our military.

And I will turn this economy around. We will get back to shared prosperity and we will see once again that we can do this the right way so it's not just a  
1320 government of the few, by the few and for the few. And I need your help. I need the help of the voters here in Pennsylvania, first and foremost, in order to be able to get to those conversations.

And I hope that I have demonstrated not just over the last weeks or even over the last hour and half but over a lifetime that you can count on me. You know  
1325 where I stand. You know that I will fight for you and that together we're going to take back our country.

MR. GIBSON: Senator Obama.

1330 SENATOR OBAMA: Well, when we started this campaign 15 months ago, it was based on a couple of simple principles: number one, that we were in a defining moment in our history. Our nation's at war. Our planet's in peril. Our economy is in a shambles. And most importantly, the American people have lost trust in their government, not just Democrats but independents and Republicans who've been disillusioned about promises that have been made election after election, decade after decade.

1335 And the bet I was making was a bet on the American people; that they were tired of a politics that was about tearing about each other down, but wanted a politics that was about lifting the country up; that they didn't want spin and PR out of their elected officials, they wanted an honest conversation.

1340 And most importantly, I believe that change does not happen from the top down, it happens from the bottom up. And that's why we decided we weren't going to take PAC money or money from federal registered lobbyists, that we were not going to be subject to special- interest influence, but instead were going to enlist the American people in a project of changing this country.

1345 And during the course of these last 15 months, my bet's paid off because the American people have responded in record numbers, and not just people who are accustomed to participating, but people who haven't participated in years. I talked to a woman here in Pennsylvania, 70 years old, she whispered to me, "I've never voted before, but I'm going to vote in this election."

1350 And so my point to the super delegates would be that if we're going to deliver on health care for every American, improve our schools, deliver on jobs, then it's going to be absolutely vital we form a new political coalition in this country. That's what we've been doing in this campaign, and that's what I'm going to do when I'm president of the United States of America.

1355 MR. GIBSON: The audience has been very good in restraining themselves. I think a round of applause for Senators Obama and Clinton. (Applause.)

And that concludes tonight's Pennsylvania debate. We appreciate both of you and wish you both the best.

Thank you very much. (Applause continues.)

## **References:**

### **ABC News:**

1. <http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/News/story?id=128148>
2. <http://abcnews.go.com/ThisWeek/story?id=133369>

### **CNN:**

1. [http://www.cnn.com/CNN/anchors\\_reporters/blitzer.wolf.html](http://www.cnn.com/CNN/anchors_reporters/blitzer.wolf.html)
2. [http://edition.cnn.com/CNN/anchors\\_reporters/brown.campbell.html](http://edition.cnn.com/CNN/anchors_reporters/brown.campbell.html)
3. [http://edition.cnn.com/CNN/anchors\\_reporters/king.john.html](http://edition.cnn.com/CNN/anchors_reporters/king.john.html)

### **Cleveland State University:**

<http://www.csuohio.edu/aboutcsu/>

### **National Constitution Center:**

[http://constitutioncenter.org/ncc\\_about\\_Landing.aspx](http://constitutioncenter.org/ncc_about_Landing.aspx)

### **Jorge Ramos:**

<http://www.jorgeramos.com/>

### **Kodak Theatre:**

<http://www.kodaktheatre.com/profile.htm>

### **MSNBC:**

1. <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/3667173/>
2. <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/4459759/>

### **PBS:**

<http://www.pbs.org/weta/washingtonweek/aroundthetable/mcmanus.html>

### **Politico:**

<http://www.politico.com/reporters/JeanneCummings.html>

### **University of Texas:**

<http://www.utexas.edu/president/>

**Wikipedia:**

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brian\\_Williams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brian_Williams)