

Of words and persuasion:  
A study of the rhetorical devices in inaugural  
addresses of US presidents

Bachelor's thesis  
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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>Retoriikka liittyy läheisesti Yhdysvaltain presidenttien toimenkuvaan, sillä heidän tehtäviinsä kuuluu muun muassa kansallisesti ja poliittisesti tärkeiden puheiden pitäminen. Puheiden pitämisen retoriikassa puolestaan tärkeitä rakennuspalikoita ovat retoriset keinot, joiden avulla voidaan tehdä puheista entistä vakuuttavampia. Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena olikin tutkia, mitä retorisia keinoja viisi viimeisintä Yhdysvaltain presidenttiä käytti virkaanastujaispuheissaan. Näiden havaintojen pohjalta pyrittiin myös etsimään yhtäläisyyksiä ja eroavaisuuksia presidenttien hyödyntämissä keinoissa. Tutkimusmateriaali koostui George Bushin, William J. Clintonin, George W. Bushin, Barack Obaman ja Donald Trumpin ensimmäisistä virkaanastujaispuheista ja niitä tutkittiin hyödyntäen kvalitatiivisen sisältöanalyysiin, kvantitatiivisen sisältöanalyysin ja retorisen analyysin yhdistelmää.</p> <p>Tutkimustulokset osoittivat, että puheet sisälsivät tiettyjä samoja retorisia keinoja. Toisaalta tulosten vertailu aiempiin tutkimuksiin osoitti myös, että samat henkilöt voivat käyttää hyvinkin erilaisia retorisia keinoja eri suhteissa riippuen puheen kontekstista ja aiheesta. Lisäksi tulokset antoivat viitteitä siitä, että eri ihmisten pitämät puheet samassa kontekstissa ja samasta aiheesta sisältävät lähes samassa suhteessa retorisia keinoja, kun niitä verrataan puheiden sanamääriin. Tämän huomion osoittaminen todeksi vaatii kuitenkin enemmän laajempaa tutkimusta alueelta.</p>	
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# 1 INTRODUCTION

Throughout time, rhetoric has been used to affect people and good rhetors have had the ability to persuade the masses. For instance, in the classical times during the rise of democracy in Greece, the role of public communication in resolving problems was increased. During those times, rhetoric was defined as the study that examined the possible methods of persuasion, and it was taught by philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. (Trenholm, 2013). In addition, Perrot (2005) explains that, for example, in Athens public prosecutors did not exist, which meant that people and citizens themselves had to describe the charges in court giving rise to the importance of rhetoric in the public sector and to the necessity of competent skills in persuasion. Therefore, it should not be a surprise that Charteris-Black (2014: 3) claims that the classical view of rhetoric focused on training people to influence others through persuasion in public settings as rhetoric was defined as a tool for affecting communities and society.

Furthermore, an important subject in rhetoric is the artistic proofs that are large rhetorical strategies, or categories, as opposed to the much more specific rhetorical devices, which will be specified later in this thesis. According to Charteris-Black (2018: 8) the three proofs were presented by Aristotle as *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. *Ethos* refers to creating an appeal with the audience through the means of the character of the orator. Thus, by, for example, demonstrating virtue and intelligence, a speaker can affect their own credibility. In turn, *pathos* refers to the use of emotions in establishing public appeal. This can be done by, for example, utilizing humour or by evoking sympathy in the audience. Finally, *logos* refers to creating appeal by using reason, for instance, by presenting logical arguments. Furthermore, the words *ethical*, *empathetic* and *logical* were created from the basis of these proofs, which should not be a surprise considering their definitions. (Charteris-Black, 2018: 8-16).

Charteris-Black (2018: 19-27) also explains that the artistic proofs tend to be placed in specific parts of a speech. These parts are prologue, narrative, proof, refutation and epilogue. The way in which the speech is arranged may of course, vary depending on

the type of speech. However, analysing a speech in terms of the artistic proofs usually leads to conclusions such as in the prologue the devices that utilize ethos are commonly used, whereas the epilogue contains techniques that include pathos. Different proofs can be used in other parts of a speech as well, but like the examples above show, some proofs are more likely to be placed in specific parts of a speech and comparing them to each other.

The main focus in this thesis is rhetorical devices and what are their effects. The aim is to provide an understanding on the rhetoric employed by the most recent US president in their inaugural addresses. This is done by analysing the rhetorical devices in each speech, after which the effects of the most prominent devices in all the speeches will be analysed more precisely. This should give a clear understanding on how and why certain devices were used to persuade the audience, or the people.

In the next chapter a clear definition for a rhetorical device will be given and previous research in the field of the thesis will be evaluated. In chapter 3 the aim, data and methods of this thesis are explained in detail. Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis of the findings. Lastly in chapter 5 the results based on the findings are revealed with a focus on their significance to the field of study. Moreover, the potential focus points for further research will also be considered.

## 2 RHETORICAL DEVICES IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

In this chapter, the scientific backdrop for this thesis will be explained in detail. First, the concept of a *rhetorical device*, which is the main focus of the study, is defined. Then, studies that focus on the use rhetorical devices in political speeches will be investigated to provide information on the previous research conducted before in the field of this thesis. In this chapter the books by Charteris-Black (2014), Kelen (2007), Lanham (1991) and Trenholm (2013) function as the main body for constructing the theoretical framework. Throughout the thesis the definitions given by Harris (2013) will be used as a main reference point to the various rhetorical devices that are covered.

## 2.1 Rhetorical device

*Rhetorical devices* or *terms* and our understanding of them are based on the views of the classical times. Their purpose, however, is to affect the audience of a piece of text, for example, through the act of persuasion. Rhetorical devices can also be referred to as *figures of speech*, and the ways in which they are classified vary depending on the chosen division. One example of this is the analysis of them as *tropes* and *schemes*. According to this view, tropes are devices that have something to do with the meanings of words rather than with the rearrangement of words in unusual ways as is the case with schemes. (Kelen, 2007: 8-9). Lanham (1991: 178) continues that tropes are devices in which the intended meaning of a word in discourse differs from its original connotation, and that in schemes the literal connotations of words are still intact, but the words themselves are patterned in some other meaningful way. For example, a metaphor is a trope while alliteration is a scheme. In short, Kelen (2007: 14) describes metaphors as devices that are ethically speaking near lies, as they are used to claim that a thing is something else, which, in truth, it actually is not. In turn, Harris (2013: 44) characterizes alliteration as the repetition of consonant sounds in the initial positions of words. For the sake of clarity rhetorical tropes, or figures of speech, will be referred to as rhetorical devices in this thesis.

According to Charteris-Black (2018: 46-49) the role of schemes in a speech is to affect the overall tempo, flow and timing, for example by giving the audience an impression of rhythm and speed. He continues that, on the other hand, tropes are used to draw the attention away from the original meanings of words into alternative denotations. This can be done by, for example, evoking different emotions in the audience, for instance, by utilizing metaphors. In addition, tropes and schemes can be used in conjunction with each other to achieve different rhetorical goals. One of which is the possibility to gain a broader rhetorical effect by not focusing on just one easily identifiable device, but instead to several devices that are used in unison. Charteris-Black (2018: 54)

It is also important to note that, according to Kelen (2007: 9), the usage of rhetoric in language is premeditated, but still the employment of rhetorical devices may sometimes be unintended. The meaning of a text may, for example, change depending on the context where it is interpreted. Likewise, during discourse, the meanings of rhetorical devices may result in various outcomes that might differ from the ones intended by the author.

## 2.2 Previous research

There has been some research on the usage of rhetorical devices in political speeches of different US presidents in the past, but a larger comparison encompassing several presidents has not been conducted before. In this chapter some of the previous studies regarding the device usage will be analysed.

The research conducted by Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) studies president Barack Obama's speeches and it reveals that, in five randomly chosen speeches of his total of 25, he utilized especially three distinct rhetorical devices: parallelism, antithesis and expletive. Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) deduce that these rhetorical devices assist in making a text more persuasive and united by creating relationships between different topics. They also help in presenting factual information and claims more powerfully and in progressing from one part to the other smoothly in a speech. This study offers valuable insight on the rhetoric of Barack Obama, which in turn allows for a comparison of the rhetorical devices in his inaugural address and speeches that were analysed in this study.

In another research study conducted by Kazemian and Zhou (2015) they examined the rhetorical content and form in John F. Kennedy's inaugural address. The results showed that Kennedy utilized five different strategies to accomplish his motives: appeal to everyday beliefs and values, usage of antithesis to attain identification, ample use of the first personal plural, conventional form and figurative form. For the present study these findings offer useful comparisons especially in terms of the rhetorical devices apparent in Kennedy's speech such as metaphor, antithesis and

alliteration. Another reason why this study is important for the aim of this thesis is that it provides information on the rhetorical devices in yet another inaugural address by a different US president from those that are already a part of the data for this thesis. As such, this study offers a valuable point of comparison for the findings of this thesis.

Slavicková (2013) studied the rhetorical profile of presidential speeches held on the Memorial Day in USA. Her sample consisted of 4 speeches from a total of 27 in a corpus. The orators of the speeches were Lyndon B. Johnson, Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush and Barack Obama. According to her research, the speeches were quite uniform in terms of style and they included rhetorical devices such as metaphors connected in debt and burden, metonyms inside metaphors as well as anaphoric repetition. Slavicková (2013) states that in the genre of Memorial Day speeches different elements such as rhetorical devices are chosen mainly for their aesthetic features and strategic purposes. While this study does not examine rhetorical devices in inaugural addresses, it still studies what devices some US presidents utilized in their other speeches. This is valuable information because the findings of this thesis can be compared to discover whether there are any differences or similarities in the types and frequencies of rhetorical devices in their other speeches as well.

In the study conducted by Ghentulescu (2018), the focus was to present how the chosen rhetorical devices represent the orator's cultural background and linguistic setting. His sample consisted of different speeches from Donald Trump and the president of Romania Klaus Iohannis. In terms of Donald Trump, the rhetorical devices that were apparent were metaphors and antithesis. Ghentulescu (2018) also explained that the metaphors utilized by Trump were different in terms of their themes: some were culturally bound, others biblical, some conceptual ones took inspiration from the field of construction and lastly few were automotive. Regarding the conceptual metaphors, the aim was to represent the country as something that had to be rebuilt while the automotive metaphor refers to an idea that a political party is a car and foreign policy is a road. This research was chosen because it studies



the rhetorical devices utilized by Donald Trump in some of his presidential speeches. The findings of this thesis can be compared to the results of this study to examine whether Trump employs similar devices in similar ratios in his inaugural address as well.

In their research Rezaei and Nourali (2016) focus on the rhetorical techniques and oratory skills employed by Barack Obama and the Iranian president Hassan Rouhani. Two speeches were chosen from each of the president for the analysis. They found out that Barack Obama utilized a variety of rhetorical devices in his speeches such as repetition, metaphors, alliteration, parallelism and rhetorical questions. Rezaei and Nourali (2016) claim that metaphor was the most common device utilized by Obama in his speeches, but also alliteration, allusion and repetition were employed quite frequently. This research provides more information on the types of rhetorical devices employed by Barack Obama in his presidential speeches which is valuable data for comparing his usage of said devices in his inaugural address as well.

### 3 PRESENT STUDY

#### 3.1 Aim of the study

Every four years a presidential election is held in the United States of America, and each time a president is elected they will give an inaugural address, or an inauguration speech as their first official speech as the president of the United States of America. The aim of this thesis is to provide an understanding on the trends in rhetoric applied by recent US presidents in their inaugural addresses. The features that will be focused on are the rhetorical devices that were applied in the speeches. Thus, in order to provide a clear understanding on the matter, the thesis aims to answer two research questions that are as follows:

1. What rhetorical devices are applied in the speeches?
2. What similarities and differences do the speeches contain in terms of their rhetorical devices?

With the help of the first research question the intention is to provide definite quantities on the number and types of rhetorical devices in each speech, which is crucial for the aim of the thesis. Then with the second question the gathered data will be examined by searching for similarities and differences in the number and types of devices. Thus, by reporting the findings, it would be possible to make clear conclusions on the use of rhetorical devices in each speech which in turn provides an insight to the rhetoric of each examined US president.

### 3.2 Data and methods

The data in this thesis consists of the inauguration speeches of the five most recent US presidents: Donald Trump, Barack Obama, George W. Bush, William J. Clinton and George H. W. Bush. The reason why they were chosen is because they offer the most relevant and recent data. Furthermore, only the first inauguration speech of each president is analysed, regardless if they have one or two inauguration speeches, to provide comparable data between each president. The analysis will also focus only on the written documents of each speech in order to limit the scale of the thesis. Thus, the scope is limited to the rhetorical devices that are apparent in written form disregarding the ones that require, for example, audio.

The method of analysis in this thesis will follow the principles of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis as it focuses on determining whether there are any significant differences or similarities between the number and types of rhetorical devices applied by the US presidents in their speeches. Content analysis was chosen as the method of analysis because according to Krippendorff (2013: 18) it is a scientific method that provides the researcher repeatable and accurate conclusions from a text. It can also lead to new observations and facilitates awareness on the chosen topic. The fact that it provides replicable results is important for this thesis as the aim has to do with frequency of rhetorical devices which as a study topic that is quantitative. Moreover, according to Krippendorff (2013: 77) content analysis is best used when dealing with facts realized in language. One of these facts is classified as public

behaviours which refers to the notion that content analysis is likely to succeed when the phenomenon that is being analysed is in some form social, political or public. As such content analysis is a reliable research method for this thesis because the data is comprised of political speeches that are inherently public.

However, rhetorical analysis will also be combined with content analysis in a creative way in this thesis to provide more information why certain rhetorical devices were employed in the inaugural addresses. According to Leach (2013) speeches by politicians are traditional targets in rhetorical analysis and they can be examined effectively with it. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was also considered as the method of analysis for this thesis, but a mix of content analysis and rhetorical analysis was eventually deemed more appropriate. The reason being that the aim is to focus on the quantities of rhetorical devices and on the reasons for utilizing them rather than on the social structures and on the ways people create meanings depending on the social processes around them which is a target area for CDA as explained by Wodak (2001).

The analysis was conducted by counting the number of rhetorical terms that were utilized in the speeches and by displaying them in charts. Then, the results of each speech were compared to each other to analyse possible similarities and differences that arose from them. Great focus was given to those rhetorical devices that were apparent across all the inaugural addresses. Due to the nature of the research, the analysis contains many different devices which is why explanations for them will be given now in alphabetical order following the definitions given by Harris (2013). These rhetorical devices were chosen because they were the most frequently employed ones in all the speeches.

*Alliteration* is a rhetorical device that is defined as the repetition of initial consonant sounds usually in consecutive words, though it can appear also in words that are not subsequent. *Allusion* is a rhetorical device that is defined as a brief, casual remark to a famous story, person or an event. *Anadiplosis*, on the other hand, is a form of

repetition where the final word of a sentence, clause or a phrase is repeated at the start of the next one. *Anaphora* is another form of repetition where a word or several words are repeated at the start of several consecutive sentences, phrases or clauses.

*Antithesis* refers to a device in which a parallel arrangement is often utilized to create a contrasting connection between two things for, example, through the means of juxtaposition. *Conduplicatio* is a type of repetition where a key word of one utterance is repeated at the start of the next one. *Enumeratio* refers to the act of listing reasons, parts or results to specify an objective. *Epanalepsis* is a specific type of repetition in which the same word is repeated both at the beginning and at the end of a sentence or a clause.

*Epistrophe* is yet another form of repetition where a word or words are repeated at the final parts of consecutive utterances. *Epithet* describes a noun in terms of its typical features in the form of an adjective or an adjective phrase. *Metaphor* is a form of comparison that connects two things or ideas together by claiming that they are the same. *Polysyndeton* is a device that utilizes conjunctions in places where they would normally not be used, such as between each word in a list. *Rhetorical question* is a question that is not given an answer to by the author as it is a self-evident or clearly desired one. *Sentential adverb* is defined as something that interferes with typical syntax, such as a singular word or a brief phrase.

*Simile* is another type of comparison that utilizes some form of resemblance between two distinct things or ideas with the help of words such as *like* and *as*. *Zeugma* is a device that is used to show connections between ideas through the means of grammatically sound links, such as the use of several verbs with one subject or the other way around. (Harris, 2013: 7-48). In terms of these rhetorical devices, anadiplosis, anaphora, antithesis, epanalepsis, epistrophe and polysyndeton fall into the category of schemes while epithet, metaphor, simile and rhetorical question are tropes.

### 3.3 Ethical considerations

The data for this thesis consists only of publicly available speeches of US presidents. Thus, any personal information regarding them will not be utilized or analysed. Furthermore, according to Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (2012: 30) publications made by other researchers must be cited appropriately and that the results of the research must be disclosed openly. These guidelines will be followed throughout the thesis.

### 3.4 Pilot study

Barack Obama's speech was analysed first in its entirety to ascertain whether the scope of the thesis was reasonable. This experiment provided the author with enough information to decide that the data set of 5 speeches would be reasonable for the thesis in terms of its length and required data amount.

## 4 EXAMINING RHETORICAL DEVICES

In this section each inaugural address will be analysed individually in chronological order by identifying what rhetorical devices were employed in them and what effects they have. The results are compared to the findings in the previous scientific studies introduced in chapter 2. Moreover, some comparisons to the other speeches in this thesis will already be conducted already at this point; however, in the end of this chapter a more general comparison will be conducted to note the similarities and differences across all the speeches. To give a general understanding of the quantities of rhetorical devices in each speech, a summary can be found in table 1 below. However, as described above, each speech will be analysed individually with their own respective tables as well.

Table 1. Summary of rhetorical devices across all speeches

	George Bush	William J. Clinton	George W. Bush	Barack Obama	Donald Trump
Alliteration	10 %	14 %	13 %	1 %	5 %
Allusion	1 %	7 %	3 %	4 %	-
Anadiplosis	-	-	7 %	1 %	-
Anaphora	28 %	28 %	26 %	31 %	33 %
Antithesis	1 %	12 %	7 %	7 %	14 %
Conduplicatio	3 %	1 %	2 %	1 %	2 %
Enumeratio	-	-	4 %	4 %	-
Epanalepsis	1 %	1 %	-	-	6 %
Epistrophe	10 %	5 %	2 %	-	-
Epithet	31 %	27 %	21 %	32 %	24 %
Metaphor	-	2 %	2 %	7 %	-
Polysyndeton	-	-	6 %	9 %	11 %
Rhetorical question	5 %	-	-	-	-
Sentential adverb	5 %	1 %	3 %	-	1 %
Simile	5 %	-	-	-	1 %
Zeugma	-	1 %	3 %	3 %	2 %
Total devices	106	83	90	137	83
Word Count	2320	1598	1592	2395	1458
Total devices/word count	4,6 %	5,2 %	5,7 %	5,7 %	5,7 %

#### 4.1 George Bush's inaugural address, 20.1.1989

As described in table 2, George Bush utilized alliteration, anaphora, epistrophe and epithet most frequently. His speech was 2320 words long which means that his and Barack Obama's speech (2396 words) are the longest ones while the rest are about 1500 words long as explained in later tables 3, 4, 5 and 6. When the total number of rhetorical devices is examined in proportion to the word count it can be seen that George Bush utilized the least number of devices with 4,6 %.

One peculiar remark that can be made from his usage of rhetorical devices is that he was the only president in this set of data who utilized rhetorical questions in his speech. According to Harris (2013), the purpose of a rhetorical question is to provoke, emphasize and draw conclusions. Considering the ease of spotting rhetorical questions for a listener, 5 cases of rhetorical questions in one speech could be considered as a big amount, although their effectivity is undeniable. Another thing to note is that Bush used epistrophe more frequently, with a percentage of 10, when compared to the other presidents. For example, William J. Clinton included only 5 % of epistrophe in his speech even though he was the second most frequent user of epistrophe. Harris (2013: 18) explains that epistrophe allows the orator to emphasize

the ideas in the endings of phrases or sentences, which can, in some cases, be “too rhetorical”.

Table 2. Rhetorical devices in George Bush’s inaugural address

Rhetorical device	Number	Percentage
Alliteration	11	10 %
Allusion	1	1 %
Anaphora	30	28 %
Antithesis	1	1 %
Conduplicatio	3	3 %
Epanalepsis	1	1 %
Epistrophe	11	10 %
Epithet	33	31 %
Rhetorical question	5	5 %
Sentential adverb	5	5 %
Simile	5	5 %
Total	106	100 %
Word count	2320	
Total/word count		4,6 %

#### 4.2 William J. Clinton’s inaugural address, 20.1.1993

The word count of the inaugural address by William J. Clinton was 1592 which puts it in the middle ground in terms of length compared to the other speeches. As can be seen in table 3, alliteration, anaphora, antithesis and epithet were the most frequent devices that were utilized with respective ratios of 14 %, 28 %, 12 % and 27 %. As is the case as well with George Bush (10 %) and George W. Bush (13 %), Clinton employed alliteration frequently with a ratio 14 % which was interesting because, as can be seen in later tables 5 and 6, Donald Trump (5 %) and Barack Obama (1 %) did not utilize alliteration nearly as much. Harris (2013) explains that alliteration is a method for emphasising certain phrases which helps the reader in remembering them. For example, alliteration, in its simplest form, can be constructed with just two words that start with the same consonant sound.

Table 3. Rhetorical devices in William J. Clinton's inaugural address

Rhetorical device	Number	Percentage
Alliteration	12	14 %
Anadiplosis	6	7 %
Anaphora	23	28 %
Antithesis	10	12 %
Conduplicatio	1	1 %
Epanalepsis	1	1 %
Epistrophe	4	5 %
Epithet	22	27 %
Metaphor	2	2 %
Sentential adverb	1	1 %
Zeugma	1	1 %
Total	83	100 %
Word count	1598	
Total/word count		5,2 %

#### 4.3 George W. Bush's inaugural address, 20.1.2001

As can be seen from table 4, the most common rhetorical devices employed by George W. Bush were alliteration, anaphora and epithet. Other devices employed by him can be found in the speeches of the other presidents as well, so he did not utilize any different ones. Furthermore, he, Barack Obama and Donald Trump utilized the largest number of rhetorical devices in proportion to the word count in their speeches with a shared percentage of 5,7.

In the study by Slavicková (2013) it was discovered that George W. Bush utilized especially anaphora and metaphors in his Memorial Day speech. Both of these devices can be found in his inaugural address as well, though, as can be seen in table 2, his use of metaphors was not frequent here as they comprised only 2 percent of the total number of devices. This would suggest that device usage may differ depending on the speech and the context it is given in.



Table 4. Rhetorical devices in George W. Bush's inaugural address

Rhetorical device	Number	Percentage
Alliteration	12	13 %
Allusion	3	3 %
Anadiplosis	6	7 %
Anaphora	23	26 %
Antithesis	6	7 %
Conduplicatio	2	2 %
Enumeratio	4	4 %
Epistrophe	2	2 %
Epithet	19	21 %
Metaphor	2	2 %
Polysyndeton	5	6 %
Sentential adverb	3	3 %
Zeugma	3	3 %
Total	90	100 %
Word count	1592	
Total/word count		5,7 %

#### 4.4 Barack Obama's inaugural address, 20.1.2009

Barack Obama's speech was the longest one with 2395 words and as described before it was one of the three speeches that contained the largest number of devices in proportion to the word count with a percentage of 5,7. He utilized a wide variety of different devices with anaphora, antithesis, epithet, metaphor and polysyndeton being the most common ones as is described in table 5. According to Harris (2013), the effect of polysyndeton is that it adds emphasis and a sensation of multiplicity.

The results are in line with the findings in the study by Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) where especially antithesis was a device that Barack Obama utilized in his other speeches as well. Furthermore, the study by Rezaei and Nourali (2016) showed similar results as it revealed that Obama also utilizes different forms of repetition and metaphors. However, alliteration and rhetorical questions, which were found to be prominent features in his rhetoric according to the study, were not frequent in his inaugural address. Likewise, it is important that in their study Rezaei and Nourali (2016) stated that metaphors were the most prominent rhetorical device utilized by Obama, even though in his inaugural address only 2 % of his devices were

metaphors. These findings provide further proof to the fact that orators use different devices depending on the speech and the context it is given in.

Table 5. Rhetorical devices in Barack Obama's inaugural address

Rhetorical device	Number	Percentage
Alliteration	2	1 %
Allusion	6	4 %
Anadiplosis	1	1 %
Anaphora	42	31 %
Antithesis	10	7 %
Conduplicatio	1	1 %
Enumeratio	6	4 %
Epithet	44	32 %
Metaphor	9	7 %
Polysyndeton	12	9 %
Zeugma	4	3 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100 %</b>
<b>Word count</b>	<b>2395</b>	
<b>Total/word count</b>		<b>5,7 %</b>

#### 4.5 Donald Trump's inaugural address, 20.1.2017

As explained in table 6, Donald Trump utilized anaphora, antithesis, epithet and polysyndeton as the most frequent rhetorical devices in his speech. One interesting thing to note is that Trump's speech, which was the shortest one with a word count of 1458, included the same percentage (5,7 %) of rhetorical devices when compared to the the longest speech that was Obama's with a word count of 2395.

Similar findings were found in the study by Ghentulescu (2018) in which it was discovered that antithesis was a very apparent device utilized by Donald Trump in his presidential speeches. However, metaphor which was mentioned in the study as another prominent device in his rhetoric was not apparent in his inaugural address. This would further suggest that larger generalisations on the usage of rhetorical devices by one orator can hardly be made based on only one type of speech as the ratios may differ depending on the speech and its context.

Table 6. Rhetorical devices in Donald Trump's inaugural address

Rhetorical device	Number	Percentage
Alliteration	4	5 %
Anaphora	27	33 %
Antithesis	12	14 %
Conduplicatio	2	2 %
Epanalepsis	5	6 %
Epithet	20	24 %
Polysyndeton	9	11 %
Sentential adverb	1	1 %
Simile	1	1 %
Zeugma	2	2 %
Total	83	100 %
Word count	1458	
Total/word count		5,7 %

#### 4.6 Comparison

The most prominent rhetorical devices across all the speeches were anaphora (ratio between 28 % and 33 % in all speeches) and epithet (ratio between 21 % and 32 %), though antithesis was also employed regularly in almost all of them with a ratio between 7 % and 14 %, excluding George Bush with only 1 %. The findings share similarities with the study by Kazemian and Zhou (2015) who discovered that John F. Kennedy's inaugural address included ample use of antithesis, metaphor and alliteration, many of which can be found in the inaugural addresses examined in this thesis. This could suggest that the similarities found in the data set of this thesis can be also be found in other inaugural addresses by other US presidents as well. This would mean that they display at least some form of uniformity in terms of their most used rhetorical devices.

The effects that the most prominent rhetorical devices have on the inaugural addresses are varied. In terms of anaphora, Harris (2013) explains that it helps in keeping the audience concentrated on the speech. On the other, hand he continues that epithet can be used to attach striking and curious qualities to nouns which in turn helps the listener to remember those parts of a speech better. He also explains that antithesis is a method which helps in explaining and showing differences that might be neglected by the audience. It would seem that the devices that were used

the most have to do with different form of emphasis through repetition, descriptive language use or comparisons. As such they help the orator in focusing the listeners' attention to precise parts and ideas in the speech while also making them easier to spot and remember.

Another interesting aspect to note is that even though the speeches varied in terms of their length, still when the number of devices were compared to the total word count the ratios were quite uniform with three speeches with a percentage of 5,7 % (W. Bush, Obama and Trump) and the other two with 5,2 % (Clinton) and 4,6 % (Bush). As such this notion offers interesting similarities regarding the study conducted by Slavicková (2013), in which it was noted that the speeches of US presidents on Memorial Day were uniform in terms of their style. Even though, style was not a focus point of this thesis, another form of uniformity seems to have been found: the quantities of rhetorical devices with respect to the total word count.

## 5 CONCLUSION

As was described in chapter 2 the objective was to explore what kinds of rhetorical devices are utilized in the inaugural addresses of recent US presidents. Furthermore, with the help of the research questions, the effects that these devices have and the differences as well as the similarities between the speeches were analysed. The results show that across all the examined inaugural addresses there are certain similar devices that were in all or at the very least in most of them. These devices were also found in other studies made by other researchers studying other inaugural addresses by other presidents. This would point to the fact that these kinds of speeches are somewhat uniform in terms of the devices that are utilized in them. Of course, as was noted in the previous chapter, not only do presidents use different devices when compared to each other, but the results would also suggest that they may use other kinds of devices depending on the speech and its context itself. As such, it is not possible to make any wide generalisations of the rhetorical devices employed by one, single president solely on the devices apparent in their inaugural addresses as they may vary their use depending on the speech.

The greatest strength of this thesis is that it offers unique views by providing insight on in which ways and why various rhetorical devices are employed by US presidents in their inaugural addresses to persuade their audience, or the people. However, one weakness of the study is the nature of the chosen research method. Even though, a mix of content analysis and rhetorical analysis was used as objectively as possible, it is still in essence quite subjective which may, for example, lead to different results depending on the author of the research, for instance, differences in respect to which phrases, sentences, words and clauses are deemed as rhetorical devices by the author. For example, according to Leach (2002: 218) while rhetorical analysis is quite adaptable, it is still interpretive, which may hinder its analytical consistency that is to say it may be inconsistent depending on the author and the rhetorical tools that were chosen for the analysis.

Further quantitative research should be carried out by, for example, focusing on even older inaugural addresses to examine whether they all share the same prominent rhetorical devices regardless of the president or the time period. Some findings that indicate this connection were already discovered in this thesis regarding the study by Kazemian and Hashemi (2014), which was described in section 4. Another avenue for further research could be a comparison of rhetorical devices employed by presidents of other countries to examine whether there are any cultural differences in how and what devices are utilized to persuade the people. A small-scale research of this type is already present in the study by Ghentulescu (2018) which was described before in this thesis. However, similar research with a comparison of a larger data set has not been conducted before, which was the case also with the topic of this thesis.

Furthermore, following one interesting notion observed in this thesis, further quantitative content analysis could be conducted to examine whether speeches given by different people in the same context and about the same topic include similar amounts of rhetorical devices with respect to the total word counts in them.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: George Bush's inaugural address

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors, and friends:

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our nation, I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America.

I've just repeated word for word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago, and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his. It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today not only because this is our bicentennial inauguration but because Washington remains the Father of our Country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day; for today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: our continuity, these 200 years, since our government began.

We meet on democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended. And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads.

Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank You for Your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do Your work, willing to heed and hear Your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.

I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn. For in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken and new action to be taken. There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow.

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the door to prosperity. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.

For the first time in this century, for the first time in perhaps all history, man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves. We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In crucial things, unity; in important things, diversity; in all things, generosity.

America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil, a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly but as a simple fact, that this

country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good. But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend; a loving parent; a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood, and town better than he found it. And what do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we're no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

No President, no government can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the Nation and gentler the face of the world. My friends, we have work to do. There are the homeless, lost and roaming. There are the children who have nothing, no love and no normalcy. There are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life.

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are

low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need. We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety. And then we will do the wisest thing of all. We will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people.

And I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others, a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age.

I have spoken of a Thousand Points of Light, of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the Nation, doing good. We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved. The old ideas are new again because they're not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in.

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. And we must bring the Federal budget into balance. And we must ensure that America stands before the world united, strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. But of course things may be difficult. We need to compromise; we've had dissension. We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's

ideas are challenged but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other. It's been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago, and surely the statute of limitation has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory. A new breeze is blowing, and the old bipartisanship must be made new again.

To my friends, and, yes, I do mean friends -- in the loyal opposition and, yes, I mean loyal -- I put out my hand. I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker. I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader. For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered hand. And we can't turn back clocks, and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon and hard. But in the end, let us produce. The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. "In crucial things, unity" -- and this, my friends, is crucial.

To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow: We will stay strong to protect the peace. The offered hand is a reluctant fist; once made -- strong, and can be used with great effect. There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here and will be long remembered. Good will begets good will. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

Great nations like great men must keep their word. When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty or an agreement or a vow made on marble steps. We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment; but subtlety, too, is good and has its place. While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union,

consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good, and so is strength and vigilance.

Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled. But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home, to an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by and the woman who will tell her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind.

Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, Thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze. And to all I say, No matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day, you are part of the life of our great nation.

A President is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek a window on men's souls. In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, and easygoingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it: This scourge will stop!

And so, there is much to do. And tomorrow the work begins. And I do not mistrust the future. I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is

larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless.

Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling, and sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning. The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds. And so, today a chapter begins, a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together.

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

## Appendix 2: William J. Clinton's inaugural address

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 marched 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 own 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. 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 America today in peaceful competition with people all across the Earth. 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. 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 our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.

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. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our Revolution to 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. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.



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

To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and 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. 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.

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. We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility from all. 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 for our communities and our country.

To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy. 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. Americans deserve better. And in this city today there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of you 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. Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government

for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home. There is no longer a clear 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. Today, as an older 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.

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. When our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever 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. 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.

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. 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. 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, an idea born in revolution and renewed through two 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.

And so, my fellow Americans, as we stand at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin anew 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." 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 own way and with God's help, we must answer the call.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

### Appendix 3: George W. Bush's inaugural address

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

America at its best is also courageous. Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defeating common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or

condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.

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

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

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

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

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

Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet, compassion is the work of a nation, not just a

government. And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.

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

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

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

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

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

What you do is as important as anything Government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort, to defend needed reforms against easy attacks, to serve your Nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens:

Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens building communities of service and a nation of character.

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

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

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

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

God bless you all, and God bless America.

#### Appendix 4: Barack Obama's inaugural address

My fellow citizens, 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 forebears and true to our founding documents.

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

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

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

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.

We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history, to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

In reaffirming the greatness of our Nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the fainthearted, 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 toward prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard Earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sanh.

Time and again, these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked 'til their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive. Our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions, that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the 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.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose and necessity to courage.

What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our Government is too big or too small, but whether it works; whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.

Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The Nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach

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

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, 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 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 nonbelievers. 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 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 today, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service, a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.

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

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

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

So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The Capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At 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:

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

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

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

## Appendix 5: Donald Trump's inaugural address

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: Thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for many, many years to come. We will face challenges, we will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

Every 4 years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, DC, and giving it back to you, the people.

For too long, a small group in our Nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of Government while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left, and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while they celebrated in our Nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

That all changes, starting right here and right now, because this moment is your moment: It belongs to you. It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration. And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our Government, but whether our Government is controlled by the people. January 20, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this Nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer. Everyone is listening to you now.

You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves. These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public.

But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones



across the landscape of our Nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one Nation, and their pain is our pain, their dreams are our dreams, and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own and spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay. We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon.

One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world.

But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future.

We, assembled here today, are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power. From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this this day forward, it's going to be only America first. America first.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families.

We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down.

America will start winning again, winning like never before. We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams.

We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across our wonderful Nation.

We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor. We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and hire American.

We will seek friendship and good will with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example – we will shine – for everyone to follow.

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

The Bible tells us, "How good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity." We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear: We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement, and most importantly, we will be protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving.

We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining, but never doing anything about it. The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action.

Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries, and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are Black or Brown or White, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American flag.

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty Creator.

So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words: You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again.

And, yes, together, we will make America great again. Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America. Thank you. God bless America.