

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Issues Introduced by Bill Clinton in his Inaugural Address

There are 12 issues introduced by Bill Clinton in his inaugural address. The discourse strands in each paragraph strongly influence the most remembered memory of the listener and how they react about it or against it. Outlining the inaugural speech is important as it is considered an act of influencing listener's mental model through topics of each paragraph so they can easily reproduce it. Below are the semantic macrostructure of the inaugural address and its possible meaning.

4.1.1 Discourse Strands and Overall Theme

1. The will to reform America. (Paragraph 1), Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we marched to the music of our time, our mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.”

2. Grateful toward his predecessor. (Paragraph 2) Clinton using direct speech, using the following phrases “I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and

women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism.”

3. Today’s crisis. (Paragraph 3) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “... but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world’s strongest but is weakened by ... deep divisions among our own people.”

4. The advance of technology. (Paragraph 4) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world.”

5. The need to change. (Paragraph 5) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.”

6. The value of change. (Paragraph 6-7) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrase “Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.”

7. The value of sacrifice. (Paragraph 8) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake.”

8. Thinking forward. (Paragraph 9) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “Posterity is the world to come: the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility.”

9. Redefinition of Democracy. (paragraph 10) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy... Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.”

10. Challenge forward. (paragraph 11-12) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home... Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make... While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges nor fail to seize the opportunities of this new world.”

11. The duty of Americans. (paragraph 13-15) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases “Now we must do the work the season demands. To that work I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone... My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season

of service: to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities.”

12. Perseverance. (paragraph 16) Clinton is using direct speech, using the following phrases "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."

The overall theme for this inauguration speech can be summarized as “To renew America in terms of sacrificing nation effort, face global challenge, and revitalize administration by means of the power of people and the idea of liberal democracy”

4.2 Ideological Components of Bill Clinton’s Inaugural Address

There are 9 ideological components revealed by Bill Clinton in his inaugural address. The analysis and interpretation of the ideological aspect of Clinton’s inaugural address attempts to make links between three dimensions of CDA; specifically, the social cognition or dimension of society, the formal properties of the text or the local meaning or its linguistic aspect, and the context model of both the listener and the speaker. Those three dimensions are important to decipher covert liberal ideology of Bill Clinton’s inaugural address. Here are the semantic microstructure derived from the discourse fragments and its possible meaning.

4.2.1 Inclusiveness

For the local meaning of the first sentence of the inaugural speech, Clinton used people deixis “Citizens”. “My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the

mystery of American renewal.” He used “citizens” deixis instead of “American” to open his speech. The person deixis is used differently than his predecessor who frequently uses “American”. The uses of “American” deixis imply only to American people, while the uses of “citizens” imply to the people of the nation, including immigrants, international citizens, expats, and so on. The uses of “citizens” imply inclusiveness, while the uses of “American” imply exclusiveness.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social cognition is used as the approach. The deixis was selected differently from Bush because Clinton was from liberal party. Liberal party employs almost socialism-like system that disagrees with disparity between groups of people in society. The use of “citizens” indirectly tells the listener that the speaker believes in inclusiveness and plurality rather than exclusiveness. Clinton differentiated his deixis to avoid implying superiority. Bill Clinton prefers to open and welcome anyone who wants to befriend America as equal. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of people deixis “Citizens” is inclusiveness.

4.2.2 Unity

For the local meaning of the last sentence of sixth paragraph, Clinton uses people deixis “Americans”. “Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.” Bill Clinton uses “Americans” deixis instead of “Citizens” deixis. The use of deixis to address his listener is different than the first deixis used, which is “citizens”. Bill Clinton also addressed his listener using “Americans” in “Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring.”, “My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal.”, “And so, my fellow Americans, as we stand at the edge of the 21st century,”. Bill Clinton emphasizes the value of

change only for actual American people. He believes in the American history itself that changes time to time, “From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the civil rights movement,” All those changes requires a great deal of sacrifice and takes a lot of effort. Bill Clinton wants to show American people what can be achieved from change. Change is a frequent occurrence in America, the responsibilities to change lies in the people of American themselves. Supported by the keywords analysis, the noun “America” being the second champion of this count, with its occurrences that reach 15, can be attributed to unite America.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social situation is used as the approach. Clinton’s intend to change America from conservative system to liberal system. Becoming the president of United States of America means his speech will be listened by liberal people and conservative people. To actually change American way, he obviously has support from liberal people who vote for him though Democratic Party. On the other hand, the rest of the America consists of conservative people. Bill Clinton addresses conservative people to join hand on his mission by reminding them that they are also American. Addressing conservative people and liberal people as “my fellow American” is his political strategy to shape the feeling of unity among his listener. So, the deictic expression of “American”, in the last sentence of sixth paragraph, is actually intended to address conservative people rather than addressing his loyal liberal supporter. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of people deixis “Americans” is unity and embracing changes instead of resistance toward change.

4.2.3 Renewal

For the local meaning of his first sentence of the inaugural speech, Clinton used euphemism and repetition. “My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal.” Bill Clinton uses “mystery” in a metaphoric expression of euphemism. Besides euphemism, Clinton repeats renew in his several discourse strands to open up new idea. “To renew America, we must be bold” (paragraph 8). “To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy” (Paragraph 10). “To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home.” (Paragraph 11). The use of “mystery” is intended to lessen his upcoming speech. He wants to make an introduction of his winning speech against Republic party without giving the impression of superiority. While doing so, he made sure his listener anticipate his idea of renewal. Letting his listener to unravel the newly propose idea of being American.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social situation is used as the approach. Bill Clinton of Democratic Party, predeceased by Bush Senior and Reagan, won against Republic party. The winning of Democratic Party after a long reign on republic party can only mean one thing. Conservative system will become obsolete, and Liberal system will reign over the old ways. Every social system in America will undergo changes. The changes had been looked forward by everyone, whether it is American or any other nations being aware of America’s action. He wants to redefine what it means to be an American. Bill Clinton uses “mystery” to lessen the actual truth that he wants to express, which is reinventing America to liberal system. He also repeats the keyword “renew” to ensure his listener adept to the idea of renewing

conservative ideals to liberal ideals. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of the euphemism and repetition is liberal ideals as the actor of renewal.

4.2.4 Strategic Diplomacy

For the local meaning of his second sentence of the inaugural speech, Clinton used thematization of “winter” followed by its rhyme, “spring”. “This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America.” Bill Clinton’s theme is “This ceremony is held in the depth of winter”, it contains the metaphorical imagery of “winter”, while the rhyme is a metaphorical imagery of “spring”. The imagery uses of “winter” season and “spring” season imply a romantic expectation that he can turn winter into spring. Bill Clinton symbolizes the position of America right now as a winter, which is associated with cold and harsh. After that, he uses spring as the antitheses of winter. The imagery of spring itself symbolizes bloom and hope, something to look forward for after the harshness of winter. He uses season of trouble as a theme to emphasize his awareness of today’s problem, which is conservatives system. He then follows it with winter as a promise of solution, which is liberal system. Bill Clinton uses faces as a figure to represent a promise toward the world. He wants the world to look forward what American can do and capable of.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social situation is used as the approach. The actual season of the West Front of the Capitol, Washington D.C. as Clinton speaks in January 20, 1993 is the peak of

winter season. The current winter season at that time had reached its peak and it was ongoing from November, December, January, until February. Before Bill Clinton rise to presidency, America's supreme ideology is Conservative. The Conservative has made some considerable war-waging policy against Panama, Iraq, and Somali in the name of annihilating enemy of America, namely, terrorism, communism, and drugs. Conservative people believed that those countries show aggression toward America and a good example of terrorism. On the other hand, liberal people believe that terrorism is a result of arrogant U.S. foreign policy. Strategic diplomacy is the best way to deal with terrorism. Relying on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. Bill Clinton uses "winter" to symbolize post-war problem while the reign of Republican took the seat of power. Winter also refers to the actual weather by the time he spoke his inaugural address. He made use of "spring" to symbolize his new administration as the solution. He uses the contrast of "winter" against "spring" to justify his intention to reinvent America from arrogant U.S. foreign policy to strategic diplomacy. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of the thematization and the imagery is strategic diplomacy in liberal perspectives.

4.2.5 Global Governance

The local meaning of the first sentence of eleventh paragraph of the inaugural speech was thematization of "meet challenges abroad", followed by its rhyme, "as well as at home." "... we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home." Bill Clinton uses "challenges abroad" as a theme while putting "home" as a rhyme. Bill Clinton uses "abroad" to imply "foreign affair", while the use of "home" imply "domestic affair". The thematization of "abroad" instead of "home" implies

his intention to prioritize “foreign affair” above “domestic affair”. The contrast between “home” and “abroad” is also visible. Supported by the keywords analysis, the noun “world” being the absolute champion of this count, with its occurrences that reach 18, can be attributed to foreign affair policy and strategic diplomacy for the world.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social situation is used as the approach. Bill Clinton’s liberal inclination toward foreign affair requires him to support global governance. Any president from liberal party will have a moral and a legal obligation to support the United Nations (UN). Liberal people believe that the United Nation promotes peace and human rights. The foreign affair policy of Bill Clinton will definitely support the existence of UN. The U.S. should not act as a sovereign nation, but as one member of a world community. The U.S. should submit its national interests to the greater good of the global community (as defined by the UN). The U.S. should defer to the UN in military/peacekeeping matters. The United Nations Charter gives the United Nations Security Council the power and responsibility to take collective action to maintain international peace and security. U.S. troops should submit to UN command. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of the thematization and the contrast is endorsement for United Nations (UN) or global governance.

4.2.6 Welfare State

For the local meaning of the eight paragraph, on the last sentence of Bill Clinton’s inaugural address, he used Simile “We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children“. It contains the expression of simile “the way” by

comparing “We must provide for our Nation” with “a family provides for its children”. “We” are a type of people deixis that refer to a group of people, the group of people who can provide for the nation. “We” refer to every Americans who Bill Clinton believes is rich enough to be burdened to pay more taxes to the government. Then, the government can provide “our Nation”, which refer to every American who can’t provide for himself or marginal people. The simile of “a family provides for its children” is to make that idea similar with “rich people provides for poor people”. Supported by the keywords analysis, the noun “people” being the third champion of this count, with its occurrences that reach 12, can be attributed to socialism agenda such as welfare, social security, and tax for the rich.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social cognition is used as the approach. The liberal believes in freedom socially (as individual rights) and justice economically (as equity). For liberal people, supporting welfare, including long-term welfare is a must. Welfare is a safety net which provides for the needs of the poor. Welfare is necessary to bring fairness to American economic life. It is a device for protecting the poor. Liberal people also believe that the Social Security system should be protected at all costs (StudentNewsDaily, 2010). Social Security also provides a safety net for the nation's poor and needy. Bill Clinton as a liberal agent from Democratic Party will lead America to protect welfare state system as well as social security system. Higher taxes (primarily for the wealthy) to support a larger government are necessary to address inequity/injustice in society. Government should help the poor and needy using tax dollars from the rich. Liberal supports a large government to provide for the needs of the people and create equality. Taxes

enable the government to create jobs and provide welfare programs for those in need. Government programs are a caring way to provide for the poor and needy in society. The same way a family provides for its children. A family refers to the government who loves, cares, and provides its children. Children refer to the poor and needy family. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of the simile is social security, welfare, and taxes in liberal perspectives.

4.2.7 Environmentalism

For the local meaning of the ninth paragraph on the second sentence, Clinton used Alliteration “whom”. “Posterity is the world to come: the world for *whom* we hold our ideals, from *whom* we have borrowed our planet, and to *whom* we bear sacred responsibility.” He deliberately repeat the first part of the sentence “whom” in order to achieve an artistic effect known as Alliteration. “The world to come” on the beginning of the sentence refer to “future generation”. Future generation lives in a world left behind its predecessor: today’s generation. The future generation is referred by Bill Clinton using “whom”. Bill Clinton repeats “whom” to emphasize the future generation who holds long-term value. Bill Clinton feels the need to protect future generation “for whom”, “from whom”, and “to whom”.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social cognition is used as the approach. Threat toward future generation that is referred by Bill Clinton is Global Warming. Liberal people believe that global warming is caused by an increased production of carbon dioxide through the burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil and natural gas). The U.S. is a major contributor to global warming because it produces 25% of the world’s carbon dioxide

(StudentNewsDaily, 2010). Proposed laws to reduce carbon emissions in the U.S. are urgently needed and should be enacted immediately to save the planet. Liberal's way to protect American future is not only about global warming issue, but also alternatives energy issue. Oil is a depleting resource. Other sources of energy must be explored. The government must produce a national plan for all energy resources and subsidize (partially pay for) alternative energy research and production. Liberal supports increased exploration of alternative energy sources such as wind and solar power (StudentNewsDaily, 2010). Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of the alliteration is global warming and alternatives energy, both are environmentalism agenda.

4.2.8 Collaboration

For the local meaning of seventh paragraph, second sentence, "There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America." Clinton used antithesis between the first clause "There is nothing wrong with America" and the second clause "what is right with America". He did this to achieve contrastive effect. The contrast is between something wrong and something right in America. "Something wrong" refers to the massive debts (TheWashingtonPost, 2007) and high unemployment rate (ScholasticLibrary, 2008) in Reagan and Bush era, while "something right" refer to liberal ideals and conservative ideals as what is right with America.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social situation is used as the approach. There is something wrong with America by the time Clinton delivers his Inaugural address. In this analysis, synchronic analysis is used, exploring the historical problem on the American people those

days. Firstly, there has been a leftover deficits spawned by the Reagan years. At \$220 billion in 1990, the deficit had grown to three times its size since 1980. Secondly, in 1991, labor sectors disappointed many corporate and force them to reorganize, laid off a substantial number of workers (ScholasticLibrary, 2008). Many workers were unemployed and most of them believed that their jobs were secure. Two wrong things with America at that time, they are government deficits and high unemployment rate. But, Clinton gave them hope about the other side of story, the right thing with America. It is linear with the macrostructure of the discourse, to renew toward Liberal ideals. The right things refer to the new perspective of America's political polarized relations between Liberal and Conservatives party. Clinton justify Liberal ideals as the right part of America, while at the same time, flatter Conservatives people as they are also the part of what is right with America. When both agree to work collaboratively, side by side, they will be able to overcome what is wrong with America. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of the contrast is liberal ideals and conservatives ideals should work together to solve the problem.

4.2.9 Healthcare

Local meaning of the fifth paragraph, fifth sentence; "when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small" Clinton remarked several problems threatening America's well being. He made remarks about the cost of healthcare that may make American enterprises suffer. It is interesting that Clinton uses great and small to polarize two kinds of enterprises; great enterprises and small one.

For the social context relevant with the above local meaning analysis, social cognition is used as the approach. Clinton supports free or low-cost government controlled health care. When enterprises can't afford health care to their employee, somehow they have to provide it. Enterprises are forced by the insurance policy that every employee well being is guaranteed by the employer. If every enterprise has a right to affordable health care, there is no need to be afraid about employee's healthcare cost. Clinton believes that government should provide equal health care benefits for all, regardless of their ability to pay. The great or small enterprises, both of them will be endangered if healthcare cost doesn't get subsidized by the government. Based on the above evidence, the nearest possible context model of the polarization is healthcare act.

4.3 Clinton's Justification in the Inaugural Address

In this part, the justification used by Bill Clinton in his inaugural address is identified and analyzed. Models of an event in van Dijk's CDA, or discourse semantic heavily consider the subjectivity of the listener. Discourse will never abstractly coherence, each of its proposition is coherence toward the interpretation of a language user. Here, the easiest general proposition that can penetrate the mental model of the listener is revealed. The discourse strands is not merely created for the sake of Bill Clinton's liberal ideology, but also for the sake of its targeted listener. It is sublimated in the form of macro-opinion. Based on the intertextuality that refers to specific cultural references, there are three macro opinions used by Bill Clinton; Declaration of the Independence of America, Thomas Jefferson's Quote, and Galatians Scripture.

4.3.1 Declaration of the Independence of America

“When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.” (First paragraph, third sentence of Inaugural Address).

Bill Clinton uses the macro-opinion of changing America's system from conservatives ideals to liberal ideals using the concept of “declared America's independence” to promote his own agenda: “life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.” The use of modalities “would” implies a sense of urgency toward changing direction.

4.3.2 Thomas Jefferson's Quote

“Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.” (Fifth paragraph, last sentence of Inaugural Address)

Bill Clinton uses quotes from Thomas Jefferson, the third President of United States, and an ally of conservative people and embraced the principles of republicanism. He brilliantly uses the quotes of a prominent American figure who embrace the principle of conservative ideals to support his own agenda, changing the America toward liberal ideals. The uses of modalities “would” serve as a call to embrace the change rather than opposing it.

4.3.3 Galatians Scripture

Clinton quoted biblical references; Galatians 6:9. “The Scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.”” (Sixteenth paragraph, third sentence of Inaugural Address)

This biblical reference is Paul's letters to the Galatians. They're all in the New Testament and are pretty heavy on the Jesus references; these books also have one other thing in common: they were all actually written by Paul the Apostle. Galatians made up of authentic Pauline wisdom. In Galatians, Paul's struggling a lot with the way things have always been done. According to lots of people, since Jesus is the Jewish messiah, Christians need to be following Jewish laws, too. God gave his commandments to Moses thousands of years ago and nothing's changed since then. Tradition becomes the accepted way of life, but Paul thinks that Jesus is the latest ideals. He's new and makes all the law that's come before him seem obsolete. Paul believes that Jesus' life and death reveals the need for new law. Paul was willing to discard the old and embrace the new. As a result, he was able to lead Christianity into the future where it became a powerhouse of faith.

The historical background of Galatians suggests the inclination toward anti-tradition and following the new ideals. Clinton asked his fellow Americans to preserve and stay strong in the renewal era. For God promised the fruitful result after putting all effort in doing so, as long as they don't resist the change. Here, Bill Clinton implicitly shows the prospect and fruitful result in renewing America, where new thing is always better than the old thing. As long as all American, regardless they are liberals or conservatives, join hands in his "renewal" agenda.

Based on the findings and discussions, the overall theme of Bill Clinton's Inaugural address, "To renew America in terms of sacrificing nation effort, face global challenge, and revitalize administration by means of the power of people and the idea of liberal democracy," comes up from 12 discourse strands; namely,

Asserting his will to change America, Thanking his predecessor, Pointing out today's crisis, Pointing out the advance of technology, Pointing out the need to change, Emphasizing the value of change, Addressing welfare state, Addressing global warming, Redefining democracy, Addressing Global Governance, Pointing out the duty of Americans, Reciting Bible reference. The concealed ideology revealed is inclusiveness, unity, renewal, strategic diplomacy, global governance, welfare state, environmentalism, collaboration, and healthcare. The justification used by Bill Clinton to uphold his liberal ideals are Declaration of the Independence of America, Thomas Jefferson's Quote, and Galatians Scripture.