



Bachelor's Thesis

A Rhetorical Analysis of:

President Barack Obama's 2009 Inaugural Address

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1. SUMMARY

President Barack Obama took office as the 44th president of the USA and is the first African-American to ever hold this office. He has come into power at one of the worst times in USA's history and he has big tasks ahead of him; the economy has faltered, unemployment is growing, and two ongoing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq that do not appear to be ending easily. The concerns the American people have over these and other issues have evolved into fear and worry about their future and the future direction of their country. To many people the election of Obama represents hope for a new beginning and a chance to change things for the better, while others question whether he has the ability to lead with enough background and skill to address these concerns.

This thesis has examined President Obama's 2009 Inaugural Address. The analysis of the address shows how Obama rhetorically managed to alleviate the concerns of the American people and in what way he was rhetorically able to convince the American people that he is the right person to lead the nation through this difficult time.

First, selected theories within classical rhetoric and the genre of inaugural addresses are presented and explained. Second, these selected theories are used to analyze Obama's inaugural address and from this analysis make an assessment and discussion of the thesis statement. This thesis has used theories from Aristotle's Classical Rhetoric and the genre theory of Campbell & Jamieson as a foundation to answering the thesis statement. Using theories from the classical rhetoric determines the type of speech, the composition, the usage, and the appeal forms used. By utilizing the theory of Campbell & Jamieson it has been possible to deduce whether Obama's inaugural address was or was not typical.

In analyzing the inaugural address it has become clear that it is a combination of the deliberative and epideictic speech. The address does not account for a specific political question, but is more of a ceremonial speech that praises the American people and their values.

In determining whether Obama's address was or was not typical, it was clear that his address did contain all eight characteristics normally found in an inaugural address. However, his address was atypical because he was very specific concerning his political agenda, and he also criticized former President Bush and his administration. By using this technique Obama was trying to alleviate the concerns of the American people. He needed to give specific solutions in the form of his political agenda and how he was going to get the country back on track. If he did not succeed in doing so the people would not be convinced that he was capable of handling the job and therefore not the right person for the job. The criticism of Bush and his administration was a way for Obama to distance himself from the previous administration and make it clear that he would set a new direction of leadership.

Concerning the composition of the address, the first things Obama addressed were the biggest concerns of the people; economy, unemployment, and lack of confidence in politicians and the political system. He mentioned everything and everybody that had to be mentioned, but he did not dwell on minor things. Instead he got right to the point assuring the people that things will be changed for the better with help from the whole society.

The usage of the address is characterized by an extensive use of the pronouns *we*, *us* and *our*, making the address come across as more personal and informal to the audience. They feel a commonality with Obama. This would strengthen his relationship to the people and he would appear to be one of them. Furthermore, the address is characterized by the modal verbs *must*, *can* and *will*. This shows Obama as a man of principle who will not compromise his beliefs. It shows that he is determined to change the USA for the better and together they can solve problems. The address also contains several anaphora, alliterations, reiterations, and metaphors that all supports Obama's vision of saying that the USA will recover with every ones help.

Of the three appeal forms *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*, he primarily uses *ethos*. Obama needed to work on his image, defining himself as the right person to lead the people through the crisis. The limited use of *logos* and *pathos* is due to the fact that the address does not account for a specific political question, where argumentation and an appeal to the intellect would have been used. A greater emphasis on *pathos* would have toned down the formality which would have been inappropriate, because the whole inauguration process is a very formal event.

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2. INTRODUCTION

The election of Barack Obama as the 44th President of the USA made history. Many Americans did not think that this young and ambitious African-American would ever reach such a position. President Obama has come into power at one of the worst times since the Great Depression; he has enormous tasks ahead of him. He has to convince the nation of his capabilities to lead it, since a majority of the American people has lost faith and confidence in politicians and the political system. In Obama's inaugural address, he needed to be eloquent in calling for new direction and leadership and he needed to reach into the American people's hearts at a time when the economy, confidence, and morale of the people were at a low point. Not only did he need to calm the American people's fears but he also had to reassure them that he was capable of handling the job.

Analyzing Obama's inaugural address is an exceptional opportunity in time, primarily because he is the first African-American president of the USA and faces unique economic, political and social problems both in the USA and the rest of the world.

The presidential rhetoric in inaugural addresses has its own genre. Themes such as national unity, reconciliation, renewal, and bi-partisanship are examples of what is important and central in the American political discourse of inaugural addresses. Often examples from the past are used to unify the nation and to show the American people how goals and aspirations can be achieved and problems dealt with. Inaugural addresses always contain three central themes: the ability to reinvent the USA, to reemphasize what it means to be a U.S. citizen, and to show the people it is time for a new beginning that can be accomplished. Inaugural addresses are supposed to be unifying and non partisan; they should make the people feel that if they come together as one, they can accomplish anything¹.

Most of the American people have major concerns about the domestic and international issues. With the election of a new president they want to feel that there will be a change for the better and that they have a new, strong and powerful leader. Obama's inaugural address gave him the opportunity to present himself as a person in command and that he has the

¹ *Neil Campbell & Alasdair Kean, 2006, pp. 30-33*

ability to alleviate the concerns of the American people. In this light, the thesis will answer the following questions:

How did President Obama rhetorically manage to alleviate the concerns of the American people? In what way was President Obama rhetorically able to convince the American people that he is the right person to lead the nation through this difficult time?

To answer these questions, this thesis will first describe selected theories which will be used for the analysis of the inaugural address. Second, a rhetorical analysis of Obama's 2009 Inaugural Address will be made based on the theories already presented. Continuous assessments and discussions regarding the thesis statement will be made throughout the analysis.

This thesis will first and foremost account for selected theories within rhetoric. The focus will be a linguistic analysis that utilizes selected theories from the Classical Rhetoric of Aristotle. The type of speech and the five canons of Aristotle's Classical Rhetoric, *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *actio* and *memoria*, and the three appeal forms *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* will be accounted for and some applied to Obama's inaugural address. These theories are relevant to use because, when writing and analyzing rhetoric, they have become the classical standard over time. Furthermore, the genre theory of Campbell & Jamieson will be utilized to deduce whether Obama's inaugural address was or was not typical.

3. METHOD

This thesis will account for selected theories within genre and rhetoric. These theories will be applied to make the analysis. The object of the analysis is Obama's inaugural address given on the 20th of January 2009. The reason for choosing this address is that the presidential election of Obama, an African-American, is a first in American history. In addition, the USA is involved in two wars and struggling with the economy at a very unprecedented time in world history. This thesis is an analysis that will account for rhetorical strategies in a concrete political speech utilizing selected theories of Aristotle's Classical Rhetoric. Furthermore, the genre theory of Campbell & Jamieson will be used.

Selected theories from Aristotle's Classical Rhetoric will be used, because they give the opportunity to make a relatively detailed analysis of the address. Classical rhetoric operates with three types of speeches; the forensic, deliberative, and epideictic.

When writing or analyzing a speech, classical rhetoric uses five basic canons called *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *actio* and *memoria*. *Inventio*, is about finding material for the speech. *Dispositio*, consists of ordering the ideas and thoughts from *inventio* by utilizing a model consisting of another five elements. *Elocutio* means style and deals with how to express the thoughts succinctly in words. *Memoria* is about remembering what to say, and *actio* deals with the presentation of the speech. Both *dispositio* and *elocutio* deal with the written content of the speech, which is why they are useful in the analysis of the inaugural address and will be given the most attention².

Also, classical rhetoric's three appeal forms *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* will be accounted for and utilized to analyze how Obama uses these to influence the audience's opinions and feelings about him.

The genre theory of Campbell & Jamieson will be used to make an assessment of whether Obama's address was or was not typical.

² Jan Lindhart, 2001, p. 51-52

4. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis will start out with a presentation and explanation of the theories that will be used for analyzing Obama's inaugural address. Subsequently, the inaugural address will be analyzed by utilizing the theories stated in the method part.

The theory part will start out by describing the three different types of speeches. Second, the genre characteristics of the inaugural address will be explained, providing the reader with a better understanding of its contents by also including examples from former USA Presidents' inaugural addresses. Third, the composition, linguistic presentation, and kinds of appeal forms used will be explained.

The analysis will start out by accounting for the communicative situation and the type of speech. The reason for doing so is to give the reader the best possible background for understanding the contents of the inaugural address. Second, the genre characteristics of the inaugural address will be applied in order to assess whether Obama's address is or is not typical. Using *dispositio*, one of Aristotle's five rhetoric canons concerning composition, will provide the reader with an overview of the address. Next, the linguistic presentation will be analyzed and discussed. This will be done by using *elocutio*, which is another of Aristotle's five rhetoric canons. An analysis of how the persuasio's three appeal forms *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* manifest themselves in the inaugural address will also be analyzed; so will the way Obama makes use of these in his address. Continuous assessments regarding the thesis statement will be made throughout the analysis.

5. DELIMITATION

This thesis will only utilize two of the five canons of classical rhetoric, *dispositio* and *elocutio*. The reason for this is that they deal with the content of the address, respectively the composition (*dispositio*) and the linguistic presentation (*elocutio*). The three other canons are sorted out, because they deal with the invention of the material for the address (*inventio*), the remembering of what to say (*memoria*), and the presentation (*actio*). This means that they pertain to the address before and after it has been written down.

In connection with the third canon, *elocutio*, the main focus will be on the fourth speech virtue *ornatus*, because this deals with the choice of words and rhetorical strategies.

Also the three appeal forms, *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* will be utilized, however, the main focus will be on *ethos*, because this is an analysis of a politician's speech and therefore presumes it to be the most conspicuous appeal form.

6. THEORY

6.1 Classical rhetoric

Classical rhetoric arose in 5th century BC in Athens, and is still, more than 2000 years later, a practicable tool when writing or analyzing a speech³.

Rhetoric refers to eloquence or art of speaking and is the theory about shaping language in such way that both the person speaking and the cause spoken for will gain sympathy. The aim of rhetoric is to convince, please, actuate, and stimulate the audience, in other words to influence them. In recent years, the word "rhetoric" has been used erroneously – as fancy, empty speech, which is not the true meaning of the word rhetoric. According to classical rhetoric, the content and form of a speech cannot be separated - the object is to unify the content and form of the speech in the best possible way. A speaker can have a lot at heart, but if he is not capable of expressing it in a way that the audience understands, communication fails⁴.

6.2 Types of speeches

According to classical rhetoric, there are three types of speeches: the forensic, deliberative, and epideictic speech. In the culture of ancient Greece, these three types were considered the most important to study. It might seem like these kinds are based upon where they take place, but it is rather a matter of what arguments are being used and whether the audience must take a stand or not. It is not uncommon to find two of the three types utilized in one single speech.

The forensic speech most often takes place in the court room and focuses on precedents from the past concerning guilt or innocence. The audience, who most likely is the judge or jury, must come to a decision concerning an act perpetrated in the past.

The deliberative speech usually occurs in the legislature. It concentrates on the future and either prompts, dissuades, or proposes future actions. It is up to the audience to decide whether the proposals of the speech are positive or negative. In both forensic and deliberative

³ *Jørgen Fafner*, 2000, p. 7

⁴ *James McCroskey*, 2006, p. 35

Jan Lindhart, 2001, p. 10

Lis Garbers & Sten Høgel, 1996, pp. 8-10

Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, p. 28

speeches the audience must take a stand on something which is not the case with the epideictic speech.

The epideictic speech is a ceremonial speech, utilized for formal events. It focuses on either an institution or a person praising or blaming them for their actions or qualities. This type of speech is not about right or wrong, useful or harmful, but about human or institutional values. First and foremost, this speech deals with the present. However, elements from the past and prophecies about the future are often used to remind the audience of what happened at that time or what can be expected in the future⁵.

6.3 The genre characteristics of an inaugural address

The inauguration process is the ritual ceremony during which the executive power is peacefully transferred from president to president. The inauguration is a cyclical, regularly scheduled event held every fourth year and is based on the outcome of a democratic election. The regularity of the presidential inaugurations offers a sense of stability, continuity, and permanence to a political system that peacefully permits turnover in officeholders and change in policy agendas⁶.

The inaugural address is a genre of its own. It reflects and represents the things that the president finds important and if he expresses his ideas successfully, his address will go down in history as one that will stand up through the ages. The inaugural address is a part of a long tradition of inaugural addresses. For this reason the president cannot decide entirely by himself how he wants to compose the address or what he wants to talk about. The genre of inaugural addresses is the most strictly defined when compared to other genres used by presidents, such as the State of Union Address. There are eight characteristics which are normally found in an inaugural address⁷:

⁵ Jan Lindhart, 2001, p. 50
Lis Garbers & Sten Høgel, 1996, pp. 14-16
Thure Hastrup, 1983, pp. 42-43
James C. McCroskey, 2006, p. 7
Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, p. 243

⁶ White House Historical Association, 2004, p. 5
Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, p. 200

⁷ Ibid

First, the unification of the people as “one”. This unification gives the president an opportunity to either redefine or remind the people who they are⁸. The former President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is a good example of a president who succeeded in redefining for the people who they were during the Great Depression, and how they could overcome the fear and adversity they were seeing and feeling in part by making the following statements: “...*the only thing we have to fear is fear itself*” (1) and “... *Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort*” (7). “... *These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men*” (7)⁹.

Former President John F. Kennedy also redefined the American people's identity and their role in the world community. During the 1950's the American people were more focused on domestic issues than international affairs. Kennedy had a vision for the USA to improve the quality of life and culture and also to transform them into citizens of the world¹⁰. Kennedy made the following statements in his inaugural address: “*The world is very different now* (2)...*the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans* (3)...*so let us begin anew* (14)... *ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country* (25)...*citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you*” (27).

Second, the inaugural address is epideictic in that it praises the people's traditional values¹¹. Former President Bill Clinton utilized this form when he said: “*Not change for change's sake, but change to preserve America's ideals – life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness*” (5).

Third, the address illustrates the principles of the president's political philosophy that will be utilized by the new administration. The address “drifts in a deliberate direction”¹², but only rarely are specific policies mentioned¹³. Clinton's statement: “*We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt*” (22) was very deliberately directional without being specific.

⁸ Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, pp. 200-201

⁹ All quotes are taken from the former Presidents' first inaugural addresses, which can be found in Appendix 2-5. The number indicates the part where the quote can be found and the quotes are written in red.

¹⁰ Frank Freidel, 1981, pp. 226-229

¹¹ Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, pp. 201-202

¹² Quote: Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, p. 202 l. 9

¹³ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell & Kathleen Hall Jamieson, 1990, pp. 21-22
Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, p. 202

Fourth, the president acknowledges the limits of his power. He realizes that he cannot succeed without congressional help or the help of the people¹⁴. As former President Reagan said: *“Our government has no power except that granted it by the people”* (13) and Clinton said: *“I ask the Congress to join with me”* (38).

Fifth, the president often includes biblical allusions mostly at the beginning and at the end of the address. The president acknowledges that there is an Almighty Being more powerful than himself and calls upon the Almighty to help guide him and the nation¹⁵. Kennedy is a good example of a president who called upon God's help by saying at the beginning of his address: *“...the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God”* (2) and concluding his address with: *“...let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own”* (27).

Sixth, historical analogy is used to show how the new administration's vision can succeed and reassures the people that the nation has a future¹⁶. Clinton addresses the challenges ahead for the nation by saying: *“Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths (16)... We must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our revolution, the Civil War, to the Great Depression to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history”* (16-17).

Seventh, the epideictic style is used to praise the constitutional system of the American institution¹⁷. The epideictic style was utilized by Roosevelt in his inaugural address when he said: *“Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced”* (19).

¹⁴ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell & Kathleen Hall Jamieson, 1990, p. 23
Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, p. 202

¹⁵ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell & Kathleen Hall Jamieson, 1990, p. 26
Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, pp. 202-203

¹⁶ Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, p. 203

¹⁷ Ibid

Eighth, the inaugural address reflects a high style language, which is typical of epideictic speeches. It contains several linguistic features such as metaphors, allusions, and quotable quotes¹⁸. Kennedy's address is a very good example of high style language with several memorable quotes: "Let us never negotiate with fear. But let us never fear to negotiate" (14) and "...ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country" (25).

6.4 The five classical canons of rhetoric

According to classical rhetoric, rhetoric contains five canons (rhetorices partes) that nearly all speeches consist of. These are *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria* and *actio*¹⁹.

6.4.1 Inventio

In the phase of invention (*inventio*) the author discovers the ideas, material and gains knowledge of the topic he has chosen. Invention is not only about coming up the ideas for the speech, but also about finding the kind of material that will support the ideas used for persuading the audience. The Greek rhetoricians made lists of what subjects and kind of arguments a speech could or should contain. These subjects were called *topoi*. Depending on the type of speech and the audience, different *topoi* were to be used²⁰.

6.4.2 Dispositio

The next canon deals with the composition (*dispositio*) of the speech. It is used to order the ideas and material found in invention to find their right place and function in the speech as a whole. To help the writer ordering, a scheme consisting of five parts can be used. These five parts are *exordium*, *narratio*, *partitio*, *confirmatio*, and *conclusio*. A speech does at the maximum contain these five parts, and often less²¹.

The *exordium* is supposed to gain the attention of the audience which the author wishes to persuade. The author must gain their good will and create sympathy for himself and his cause.

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Jørgen Fafner, 2000, p. 15

²⁰ James McCroskey, 2006, pp. 190-191

Julie Fabricius & Thore Roksvold, 2004, pp. 40-43

²¹ Jan Lindhart, 2001, pp. 51-52

Narratio is factual information that represents the stance of the author. *Partitio* summarizes the main points of what will be presented and in what order it will be done. *Confirmatio* is the main part of the speech. It argues for the stance already presented in *narratio* using refutation of real or hypothetical objections to prove the point. *Conclusio* is used to sum up what the author has reached. This is important in order to make sure that the audience has understood the points of the author and what he wished to say. With this conclusion it is also time for the audience to either take a stand or simply change disposition depending on the type of speech. Therefore it is again useful to appeal to the feelings of the audience to make them kindly disposed towards the person or cause dealt with²².

6.4.3 Elocutio

The third canon is *elocutio* which refers to style. *Elocutio* means putting the ideas found in *inventio* and classified in *dispositio* into sentences. The way the words and sentences are put together is crucial for the author to convey the intended meaning and in that way a better chance of persuading the audience²³.

It is the audience, situation, and topic that decide the author's stylistic level. Style is the implemented features in a text. Broadly speaking there are three stylistic levels: high, middle, and low. High style is characterized as distant, because it distances itself from the audience and the present reality. The high style is far from colloquial language and is mostly used in poems, feature journalism, and certain kinds of speeches. The inaugural address is a good example of a speech that is written in high style. Middle style and low style are less formal and would be seen in respectively news journalism and commercials²⁴.

The most important question for the writer is to ask himself what type of language to use. The six classical virtues of speech, *virtutes elocutiones*, can be used to analyze what language to use. They are: *aptum*, *puritas*, *perspicuitas*, *ornatus*, and *evidentia*.

Aptum means that the language should be appropriate. The author must consider the following five factors in bold, if the speech is going to succeed. The **author** must have knowledge about his **subject** to convince the audience, and the **audience** must be or become interested in the subject for them to receive the message of the speech. Also the **situation**,

²² James McCroskey, 2006, p. 217

Jan Lindhart, 2001, pp. 51-52

²³ Jan Lindhart, 2001, p. 52

²⁴ Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, pp. 32 + 45-47

Julie Fabricius & Thore Roksvold, 2004, pp. 87-91

under which the speech is given, including time and place, must be considered. Finally the **usage** must be taken into consideration.

Puritas refers to accuracy and clarity. The language must be grammatically correct so that the reader not misunderstand the message. However, *puritas* does not only deal with grammatical correctness. It is also a matter of the correct paradigm, syntax, and choice of words.

Perspicuitas means that the language must be clear and accurate without the use of superfluous words. Empty words and verbosity are good examples of things that can disturb clarity and remove focus from the topic.

Ornatus means adornment of the language. Often language can be boring when it is correct and clear, for example the American Constitution, and therefore it must be adorned to gain the attention of the audience. This is realized for example by the use of metaphors, stylistic figures, rhythm, reiterations, new words or expressions.

Evidentia is the sixth virtue that refers to the pictures the author is able to create in the consciousness of the audience. The audience must feel that they are a part of the actual happening²⁵.

6.4.4 Memoria and actio

The fourth and fifth canons are called *memoria* and *actio*. They deal with respectively the memorizing and the presentation of the speech. *Memoria* contains different techniques for the author to use in order for him to remember what to say. *Actio* is concerned with the presentation of the speech and dealing with the use of voice and body language²⁶.

6.5 Persuasio – ethos, logos, pathos

In the five classical canons of rhetoric, the author has worked up his material, found the arguments to use and made his intentions clear. His task is to persuade the audience and they are persuaded by three means: *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*. *Logos* is an appeal to the intellect whereas *ethos* and *pathos* appeal to the emotion²⁷.

²⁵ Lis Garbers & Sten Høgel, 1996, pp. 29-40

James McCroskey, 2006, pp. 234-235

²⁶ Jan Lindhart, 2001, pp. 52-53

²⁷ Lis Garbers & Sten Høgel, 1996, pp. 67-72

6.5.1 Ethos

Ethos is an emotional appeal that deals with the author and his credibility. The *ethos* of the author is dependant on the audience's perception of him. If the audience does not like the personality of the author, they are not very likely to go along with his case. Therefore it is important for an author to work on his charisma and image to persuade his audience. It can take a long time for an author to build up his *ethos*, but it only takes one mistake to destroy it. The credibility of the speaker finds expression in the three elements *phronesis*, *areté*, and *eunoria*. *Phronesis* means common sense and refers to the author's knowledge about his subject and his willingness to see the case from all points of view to seem credible to the audience. Furthermore, he must have a healthy and fair discernment. The meaning of *areté* is virtue and refers to the human qualities of the author. The author is not supposed to use dirty tricks, but stick to the approved virtues. *Eunoria* means good will and shows the audience that the author is serious and committed to the case. The author must show that he is willing to put aside his own advantages to please the audience. An author with a high *ethos* represents all the above mentioned elements, but they cannot be pointed out by the author himself, but must emerge from the speech and the way it is presented. The image the author creates must not only last during the speech but stay in the mind of the audience. Therefore *ethos* can be said to appeal to the feelings of long duration. An example of a person who had a high *ethos* was former President Kennedy. He was perceived by many to be a very competent and dynamic politician²⁸.

6.5.2 Logos

Logos deals with the speech itself and is the information and argumentation provided by the author. Using *logos* the author refers to the common sense and intellect of the audience and he states the cause very objectively and is often supported by facts such as statistics. He keeps using the speech virtues *puritas* and *perspicuitas* that underline both clarity and correctness. *Ornatus* is avoided. A speech that only focuses on *logos* will seem very tedious to the audience because it only focuses on information and facts. An example of a speech that would

²⁸ *Lis Garbers & Sten Høgel*, 1996, pp. 68-70
Jørgen Fafner, 2000, pp. 36-37
Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, pp. 29-30
Birthe Berger & Jesper Troels Jensen, 2004, pp. 14-17 + 19

focus mostly on *logos* would be a business meeting where an auditor was reporting the annual reports²⁹.

6.5.3 Pathos

Pathos is attached to the intense feelings that the author tries to evoke in his audience. The author affects the emotions and feelings of the audience such as excitement, happiness, anger, compassion, which are considered immediate feelings. To affect the audience in the best possible way, the author must create internal pictures in the audience's minds for them to feel, for example, happiness or sorrow within themselves and help them identify with the people involved. The choice of words is value-laden. Particularly the speech virtues *ornatus* and *evidentia* are the most prominent. An example where the *pathos* appeal is used is in commercials for developmental aid. Often a picture of a thin African child crying will be shown to evoke compassion in the audience. At the end of the commercial there will always be shown a telephone or Giro account number where the audience can donate money. As the *pathos* appeal is only attached to the immediate feelings it is important to show a telephone or Giro number to make the audience take action before they lose this feeling³⁰.

²⁹ Lis Garbers & Sten Høgel, 1996, pp. 67-68
Birthe Berger & Jesper Troels Jensen, 2004, pp. 11-14 + 19

³⁰ Birthe Berger & Jesper Troels Jensen, 2004, pp. 17-19
Lauren Cohen Bell & Assoc., 2008, pp. 33-34

7. Analysis

7.1 Communicative situation

In this first part of the analysis, the communicative situation will be explained.

The communicative situation under which President Obama gave his inaugural address was due to the outcome of the November 4th 2008 USA presidential election. Obama won after an intense election campaign against the Republican candidate John McCain. The Inaugural Ceremony was performed on the West Front of the United States Capitol on January 20th of 2009 and it was during this ceremony that President Obama gave his inaugural address to the people. The USA is currently struggling with a bad economy, unemployment, two ongoing wars, and sapping confidence; Obama has big tasks ahead of him.

Although in reality it is a political speech, it tends to be more emotionally driven. The focus of the speech is not to account for political party differences, but to unify and utilize examples from the past and present, setting a direction for the future. The main purpose of the address is not to advise or dissuade the people from doing certain actions and decisions, but to assure them that they have chosen the right president. Therefore not only does the inaugural address belong to the genre of the deliberative speech but also to the genre of the epideictic speech.

7.2 The genre characteristics utilized in Obama's inaugural address

In this part of the thesis, the eight general characteristics of the inaugural address will be utilized in Obama's address.

The first characteristic is the unification and redefinition of the people. Obama unifies by starting with: "*My fellow citizens*" (1) and "*We the People*" (2)³¹. By saying this right from the beginning, Obama humbly tries to convince the people that he is one of them instead of placing himself on a pedestal. Obama also uses the following unifiers "we" 57 times, "our" 47 times, and "us" 19 times throughout his address which clearly is a psychological attempt at subconsciously unifying the people. Furthermore, Obama subtly consolidates race, religion

³¹ A transcript of Obama's 2009 Inaugural Address can be found in Appendix 1. The number indicates the part from which the quote is taken.

and gender issues by saying: “...*men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration*” (31). Obama also makes an attempt to bring the USA and the world together by stating: “...*to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today...know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity*” (20). In recent years the USA has been internationally unpopular, among others due the war in Iraq which was started without international support. Therefore, Obama tries to convey a feeling of the USA as a peaceful and friendly country that seeks to cooperate with the rest of the world instead of being wilful and arbitrary.

Obama admonishes the American people by saying:” *What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility...that we have duties to ourselves, our nation, and the world*” (28). In this Obama is drawing the American people into responsibility for their part. Furthermore, he addresses a responsibility to the world, which is another indication of that Obama tries to patch up the poor international relations.

It is interesting to look at the way Obama redefines the American people. He describes them as a people who are “*shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth;*” (23), who have “*chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord*” (7). This people must now “...*set aside childish things*” (9) and “...*pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America*” (15). Obama wishes to start at new era of responsibility, and therefore he redefines for the American people what they are or what they must become. Indirectly he says that the USA is what they have made it and will become what they make of it. Obama needed to unify and redefine the people in order for them to feel that if they come together the problems can and will be solved.

The praising of traditional values is the second characteristic of the inaugural address. Obama incorporates the traditional American values when he states: “...*all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness*” (9). Later he also says: “*Our Founding Fathers...drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man...Those ideals still light the world...*” (20). He sums up by saying: “...*-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*” (28). These are the core values of the American society and represent “the American dream”. The American people have always been willing to share their common values with outsiders who came to the USA as long as they shared this belief. However, in part 20 and 28 Obama also invites the rest of the world to join these core values while remaining in their own

countries and cultures. He used his inaugural address to redefine the American values and their relationship to the world.

The third characteristic is the outlining of the political direction without specific solutions. An example of how Obama accomplishes this third characteristic is when he says: "...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 will 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. We will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age...All this we will do" (16). Furthermore, he states: "We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan" (22). Due to the current situation of the USA concerning the economy, two ongoing wars, and unemployment, Obama was more specific about his political agenda than most of his predecessors. In retrospect, Obama was more like Franklin D. Roosevelt when he gave his first inaugural address in 1933 explicitly explaining his goals and how they were going to be attained. Obama also settled with the foreign policy so far. He said: "They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, not 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" (21). This is a direct disassociation from the somewhat aggressive foreign policy lead by the Bush administration and an intimation that American leadership in the future will be more based on compliance with international law and commitment to the American values.

The fourth characteristic is the president acknowledging that he cannot carry out his agenda without the support of the Congress and the American people. As Obama says: "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" (27). He also says: "...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 forbearers, and true to our founding documents..." (2). Obama does not explicitly mention the Constitution, but refers to the founding documents which include the Constitution. He shows very clearly that his visions cannot be accomplished without the help and support from the people, which is also why he makes a big attempt unifying them throughout his address.

The fifth characteristic is biblical references to call upon help and support from the Almighty. At the beginning of his speech Obama reminds the people of: "...*the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness*" (9). Again at the end, he calls upon God by saying: "...*and with God's grace upon us*" (34) "*God bless you. And God bless the United States of America*" (35). In general, compared to other presidents who during their inaugural addresses drew heavily upon God's support, Obama does not humbly invoke God's blessing upon himself which is atypical for an inaugural address. The reason for this might be that Obama needed to show himself as a strong leader and convince the people that he could rise to the task. In leaning on God he might have appeared weaker and that he was in doubt himself that he could accomplish the big tasks ahead of him.

The utilizing of historical analogy is the sixth characteristic. Obama uses this type of characteristic extensively in his address such as: "...*men and women...who have carried us up the long, rugged path towards prosperity and freedom* (10). *For us they... travelled across oceans in search of a new life* (11). *For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West* (12)...*For us, they fought and died* (13)...*They saw American as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions* (14)... *This is the journey we continue today*" (15). Obama utilizes a lot of historical analogy in his address, probably because he needs to reassure the American people that even though times are hard, based on historical facts, they will persevere. Obama's message to the people is that it has been done before and through hard work, sacrifices and the right attitude it can be done again—creating a new era of responsibility.

The seventh characteristic praises the constitutional system. Obama does this by stating: "...*America has carried on...because We the People have remained faithful to the ideas of our forbearers, and true to our founding documents* (2). *So it has been. So it must be*" (3). Later he says: "*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 ... Those ideals still light the world and we will not give them up for expedience's sake*" (20). Obama makes several references to the Constitutional system to bring out in the American people their timeless feelings of national pride and establishing their national identity.

High style language, linguistic features, and quotable quotes belong to the eighth characteristic. The linguistic features and the type of language will be discussed in the section about the linguistic presentation (*elocutio*). Quotable quotes are normally not remembered

immediately after the address but emerge over time. However, it is possible to make an assumption as to what statements may become quotable quotes based on how they have evolved from past inaugural addresses. The following quotes from Obama's address could possibly become quotable:" ...*We must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again...*" (15) and "...*we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord*" (7).

7.2.1 Assessment and conclusion

All things considered, Obama's address does contain all eight characteristics. Essentially his address is typical, however; there are certain points where Obama deviates from the typical inaugural address.

A typical address is not specific to the new administration's agenda, but Obama is very specific concerning his political vision and agenda. This is probably due to the current situation in the USA. Obama needed to alleviate the concerns of the American people and convince them that things are going to level out. Therefore he needed to give very specific examples to show the people how he would get them out of this crisis. If Obama had not been specific he would not have convinced the people that he could, because they needed a prescription for how to move on. Furthermore, in the same way as F. Roosevelt did in his 1933 inaugural address, Obama gave the people a feeling of confidence that they could do this. He assured them that the country had all it needed to renew prosperity when he said:" *Our workers are no less productive than when the 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*" (15). Likewise, Obama promised not to close his eyes to the issues, but to take action: "*The state of our economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act*" (16), which is similar to what Roosevelt said in his 1933 inaugural address stating that "*This nation asks for action, and action now*" (9). In an honest yet hopeful, challenging and uplifting tone, Obama acknowledged that there are many problems to solve, but he faced them head on and gave hope for the future.

In most inaugural addresses the president does not criticize the former president, but Obama certainly did. He has several unflattering statements about the former administration and its actions. An example:" *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” (8). Furthermore he stated: “...that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply” (18) and later he says: “...we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals” (20). The last statement is a direct critique of the terror-fighting tactics, such as domestic spying and prisoners at Guantanamo that Bush procured during his reign. The reason for Obama’s critique is to show what he is not, and in that way, he puts himself in contrast to Bush to indicate to the people that things are going to change from now on. In that way he also alleviates some of the concerns for a number of the American people because he assures them that things will change for the better and not be like the last eight years of decline.

7.3 Dispositio – composition of the inaugural address

In the following part of this thesis the second discipline of classical rhetoric, the composition of the address, will be analyzed.

7.3.1 Exordium

The first element in the composition is *exordium* in which the classical purpose is to gain the attention of the audience and create sympathy for the speaker and the cause in question. Obama starts his address by saying that he is humbled by the task he is about to take on and he thanks the people for trusting and voting for him: “*I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors*” (1). Obama uses this statement to raise the American people’s sympathy. It is used to show the American people that Obama does not take the office for granted and that he is humbled to be facing the task they have bestowed on him. Next Obama says: “*I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation shown throughout this transition*” (1). In doing so Obama represents himself as magnanimous enough to acknowledge the job of former President Bush even though they do not share the same political beliefs. Obama shows that he respects Bush even though he does not agree with him and this kind of acknowledgement would also gain sympathy from the Republicans who did not vote for Obama.

The second and third part of the address accounts for the second section of *exordium*. In these parts Obama again seeks the support of the people by using national historical analogy such as: “*Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath*” and “*...faithful to the*

ideals of our forbearers, and true to our founding documents". He praises the American people and their values to indicate that they can overcome anything if they stay faithful to their ideals. By complimenting the Americans and their values, Obama attains further sympathy and good will.

Thereupon in part four, Obama makes a gradual transition to the political topics. He acknowledges that the challenges the people face are real and that the country is in crisis. Continuing on in part five and six, he says that the challenges will not be easily met and they will take time, but that they can and will be resolved. In doing so Obama appears as a man with vision, who will carry them through even though it will be tough and not happen overnight.

Obama does not make use of the next two elements *narratio* and *partitio*. Therefore it can so far be concluded that the address does not entirely follow the classical composition. However, the *exordium* thoroughly meets the classical purpose of gaining attention and creating sympathy.

7.3.2 Confirmatio

Part seven to 28 constitutes the main part of the address, *confirmatio*. Obama has basically broken his *confirmatio* into five different subjects. The first subject (7-14) deals with the reaffirmation of the greatness of the nation to the people. In this section he gives examples of historical struggles that people faced to develop the greatness of the USA. In the next subject (15-16) Obama states his political agenda. He describes it utilizing words of action and he is very firm that it can be accomplished. In the third subject (17-19), Obama addresses the concerns about the size of government control and that it needs to be held accountable for its actions. At the same time he speaks to the people who are unwilling to change stating that change is a necessity for future prosperity. Next (20-24) Obama addresses the issues of peace, solidarity, war and terrorism in the USA and around the world. The fourth subject (25) deals with providing support for third world countries and mentions protection of the environment. Lastly (26-27), Obama honors the service men and women living and dead, who gave or are giving their services to the country, and their dedication to the American spirit.

In reviewing the five different subjects, there is a purpose to the layout. First, Obama reaffirms to the people that the struggles of the present are merely reflections of the past and

can be overcome. This allows him, in the next subject, to tell the people what they together will do to restore growth in the USA. In the next step Obama is able to address the naysayers who do not believe that his agenda can be accomplished. He then goes on to talk about war and terrorism, peace and solidarity. It may seem that these should have been addressed sooner. However, taken into consideration the severe economic situation and the lack of confidence in the American system, it was necessary to address the major concerns of the American people about the economy first. The wars, which previously had been a major issue to most Americans, had become a secondary issue in their minds. The fourth and fifth subject, concerning support for third world countries, protection of the environment, and honoring of the men and women in service, needed to be mentioned but were not elaborated on. This could be an indication that these issues were not considered the most important at that time.

As stated above, Obama addresses the main concerns of the American people first. According to classical rhetoric, *confirmatio* consists of first a presentation of the speaker's point of view and next the argumentation. This is not the case in Obama's address. He predominantly gives a presentation of his points of view, but leaves out the argumentation.

7.3.3 Conclusio

The last parts of the address, 28-35, constitute the conclusion (*conclusio*) of the address. Its function is to summarize the most important points and again appeal to the feelings of the audience. Obama summarizes his main points throughout the last paragraphs, but he does not try to gain sympathy from the people. This is typical of the inaugural address, where the president instead tries to bring the people together by convincing them that together things can be accomplished and will improve.

7.3.4 Assessment and conclusion

About the composition of the address it can be concluded that Obama's address does not follow the classical composition carefully. He uses the main elements, but *narratio* and *partitio* are left out. In *confirmatio* Obama does not generally argue, but only states his points of view. The reason for this is probably that Obama's address is not a conventional legislative speech where the audience must take a stand on something, but rather a combination of the epideictic and legislative speech. Neither does Obama appeal to the audience in *conclusio*.

Despite the omissions it can be concluded that the address meets the purpose of gaining the attention and sympathy from the audience in *exordium*. The *confirmatio* is not typical because it does not argue for the points of view but only states them. *Partitio* is left out, which affects the structure of the address. Obama does not use adverbials such as then or finally, which makes it hard for the reader to survey and follow the structure.

7.4 Elocutio – linguistic presentation

In this section the rhetorical strategies of the address will be analyzed and how they manifest themselves. This means that the emphasis is put on *elocutio*'s fourth virtue, *ornatus*.

Obama's inaugural address is characterized by a high style language and a high level of formality. It is far from colloquial language. There are no contractions throughout the address and many of the words used are formal. Words such as *bestowed* (1), *amidst* (2), *forbearers* (2), *midst* (4) *toiled* (12) could have been expressed more informally by using, for example, *handed over*, *under*, *forefathers*, *in the middle of*, and *worked hard*. The reason for the high style language is most likely the fact that the inaugural address is a very formal event and is of significant importance. However, in the course of the address Obama does tone the formality level down and avoids the very formal words. This does not mean that the address becomes informal, but the language approaches a normal political speech. The reason for doing so is probably to appeal to everybody. Some people might not understand the very formal words, and as Obama is trying to unite the nation it is important to appeal to high as well as low.

There are several modal verbs throughout the address. They are *can*, *must*, and *will* and they are used frequently; *can* 6 times, *must* 7 times, and *will* 16 times. These verbs express obligation and they almost have the character of an order. Furthermore, this means that it does not appear that these things are up for discussion. With that, Obama puts himself in the light of a determined and principled man, who will fight for his key issues. The use of *will* shows that Obama is not talking hypothetically about the things he wants to change, but that he will change them now and for the future

The use of personal and possessive pronouns is very distinct and thorough. He uses the personal pronoun *we* 57 times, *us* 19 times, and *I* 3 times and the possessive pronoun *our* 47 times. This application of pronouns creates a personal style and relationship between Obama

and the people, and they get the feeling that they are addressed directly and personally. Furthermore, this use of pronouns lowers the level of formality because it appears to be more of a discourse than a one-way communicated speech. At the same time the use of these pronouns indicates to the audience that they have something in common, and that they are together about this mission of getting the USA on an even keel.

In the address there are different rhetorical strategies used. The anaphora, antithesis, alliterations, reiteration, and metaphors are the most conspicuous.

There are several anaphora throughout the address, for example: "*For us, they...*(11) *For us, they...*(12) *For us, they...*" (13). And "*all are equal, all are free, and all deserve...*" (9). Also the combination "*we will*" is repeated throughout the address. The anaphora clarifies and extends the understanding of what Obama is trying to emphasize; that the American people are together about solving the issues and that it has been done before. Furthermore, he repeats core American values which are essential in the American's self-perception. In part 28 there is also an example of an epiphora: "*Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new*".

Alliterations are also found in the address and these give a more melodious rhythm throughout the address. For example: "*In reaffirming the **greatness** of our nation, we understand that **greatness** is never a **given***" (10). And "*we remain the most **prosperous, powerful** nation on Earth*" (15), and lastly, "*But our time of standing **pat**, of **protecting** narrow interests and **putting** off **unpleasant** decisions – that time has surely **passed***" (15). Furthermore, one could argue that these words are key terms in what Obama is trying to convince the American people about; that the USA is a great country, and they are still a powerful nation, but it is now time to wake up and start the change for the better.

Reiterations are very conspicuous in the address. They weave a thread because they are reiterated continuously. Especially the reiteration of "*we*", "*our*", and "*we will*" are common throughout the address. This leads to the audience feeling personally addressed and that Obama is a member of the general masses.

There are also several examples of metaphors in the address: "*Rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace*" (2) and "*...a sapping of confidence across our land-a nagging fear that...*" (5), and "*...sow conflict (24)...make your farms flourish...feed hungry minds (25)*". The use of these metaphors colors the language, and is an effective way to make it come alive. These pictures in the mind can do more than a thousand words.

Adjectives are used throughout the address to color the meaning of the nouns. Adjectives such as “*enduring, better, precious, noble, God-given (9)*” are value-laden and utilized to describe the nouns and affect the audience’s perception.

7.4.1 Assessment and conclusion

Generally it can be said that this address is a tremendous linguistic achievement. It is very well written in a high level language. However, it is not written in such a formal language that only well educated people can understand it. Despite the very formal words in the beginning, the address caters to people from all social layers. This is a necessity to unite the American people.

The address appears to be two speeches stitched together, one prosaic and one poetical. The prosaic aspect finds expression when Obama talks about the economy, politics and the new era of responsibility; the poetical when he addresses the wider world and uses the historical analogies. This is no coincidence. Obama needed to be very serious and firm when he addressed the American people’s concerns, whereas he could allow himself to use a more poetical language when speaking about his vision of bringing in the outside world and also when referring to historical analogies. If Obama had been poetical regarding the issues threatening the country, the people might have seen him as unwilling to give clear suggestions as to how to solve the problems and in that way they would not feel that he addressed their concerns and could have no confidence in him.

The use of pronouns, modal verbs, anaphora, alliterations, and reiterations all support and underline Obama’s vision and message to the people – together we will get the USA on an even keel.

7.5 Ethos, logos, and pathos

In this part of the thesis, the three appeal forms *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* will be utilized in Obama’s address.

7.5.1 Ethos

During his inaugural address, it was important for Obama to convince the American people that he was the right person to lead them through the current crisis. In doing so he worked on his *ethos*. As explained previously, *ethos* consists of *areté*, *eunoria*, and *pronesis*.

Obama's *areté* finds expression several times throughout the address. The first time is at the beginning of the address where Obama says: "I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors" (1). In this sentence Obama assures the people that he is conscious of the big responsibility on his shoulders. From that it can be interpreted that Obama will try to live up to this responsibility given by the people, and that his intentions are honourable. Also in part 18 Obama assures the people that he can be trusted and that his intentions are good. He states that he will not deceive them, but "do our business in the light of day – because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government". With that he indirectly states that he will not be like Bush and his administration. In doing so Obama emphasizes his own good qualities by indirectly levelling criticism at Bush. Bush then functions as a bad example and from that the people must deduce that Obama is the opposite.

The second element of *ethos*, *eunoria*, is expressed through Obama's commitment to the people. Obama knows that the people expect him to take action and do his best to solve the problems, and therefore Obama states right from the beginning that the current challenges are serious and will not be met easily, but they will be met. Also the reiteration of "we will" throughout the address is an example of Obama's *eunoria*. With this reiteration Obama shows that he is serious about solving the current issues and that he is committed to the tasks ahead of him. Also the modal verbs support Obama's *eunoria*. They are used to underline how much Obama means what he says; he does not use hypothetical and weak verbs, but the stronger modal verbs such as *will* and *must* which almost always gives the statements a character of an order. It also underlines that he will not compromise, he is committed and serious, and will do what he can to solve the issues.

The third element, *pronesis*, is expressed through the criticism of Bush and his administration. He is doing it fairly implicitly and does not mention any names; however, the audience is not in doubt as to who he is referring to – Bush and his administration. An example: "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" (8). Another example is seen in part 18: "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...". These are examples of an indirect critique of Bush and his politics, but at the same time a reminder that Obama will revolt against this and change it. The reason for choosing an implicit form to express this is that Obama would damage his own *ethos* if he openly criticized Bush and praised himself.

The last element of the *ethos* appeal is to evoke the audience's sympathy for the speaker. This Obama already did at the beginning of the address when he thanked Bush for his service to the nation and his cooperation through the transition. By doing this he showed that he was a magnanimous politician who could approve another president even though he did not agree with him. That Obama approved Bush, who was from the opposite party, meant that the credibility of him grew, because the people only expected him to praise himself or his own party and not include people or elements that were not to his or the party's advantage.

Furthermore, there was *ethos* when Obama said:" ...*from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born:...*" (20) and "...*why a man whose father less than sixty years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant...*" (31). Stating his *bona fides* shows Obama's sincerity and that the people can trust him.

7.5.2 Logos

Logos is not characterized. There are no appeals to the intellect and the address does not contain arguments, but only claims without grounds or warrants, which makes the arguments defective. The reason for not using *logos* is probably that this address is a combination of the legislative and epideictic speech. The audience must not take a stand on the basis of the information given in the address, which would have been the case in a political speech, where *logos* is normally more conspicuous.

7.5.3 Pathos

Obama's address also contains few examples of the *pathos* appeal. First and foremost the *pathos* appeal finds expression through the reiteration of the pronouns *we* and *our*. The use of these pronouns indicates that the people and Obama have something in common and they are together about solving the problems and reaching their goal. Obama also uses historical analogy about the people who build up the USA to raise emotions in the audience. He tells the audience how hard they fought and worked for building up the USA for them and indirectly

tells them that they cannot let them down. These people build up all this for the future generations and now the present generation has to carry on, even though times are hard. Otherwise the hard work of the former generations would have been a waste. In other words, Obama uses *pathos* to make the people feel responsible and that they need to fight for the country like their ancestors did. Obama also used *pathos* when he said:” *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*” (25). This also appeals to the emotions of the audience and one almost gets a picture in their mind of a skinny African child crying for food and water.

7.5.4 Assessment and conclusion

After this analysis of the appeal forms utilized in the address, it is clear that Obama has primarily concentrated on the *ethos* appeal, whereas *pathos* is only used slightly and *logos* not at all. This address is a combination of the epideictic and deliberative speech, in which the primary goal is to alleviate the concerns of the people, convincing them that they have voted for the right person to lead the nation through this situation. That *ethos* is the most used appeal form also has to do with the communicative situation, under which the address is held. Obama has just been inaugurated as the new president of the world's most powerful country at one of the worst times in American history since the Great Depression. By letting *ethos* be the most dominant appeal form Obama was able to show the people who he is, what he stands for, and how to get the USA back on track. He had to show the people that he could handle the tasks ahead of him and doing it without deceiving them, while at the same time trying to convince them and the wider world that he was the right man for the task and he would do his best to solve the issues. A lot of people had probably expected Obama to dwell on the historical significance of his election as the first African-American president in USA history. Instead Obama illuminated the economic, social, political, and environmental issues that the USA is currently dealing with and placed himself as a member of the populace. Through his address, Obama employed a firm but confident and hopeful tone which assured the people of his loyalty and determination to improve the USA.

The *pathos* appeal, though used limitedly due to the formal and momentous situation of the inauguration, would have been too much. This address has a certain political character and a bigger emphasis on *pathos* might tone down Obama's political role.

8. CONCLUSION

In closing, the continuous conclusions of the thesis will be summed up briefly.

The first part of the thesis accounted for the communicative situation, under which the address was held, and concluded that the inaugural address is a combination of the legislative speech and the epideictic speech. It does not account for a specific political question, but rather praises and condemns, and therefore it can be said to belong to both types of speeches.

Regarding the general characteristics of an inaugural address, it can be concluded that Obama's address contains all eight characteristics, but is atypical. The reason that it can be characterized as such is that Obama was very specific regarding his political agenda and in criticizing Bush and his administration. In doing so Obama tried to alleviate the concerns of the American people.

After analyzing the composition of the speech it can be concluded that Obama's address does not follow the classical composition. *Narratio* and *partitio* are left out and *conclusio* does not appeal to the positive feelings of the audience. Obama addresses the main concerns of the American people first in order for them to feel that their concerns are taken seriously and will be solved.

Concerning the usage and rhetorical strategies it can be concluded that the reiterations, anaphora, modal verbs, and pronouns all help underlining Obama's vision and message to the American people; that the American people must come together in order to solve the problems and that it can and will be done.

On basis of the analysis of the appeal forms *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* it can be concluded that Obama primarily uses *ethos*, whereas *pathos* is only used limitedly and *logos* not at all. The reason for the dominant use of *ethos* is that Obama needed to assure the American people that he was the right person to lead the country through the current crisis.

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APPENDIX 1

Barack Obama

Inaugural Address

Tuesday, January 20, 2009

My fellow citizens:

1

I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, 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 forbearers, and true to our founding documents.

2

So it has been. So it must be with this generation of Americans.

3

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.

4

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.

5

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.

6

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord.

7

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.

8

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.

9

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 shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been

10

the path for the faint-hearted—for those who 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. 11

For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West; endured the lash of the whip and plowed the hard earth. 12

For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg; Normandy and Khe Sahn. 13

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. 14

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. 15

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 will 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. 16

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. 17

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. 18

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. 19

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. 20

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's 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 will 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 road 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. 29

This is the source of our confidence—the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. 30

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 sixty years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. 31

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 a moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words be read to the people: 32

“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.” 33

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. 34

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. 35

APPENDIX 2

Franklin D. Roosevelt

First Inaugural Address

Saturday, March 4, 1933



The former Governor of New York rode to the Capitol with President Hoover. Pressures of the economy faced the President-elect as he took his oath of office from Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes on the East Portico of the Capitol. He addressed the nation by radio and announced his plans for a New Deal. Throughout that day the President met with his Cabinet designees at the White House.

I AM certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that **the only thing we have to fear is fear itself**—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days. ¹

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunken to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. ²

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of ³

the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. **These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.**

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. **This Nation asks for action, and action now.**

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character.

There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency. ¹²

There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States. ¹³

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment. ¹⁴

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in all parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure. ¹⁵

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors. ¹⁶

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife. ¹⁷

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems. ¹⁸

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. **Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced.** It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations. ¹⁹

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure. ²⁰

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in ²¹

the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. 22

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less. 23

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life. 24

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it. 25

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come. 26

APPENDIX 3

John F. Kennedy

Inaugural Address

Friday, January 20, 1961



Heavy snow fell the night before the inauguration, but thoughts about cancelling the plans were overruled. The election of 1960 had been close, and the Democratic Senator from Massachusetts was eager to gather support for his agenda. He attended Holy Trinity Catholic Church in Georgetown that morning before joining President Eisenhower to travel to the Capitol. The Congress had extended the East Front, and the inaugural platform spanned the new addition. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Earl Warren. Robert Frost read one of his poems at the ceremony.

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, reverend clergy, fellow citizens, we observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago. ¹

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God. ²

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that **the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans**—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world. ³

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty. 4

This much we pledge—and more. 5

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder. 6

To those new States whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside. 7

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich. 8

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house. 9

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run. 10

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction. 11

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed. 12

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war. 13

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. **Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.** 14

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us. 15

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations. 16

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce. 17

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to "undo the heavy burdens ... and to let the oppressed go free." 18

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved. 19

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin. 20

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe. 21

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself. 22

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort? 23

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world. 24

And so, my fellow Americans: **ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.** 25

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man. 26

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or **citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you.** With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, **let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.** 27

APPENDIX 4

Bill Clinton

First Inaugural Address

Wednesday, January 21, 1993



My fellow citizens:

Today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal.

This ceremony is held in the depth of winter. But, by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring.

A spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy, that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America.

When our founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change.

Not change for change's sake, but change to preserve America's ideals—life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we march to the music of our time, our mission is timeless.

Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.

On behalf of our nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America.

And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over Depression, fascism and Communism.

Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the Cold War assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues.

Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest, but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our people.

When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world. 11

Communications and commerce are global; investment is mobile; technology is almost magical; and ambition for a better life is now universal. We earn our livelihood in peaceful competition with people all across the earth. 12

Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world, and the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. 13

This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt many of our enterprises, great and small; when fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead—we have not made change our friend. 14

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. 15

Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. And Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. **We must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us.** 16

From our revolution, the Civil War, to the Great Depression to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history. 17

Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow citizens, this is our time. Let us embrace it. 18

Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. 19

And so today, we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift—a new season of American renewal has begun. 20

To renew America, we must be bold. 21

We must do what no generation has had to do before. **We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt.** And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. 22

It will not be easy; it will require sacrifice. But it can be done, and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake, but for our own sake. We must provide for our nation the way a family provides for its children. 23

Our Founders saw themselves in the light of posterity. We can do no less. Anyone who has ever watched a child's eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to come—the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility. 24

We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand responsibility from all. 25

It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing, from our government or from each other. Let us all take more responsibility, not only for ourselves and our families but 26

for our communities and our country.

To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy.

27

This beautiful capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way.

28

Americans deserve better, and in this city today, there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of us here, let us resolve to reform our politics, so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America.

29

Let us resolve to make our government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called "bold, persistent experimentation," a government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays.

30

Let us give this capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

31

To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well at home. There is no longer division between what is foreign and what is domestic—the world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race—they affect us all.

32

Today, as an old order passes, the new world is more free but less stable. Communism's collapse has called forth old animosities and new dangers. Clearly America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.

33

While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges, nor fail to seize the opportunities, of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us.

34

When our vital interests are challenged, or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act—with peaceful diplomacy when ever possible, with force when necessary. The brave Americans serving our nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve.

35

But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world, we see them embraced—and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands, are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause.

36

The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the presidency and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans have forced the spring. Now, we must do the work the season demands.

37

To that work I now turn, with all the authority of my office. **I ask the Congress to join with me.** But no president, no Congress, no government, can undertake this mission alone. My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service—to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done—enough indeed for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too.

38

In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth—we need each other. And we must care for one another. Today, we do more than celebrate America; we rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America.

39

An idea born in revolution and renewed through 2 centuries of challenge. An idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we—the fortunate and the unfortunate—might have been each other. An idea ennobled by the faith that our nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity. An idea infused with the conviction that America's long heroic journey must go forever upward. 40

And so, my fellow Americans, at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin with energy and hope, with faith and discipline, and let us work until our work is done. The scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season, we shall reap, if we faint not." 41

From this joyful mountaintop of celebration, we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our way, and with God's help, we must answer the call. 42

Thank you and God bless you all. 43

APPENDIX 5

Ronald Reagan

First Inaugural Address

Tuesday, January 20, 1981



For the first time, an inauguration ceremony was held on the terrace of the West Front of the Capitol. Chief Justice Warren Burger administered the oath of office to the former broadcaster, screen actor, and Governor of California. In the election of 1980, the Republicans won the White House and a majority in the Senate. On inauguration day, American hostages held by the revolutionary government of Iran were released.

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. ¹

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. ²

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. ³

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, causing human misery and personal ⁴

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 are 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 have 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.

From time to time, we have 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. But 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. 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 our factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we are sick—professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truckdrivers. 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 opportunity 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 is 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 are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are 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 are in a time when there are no heroes 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 are 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 are 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.

I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your" because I am 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 are sick, and provide opportunities 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 have 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. Is it 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 am told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I am 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 Inauguration Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

This is the first time in history that this ceremony has been held, as you have 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 on 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 kinds 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 barber shop 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 are told that on his body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge,"³⁷ 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 Treptow³⁸ 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.³⁹