

FRAMING AMERICA:

A case study of the metaphorical language used by Democrats and Republicans in inaugural
addresses

Jan van den Berg

S 0956945

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First supervisor: Dr. A.G. Dorst

Second supervisor: Dr. A.A. Foster

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the conceptual metaphors use of four (former) prominent American politicians in representing their worldviews. A review of the research regarding this topic shows that Democrats and Republicans arguably apply different cognitive models to structure their worldview via the use of metaphorical language. In thesis I will illustrate that each politician has his style regarding his metaphorical language-use. Although Democrats and Republicans show dissimilarities in their metaphorical language, the language of both Democrats and Republicans primarily represent the shared worldview of American exceptionalism.

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Introduction

Politicians find themselves in a never-ending struggle to win over the sentiment of their electorate. In order to persuade and influence their audiences to favour them over their political adversaries, politicians turn to the art of discourse, i.e. rhetoric:¹ “The art of using language effectively in order to persuade or influence others (‘rhetoric’, 2014).” For example, during the United States presidential elections of 2008 both Democratic candidate Barack Obama and Republican candidate John McCain continuously tried to convey the message to their audiences that they both fundamentally disagreed with each other:

OBAMA: "The senator and I just fundamentally disagree. And unless we are holding ourselves accountable day in, day out, not just when there's a crisis for folks who have power and influence and can hire lobbyists, but for the nurse, the teacher, the police officer, who, frankly, at the end of each month, they've got a little financial crisis going on (First presidential debate 2008).”

Asked to rebut the above statement by host Jim Lehrer, senator McCain in turn discloses that he disagrees with Obama by stating: “No, we've got to fix the system. We've got fundamental problems in the system (2008).”

In this thesis I will analyse the metaphorical language used by four American politicians and examine whether their alleged convictions – as illustrated in the example of Obama and McCain – are actually supported by their figurative language, i.e. their purposeful

¹ The art of rhetoric consist of three lines of argument as identified by Aristotle (Leith 2012: 47). Firstly there is Ethos, which describes the manner in which a speaker manifests himself as reliable speaker and his connection to his or her audience (2012: 47). Logos is the manner in which the speaker attempts to use reason to influence his intended audience (2012: 47). Lastly, Pathos is the way in which the speaker tries to appeal to the emotions of the audience (2012: 47).

use of conceptual metaphor.² In other words, do politicians from different political parties also use different conceptual metaphors to put up frames which represent their supposedly different worldviews? Or conversely, do they use similar conceptual metaphors, which would illustrate that regardless of the fact that politicians from different political parties overtly express that they differ fundamentally from their political opponents, their language suggests the exact opposite.

More precisely, I will analyse the language of four prominent politicians in this thesis – namely: George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton – and examine whether Republicans create different frames³ compared with Democrats and vice versa in portraying their worldview. In this thesis I will argue that although American politicians mostly claim to differ fundamentally from their political adversaries, the frames conveyed by Republicans Bush and Reagan, and Democrats Obama and Clinton are much alike. Nonetheless, there are definitely important differences as Bush and Reagan mostly use frames relating to masculinity and an extreme sense of nationalism, whereas Obama and Clinton are more prudent and, furthermore, use frames relating to femininity.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter I will provide the necessary background information for my analysis. First, I will discuss the concept of metaphor. Second, I will discuss the *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). Third, I will examine the critical metaphor analysis proposed by Charteris-Black (2004). Fourth, I will discuss the concept of formatting a worldview. Fifth, I will discuss the concept of framing. Lastly, I will discuss previous research on conceptual metaphors in political discourse. The second chapter focuses on the methodology and data selection. In this chapter I will discuss the *Metaphor Identification Procedure* (henceforth MIP) and I will briefly elaborate on the corpus which was used for my analysis. The third and final chapter

² The definition of *conceptual metaphor* will be discussed in Chapter 1.

³ The definition of *Framing* will be discussed in Chapter 3.

will deal with the main question in this thesis, namely whether politicians from different political backgrounds use similar conceptual metaphors to represent their worldview.

Chapter 1: Background

1.1 The Concept of Metaphor

In order to analyse the metaphorical language used in political discourse by the politicians under investigation in this thesis, we first need to discuss the definition of the concept metaphor. In other words, what is a metaphor?

The concept of the metaphor has been discussed as far back as 350 BC by Aristotle in his work *Poetics*. Although this seems to imply that Aristotle himself came up with the concept of metaphor, Aristotle did not invent the word or the concept of metaphor (Kennedy 2010: 3). Simply put, Aristotle should be viewed as the person “to have proposed the first systematic situating of it, which in any event has been retained as such with the most powerful historical effects” (2010: 3). Aristotle defines the metaphor as “giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on the grounds of analogy” (Aristotle 1909: 63). Interestingly, this demonstrates that “Western literary, linguistic, and critical traditions have been interested in the possibility of differentiating between literal and figurative language” dating back to Aristotle’s time (Punter 2007: 11).

In his *Poetics* (350 BC), Aristotle portrays metaphors as:

A sign of absolute linguistics mastery and, therefore, a certain type of genius. It is the one thing that cannot be learned from others, and it is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies a intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars (Aristotle 1909: 71).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that Aristotle characterises metaphor as being ‘a type of genius’, contrarily, he also argues that it is ornamental and too cryptic for scientific or philosophical discourse and merely appropriate to be practiced in poetry (McGlone 2007: 110). However, the assertion by Aristotle that metaphor should only be practiced in poetry is rather pretentious, prescriptive and far too simplistic as metaphors are found in almost any form of discourse.⁴ In effect, Aristotle’s crude denouncement of metaphor led to the unfortunate fact that scholars ignored the topic of metaphor up until the late nineteenth century. It was only brought to attention again by the French philologist Breal (1899) in his essay *Essai de Semantique* (2007: 110).

Returning to the definition of metaphor by Aristotle, namely ‘giving the thing a name that belongs to something else,’ Aristotle argues that all things in nature have their own ‘proper name’ and that metaphor “constitutes a kind of infringement of this rule, whereby ‘names’ are conveyed from one thing into another (Punter 2007: 12).” In other words, in this Aristotelian *comparison view* – whereby metaphors are implicitly converted into simile –⁵

[T]his conversion serves the dual purpose of affording the proposition literal truth (in that any two things, even a journal and a gem, are literally alike in some respects) and making explicit the analogical comparison Aristotle presumed to be the crux of metaphor (McGlone 2007: 110).

An obvious example of this ‘infringement’ can be found when we are faced with an actual simile (e.g. in the sentence *he is like a lion*), wherein the comparison between the two subjects

⁴ I will return to support this claim when I turn to discuss the *conceptual metaphor* theory by Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

⁵ X (the vehicle) is like a Y (the tenor). “In metaphor, there are usually two explicit parts: a topic, which is the entity being talked about, and the vehicle, which is the metaphoric material being predicated of the topic (Murphy 1996: 175).

is made explicit by the preposition *like* and thus the metaphor is interpreted by analysing the commonalities in both subjects.

Furthermore, by understanding something in terms of something else, we allow ourselves to describe concepts, ideas, or emotions which are hard to grasp. It could therefore be argued that when we use a metaphor, we are in the process of translating one word in terms of another and consequently transfer certain qualities from one subject to the other. Thus, we are able to describe concepts which we would not be able to define so closely using literal language.

Although it seems clear what Aristotle meant when he defines the concept of the metaphor, I will stick to a more easily comprehensible description as given by Semino (2008): “the phenomenon whereby we talk and, potentially, think about something in terms of something else” (Semino 2008: 1). The advantage of this definition of metaphor is that it leaves out the terms *genus* and *species* and defines metaphor without using confusing taxonomical terminology to give a description of metaphor.

Although I have given an explicit definition of metaphor, exactly defining the concept of metaphor is complicated for the ordinary layman and most people probably have difficulty coming up with an exact definition of metaphor on their own. Nonetheless, most people are able to recognise when certain language items are used metaphorically in most forms of discourse. For example, Frank Sinatra (1915 – 1998),⁶ the popular and highly famous American singer and actor, overtly uses metaphorical language in many songs. For example, in his song *That's life*, we find a lot of figurative language in the first verse which is easily recognised as such by most moderate and native speakers of English:

⁶ Naturally, Sinatra is not the only to overtly use metaphoric language, as all people use metaphor to sing or talk about concepts with the help of metaphors.

That's life, that's what all the people say. You're riding high in April, shot down in May. But I know I am going to change that tune when I'm back on top, back on top in June (Sinatra 1966).

Upon hearing this song, most advanced speakers of English probably will pick up that the phrases *riding high*, *shot down*, *that tune*, and *back on top* are not examples of literal language: we cannot literally ride high, nor get can we literally get back on top. Furthermore, it is apparent that Sinatra does not refer to actually getting shot by someone in May. Thus, although many would struggle to find an exact definition of metaphor, people do recognize when certain language items are used metaphorically. How words are identified as being metaphorical will be discussed in chapter two.

1.2.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Following the discussion on the definition of the metaphor, I will discuss how metaphor 'operates' in the human mind and how it is omnipresent in everyday life. Typically, the metaphor is perceived only as an aspect of language, "a device of poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish, a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 4). This perception of the metaphor seemingly suggests that we make conscious choices whether to use metaphors in our discourse or not. It puts forward the idea that we could do with metaphor perfectly well if we would choose so and, moreover, suggests that the use of metaphor is random.

However, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) argue that the metaphor is not only pervasive in language, but also in thought and action (1980: 4). They claim that man's ordinary conceptual system – the way in which our thinking is governed based on a set of thoughts and beliefs – is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (1980: 4). This theory is called the *Conceptual*

Metaphor Theory (CMT) (1980: 4). According to Lakoff & Johnson, these concepts govern how we structure our perception, how we see things and how we relate to other people. Thus, our conceptual system does not merely govern our thought on matters of intellect (1980: 4). In short, metaphor plays a pivotal part in how we define everyday reality.

Following the theory by Lakoff & Johnson that our conceptual system is mainly metaphorical, the conclusion can be drawn that the way in which we think, act and perceive the world is therefore also a matter of metaphor (1980:4). When we act or think in our everyday lives, we automatically do this in accordance with certain a certain ‘belief’. For example, when we are having a debate about a certain topic, we view this debate as if we are at war. To strengthen their argument, Lakoff & Johnson adduce evidence found in discourse, “since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like” (1980: 4).

In order to illustrate their point, Lakoff & Johnson give a number of examples of conceptual metaphors: “Conceptual metaphor is a conventional way of conceptualizing one domain of experience in terms of another” (Lakoff 1996: 4). There are three types of conceptual metaphors. The authors start off by discussing the *structural metaphor*, a metaphor in which one concept is metaphorically structured into another (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 14). ARGUMENT IS WAR⁷ is an example of a structural conceptual metaphor. The conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR⁸ is realised in metaphoric language used in everyday discourse:

⁷ Whenever Lakoff & Johnson refer to conceptual metaphors in their work *Metaphors We Live By*, they capitalize the given conceptual metaphor. In this thesis, and in line with Lakoff and Johnson, I will follow their example and, therefore, for the remainder of this thesis will also capitalise any conceptual metaphor I bring up.

⁸ This does not mean that one concept can stand in relation to just one other concept. For example, LOVE IS A JOURNEY and LOVE IS A ROLLERCOASTER are both considered conceptual metaphors. Thus, one vehicle can have several tenors which together show the different facets a concept (Murphy 1996: 185).

1. Your claims are *indefensible*.
2. He *attacked* every weak point in my argument.
3. His criticisms were *right on target*.
4. He will *wipe you out*.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5)

In all four examples, we find that the language items *indefensible*, *attacked*, *on target*, and *wipe out*, are used metaphorically. Moreover, the language in these four expressions reflects the argument that the human conceptual system structures the art of argumentation in terms of war and much like a war, a debate has winners and losers. However, it is important to keep in mind that although this conceptual metaphor applies to Western culture, it might not apply to others. In other words, conceptual metaphors are not universal (1980: 15).⁹

Apart from structural metaphors, Lakoff & Johnson mention a second type of conceptual metaphor that does not structure a concept in terms of another, but has to do with ‘spatial orientation’,¹⁰ named orientational metaphors (1980: 15). Much like structural metaphors, orientational metaphors are likewise culturally based. For example, whereas in certain cultures the future is said to lie in front of us, in other cultures it is said to lie back (1980: 15). One example of an orientational metaphors is HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN:

⁹ I will elaborate on this statement in 1.4.

¹⁰ For example, up and down, in and out, front and back. Secondly, “these spatial orientations have a basis in our physical appearance (1980: 15), e.g. When we feel down, we drop our shoulders.

1. I'm feeling *up*
2. I'm feeling *down*
3. He's really *low* these days
4. That *boosted* my spirits

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 16)

In these examples we find that the language items *up*, *down*, *low*, and *boosted* are examples of figurative language. Furthermore, all four language items reflect our physical composure; we drop our posture when we feel sad and we raise our posture when we feel happy.

Lastly, Lakoff & Johnson name a third kind of conceptual metaphor, namely ontological metaphors. They argue that when we treat our experiences in terms of concrete things such as substances and objects, this allows us “to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as concrete entities or substances of a uniform kind (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 26).” In effect, once we are able to categorise our experiences, quantify them, and refer to them, we are also able to reason about them (1980:26). For example, the experience of rising prices can be understood via the conceptual metaphor INFLATION IS AN ENTITY:

1. Inflation is lowering our standard of living.
2. We need to combat inflation

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 27)

By referring to an experience of rising prices in terms of an entity (in this example inflation), we can use the metaphor INFLATION IS AN ENTITY to quantify it, refer to it, and deal rationally with a non-concrete concept which could otherwise be proven to be problematic (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 27).

1.2.2. Discussion of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) has had considerable influence in communication research and theory (McGlone 2007: 123). Nevertheless, the theory leaves room for questions because Lakoff and Johnson never explicitly explain how we need to interpret their claims (Murphy 1996: 174). For example, Lakoff and Turner (1989) refer to the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY and argue that in this conceptual metaphor the “structure of our understanding of love comes from the structure of our knowledge of journeys” (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 62). Secondly, Lakoff and Johnson state that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5). Arguably, these two statements inherently suggest that, for example, in the case of the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, we cannot “reason about theories in and of themselves, but must instead apply our knowledge of buildings to theory properties” (McGlone 2007: 114). Murphy (1996) terms this way of interpreting conceptual metaphor theory as ‘the strong version of metaphoric representation’ (Murphy 1996: 177).

The strong version of metaphoric interpretation is unquestionably problematic, because “it is not clear how the mind could construct a representation without at least some semantic primitives in the target concept that exist independently” (McGlone 2007: 114). In other words, McGlone argues that we undoubtedly have minimally independent representations in our minds of theory-related entities. We know what a ‘theorist’ is, or what ‘assumptions’ and ‘ideas’ are. We do not need to compare them to buildings to conceptualise the concept of these three examples in our minds. This stands to reason because without this independent representation, we apparently could assume that ‘theory-terms’ are synonymous for terms having to do with buildings and we would not be able to tell what distinguishes the two (2007: 114).

In other words, we do not really comprehend the concept of theory in the strong view, but only understand the concept of buildings. Consequently, the understanding of theories is completely parasitic on the concept of buildings. As a result, this predicts that our knowledge of the abstract concept of theories also includes incorrect information which does not apply to the concept of theories (Murphy 1996: 182). The cognitive linguist McGlone (2007) gives the following example to illustrate this point:

If we understand theories entirely in terms of buildings, then we should occasionally make erroneous inferences about the applicability of building properties to the abstract concept – e.g., theories not only can have foundations (assumptions), architects (formulators), and blueprints (origins), but also stairwells, hallways, sprinkler systems, etc. (2007: 114).

Thus, the strong view is flawed and should therefore be rejected.

Because the strong view of metaphoric representation is problematic, linguist Murphy (1996) provides a different and more suitable interpretation known as the ‘weak version’ (Murphy 1996: 178). In this view, the tenor likewise has some influence on the representation of the concept of the vehicle. For example, the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS is a conceptual metaphor in English in thought and language. Therefore, the structure of the theory concept is perceived as being similar to the structure of the building concept. However, concepts in the vehicle position do have their own separate representation in the weak view (1996: 178). In other words, the metaphor may influence the structure of the topic concept, but “the representation itself is not metaphoric (1996: 178).” Consider the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. The concept *theory* has its own individual representation and relations which stand freely from the concept *buildings* in the weak version.

1.3. Conceptual Metaphor Analysis by Charteris-Black

As previously mentioned, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) argue that metaphors are present in everyday discourse because our conceptual system is partly metaphorical. In everyday discourse we might not always purposefully use metaphor to express ourselves. However, this does not apply to political discourse. Politicians (those who are any good) carefully think about what to say to their audience in order to win over their favour. Metaphor plays an important role in this process (Chilton 2004: 50). This hardly seems surprising as metaphor is a convenient linguistic and rhetorical device, which can both “trumpet its presence or infiltrate unnoticed” (Miller 2014: 63). Most importantly, metaphor can be applied purposefully. The analysis of the purposes of metaphor is termed *Critical Metaphor Analysis* (Charteris-Black 2013: 198)

Critical discourse analyst Charteris-Black (2013) defines conceptual metaphors that are purposefully used to reach a certain goal as *purposeful metaphors* (2013: 198). According to Charteris-Black, these purposeful metaphors “provide coherent representations of a story that a speaker is actively telling. It is the purposeful metaphor that turns a speech into a narrative (2013: 198).” Charteris-Black describes these narratives as ‘myths,’¹¹ which are defined as follows:

Myth therefore engages the hearer by providing stories that express aspects of the unconscious. It provides a narrative-based representation of intangible experiences that are evocative because they are unconsciously linked to emotions such as sadness, happiness and fear (Charteris-Black 2011: 22).

¹¹ A similar model which likewise Charteris-Black’s myth is the concept of scenario theorized by Musolff (Musolff 2006: 28).

So what are the functions of these purposeful metaphors that create a certain myth?

Charteris-Black names seven purposes of metaphors in political discourse as shown in Figure (1).

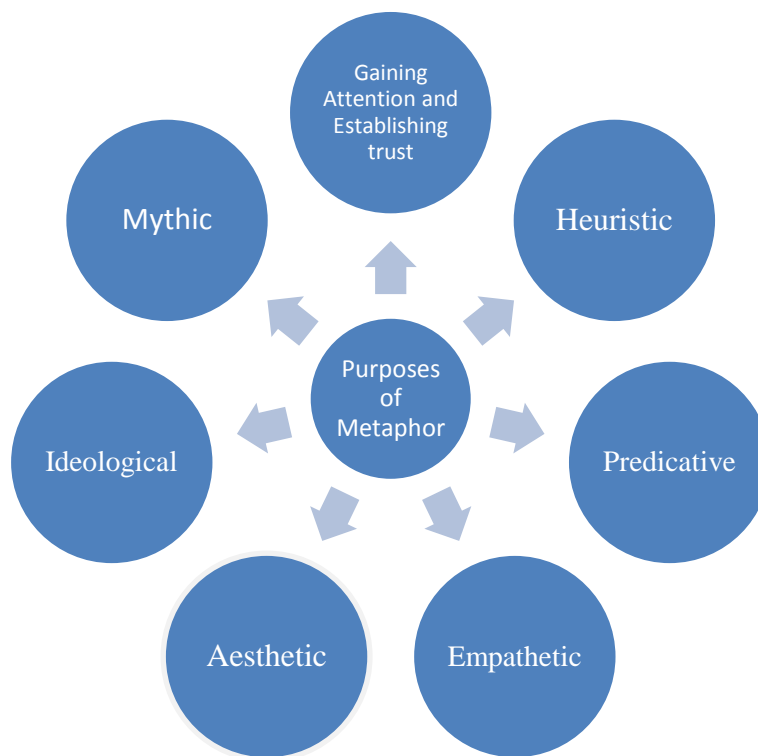


Figure (1). Rhetorical means of persuasion in political discourse (Charteris-Black 2011)

First, there is the general rhetorical purpose of gaining the attention of the audience and the establishing of trust (Charteris-Black 2013: 201). In order to achieve this goal, politicians need to ‘establish ethical credentials’. They need to exhibit that he or she has the right intentions (2013: 201). For example, Tony Blair – former prime minister of England – tried to establish trust by sharing his emotions with his audience: “[a]ll I can tell you is that after 18 long years of opposition, I am deeply proud – privileged – to stand before you as the new Labour prime minister of this country” (2013: 202). This rhetorical purpose furthermore explains why scandals involving politicians are disastrous for a politician, as he or she loses their integrity (Charteris-Black 2011: 14-15).

The second purpose of metaphor in political discourse is a heuristic purpose, namely “Framing issues so that they are intelligible in a way that is favourable to an argument” (Charteris-Black 2013: 202). Simplifying issues by using metaphor results in the fact that people are able to make decisions on matters they would normally find too hard to grasp (Mio 1997: 130). For example, instead of talking about the less accessible concept of decolonisation, politicians talk about ‘winds of change’ (Charteris-Black 2013: 203).

Third, there is the predicative purpose: “implying an evaluation of political actors and their policies” (Charteris-Black 2013: 203). Metaphor has the power to highlight or conceal either negative or positive features. For example, when Hitler spoke of the Jews, he referred to them as parasites and consequently highlighted negative aspects he found Jews to have.

Fourth, there is the empathetic purpose, which aims to “arouse the audience’s feelings in such a way that they will be favourable to the speaker” (2013: 207). In other words, metaphors can serve the purpose of encouraging positive emotions in an audience towards a speaker. For example, in his first inaugural address Obama states: “America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more” (Obama 2009). In this example Obama arguably indicates that other countries should see Americans as their friends.

Fifth, there is the aesthetic purpose of creating textual coherence: the use of metaphor has creative function (2013:209). Metaphors often are not spread equally over a text. Instead, they cluster in important parts of the speech. For example, metaphors often cluster in the prologue and the epilogue in order to implement a certain theme into the narrative. Thus, when the metaphor used in the prologue is repeated further on in the speech, an audience is often aware that the speech is coming to a close (Charteris-Black 2013: 208 – 209).

The penultimate purpose is the ideological purpose in which a politician expresses his or her worldview. Politicians express their ideology for the purpose of explaining and

justifying their political action (Selinger 1976: 14). For example, in his first inaugural address Bush constantly expresses his worldview of Americans standing at the top of the world's hierarchy.¹²

Lastly, there is the previously mentioned purpose of creating political myth, the right story (2013: 214). This last purpose is the main subject of this thesis, as I will analyse how all four politicians frame the concept of what an American is.

In conclusion, the metaphor is a tool which has many unique purposes which allow us to influence an audience. It takes an ignorant politician not to recognise and fully exploit the benefits metaphors have to offer.

1.4. Patterning Worldviews

It is important to keep in mind that when we try to understand worldviews by entering into the patterning of language, "each language explores reality in a manner which is essentially specific to it (Underhill 2011: 11). In other words, concepts are not to be perceived as being universal in each language and simply cannot be translated into another language. For example, when Bush argues that the American citizens are "spreading freedom" (Bush 2001: Inaugural address), it is important to understand that the concept of freedom evokes a different understanding in America than it does in another country (Underhill 2011: 10). For instance, the notion of freedom is defined as people's right to free expression or the individual's place within the economic market in America. Contrarily, in the Czech Republic it would more likely evoke a sense of freedom from homelessness or poverty (2011: 10).

Furthermore, politicians frame their language to fit their worldview, their perspective on life, and affirm that this differs from their political adversaries with the purpose of exemplifying that they deserve the vote of the electorate. Obviously, politicians do not work

¹² I will return to discuss this view in chapter four.

alone as they hire speech writers to help them with their speechwriting . However, it is inconceivable that politicians take no interest in the content and form of their speeches. These speech writers are to be seen as rhetorical tools put into use to help politicians convey their message and ‘sound like themselves’ (Leith 2012: 219). Although authorship of a speech relies on the collective endeavour of a team of skilled writers, speeches only work rhetorically if they comply with the distinct political image of the politician delivering the speech (Charteris-Black 2011: 6).

1.5. The Concept of Framing

As mentioned before, this thesis is concerned with how politicians frame concepts to fit their worldviews through conceptual metaphors. The first person to theorise the concept of framing was Charles Fillmore (1977), who assumed that every word is connected to a certain set of images in the mind, i.e. frames (Charles Fillmore 1977: 3). “Frames are socially shared organizing principles that meaningfully structure the social world” (Matthes 2012: 248). In other words, frames are structures that exist in the human mind that shape the way we think of the world (Lakoff 2004: xv). How we think, depends on the long-term concepts that structure our way of thinking, which are embedded in our minds (2004: xv). Hence, we cannot hear or see frames, as they are part of what cognitive scientist call the ‘cognitive unconscious’(2004: xv).

However, we are able to perceive frames through language. For example, when you hear a word, the way you reason about the word – its frame (or a collection of frames) – is immediately activated by our mind. Thus, when someone mentions the word *kitten*, your mind will automatically connect a certain frame with the word kitten (cute?). Moreover, frames are

part of a culture (Matthes 2012: 248). They guide how journalists select information, how they are manifested in media texts, and they determine how politicians construct information.

Regarding the functions of framing, Entman (1993) summarises this as follows:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993: 52).

In other words, frames can highlight different aspects of reality. For example, abortion can either be framed as killing an unborn child, or it can be framed from a completely different perspective, namely free choice. Unmistakably, both frames imply an entirely different moral evaluation etc. Thus, the effect of framing is that by selecting certain information and highlighting this via framing, someone also excludes other information (Matthes 2012: 250). For example, by framing cats as adorable creatures, the fact that they also tend to drop their excrements on your pillow is maneuvered to the background. Hence, framing is especially useful for politicians as “a speaker’s emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions” (Druckman 2001: 1042).

However, people do not mindlessly concur with any frame a politician tries to predicate. For example, psychologist Jörg Matthes (2012) argues that only frames which are continuously repeated wield any impact, as “Frames exert their power by repeatedly invoking the same pattern of consistent frame elements giving citizens a chance to notice, understand, and store the mental association for future applications” (Matthes 2012: 252). Secondly, the absolute influence a frame has, depends on whether there are competing frames present (2012:

250). Thirdly, framing effects depend on the credibility of the frame (2012: 250).

Consequently, when a politician says something that does not fit into the frames of their electorate, it will be perceived as being false (kittens skin people alive and eat them for supper!). Hence, “If the facts do not fit a frame, the frame stays and the facts bounce off” (Lakoff 2004: 17).

Furthermore, it is important to stress everyone is free to select, and will select, some frames over others or interpret frames differently than was meant by a politician (Matthes 2012: 251). Thus, sometimes a carefully concocted frame simply never reaches the mind of the audience or is interpreted differently. Moreover, politicians have to depend upon journalists to transport their frames to their electorate. However, journalists are not forced to do this in a country which has free press. Thus, they can shape or select frames which are conveyed by politicians, or even suggest their own (2012: 251). Consequently, Matthes states that politicians adjust their frames in such a manner that they will be selected to be covered by the media¹³. However, this could have a negative effect on the functioning of democracy. If political discourse is adjusted to ‘media logic’, this might “draw citizens attention away from substantial frames [...]” (2012: 256).

1.6. Previous Research on Conceptual Metaphor in Political Discourse

A considerable amount of research has been done which has looked at the use of conceptual metaphor by politicians in general. This research is based mainly on work by Lakoff (2002). Cognitive linguist Lakoff (1996) analysed speeches by both Republicans and Democrats and argued that between both parties a division is known between strictness and nurturance as ideals (Lakoff 1996: x). In short, Lakoff argues that the Republicans and Democrats overall

¹³ For example, media favours frames regarding conflict, dramatization, or personalisation (Matthes 2012: 256)

use different conceptual metaphors to represent their worldview. Namely, either in terms of a strict father (Republicans) or nurturing parent (Democrats). “The Strict Father model takes as background the view that life is difficult and that the world is fundamentally dangerous” (Lakoff 2002:65). Following this cognitive model, metaphors are applied primarily relating to strength (Ahrens 2011: 1). Contrarily, “metaphors of nurturance have the highest priority, while metaphors of strength have less importance” (Cienki 2005: 281) in the nurturing parent model. Moreover, Lakoff argues that that the cognitive model applied by the Republicans is more successful (Lakoff 2004: xi). However, Lakoff does state that his theory “[d]oes not have the degree of confirmation that one would expect of more mature theories” (2002: 158).

Research which examines Lakoff’s claims include Cienki (2005). Cienki examined the conceptual metaphors relating to either model used by Georg W. Bush and Al Gore in a number of political debates. In his analysis Cienki found that Bush indeed uses more metaphors relating to the supposedly Republican cognitive model of *the strict father*, whereas Gore used relatively more metaphors relating the *nurturing parent* cognitive model. Additionally, Ceinki states that both politicians use metaphorical expressions from both models (2005: 292). Thus, his work seems to support Lakoff’s theory only partially (2005: 287, 292). However, Ceinki’s research is based on political debates. Arguably, political debates do not wholly lend themselves to the examination of purposefully used conceptual metaphors as both speakers have to improvise their language in some measure as they are expected to react to their adversary’s arguments.

More subsequent research into both cognitive models was done by Ahrens (2011). Ahrens argues that “a corpus of an individual speaker reflects the speaker’s viewpoint within the constraints of that particular corpus” (2011: 3). For example, Ahrens found that Bush jr. “speaks the language of the SF model when he is talking to a narrower audience, one that agrees with his own worldview” (2011: 11) In other words, the choice of metaphor use by

either a Republican or Democrat depends on the context. In short, the context and the form play a pivotal role in the application of metaphor.

Further research regarding the use of conceptual metaphor is done by Richie (2013), who analysed the conceptual metaphors used by Tony Blair and Barack Obama. Richie found that both politicians used similar metaphors and, contrary to Lakoff, argues that different politicians (in this case politicians from different English speaking continents) tend to use the same metaphors in political discourse. Thus, the studies by Richie (2013) and Lakoff (1996) seem to contradict each other. This contradiction and the fact that Ceinki argues that most cognitive models are used by both Republicans and Democrats led me to ask the question whether American political adversaries use the same conceptual metaphors to establish certain frames of whether they deviate in their use of figurative language.

Chapter 2: Methodology and data selection

2.1. Method

In this thesis I will compare the conceptual metaphors used by different American male politicians.¹⁴ Because I am interested to see how the four different politicians use conceptual metaphors to frame their worldview, I have only looked at instances wherein they refer to the Americans citizens,¹⁵ as the frames used by the four politicians to describe Americans reflect their worldviews. Hence, I will not analyse word per word whether each single word used is meant to be perceived as metaphorical or not, as these results would be relatively non-explanatory. In order to identify whether words in a given political discourse are metaphorically used, I will analyse my corpus using the ‘Metaphor Identification Procedure’, as developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), otherwise known as ‘MIP’.

In short, MIP is an explicit method used for the purpose of identifying metaphorically used words in both written and spoken language by following a number of systematic steps. First, the analyst needs to establish a general understanding of the text. During step 2, the analyst needs to determine which lexical units are relevant to his or her research. In step 3a, the analyst determines the contextual meaning of the lexical unit, i.e. “how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text” (Pragglejazz Group 2007: 3). Step 3b then determines whether the lexical unit “has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context” (2007: 3). Overall, basic meanings are often related to bodily action, more concrete, more precise as opposed to being opaque, or

¹⁴ I have chosen to analyse four male politicians, as women have never been elected president in the United States. Consequently, they have never held an inaugural address. Because I look at the language in inaugural addresses in this thesis, women are automatically exempted from my analysis.

¹⁵ How Bush, Obama, Clinton, and Reagan do this will be discussed in the upcoming chapter.

historically older (2007: 3). In step 3c the analyst needs to decide whether the lexical unit in the given context deviates from the most basic meaning, but “can be understood in comparison with it” (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3). In the fourth and final step, the analyst needs to determine whether the answer to the final question is yes. If so, then the lexical unit is marked as being metaphorically used. (2007: 3). These steps are summarized in Figure (2).

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
 2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse
 3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
 - (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
 - More concrete [what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste];
 - Related to bodily action;
 - More precise (as opposed to vague);
 - Historically older;
 Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
 - (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
 4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.
- (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3)

Figure (2): The Metaphor Identification Procedure

In order to review whether a word in a given context is used in its basic contemporary meaning or not, I consulted the *MacMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (online version) and the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (online version) as reference works, being that both dictionaries are corpus dictionaries based on relatively recent corpora and therefore provide descriptions of current English.

In order to illustrate how MIP works in action, I will apply MIP to the following sentence: ‘John is the *anchor* of his family’. In this example we find that John is referred to as being an *anchor*. However, John is not meant to be perceived as being an actual physical *anchor*: “a piece of heavy metal that is lowered to the bottom of the sea, lake etc. to prevent a ship or boat moving” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 1). Instead, the noun *anchor* in this context refers to the less basic meaning and non-physical definition: “someone or something that provides a feeling of support and safety” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 3). Because both definitions are sufficiently distinct, as one definition refers to a physical *anchor* and the other to the non-physical definition of *anchor*, but can be understood in terms of each other – i.e. someone who is nurturing and caring is like an anchor – the noun *anchor* in the given context is used metaphorically.

2.2. Corpus

The corpus I will use in this thesis consists of eight inaugural addresses. Each politician whose language is under review has held the office of president for two terms, and consequently was also obliged to give two inaugural addresses.¹⁶ All inaugural addresses represent situations in which only one speaker addresses a wide audience. Secondly, the language used in inaugural addresses is structured with great care. Consequently, by

¹⁶ In short, an inaugural address marks the beginning of the elected president’s term. In this address, he or she gives an outline of his or her ambitions/plans for the next four years.

examining inaugural addresses I hope to eliminate the problems which surfaced in the research done Ceinki (2005) and Ahrens (2011).

Chapter 3: A Comparative Analysis of Inaugural Addresses by Republicans and Democrats Presidents

3.1.1. Analysis of George W. Bush's inaugural addresses

The first prominent American politician under review in this thesis is Republican former President George W. Bush.



Figure (3). George W. Bush, the 43rd President of the United States of America.

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush)

The choice to analyse Bush's use of conceptual metaphor stems from the fact that he is a contemporary former President who was in office for eight consecutive years. Secondly, Bush is an interesting person to examine due to his sometimes peculiar language use. For example, the people of America probably emitted a snigger when Bush said: "America is what it is today of what went on in the past" (Sherman 2007: 7). Moreover, *The Bush Dyslexicon* (2001) and *George W. Bush – On The Trips Of His Tongue – A Linguistic Legacy* (2007) are just two examples of books written about his (entertaining) slips of the tongue. Moreover, instances of

his peculiar language style has even been categorised and termed *Bushisms*, meaning “a verbal peculiarity or lapse associated with George W. Bush” (‘Bushism’, 2014).

3.1.2. Life is a story written by the Americans

Before I start with my analysis of Bush’s first inaugural address, I will provide the context wherein his speech was given. Bush was left with the legacy of Bill Clinton, a popular president who did a number of good things for America. Just to name a few accomplishments, Clinton created twenty-two million jobs, America had seen the lowest unemployment rate in thirty years, the lowest crime ratings in twenty-six years, the lowest poverty rate in twenty, and more than 1700 nuclear warheads from the former USSR were deactivated (Phillips2007: 3). However, Clinton’s second term as president was mostly dominated by the scandal involving Monica Lewinsky, a woman with whom he later admitted to having had a sexual relationship with (2007: 3). Thus, it seems fair to say that Clinton left quite a legacy for Bush, he did a lot of good but he also tainted the office of the presidency.

First, I will analyse the conceptual metaphors Bush uses in his first inaugural address from 2001. Bush and other American politicians express their worldview through the framing of the American citizens. More specifically, they do this by referring to their definition of the American people. Bush often uses the proper noun *America* when he refers to the American citizens. For example, “America has never been united by blood or birth or soil” (2001). In this example we find that he does not refer to the actual geographical area of North America. Instead, he refers to a different entity, namely the citizens of America. Thus, we find that the proper noun *America* is used synecdochically. Bush refers to one entity by using another that is related to it (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 36).

Next, the analysis of Bush's first inaugural address. The first occurrence in his speech where he refers to the American citizens takes place when he states: "We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue but whose end we will not see". In this example we find that he synecdochically refers to the American citizens by using the plural personal pronoun *we*. Furthermore, we find that he states that all Americans have a place in a story. In this context the noun *story* is used metaphorically, as it does not refer to the most basic meaning of the word: "a description of how something happened, that is intended to entertain people, and may be true or imaginary (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 1)"; he does not speak of a fictional story which is meant to entertain his audience. Instead, Bush uses the word in a different sense, namely: "a description of the most important events in someone's life or in the development of something" (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 5). These two senses of the noun *story* are distinct, as one concerns fiction and the other real life, but can be understood in comparison. The underlying conceptual metaphor is LIFE IS A STORY, which is also the reason why we talk about events in our lives in terms of 'tragedies', 'dramas', and 'happy endings'. Bush refers to the latter definition and the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STORY, on account of the fact that he proceeds to elaborate on his 'story' by mentioning it in the context wherein the story is meant to be perceived as a non-fictional event. More specifically, Bush refers to important developments in the lives of the American citizens in relation to the role the American people obtained in the world:

It is a story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, the story of a slaveholding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer (Bush 2009).

In short, Bush conceptualises real life (at least for the forthcoming four years) in terms of a story and makes use of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STORY. Moreover, Bush proposes that all Americans have a role in this story. He proffers the American citizens a lively perspective of their role in his forthcoming term as president. Consequently, he cleverly uses the rhetorical quality of metaphor of vivification (Farnestock 2005: 222). He furthermore applies the heuristic quality of metaphor by making his plans for the next four years more intelligible by explaining his term as presidents in terms of a story.

Additionally, the metaphor LIFE IS A STORY could be seen as the underlying structure for the remainder of his speech. The topics he addresses in the remainder of his speech can be viewed in terms of a story, as they are part of it. Thus, the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY also has an aesthetic purpose: it creates textual coherence. For example, he uses the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STORY to frame the role the Americans have in this story. He does exactly this when he defines the Americans (the characters) in this story: “If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led.”¹⁷ In this example, the verb *lead* following the noun *country* (the character in Bush’s story) is used metaphorically and suggests the role of the Americans. In this given context, the use of the verb *to lead* deviates from its most basic definition given in the *MacMillan Dictionary Online*, which reads: “1. To walk, drive, fly, sail etc. in front of a group of people, vehicles, places, ships etc.” The most basic definition describes the verb *to lead* in a physical sense, namely the act of actually physically being in front a group of people. However, Bush uses the verb *to lead* in a different sense, namely: “3. To be in control of an organization, group of people, or activity” (*MacMillan Dictionary Online*). This definition does not entail physically being in front of a group of people. Rather, it involves abstract control and setting an example. These senses are sufficiently distinct and can be understood in comparison, as having abstract control is

¹⁷ Again, in this example we find that *our country* is used synecdochically to refer to the American citizens.

understood in terms of physically leading and setting an example in front of a group of people. Thus, the underlying conceptual metaphor Bush uses here is CONTROLLING IS PHYSICALLY LEADING. Consequently, Bush frames Americans as the characters in his story who supposedly have to take control. Subsequently, he applies the predicative purpose of metaphor as he positively highlights the fact that his electorate takes up a privileged position in his story, namely that of the people in control.¹⁸

Bush underlines the frame of Americans as the ones who take up a privileged position when he states: “America remains engaged in the world, by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favours freedom.” In this excerpt, Bush uses the verb *to shape* metaphorically, as the most basic, concrete meaning of the verb *to shape* reads: “2. to form something into a particular shape”. However, Bush refers to the non-physical/non-concrete act of shaping something: “1. to influence the way a person, idea, or situation develops (*MacMillan Dictionary Online*).” The physical act and non-physical act of shaping something are sufficiently distinct and can be understood in comparison, as the abstract concept of influencing someone can be understood in terms of physically shaping someone into a particular shape. Thus, Bush uses the underlying conceptual metaphor INFLUENCING IS PHYSICALLY SHAPING in this excerpt. In effect he argues that American are the ones who influence the story. Subsequently, we find that Bush uses the predicative purpose of metaphor once more.

In summary, Bush uses the conceptual metaphors CONTROLLING IS PHYSICALLY LEADING and INFLUENCING IS PHYSICALLY SHAPING to illustrate that the role Americans play in Bush’s narration, is the role of those control and those who pull the strings and shape the story. Though not through actual language but through suggestion through his

¹⁸ Every time Bush adds a certain quality, i.e. frame, to the American citizens, he applies the predicative purpose of metaphor by highlighting the positive aspects of what it is to be an American

use of conceptual metaphors, Bush portrays the American people as the writers of the story, or rather, Bush frames Americans citizens as being the leaders in real life. American citizens are placed above all other people and are assigned a special position in a hierarchy of people. In concise manner, his metaphorical language insinuates that the Americans and their way of life is qualitatively different (read: better) than the rest of the world, i.e. the ideology of American exceptionalism (Lipset 1996: 18).

In short, American exceptionalism is the name given to a much-coveted form of nationality which is commonly believed to have originated in the 16th century when white European settlers came to America. There they inserted the belief that the American way of life was the national ideal, an ideal to which other nations should aspire (Pease 2009: 7). American exceptionalism is said to represent the facts that there is a tolerance for diversity, social mobility, liberal individualism, and hospitality toward immigrants in America. In other words, “elements that putatively set American apart from other national cultures” (2009: 8). Interestingly, the term *American exceptionalism* did not emerge into common usage until the late 1920s, when Stalin invented it to accuse the Lovestoneite faction of the American Communist party of “heretical deviation from party Orthodoxies” (2009:10).

Furthermore, Bush argues that the American way of delegating, is the ‘right’ way. Despite the fact that things do not always run over smoothly: “Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though our Nation has sometimes halted and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course” (2001). We find that the verb *halted* is used metaphorically in this excerpt as it does not refer to its most basic definition: “to stop moving” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 2). Instead, it refers to the less basic definition: 1. If you halt something, it does not continue or develop any further” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 1.). Whereas the most basic definition refers to the physical act of stopping something, the less basic definition refers to the non-physical sense of discontinuing something non-

concrete. However, discontinuing an way of life can be understood in terms of stopping a concrete object from moving. Hence, Bush uses the underlying conceptual metaphor DISCONTINUING A WAY OF LIFE IS STOPPING TO MOVE. When we find therefore that Bush figuratively states that despite the fact that things do not always go smoothly, the path the Americans have struck in on, is the right one. Consequently, Bush can hardly be called prudent as he explicitly states that things do not always go the way they should. Nonetheless, he still argues that the Americans must continue the way they doing things. In other words, Bush fails to acknowledge that the worldview of American exceptionalism has its flaws.

In his second inaugural address of 2005 Bush interestingly contradicts himself regarding his ideology of American exceptionalism. Where in his first inaugural address Bush frames Americans as the ones who (should) pull the strings, in his second inaugural address Bush states in his second inaugural address: “Across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master” (2005). We find that Bush seems to contradict himself in this example. Whereas first he argues that American citizens hold up the highest place in the world hierarchy, four years later he states no one should in fact act as a master, i.e. hold up the highest position in the world hierarchy. Consequently, he contradicts himself and in effect makes himself appear implausible and rhetorically unconvincing.

3.1.3. Americans are not to be trifled with

In the previous paragraph I argued that Bush frames American citizens as taking up the highest place in the world hierarchy. In this paragraph I will argue that Bush also frames Americans as people who will stand to defend this world order and will do so at any cost. In

both inaugural addresses Bush speaks about defending the American way of life in abundance. This talk of the defending of American ideals should be seen in the context of the fact that in and around 2001 America was constantly caught up in foreign disputes overseas. For example, Saddam Hussein had spent almost a decade developing, chemical, nuclear, and biological weapons. Concerning the threat Saddam posed, Bush spoke the following words: “A dictator is building and hiding weapons that could enable him to dominate the Middle East and intimidate the civilized world – and we will not allow it” (2003: *The Guardian*). Likewise in 2005, America still remained in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11th 2001. Osama Bin Laden openly declared war on the American way of life when the Islamic terrorist group Al-Qaeda hijacked four passenger airliner and flew those into the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. This resulting in the fact that Bush declared the War on Terror and meant to annihilate the Taliban.

Returning to his inaugural addresses, Bush states: “We will defend our allies and our interests. We will speak for the values that gave our Nation birth” (Bush 2001), and “Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen, and defended by citizens” (Bush 2005). In both contexts we find that Bush does not refer to the most basic meaning of the verb *to defend*: “to do something in order to protect someone or something from being attacked” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 1). Interests and concerns of importance cannot be defended physically from physical attack. Instead, he uses the verb *to defend* in a figurative sense, namely: “to do something in order to stop something from being taken away or in order to make it possible for something to continue” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 3). This latter definition refers the sense of the verb *to defend* as used by Bush, as one can defend an ideology in the sense that they can make sure those ideals continue to exist. Consequently, I contend that Bush consistently uses the conceptual metaphor MAKING SOMETHING POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE IS PHYSICALLY PROTECTING SOMETHING. Every time

Bush adds a certain quality, i.e. frame, to the American citizens, he applies the predicative purpose of metaphor by highlighting the positive aspects of what it is to be an American.

Bush thus uses this underlying conceptual metaphor to frame the American citizens as people who will ensure that the American way of life – supposedly founded on “grand and enduring ideals [...] that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born” (Bush 2005) – will continue to exist in the future of his ‘story’.

Moreover, Bush frames the Americans as people who will use actual physical force to preserve their way of life: “[w]e will defend ourselves and our friends by force of arms when necessary” (Bush 2005). Unlike in the previous examples, Bush refers to the most basic definition of the verb *to defend*: “to do something in order to protect someone or something from being attacked” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 1). Consequently, we find that he uses both figurative and literal language to frame American citizens as people who should not be trifled with. They will make sure their way of life is preserved, with arms if necessary.

3.1.4. The masculinity of Bush’s figurative language

In short, I found that Bush frames the American citizens by using conceptual metaphors. He frames them as leaders and defenders, which represent his worldview of American exceptionalism. In relation to these findings, I argue that Bush’s language reflects a sense of masculinity. The term masculinity is used in the sense that masculinity is not inherent to being male, but that masculinity is ‘performed’ (Kiesling 2007:658). Sociolinguist Scott Kiesling (2007) explains the concept of masculinity as follows: “social practices become associated with men, and these social practises then become then become seen as masculine” (2007: 658). Masculinity is therefore how people act, not how people are. Following this statement, it is possible to have masculine and non-masculine man, but it is possible to have also masculine women within this notion of masculinity.

Furthermore, Kiesling argues that dominance, authority, and being in control is what mainly is considered to be masculine (2007: 658). As we have seen in the previous two paragraphs, the frames Bush structures around the definition of Americans are unmistakably masculine in relation the concept of masculinity provided by Kiesling. Americans are in control and dominate other ways of life, as Bush places the American way of life above every other.

Arguably, “[t]he meaning of a metaphor is potentially available to all who hear or read it” (Howe 1988:190). Because Bush uses metaphorical language which overall describes topics of masculine character, the effect of his use of conceptual metaphor might be that he fails to fully connect with an important part of his electorate, namely women. While men probably might relate to Bush fine due to his specific use of masculine metaphors, women might do so less, as “[m]etaphors in political discourse do have the function of excluding a certain segment of the electorate” (1988: 190).

3.2.1. Analysis of Barack Obama's inaugural addresses

In this paragraph, I will examine the conceptual metaphors used by the current President of the United States of America, Democrat Barack Obama.



Figure (4). Barack Obama, the 44th President of the United States of America.

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama)

Obama is an interesting political figure to analyse as – unlike Bush – his rhetoric skills are often praised. Obama's lead speech writer – Jon Favreau – is one of the admirers of Obama's rhetorical skills: “[Jon] Favreau tips the hat to that when he says that writing for Obama is ‘like being Ted Williams's batting coach’ (referring to one of baseball's all-time great hitters)” (Leith 2012: 219-220). Evidence of Obama's rhetorical skill is found upon examining the speech he gave in Berlin on June 13, 2013. We find that his speech is full of alliterations: “As we speak, cars in Boston and factories in Beijing are melting the ice-caps in the Arctic, shrinking coastlines in the Atlantic, and bringing drought to farms from Kansas to Kenya.”

Before starting with the analysis, I will briefly describe the context wherein Obama's inaugural addresses were held. Bush left Obama with quite an inheritance as far as his foreign policy is concerned, as Bush had declared the war on terrorism. America was waging war against the Taliban in Afghanistan and against Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Moreover, the large parts of the world were in an economic recession. Regarding the inheritance Bush left to Obama, he states:

We have faced danger and trial, and there is more ahead. But with the courage of our people and confidence in our ideals, this great nation will never tire, never falter, and never fail (Bush 2009: Farewell speech).

3.2.2. Life is a Journey

First, I will examine an excerpt of Obama's first inaugural address held in 2009. Whereas we found that Bush uses the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STORY to enliven his speech and to make it more intelligible, Obama uses a contrasting metaphor, namely LIFE IS A JOURNEY: "Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less." In this context Obama does not refer to the most basic definition of the noun *journey*, namely: "an occasion when you travel from one place to another, especially when there is a long distance between places" (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 1). The most basic definition refers to a spatial journey where the American people physically would travel from one place to another. Instead, he refers to the abstract, temporal meaning of *journey* which does not involve actual physical movement: "a process of changing and developing over a period of time" (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 2). Because both definitions are sufficiently distinct and as a process of change – i.e. life – can be understood in terms of travelling from one place to another,

Obama use of *journey* is metaphorical. Moreover, he uses the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. This conceptual metaphor is also the reason why people arrive at a ‘crossroads ‘in their life, and why we can take another ‘path’ in life. The conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is repeated in Obama’s second inaugural address: “Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time,” (2013) and “Our journey is not complete until all our children [...]” (2009).

Additionally, the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is reaffirmed by the excerpt directly following the above example: “It has not been the path for the faint-hearted.” In this example we find that the word *path* is metaphorically used. The most basic definition is again spatial and physical: “a way from one place to another that people can walk along” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 1). However, Obama refers to the metaphorical sense of *path*: “the way that someone takes to achieve something” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 3). Thus, within Obama’s metaphorical journey, there are different *paths*.

Charteris-Black (2011) states that “Journey metaphors are typically used to reinforce the relation of contrast” (2011: 178). More specifically, the contrast between unimpeded movement in life, versus the inability to move in life. Regarding Obama’s use of the journey metaphor, Obama uses it to signal that America is at an impasse: America is stuck at war in the Middle East. However, Obama also tries to express a sense of hope by using the journey metaphor: “Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less” (2009), and “Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time” (2013). Journey metaphors “involve expenditure of effort that is highlighted by the metaphor” (Charteris-Black 2011: 68). Consequently, Obama – by using the journey metaphor – uses the emphatic purpose of the journey metaphor. He tries to convey trust in his electorate by expressing that he is the leader who will make sure America

gets back on the right ‘path’. Thus, the American journey may have been hard, but Obama will not give up and America will “[c]arry forward [...]” (2009).

However, whereas the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STORY served as a great underlying structure for the remainder of Bush’s inaugural addresses, Obama’s conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is less equipped to do so in certain regards. For example, whereas Americans are characters in Bush’s story, it is hard to see in what respect we should view Americans in Obama’s journey (hitchhikers?). The reason I stress this dissimilarity, is due to the fact that Obama specifically frames Americans into certain roles similar to Bush. Thus, as Obama does not use a conceptual metaphor such as LIFE IS A STORY, he misses out on the benefits of the heuristic qualities this metaphor can add to a political speech. Be that as it may, the journey metaphor likewise has an aesthetic purpose as it creates textual coherence. It does link up major themes such as the problems America faced in the past and faces in the future, and how Obama intends to solve those problems in the future.

3.2.3. Obama’s similarity and dissimilarity to Bush

Like Bush, Obama frames Americans as leaders: “we are ready to lead once more” (Obama 2009).¹⁹ Obama refers to the metaphorical definition of the verb *to lead*, as he does not refer to the most basic definition which involves physical involvement. Thus, Obama likewise uses the conceptual metaphor CONTROLLING IS PHYSICALLY LEADING and uses the predicative purpose of this conceptual metaphor. Obama in effect frames Americans as the people who have control over others. Hence, Bush and Obama share the worldview in which

¹⁹ For lack of space and to prevent unnecessary repetition, I will not discuss in detail why the verb *lead* is metaphorically used in this example.

Americans take up a special place in the world hierarchy, that is to say: American exceptionalism.

Furthermore, Americans are also represented as metaphorical defenders by Obama. This once again illustrates that Obama is similar to Bush worldview-wise, as Obama says: “We will defend our people and uphold our values” (Obama 2013). Thus, Obama also uses the conceptual metaphor MAKING SOMETHING POSSIBLE TO CONTINUE IS PHYSICALLY PROTECTING SOMETHING. Moreover, Obama uses the phrase *strength of arms* in a context where it is meant to be perceived as being meant literal when he states: “We will defend our people and uphold our values through strength of arms” (2013). Taking in mind that Obama mentioned the use of ‘strength of arms’ (i.e. weapons), we consequently find that much like Bush, Obama frames American as people who should not be trifled with and will use force to defend the exceptional American way of life.

Although Obama expresses the ideology of American exceptionalism, Obama does differ from Bush in the sense that he is more prudent when he defines Americans in terms of something else: “[A]merica's decline is inevitable, the next generation must lower its sights” (Obama 2009). We find that Obama metaphorically uses the noun *sights* in this context as it does not refer to the most basic sense, which reads: “1. the physical ability to see” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 6). Instead, Obama refers to the non-physical definition of *sight*: “if you have someone or something in your sights, you intend to achieve it” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 6). Both definition are sufficiently distinct but can be understood via comparison, as intending to achieve something can be understood in terms of physically seeing that something. Hence, Obama uses the underlying conceptual metaphor ACHIEVING IS PHYSICALLY SEEING.

Furthermore, Obama says that the next generation must *lower* their metaphorical sights. In other words, they should aim to achieve less than they are familiar with. In this

instance we find that Obama uses the orientational metaphor BAD IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 17). Whereas “happiness, health, life, and control – the things that principally characterize what is good for a person – are all up” (1980: 17), conversely, all things that are principally bad for a person are all ‘down’. Hence, the metaphorical use of the noun *sight* in combination with the orientational metaphor BAD IS DOWN suggests Obama frames Americas as people who should be modest, and be happy with less. Whereas first Americans were special and their way of life was what others should also strive for, conversely, Obama in this instance suggest that perhaps they are not as unique as they would contend. Consequently, Obama seems to be tearing down the carefully constructed myth of American exceptionalism.

The use of this conceptual metaphor is reaffirmed by Obama’s figurative language further on in his address: “Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off” (Obama 2013). Thus, he reaffirms once more his relatively pessimistic frame regarding Americans. However, I would not argue that – rhetorically speaking – Obama blunders. On the contrary, Obama simply reaffirms a frame imposed on the American people by current global events and the media. It is quite hard to persistently hold on to a frame of a superb American nation, when that nation is stuck in a war it cannot get out off and which is partly responsible for the mess in the Middle-East. Obama simply acts in accordance to Lakoff, who says: “if the facts do not fit a frame, the frame stays and the facts bounce off” (Lakoff 2004: 17). Obama therefore does not chose state that America is doing excellent and prudently frames Americans accordingly.

3.2.4. The femininity in Obama's language

We have seen that Obama frames Americans in a more modest sense than Bush. Additionally, Obama ascribes another quality to the Americans. Unlike Bush, Obama ascribes a quality to Americans that does not exemplify masculinity, but suggests that Americans are caring and make you feel safe: "America will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe" (Obama 2013). In this instance we find that Obama uses the noun *anchor* metaphorically, as he does not refer to "a piece of heavy metal that is lowered to the bottom of the sea, lake etc. to prevent a ship or boat moving" (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 1). Instead, Obama's use of the noun *anchor* refers to "someone or something that provides a feeling of support and safety" (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 3). Once more, both definitions are sufficiently distinct and someone that provides a feeling of support and safety can be understood in terms of an actual anchor. Hence, Obama applies the conceptual metaphor SOMEONE WHO SUPPORTS A FEELING OF SAFETY IS AN ANCHOR. However, those 'someones' are the American people. Therefore, Obama uses the conceptual metaphor AMERICANS ARE ANCHORS and additionally frames Americans as nurturers.

Obama's use of this conceptual metaphor supports an earlier claim made by Lakoff (2004) that the language used by Democrats is best described as the language symbolising *nurturing parents*, whereas Republicans are best described as *strict fathers* (Lakoff 2004: 6). Thus, whereas Bush's framing of Americans suggest a sense of masculinity, the conceptual metaphor AMERICANS ARE ANCHORS does not seem very masculine. In accordance to the "dichotomy that underlies the entire gender system" (Kiesling 2007: 656), this conceptual metaphor reflects a feminine character. Thus, in addition to the fact that Obama frames Americans as leaders and defenders who take up a special place in the world hierarchy, they are also persons who make you feel safe and secure. Obama furthermore uses predicative purpose of metaphor by highlighting the positive nurturing quality of American.

Consequently, Obama arguably connects to the female part of his audience, as he “creates a bond of understanding between speaker and audience” (Howe 1988: 100). This is something Bush arguably does less as he only uses masculine metaphors to frame Americans.

In conclusion, Bush and Obama use similar conceptual metaphors to frame the American citizens, and in effect advertise the worldview of American exceptionalism. However, Obama is more prudent in framing Americans than Bush, as he also states that Americans are not only ever in control, but sometimes also need to more modest. Obama additionally does not only use masculine language: he also uses feminine language by saying that Americans are anchors to the rest of the world and provide a feeling of safety and support.

3.3.1. The analysis of Ronald Reagan's inaugural addresses

In this paragraph I will analyse the conceptual metaphors used by the Republican Ronald Reagan, the 40th President of the United States.



Figure (5). Republican Ronald Reagan, the 40th President of the United States

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ronald_Reagan)

The reason I chose to analyse Ronald Reagan, and not George H. Bush (chronologically, this would appear to be more logical), is because like the other three politicians under review in this thesis, Reagan similarly held the office of president for eight years and likewise held two inaugural addresses. George H. Bush held the office of president for one term. He subsequently held just one inaugural address. Because Obama, George W. Bush and Clinton all held two inaugural addresses, adding George H. Bush to the equation would make the comparative survey rather skewed. I would have formed my conclusions regarding the latter on an unbalanced corpus, which would be ethically unfair.

Reagan held the office of president of the United States from 1981 to 1989. Interestingly, he also unsuccessfully ran for president in 1968 and 1976 (patience is a virtue). Furthermore, Reagan was a former actor and has seventy-nine acting jobs credited to his name in the *Internet Movie Database*. In other words, it is fair to say Reagan effectively knew how to deliver a line. Another interesting fact about Reagan is that he was president at the pensionable age of seventy:

“Reagan had the virtues and failings of an old man: he already knew what he wanted to know, he was set in his ways, stubborn, and he did not generally care what journalists or the hired help thought of him (Reeves 2005: xiii).

Reagan succeeded Jimmy Carter as president. Reagan stepped into office during a turbulent time in American history, namely during the Cold War. Additionally, America's economy stagnated and there was a high unemployment rate. To boot, in 1979 a group of Iranian students besieged the United States' embassy in Tehran to protest against the arrival of Iranian shah Pahlavi in the United States. In the standoff that followed, Carter was unsuccessful in freeing the American hostages. In short, America was in crisis, a crisis which Carter described as “[a] crisis of confidence” (Carter 1979). One year later, Reagan succeeded Carter as president and had to deal with this inheritance.

3.3.2 Life is the sum of a Journey and a Story

In the analysis of the metaphorical language of Bush and Obama, I found that both men either use the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY or LIFE IS A STORY to provide their speeches with an underlying structure. Reagan uses both conceptual metaphors and elaborates

on both conceptual metaphors abundantly in both inaugural addresses. For example, Reagan states “[a]s we continue our journey, we think of those who travelled before us”. We find that Reagan uses the noun *journey* in like manner to Obama, i.e. metaphorically, as he speaks of a “passage or progress from one stage to another” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 4).

Reagan furthermore states that he “[w]ill propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity” (1981). In this instance, we find that the noun *roadblock* is meant to be understood as “something that stops someone from making progress” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 2), instead of the more basic sense of the word “a part of a road where police or soldiers stop traffic” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 1). Both definitions are contrastive as one definition refers to an actual physical roadblock, while the other refers to a non-physical item. However, they can be understood in terms of each other, as to stop something from making progress is like an physical roadblock. The noun *roadblock* as used by Reagan therefore is used metaphorically in this context. Thus, Reagan uses the underlying heuristic conceptual metaphor PROGRESS STOPPED IS A ROADBLOCK. Consequently, this conceptual metaphor adds to the concept of life being like a journey.

However, Reagan does not stop there. His use of metaphorical language regarding the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY keeps piling up: “We have come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions” (1985), “Let us resolve there will be no turning back or hesitation on the road to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens” (1985).

Why does Reagan use such a vast amount of metaphorical language relating to both these conceptual metaphors in his inaugural addresses? It seems Reagan repeatedly uses certain conceptual metaphors in order for them to find a way into the thinking pattern of people; as previously discussed in paragraph 1.5. regarding framing. However, I argue there

is a second reason for Reagan's overtly use of metaphorical language. In order to examine his reasoning, I point to the portrayal of Reagan's political image. Regarding Reagan's political image, Reeves states that Reagan often compared his youth to that of Tom Sawyer, a character created by Mark Twain (Reeves 2005: 256). By portraying himself in terms of Tom Sawyer, Reagan creates the image of being just another regular Joe. In other words, "President Reagan could have been a barefoot hustler in overalls, chewing on a stick of hay, sitting on a barrel in the shade [...]" (Reeves 2005: xiii). Because speeches only rhetorically work if they "comply with a distinct political image that is 'owned' by the speaker" (Charteris-Black 2011: 6), Reagan emphasises this image by making his message more intelligible by overtly using metaphorical language to which his audience can relate. He candidly applies the heuristic purpose of metaphor to make his addresses more intelligible for his audience. In effect, Reagan lets his metaphorical language reflect his political image, namely that of a regular Joe.

Additionally, Reagan uses the general rhetorical purpose of "gaining the attention of the audience and the establishing of trust" (Charteris-Black 2013: 201). He establishes his credentials on the fact that he is a normal American his electorate can relate to. He is not a typical politician, a word which bears a negative connotation of someone who is "a schemer or plotter; a shrewd, sagacious, self-interested manipulator" ('Politician', 2014). Thus, Reagan – unlike either Bush or Obama – uses relatively much metaphorical language to overtly exemplify that he has the identity of a regular American in his created political myth. In other words, he creates an identity to which his electorate can relate and whom they can trust.

3.3.3 Reagan's patriotism

A recurring theme is the worldview of American exceptionalism. Reagan is no exception as he also uses the conceptual metaphor CONTROLLING IS PHYSICALLY LEADING: “From new freedom will spring new opportunities for growth, a more productive, fulfilled and united people, and a stronger America—an America that will lead the technological revolution” (1985), and “With our alliances strengthened, with our economy leading the world to a new age of economic expansion, we look forward to a world rich in possibilities” (1985).

Furthermore, Reagan uses an additional conceptual metaphor which reflects the worldview of American exceptionalism: “We have lighted the world with our inventions” (1985). In this instance the verb *lighted* is used metaphorically as it does not refer to the most basic definition: “to make a place brighter by giving it light” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 1). The place of which Reagan speaks – the rest of the world – is not actually lit up by light, but it is provided with knowledge it previously did not yet possess.²⁰ As both definitions are sufficiently contrastive and can be understood in terms of each other, the underlying conceptual metaphor Reagan uses is KNOWLEDGE IS LIGHT. Hence, in Reagan's unashamed opinion the rest of the world was far less advanced than America. The Americans are those who brought knowledge to the rest of the world. Thus, not only does Reagan apply the predicative purpose of metaphor by highlighting that Americans are the ones who had the knowledge to light up the rest of the world, he consequently suggests explicitly that America stands above other nations. In effect, he frames the rest of the world as being relatively underdeveloped. Thus, he unambiguously conveys the worldview of American exceptionalism.

²⁰ There is no definition in either the MacMillan Dictionary or the Longman Dictionary which refers to this definition. However, it is apparent from the context that this is what Reagan is suggesting.

Reagan conveys these words in a time when America was involved in the Cold War with the U.S.S.R. Furthermore, Reagan's presidency was marked by several scandals, which in the end resulted in the conviction of the largest number of officials during any presidency (Johnson 2003: 184). Along these lines, Reagan arguably should have been more prudent when stating how great America was during his presidency. However, Reagan's language reflects the exact opposite. Americans are framed as leaders that light up the rest of the world. Additionally, Reagan uses extremely explicit language to substantiate his worldview as he states: "We are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other" (1985), "If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth" (1981), and "Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on Earth" (1985). In all three examples, Reagan imparts the message to his audience that the American way of life is qualitatively better than in other places of the world.

Furthermore, like Bush and Obama, Reagan frames Americans as people who will do anything to preserve this idea, people who should not be trifled with, as he states: "Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom" (1981).

Reagan's substantiated frames of Americans throughout both his inaugural addresses represent his worldview of American exceptionalism, or as Reeves states: "Reagan thought Americans were simply better than other people [...]" (Reeves 2005: xii) Thus, Reagan is similar to both Bush and Obama in this respect. However, he remains closer to Bush than Obama in his manner of framing Americans as he can hardly be defined as prudent. Whereas, Obama for example uses the combination of the conceptual metaphors **ACHIEVING IS PHYSICALLY SEEING** and **DOWN IS BAD** to illustrate that Americans should be more

humble in the nearby future, Reagan contrastively states: “It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams” (1981). We find that Reagan uses the verb *to limit* literally in this instance, as he refers to the basic meaning: “to prevent a number, amount, or effect from increasing past a particular point” (MacMillan Dictionary Online, def. 1). Thus, Reagan frames Americans as people who should not be limited in their freedom: Americans should not be humble. Consequently, Reagan is more like Bush, who likewise Reagan never states Americans should be more modest, and less like Obama.

Furthermore, Reagan, like Bush, does not ascribe any qualities to Americans which could be considered feminine. It seems therefore that Reagan’s metaphorical language again more closely resembles that of Bush than Obama’s language. Consequently, a certain recurring structure is noticeable. Although every politician has an unique political image which is reflected in their language, the Republicans Bush and Reagan solely use metaphorical language of masculine character to frame Americans. Contrastively, the Democrat Obama ascribes Americans with feminine qualities. Secondly, the Republicans Bush and Reagan solely boast about the American way of life being relatively qualitatively better, whereas the Democrat Obama also states that Americans should also be modest. Whether this latter observation applies to more Democrats, I will examine by looking at the last politician under review in this thesis, namely Democrat Bill Clinton.

3.4.1 The analysis of Bill Clinton's inaugural addresses

In this paragraph I will analyse the conceptual metaphors used by Democrat Bill Clinton, the 42nd President of the United States.



Figure (6): Democrat Bill Clinton, the 42nd President of the United States

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bill_Clinton

Clinton was the relatively unknown governor of Arkansas when he ran for president. Nevertheless, Clinton ran for president and got elected as big-name Democrats stayed out of the race as they feared political suicide if they dared to challenge incumbent president George H. Bush (Phillips 2007: 2). Clinton would hold the office of president for eight years and did so successfully. Moreover, in 2001 he left office with a “67 percent public approval rating – the highest for a departing president in the history of poll making” (2007: 4). Nonetheless, this does not mean that Clinton’s time as president was purely smooth sailing, as for nearly every month of his presidency there was some form of organised attack on his personal character (2007: 4). In other words, “the personal became the political” (Schier 2000: 3). For example, as the first baby-boomer president,

Bill Clinton had, along with many others of his generation, found ways around the Vietnam draft, dabbled in drugs, and indulged in sex outside marriage. All these activities came to haunt Clinton with a vengeance, from the draft letter of the 1992 campaign to the Lewinsky scandal of 1998-1999 (Schier 2000: 3).

Scholars therefore commonly describe Clinton's presidency as being idiosyncratic, or unusual (Schier 2000: 1). Hence, it would be interesting to see whether his use of conceptual metaphor in both his inaugural addresses differs from earlier and future presidents, Democrats and Republicans, as well.

Regarding the time wherein Clinton first became president, Clinton took up the office of president in a time of global recession and economic struggles. Clinton had to deal with the fact that due to the collapse of communism, large countries partitioned into smaller countries (Phillip 2007: 1). Moreover, long-standing ethnic hatreds resurged after more than fifty years of communist suppression (2007: 1). In short, "not since the day of the great depression had a person assumed the American presidency in a more difficult and challenging time" (2007: 1).

3.4.2. America needs a change

Similar to the other three presidents, Clinton uses a conceptual metaphor to structure the remainder of his speech in both inaugural addresses: "America's long, heroic journey must go forever upward" (1993), "For all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our American must go on" (1993), and "With a new vision of government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we will sustain America's journey" (1997). Furthermore, like the three previously discussed

Presidents, Clinton's figurative language represents the worldview of American exceptionalism: "Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make" (1993), and "America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation" (1997). Whereas in the first statement Clinton claims that Americans must lead the world they made, in the second statement we find that he literally states that America is – relatively speaking – the most important nation by asserting that America is *indispensable*. Thus, both examples quite explicitly represent the worldview of American exceptionalism.

However, Clinton –like Obama – is more moderate regarding the supposed qualitatively higher form of American life. Whereas both Bush and Reagan expressed that the American way of life should be preserved in the future and is a flawless way of life which should not be reconsidered at all, Clinton seemingly could not agree less: "We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps, but we have not done so; instead, we have drifted. And that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence" (1993). In this excerpt we find that Clinton uses the verb *to drift* metaphorically, as it does not refer to its most basic meaning having to do with physically drifting: "to move slowly" (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 1). Instead, Clinton refers to the non-physical way drifting, namely: "to allow something, especially something bad, to continue in the same way" (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 6). In this context we find that Clinton speaks of the fact that the quality of the American way of life is continuing to worsen. As both definitions are clearly distinct, but can be understood in terms of each other – as allowing something bad from continuing can be understood in terms of physically drifting away – Clinton uses the conceptual metaphor ALLOWING SOMETHING BAD TO CONTINUE IS PHYSICALLY DRIFING AWAY. Because Clinton uses this conceptual metaphor, Clinton therefore frames American life as something which is gradually becoming qualitatively worse.

Clinton reaffirms this frame by stating: “The divide of race has been America's constant curse” (1997). In this excerpt we find that Clinton refers to a second negative aspect of American life, namely the figurative curse of the divide of race. The noun *curse* is used metaphorically as it does not refer to its most basic definition, which speaks about the magical aspect of a curse: “a word or sentence used to ask God or a magical power to do something bad to someone or something” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 2). Contrarily, Clinton in this context refers to the non-concrete definition which has nothing to do with magic, namely: “something that causes trouble, harm etc.” (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 3). Both definitions are considerably distinct and as something that causes harm can be understood in terms of a magical power that does something bad to something or someone, Clinton uses the conceptual metaphor SOMETHING THAT CAUSES TROUBLE IS A MAGICAL CURSE.

Both the conceptual metaphor ALLOWING SOMETHING BAD TO CONTINUE IS PHYSICALLY DRIFING AWAY and the conceptual metaphor SOMETHING THAT CAUSES TROUBLE IS A MAGICAL CURSE frame American life in a negative manner. Moreover, they contradict the worldview of American exceptionalism. Consequently, Clinton – like Obama – seems to be tearing down the carefully constructed myth of American exceptionalism. However, I argue that Clinton and Obama mainly reaffirm a frame imposed by current global events. It is quite hard to consistently hold on to a frame of a superb American nation, if that nation is in an economic downturn like the rest of the world.

Thus, the Democrats Clinton and Obama are relatively more realistic in framing America in comparison to Reagan and Bush as they do argue that America is far from perfect. In line with the argument by Lakoff, which reads: “If the facts do not fit a frame, the frame stays and the facts bounce off” (Lakoff 2004: 17), both Clinton and Obama rhetorically triumphed over their Republican adversaries Bush and Reagan, as Bush and Reagan ‘fit the frame’ less.

3.4.3. Clinton: the feminine president

Like Obama, Clinton ascribes Americans with a quality that does not exemplify masculinity, i.e. dominance and strength. As previously mentioned, Obama used the conceptual metaphor AMERICANS ARE ANCHORS to ascribe Americans with the feminine characteristic of being nurturers. In Clinton's first inaugural address, I found he does the same as he states: "We recognize a simple but powerful truth: We need each other, and we must care for one another" (1993). We find that Clinton literally frames Americans as people who must be nurtured in this excerpt, as he uses the verb *to care* in its most basic sense: "to think that something is important, so that you are interested in it, worried about it" (Longman Dictionary Online, def. 1). Although Obama uses figurative language to frame Americans as nurturers, Clinton similarly does so using literal language. Thus, both politicians ascribe Americans a quality which is more likely to be perceived as being feminine as it has nothing to do with dominance. Consequently, they create "a bond of understanding between speaker and audience" (Howe 1988: 100), i.e. women.

Because Clinton addresses women in the previously discussed example, he consequently acknowledges them as an important part of his electorate as well. This is not only reflected in his inaugural addresses. In media characterisations Clinton jokingly has been declared to be America's first 'woman' president: "The Clinton administration has been distinctive in its focus on gender politics as a major political theme" (Burrell 2000: 239). Clinton for example appointed a second woman to the Supreme Court. Moreover, Kiefer (1992) states that Clinton's approach to connect with women was best defined as "a listening, emphatic, some would say 'touchy-feely' approach that appeals to women voters" (Kiefer 1999: 2).

In short, Clinton and Obama both use either figurative or literal language which frames Americans as possessing qualities relating to femininity, which in turn creates a bond

between these two politicians and their female electorate. Moreover, both Clinton and Obama are more prudent in framing America, as this is more in accordance with actual reality. The Democrats Obama and Clinton therefore are rhetorically more sound than their Republican adversaries.

Nevertheless, Democrats do poor in the political debate in comparison to the Republicans: “Progressives need to do hard work of determining our values and reframing the political debate” (Lakoff 2004: xi). Lakoff argues that many Americans mostly vote based on a politician’s depiction of the moral identity of American citizens. Thus, it seems that most Americans concur with the masculine, nationalistic frames presupposed by the Republicans: Americans are dominant, leaders who not to be trifled with, and have qualitatively better lives than citizens from other countries. Hence, it seems that Americans mostly want to base their identity on an unrealistic image, a moral order as pictured in Lakoff (2004): “God above man, man above nature, adults above children, Western Culture above non-Western culture, America above all other nations”(Lakoff 2004: 82).

However, America does not do better domestically and abroad in comparison to other nations. A natural order in which America stands above all other countries therefore seems flawed. Nevertheless, it seems that the frames presupposed by Republicans such as Bush and Reagan of Americans and the worldview of American exceptionalism is too well integrated into the thought pattern of most Americans. In other words, it has become common sense (Lakoff 2004: xv). Thus, if Democrats want to win over voters who would normally vote for a Republican, they would have to adjust their frames to more closely resemble the masculine, overtly nationalistic frames used by Republicans.

Chapter 4: Conclusion and Discussion

In this thesis I have analysed the language of four prominent politicians, namely: George Bush, Barack Obama, Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton, and I have examined whether Republicans create different frames than Democrats and vice versa in portraying their worldview in their inaugural addresses. Subsequently, I examined whether it can be argued that there is such a thing as Democratic or Republican cognitive model. I based my results on the language used by all four politicians in their inaugural addresses. I chose to examine their inaugural addresses as they are not held for a narrowed audience and because an inaugural address provides me with a situation in which only one speaker addresses an audience.

First, it is evident that all politicians differ in their language use. For example, Bush, Obama, Clinton, and Reagan all use an underlying conceptual metaphor which holds specific beneficial functions to structure their inaugural addresses. Whilst Bush uses the story metaphor, Reagan, Clinton and Obama mainly use the journey metaphor.

The analysis of these eight inaugural addresses by different politicians evidently demonstrates that although each politician uses similar and contrasting conceptual metaphors, the language of all four politicians – Republicans and Democrats – suggests that they shared a particular worldview, namely that of American exceptionalism. Thus, whereas Lakoff (2002) argues that Republicans use different metaphorical language and depict a different worldview, my results suggest otherwise as Republicans and Democrats mostly overlap in their use of language to depict their worldview.

All four politicians used similar and contrasting conceptual metaphors to depict their worldview. Though all four politicians for example use the conceptual metaphor CONTROLLING IS PHYSICALLY LEADING, Bush additionally uses the conceptual metaphor INFLUENCING IS PHYSICALLY SHAPING to represent the worldview of American exceptionalism. Uniquely, Reagan overtly uses conceptual metaphors to represent

this worldview, such as PROVIDING KNOWLEDGE IS MAKING A PLACE BRIGHTER. Thus, there arguably is no standard recipe to represent a collectively shared worldview. Each politician has his own distinct political image and their language is represented accordingly. It is injudicious to argue that Republicans primarily use one set of conceptual metaphor (e.g. conceptual metaphors depicting strength) and Democrats another.

Furthermore, all Presidents intently apply similar beneficial purposes of metaphor to persuade their audiences. However, there are differences in language use between these four politicians. Moreover – in accordance to Lakoff's (2004) claim – there are similarities between both Republicans and both Democrats. The Republicans under examination in this thesis do have a shared recipe to frame America, as do the Democrats. Republicans typically use language which reflects masculinity and a strong sense of nationalism. They frame Americans as people who lead the rest of the world; who are exceptional; who will do anything to defend their way of life, a way of life which is unique and should not be altered. Conversely, both Democrats – though their language also suggests the worldview of American exceptionalism – additionally use language which reflects femininity and a more moderate depiction of Americans and American way of life. They argue that Americans are nurturers and that they should also get down off their high horses as America is not doing so much better than the rest of the world.

Although this is in line with the claim made by Lakoff, the language characterised as being feminine is limited in Obama and Clinton's inaugural addresses. Lakoff's claim that Democrats primarily use language relating to nurturing therefore is exuberant. Although Democrats do differ from Republicans in the sense that they use more feminine language, my findings are they primarily construct frames to depict Americans as the Republicans do. Thus, my findings are in line with those found by Ceinki (2005), who also states that there is a lot of overlap between Republicans and Democrats.

However, I do argue that Obama and Clinton are more realistic and therefore provide the Americans with a rhetorically more sound myth. Nonetheless, Democrats capitulate in the political debate to the Republicans. Thus, it seems that the nationalistic, masculine frames applied by the Republicans are so imbedded in American culture that any frame which diverges, is less effective in swaying an American audience. However, I do not wish to state that language is the only thing that persuades an audience to vote for a certain politician as frames, and their intended purposes, are often not even picked up by the audience or interpreted wrongly. Furthermore, some people are influenced for example by their family's predilection. Nonetheless, it is an important element in political discourse. (American) Politicians therefore should be aware of what their audiences' common beliefs are and they should incorporate this into their speeches.

To conclude, American Democratic and Republican politicians use different and shared frames to represent their worldview. Arguably, the question the Americans need to ask themselves is: do I want a politician who only uses big words, or do I want someone to represent me who who spreads a more truthful message?

As my research only examined the language of American politicians, it would be interesting to see how politicians from other countries use conceptual metaphors to represent certain frames. Are the conceptual metaphor found in this thesis for example typically American and hence culturally bound? Further research examining of the language of British politicians for example could shed some light on this matter.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Bush's first inaugural address – 2001:

Thank you, all. Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens. The peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, yet common in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.

As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our Nation, and I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace.

I am honored and humbled to stand here where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue but whose end we will not see. It is a story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, the story of a slaveholding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals. The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born.

Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though our Nation has sometimes halted and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.

Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations. Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel.

While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth. And sometimes our differences run so deep, it seems we share a continent but not a country. We do not accept this, and we will not allow it.

Our unity, our Union, is a serious work of leaders and citizens and every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity. I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves, who creates us equal, in His image, and we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward.

America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them. And every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more, not less, American.

Today we affirm a new commitment to live out our Nation's promise through civility, courage, compassion, and character. America at its best matches a commitment to principle with a concern for civility. A civil society demands from each of us good will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness.

Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because in a time of peace the stakes of our debates appear small. But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.

We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment; it is the determined choice of trust over cynicism, of community over chaos. And this commitment, if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment.

America at its best is also courageous. Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defeating common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.

Together we will reclaim America's schools before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives. We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. And we will reduce taxes to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.

We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge. We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors. The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged in the world, by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom.

We will defend our allies and our interests. We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our Nation birth.

America at its best is compassionate. In the quiet of American conscience, we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our Nation's promise. And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault.

Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God; they are failures of love. And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and order in our souls. Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers; they are citizens—not problems but priorities. And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.

Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet, compassion is the work of a nation, not just a government. And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.

Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty. But we can listen to those who do. And I can pledge our Nation to a goal: When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.

America at its best is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected. Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats; it is a call to conscience. And though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options but in commitments. And we find that children and community are the commitments that set us free.

Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored acts of decency, which give direction to our freedom.

Sometimes in life we're called to do great things. But as a saint of our times has said, "Every day we are called to do small things with great love." The most important tasks of a democracy are done by everyone.

I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to serve the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it, as well. In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times.

What you do is as important as anything Government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your Nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character.

Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves. When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no Government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it.

After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson, "We know the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Do you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?"

Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate, but the themes of this day, he would know: our Nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity.

We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet, his purpose is achieved in our duty. And our duty is fulfilled in service to one another. Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life. This work continues, the story goes on, and an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm.

God bless you all, and God bless America.

Appendix 2: Bush's second inaugural address – 2005:

Vice President Cheney, Mr. Chief Justice, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, fellow citizens:

On this day, prescribed by law and marked by ceremony, we celebrate the durable wisdom of our Constitution, and recall the deep commitments that unite our country. I am grateful for the honor of this hour, mindful of the consequential times in which we live, and determined to fulfill the oath that I have sworn and you have witnessed.

At this second gathering, our duties are defined not by the words I use, but by the history we have seen together. For a half century, America defended our own freedom by standing watch on distant borders. After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical - and then there came a day of fire.

We have seen our vulnerability - and we have seen its deepest source. For as long as whole regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny - prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder - violence will gather, and multiply in destructive power, and cross the most defended borders, and raise a mortal threat. There is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment, and expose the pretensions of tyrants, and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of human freedom.

We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world.

America's vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one. From the day of our Founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value, because they bear the image of the Maker of Heaven and earth. Across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master, and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these ideals is the mission that created our Nation. It is the honorable achievement of our fathers. Now it is the urgent requirement of our nation's security, and the calling of our time.

So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.

This is not primarily the task of arms, though we will defend ourselves and our friends by force of arms when necessary. Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen, and defended by citizens, and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. And when the soul of a nation finally

speaks, the institutions that arise may reflect customs and traditions very different from our own. America will not impose our own style of government on the unwilling. Our goal instead is to help others find their own voice, attain their own freedom, and make their own way.

The great objective of ending tyranny is the concentrated work of generations. The difficulty of the task is no excuse for avoiding it. America's influence is not unlimited, but fortunately for the oppressed, America's influence is considerable, and we will use it confidently in freedom's cause.

My most solemn duty is to protect this nation and its people against further attacks and emerging threats. Some have unwisely chosen to test America's resolve, and have found it firm.

We will persistently clarify the choice before every ruler and every nation: The moral choice between oppression, which is always wrong, and freedom, which is eternally right. America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains, or that women welcome humiliation and servitude, or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies.

We will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people. America's belief in human dignity will guide our policies, yet rights must be more than the grudging concessions of dictators; they are secured by free dissent and the participation of the governed. In the long run, there is no justice without freedom, and there can be no human rights without human liberty.

Some, I know, have questioned the global appeal of liberty - though this time in history, four decades defined by the swiftest advance of freedom ever seen, is an odd time for doubt. Americans, of all people, should never be surprised by the power of our ideals. Eventually, the call of freedom comes to every mind and every soul. We do not accept the existence of permanent tyranny because we do not accept the possibility of permanent slavery. Liberty will come to those who love it.

Today, America speaks anew to the peoples of the world:

All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: the United States will not ignore your oppression, or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you.

Democratic reformers facing repression, prison, or exile can know: America sees you for who you are: the future leaders of your free country.

The rulers of outlaw regimes can know that we still believe as Abraham Lincoln did: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it."

The leaders of governments with long habits of control need to know: To serve your people you must learn to trust them. Start on this journey of progress and justice, and America will walk at your side.

And all the allies of the United States can know: we honor your friendship, we rely on your counsel, and we depend on your help. Division among free nations is a primary goal of freedom's enemies. The concerted effort of free nations to promote democracy is a prelude to our enemies' defeat.

Today, I also speak anew to my fellow citizens: From all of you, I have asked patience in the hard task of securing America, which you have granted in good measure. Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill, and would be dishonorable to abandon. Yet because we have acted in the great liberating tradition of this nation, tens of millions have achieved their freedom. And as hope kindles hope, millions more will find it. By our efforts, we have lit a fire as well - a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power, it burns those who fight its progress, and one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world.

A few Americans have accepted the hardest duties in this cause - in the quiet work of intelligence and diplomacy ... the idealistic work of helping raise up free governments ... the dangerous and necessary work of fighting our enemies. Some have shown their devotion to our country in deaths that honored their whole lives - and we will always honor their names and their sacrifice.

All Americans have witnessed this idealism, and some for the first time. I ask our youngest citizens to believe the evidence of your eyes. You have seen duty and allegiance in the determined faces of our soldiers. You have seen that life is fragile, and evil is real, and courage triumphs. Make the choice to serve in a cause larger than your wants, larger than yourself - and in your days you will add not just to the wealth of our country, but to its character.

America has need of idealism and courage, because we have essential work at home - the unfinished work of American freedom. In a world moving toward liberty, we are determined to show the meaning and promise of liberty.

In America's ideal of freedom, citizens find the dignity and security of economic independence, instead of laboring on the edge of subsistence. This is the broader definition of liberty that motivated the Homestead Act, the Social Security Act, and the G.I. Bill of Rights. And now we will extend this vision by reforming great institutions to serve the needs of our time. To give every American a stake in the promise and future of our country, we will bring the highest standards to our schools, and build an ownership society. We will widen the ownership of homes and businesses, retirement savings

and health insurance - preparing our people for the challenges of life in a free society. By making every citizen an agent of his or her own destiny, we will give our fellow Americans greater freedom from want and fear, and make our society more prosperous and just and equal.

In America's ideal of freedom, the public interest depends on private character - on integrity, and tolerance toward others, and the rule of conscience in our own lives. Self-government relies, in the end, on the governing of the self. That edifice of character is built in families, supported by communities with standards, and sustained in our national life by the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Koran, and the varied faiths of our people. Americans move forward in every generation by reaffirming all that is good and true that came before - ideals of justice and conduct that are the same yesterday, today, and forever.

In America's ideal of freedom, the exercise of rights is ennobled by service, and mercy, and a heart for the weak. Liberty for all does not mean independence from one another. Our nation relies on men and women who look after a neighbor and surround the lost with love. Americans, at our best, value the life we see in one another, and must always remember that even the unwanted have worth. And our country must abandon all the habits of racism, because we cannot carry the message of freedom and the baggage of bigotry at the same time.

From the perspective of a single day, including this day of dedication, the issues and questions before our country are many. From the viewpoint of centuries, the questions that come to us are narrowed and few. Did our generation advance the cause of freedom? And did our character bring credit to that cause?

These questions that judge us also unite us, because Americans of every party and background, Americans by choice and by birth, are bound to one another in the cause of freedom. We have known divisions, which must be healed to move forward in great purposes - and I will strive in good faith to heal them. Yet those divisions do not define America. We felt the unity and fellowship of our nation when freedom came under attack, and our response came like a single hand over a single heart. And we can feel that same unity and pride whenever America acts for good, and the victims of disaster are given hope, and the unjust encounter justice, and the captives are set free.

We go forward with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom. Not because history runs on the wheels of inevitability; it is human choices that move events. Not because we consider ourselves a chosen nation; God moves and chooses as He wills. We have confidence because freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul. When our Founders declared a new order of the ages; when soldiers died in wave upon wave for a union based on liberty; when citizens marched in peaceful outrage under the banner "Freedom Now" - they were acting on an ancient hope that is meant to be fulfilled. History has an ebb and flow of

justice, but history also has a visible direction, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty.

When the Declaration of Independence was first read in public and the Liberty Bell was sounded in celebration, a witness said, "It rang as if it meant something." In our time it means something still. America, in this young century, proclaims liberty throughout all the world, and to all the inhabitants thereof. Renewed in our strength - tested, but not weary - we are ready for the greatest achievements in the history of freedom.

May God bless you, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Appendix 3: Obama's first inaugural address – 2009:

My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our nation -- (applause) -- as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.

Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.

So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans. That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many -- and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.

These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable, but no less profound, is a sapping of confidence across our land; a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights. Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this America: They will be met.

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics. We remain a young nation. But in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

In reaffirming the greatness of our nation we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the faint-hearted, for those that prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have carried us up the long rugged path towards prosperity and freedom. For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops, and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sahn.

Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction. This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week, or last month, or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions -- that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our economy calls for action, bold and swift. And we will act, not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We'll restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage. What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply.

The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works -- whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account, to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government. Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the

ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man -- a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience sake.

And so, to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more.

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.

We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we'll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet.

We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken -- you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy.

To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to

those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it.

As we consider the role that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages.

We honor them not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service -- a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves.

And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all. For as much as government can do, and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child that finally decides our fate.

Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends -- honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism -- these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded, then, is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility -- a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties that we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task.

This is the price and the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence -- the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall; and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath.

So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At the moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words to be read to the people:

"Let it be told to the future world...that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive... that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet [it]."

America: In the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Appendix 4: Obama Second Inaugural address – 2013

Vice President Biden, Mr. Chief Justice,
members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens:

Each time we gather to inaugurate a President we bear witness to the enduring strength of our Constitution. We affirm the promise of our democracy. We recall that what binds this nation together is not the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origins of our names. What makes us exceptional -- what makes us American -- is our allegiance to an idea articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Today we continue a never-ending journey to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they've never been self-executing; that while freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth. The patriots of 1776 did not fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. They gave to us a republic, a government of, and by, and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed.

And for more than two hundred years, we have. Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free. We made ourselves anew, and vowed to move forward together.

Together, we determined that a modern economy requires railroads and highways to speed travel and commerce, schools and colleges to train our workers.

Together, we discovered that a free market only thrives when there are rules to ensure competition and fair play.

Together, we resolved that a great nation must care for the vulnerable, and protect its people from life's worst hazards and misfortune.

Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority, nor have we succumbed to the fiction that all society's ills can be cured through government alone. Our celebration of initiative and enterprise, our insistence on hard work and personal responsibility, these are constants in our character.

But we have always understood that when times change, so must we; that fidelity to our founding principles requires new responses to new challenges; that preserving our individual freedoms ultimately requires collective action. For the American people can no more meet the demands of today's world by acting alone than American soldiers could have met the forces of fascism or communism with muskets and militias. No single person can train all the math and science teachers we'll need to equip our children for the future, or build the roads and networks and research labs that will bring new jobs and businesses to our shores. Now, more than ever, we must do these things together, as one nation and one people.

This generation of Americans has been tested by crises that steeled our resolve and proved our resilience. A decade of war is now ending. An economic recovery has begun. America's possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands: youth and drive; diversity and openness; an endless capacity for risk and a gift for reinvention. My fellow Americans, we are made for this moment, and we will seize it -- so long as we seize it together.

For we, the people, understand that our country cannot succeed when a shrinking few do very well and a growing many barely make it. We believe that America's prosperity must rest upon the broad shoulders of a rising middle class. We know that America thrives when every person can find independence and pride in their work; when the wages of honest labor liberate families from the brink of hardship. We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own.

We understand that outworn programs are inadequate to the needs of our time. So we must harness new ideas and technology to remake our government, revamp our tax code, reform our schools, and empower our citizens with the skills they need to work harder, learn more, reach higher. But while the means will change, our purpose endures: a nation that rewards the effort and determination of every single American. That is what this moment requires. That is what will give real meaning to our creed.

We, the people, still believe that every citizen deserves a basic measure of security and dignity. We must make the hard choices to reduce the cost of health care and the size of our deficit. But we reject the belief that America must choose between caring for the generation that built this country and investing in the generation that will build its future. For we remember the lessons of our past, when twilight years were spent in poverty and parents of a child with a disability had nowhere to turn.

We do not believe that in this country freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few. We recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, any one of us at any time may face a job loss, or a sudden illness, or a home swept away in a terrible storm. The commitments we make to each other through Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, these things do not sap our initiative, they strengthen us. They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great.

We, the people, still believe that our obligations as Americans are not just to ourselves, but to all posterity. We will respond to the threat of climate change, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations. Some may still deny the

overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires and crippling drought and more powerful storms.

The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult. But America cannot resist this transition, we must lead it. We cannot cede to other nations the technology that will power new jobs and new industries, we must claim its promise. That's how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure -- our forests and waterways, our crop lands and snow-capped peaks. That is how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God. That's what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared.

We, the people, still believe that enduring security and lasting peace do not require perpetual war. Our brave men and women in uniform, tempered by the flames of battle, are unmatched in skill and courage. Our citizens, seared by the memory of those we have lost, know too well the price that is paid for liberty. The knowledge of their sacrifice will keep us forever vigilant against those who would do us harm. But we are also heirs to those who won the peace and not just the war; who turned sworn enemies into the surest of friends -- and we must carry those lessons into this time as well.

We will defend our people and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law. We will show the courage to try and resolve our differences with other nations peacefully -- not because we are naïve about the dangers we face, but because engagement can more durably lift suspicion and fear.

America will remain the anchor of strong alliances in every corner of the globe. And we will renew those institutions that extend our capacity to manage crisis abroad, for no one has a greater stake in a peaceful world than its most powerful nation. We will support democracy from Asia to Africa, from the Americas to the Middle East, because our interests and our conscience compel us to act on behalf of those who long for freedom. And we must be a source of hope to the poor, the sick, the marginalized, the victims of prejudice -- not out of mere charity, but because peace in our time requires the constant advance of those principles that our common creed describes: tolerance and opportunity, human dignity and justice.

We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths -- that all of us are created equal -- is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls, and Selma, and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone; to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth.

It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law --for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. Our journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for hours to exercise the right to vote. Our journey is not complete until we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as a land of opportunity -- -- until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of

Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.

That is our generation's task -- to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American. Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life. It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow the same precise path to happiness. Progress does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time.

For now decisions are upon us and we cannot afford delay. We cannot mistake absolutism for principle, or substitute spectacle for politics, or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. We must act, knowing that our work will be imperfect. We must act, knowing that today's victories will be only partial and that it will be up to those who stand here in four years and 40 years and 400 years hence to advance the timeless spirit once conferred to us in a spare Philadelphia hall.

My fellow Americans, the oath I have sworn before you today, like the one recited by others who serve in this Capitol, was an oath to God and country, not party or faction. And we must faithfully execute that pledge during the duration of our service. But the words I spoke today are not so different from the oath that is taken each time a soldier signs up for duty or an immigrant realizes her dream. My oath is not so different from the pledge we all make to the flag that waves above and that fills our hearts with pride.

They are the words of citizens and they represent our greatest hope. You and I, as citizens, have the power to set this country's course. You and I, as citizens, have the obligation to shape the debates of our time -- not only with the votes we cast, but with the voices we lift in defense of our most ancient values and enduring ideals.

Let us, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, let us answer the call of history and carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom.

Thank you. God bless you, and may He forever bless these United States of America.

Appendix 5: Ronald Reagan's first inaugural address – 1981:

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker, Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens:

To a few of us here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion, and yet in the history of our nation it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place, as it has for almost two centuries, and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every 4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process, you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our Republic.

The business of our nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift, and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, human misery, and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.

You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a nation, we're not bound by that same limitation? We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding: We are going to begin to act, beginning today.

The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we've been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable, with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

We hear much of special interest groups. Well, our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we're sick—professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truck drivers. They are, in short, "We the people," this breed called Americans.

Well, this administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans, with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All

must share in the productive work of this "new beginning," and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America, at peace with itself and the world.

So, as we begin, let us take inventory. We are a nation that has a government—not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the Earth. Our government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government, which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it's not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work--work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth, it was because here in this land we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on Earth. The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government. It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We're not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope.

We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we're in a time when there are not heroes, they just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter, and they're on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They're individuals and families whose taxes support the government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet, but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

Now, I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your," because I'm addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen; and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they're sick, and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well, the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic "yes." To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I've just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy.

In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow, measured in inches and feet, not miles, but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles there will be no compromise.

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, president of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves."

Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children, and our children's children. And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it, now or ever.

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

Above all, we must realize that no arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

I'm told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I'm deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It

would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inaugural Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held, as you've been told, on this West Front of the Capitol. Standing here, one faces a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man, George Washington, father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence. And then, beyond the Reflecting Pool, the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond those monuments to heroism is the Potomac River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery, with its row upon row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom.

Each one of those markers is a monument to the kind of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno, and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

Under one such marker lies a young man, Martin Treptow, who left his job in a small town barbershop in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There, on the western front, he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

We're told that on his body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," he had written these words: "America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

The crisis we are facing today does not require of us the kind of sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does require, however, our best effort and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, to believe that together with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us.

And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans.
God bless you, and thank you.

Appendix 6: Ronal Reagan, second inaugural address: 1985

Senator Mathias, Chief Justice Burger, Vice President Bush, Speaker O'Neill, Senator Dole, Reverend Clergy, members of my family and friends, and my fellow citizens:

This day has been made brighter with the presence here of one who, for a time, has been absent--Senator John Stennis.

God bless you and welcome back.

There is, however, one who is not with us today: Representative Gillis Long of Louisiana left us last night. I wonder if we could all join in a moment of silent prayer. (Moment of silent prayer.) Amen.

There are no words adequate to express my thanks for the great honor that you have bestowed on me. I will do my utmost to be deserving of your trust.

This is, as Senator Mathias told us, the 50th time that we the people have celebrated this historic occasion. When the first President, George Washington, placed his hand upon the Bible, he stood less than a single day's journey by horseback from raw, untamed wilderness. There were 4 million Americans in a union of 13 States. Today we are 60 times as many in a union of 50 States. We have lighted the world with our inventions, gone to the aid of mankind wherever in the world there was a cry for help, journeyed to the Moon and safely returned. So much has changed. And yet we stand together as we did two centuries ago.

When I took this oath four years ago, I did so in a time of economic stress. Voices were raised saying we had to look to our past for the greatness and glory. But we, the present-day Americans, are not given to looking backward. In this blessed land, there is always a better tomorrow.

Four years ago, I spoke to you of a new beginning and we have accomplished that. But in another sense, our new beginning is a continuation of that beginning created two centuries ago when, for the first time in history, government, the people said, was not our master, it is our servant; its only power that which we the people allow it to have.

That system has never failed us, but, for a time, we failed the system. We asked things of government that government was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to the National Government that properly belonged to States or to local governments or to the people themselves. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings and watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow down and the number of unemployed increase.

By 1980, we knew it was time to renew our faith, to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society.

We believed then and now there are no limits to growth and human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams.

And we were right to believe that. Tax rates have been reduced, inflation cut dramatically, and more people are employed than ever before in our history.

We are creating a nation once again vibrant, robust, and alive. But there are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity as our birthright. It is our birthright as citizens of this great Republic, and we'll meet this challenge.

These will be years when Americans have restored their confidence and tradition of progress; when our values of faith, family, work, and neighborhood were restated for a modern age; when our economy was finally freed from government's grip; when we made sincere efforts at meaningful arms reduction, rebuilding our defenses, our economy, and developing new technologies, and helped preserve peace in a troubled world; when Americans courageously supported the struggle for liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.

My fellow citizens, our Nation is poised for greatness. We must do what we know is right and do it with all our might. Let history say of us, "These were golden years--when the American Revolution was reborn, when freedom gained new life, when America reached for her best."

Our two-party system has served us well over the years, but never better than in those times of great challenge when we came together not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans united in a common cause.

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become political rivals in the Presidential election of 1800. Then years later, when both were retired, and age had softened their anger, they began to speak to each other again through letters. A bond was reestablished between those two who had helped create this government of ours.

In 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, they both died. They died on the same day, within a few hours of each other, and that day was the Fourth of July.

In one of those letters exchanged in the sunset of their lives, Jefferson wrote: "It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right to self-government. Laboring always at the same oar, with some wave ever ahead threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless ... we rode through the storm with heart and hand."

Well, with heart and hand, let us stand as one today: One people under God determined that our future shall be worthy of our past. As we do, we must not repeat the well-intentioned errors of our past. We must never again abuse the trust of working men and women, by sending their earnings on a futile chase after the spiraling demands of a bloated Federal Establishment. You elected us in 1980 to end this prescription for disaster, and I don't believe you reelected us in 1984 to reverse course.

At the heart of our efforts is one idea vindicated by 25 straight months of economic growth: Freedom and incentives unleash the drive and entrepreneurial genius that are the core of human progress. We have begun to increase the rewards for work, savings, and investment; reduce the increase in the cost and size of government and its interference in people's lives.

We must simplify our tax system, make it more fair, and bring the rates down for all who work and earn. We must think anew and move with a new boldness, so every American who seeks work can find work; so the least among us shall have an equal chance to achieve the

greatest things--to be heroes who heal our sick, feed the hungry, protect peace among nations, and leave this world a better place.

The time has come for a new American emancipation--a great national drive to tear down economic barriers and liberate the spirit of enterprise in the most distressed areas of our country. My friends, together we can do this, and do it we must, so help me God.-- From new freedom will spring new opportunities for growth, a more productive, fulfilled and united people, and a stronger America--an America that will lead the technological revolution, and also open its mind and heart and soul to the treasures of literature, music, and poetry, and the values of faith, courage, and love.

A dynamic economy, with more citizens working and paying taxes, will be our strongest tool to bring down budget deficits. But an almost unbroken 50 years of deficit spending has finally brought us to a time of reckoning. We have come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions. I have asked the Cabinet and my staff a question, and now I put the same question to all of you: If not us, who? And if not now, when? It must be done by all of us going forward with a program aimed at reaching a balanced budget. We can then begin reducing the national debt.

I will shortly submit a budget to the Congress aimed at freezing government program spending for the next year. Beyond that, we must take further steps to permanently control Government's power to tax and spend. We must act now to protect future generations from Government's desire to spend its citizens' money and tax them into servitude when the bills come due. Let us make it unconstitutional for the Federal Government to spend more than the Federal Government takes in.

We have already started returning to the people and to State and local governments responsibilities better handled by them. Now, there is a place for the Federal Government in matters of social compassion. But our fundamental goals must be to reduce dependency and upgrade the dignity of those who are infirm or disadvantaged. And here a growing economy and support from family and community offer our best chance for a society where compassion is a way of life, where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, yes, the unborn protected, and the unfortunate looked after and made self

And there is another area where the Federal Government can play a part. As an older American, I remember a time when people of different race, creed, or ethnic origin in our land found hatred and prejudice installed in social custom and, yes, in law. There is no story more heartening in our history than the progress that we have made toward the "brotherhood of man" that God intended for us. Let us resolve there will be no turning back or hesitation on the road to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens.

Let us resolve that we the people will build an American opportunity society in which all of us--white and black, rich and poor, young and old--will go forward together arm in arm. Again, let us remember that though our heritage is one of blood lines from every corner of the Earth, we are all Americans pledged to carry on this last, best hope of man on Earth.

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Senator Mathias, Chief Justice Burger, Vice President Bush, Speaker O'Neill, Senator Dole, Reverend Clergy, members of my family and friends, and my fellow citizens:

This day has been made brighter with the presence here of one who, for a time, has been absent--Senator John Stennis.

God bless you and welcome back.

There is, however, one who is not with us today: Representative Gillis Long of Louisiana left us last night. I wonder if we could all join in a moment of silent prayer. (Moment of silent prayer.) Amen.

There are no words adequate to express my thanks for the great honor that you have bestowed on me. I will do my utmost to be deserving of your trust.

This is, as Senator Mathias told us, the 50th time that we the people have celebrated this historic occasion. When the first President, George Washington, placed his hand upon the Bible, he stood less than a single day's journey by horseback from raw, untamed wilderness. There were 4 million Americans in a union of 13 States. Today we are 60 times as many in a union of 50 States. We have lighted the world with our inventions, gone to the aid of mankind wherever in the world there was a cry for help, journeyed to the Moon and safely returned. So much has changed. And yet we stand together as we did two centuries ago.

When I took this oath four years ago, I did so in a time of economic stress. Voices were raised saying we had to look to our past for the greatness and glory. But we, the present-day Americans, are not given to looking backward. In this blessed land, there is always a better tomorrow.

Four years ago, I spoke to you of a new beginning and we have accomplished that. But in another sense, our new beginning is a continuation of that beginning created two centuries ago when, for the first time in history, government, the people said, was not our master, it is our servant; its only power that which we the people allow it to have.

That system has never failed us, but, for a time, we failed the system. We asked things of government that government was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to the National

Government that properly belonged to States or to local governments or to the people themselves. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings and watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow down and the number of unemployed increase.

By 1980, we knew it was time to renew our faith, to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society.

We believed then and now there are no limits to growth and human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams.

And we were right to believe that. Tax rates have been reduced, inflation cut dramatically, and more people are employed than ever before in our history.

We are creating a nation once again vibrant, robust, and alive. But there are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity as our birthright. It is our birthright as citizens of this great Republic, and we'll meet this challenge.

These will be years when Americans have restored their confidence and tradition of progress; when our values of faith, family, work, and neighborhood were restated for a modern age; when our economy was finally freed from government's grip; when we made sincere efforts at meaningful arms reduction, rebuilding our defenses, our economy, and developing new technologies, and helped preserve peace in a troubled world; when Americans courageously supported the struggle for liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.

My fellow citizens, our Nation is poised for greatness. We must do what we know is right and do it with all our might. Let history say of us, "These were golden years--when the American Revolution was reborn, when freedom gained new life, when America reached for her best."

Our two-party system has served us well over the years, but never better than in those times of great challenge when we came together not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans united in a common cause.

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become political rivals in the Presidential election of 1800. Then years later, when both were retired, and age had softened their anger, they began to speak to each other again through letters. A bond was reestablished between those two who had helped create this government of ours.

In 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, they both died. They died on the same day, within a few hours of each other, and that day was the Fourth of July.

In one of those letters exchanged in the sunset of their lives, Jefferson wrote: "It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right to self-government.

Laboring always at the same oar, with some wave ever ahead threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless ... we rode through the storm with heart and hand."

Well, with heart and hand, let us stand as one today: One people under God determined that our future shall be worthy of our past. As we do, we must not repeat the well-intentioned errors of our past. We must never again abuse the trust of working men and women, by sending their earnings on a futile chase after the spiraling demands of a bloated Federal Establishment. You elected us in 1980 to end this prescription for disaster, and I don't believe you reelected us in 1984 to reverse course.

At the heart of our efforts is one idea vindicated by 25 straight months of economic growth: Freedom and incentives unleash the drive and entrepreneurial genius that are the core of human progress. We have begun to increase the rewards for work, savings, and investment; reduce the increase in the cost and size of government and its interference in people's lives.

We must simplify our tax system, make it more fair, and bring the rates down for all who work and earn. We must think anew and move with a new boldness, so every American who seeks work can find work; so the least among us shall have an equal chance to achieve the greatest things--to be heroes who heal our sick, feed the hungry, protect peace among nations, and leave this world a better place.

The time has come for a new American emancipation--a great national drive to tear down economic barriers and liberate the spirit of enterprise in the most distressed areas of our country. My friends, together we can do this, and do it we must, so help me God.-- From new freedom will spring new opportunities for growth, a more productive, fulfilled and united people, and a stronger America--an America that will lead the technological revolution, and also open its mind and heart and soul to the treasures of literature, music, and poetry, and the values of faith, courage, and love.

A dynamic economy, with more citizens working and paying taxes, will be our strongest tool to bring down budget deficits. But an almost unbroken 50 years of deficit spending has finally brought us to a time of reckoning. We have come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions. I have asked the Cabinet and my staff a question, and now I put the same question to all of you: If not us, who? And if not now, when? It must be done by all of us going forward with a program aimed at reaching a balanced budget. We can then begin reducing the national debt.

I will shortly submit a budget to the Congress aimed at freezing government program spending for the next year. Beyond that, we must take further steps to permanently control Government's power to tax and spend. We must act now to protect future generations from Government's desire to spend its citizens' money and tax them into servitude when the bills come due. Let us make it unconstitutional for the Federal Government to spend more than the Federal Government takes in.

We have already started returning to the people and to State and local governments responsibilities better handled by them. Now, there is a place for the Federal Government in matters of social compassion. But our fundamental goals must be to reduce dependency and upgrade the dignity of those who are infirm or disadvantaged. And here a growing economy and support from family and community offer our best chance for a society where compassion

is a way of life, where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, yes, the unborn protected, and the unfortunate looked after and made self

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