

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE,  
LITERATURE AND CULTURE

**RHETORICAL DEVICES IN CONTEMPORARY PRE-  
ELECTION SPEECHES**

**RETORISKIE LĪDZEKĻI MŪSDIENU  
PRIEKŠVĒLĒŠANU RUNĀS**

MASTER PAPER

Author: **Tatjana Šatilova**  
Matriculation Card # ts08048  
Adviser: doc. N. Cigankova

RĪGA 2011

## ANOTĀCIJA

Jaunākās literatūras pārskats atklāj nepilnības retorisko līdzekļu mūsdienu priekšvēlēšanu runās empīriskajā pētniecībā. Šī maģistra darba mērķis ir pierādīt, ka mūsdienu politiķi izmanto noteiktus retoriskus līdzekļus, un arī, ka ir to izmantošanas tendence katrā runā, kā arī visu runu vidū. Empīrisku datu iegūšanai 16 mūsdienu amerikāņu politiķu priekšvēlēšanu runu krājums tika sakrāts un izanalizēts. Retoriskās analīzes metodika tika izvēlēta, tā kā analīzes fokusā bija retoriskie līdzekļi politiskās runās. Analīzes rezultāti pierāda, ka ir noteikto retorisko līdzekļu izmantošanas politiskās runās tendence. Rezultāti arī atklāj, ka mūsdienu politiķi bieži izmanto ne tikai tradicionālus retoriskus līdzekļus, bet viņi arī ievada jaunus retoriskus paņēmienus kā vēlētāju ietekmes un pārliecināšanas instrumentus priekšvēlēšanu runās.

**Atslēgvārdi:** Politiskā valoda, retoriskie līdzekļi, priekšvēlēšanu runas, retoriskā analīze.

## **ABSTRACT**

The review on recent literature reveals the gap in empirical research of rhetorical devices in contemporary pre-election speeches. The present MA paper aims to prove that contemporary politicians employ certain rhetorical means, and that there is a tendency of their use in each of the speeches as well as from speech to speech. To obtain the empirical data for the research, a corpus of 16 pre-election speeches by contemporary American politicians was collected and analysed. The methodology of rhetorical analysis has been chosen, because the focus of the analysis was on rhetorical devices in political speeches. The results of the analysis prove that there are certain patterns of the use of rhetorical devices in political speeches. The findings also reveal that contemporary politicians frequently employ not only traditional rhetorical devices, but they also introduce new rhetorical techniques as tools of the influence on and persuasion of their electorate in pre-election speeches.

**Keywords:** language of politics, rhetorical devices, pre-election speeches, rhetorical analysis

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## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I want to express gratitude to my advisor doc. Natalja Cigankova for her help, support and professional guidance all through the period of writing of this Master's thesis.

I would also like to thank my family, relatives and friends for their understanding, moral support and patience.

## INTRODUCTION

There are many constituents of success of modern politician, these are, of course, professionalism, experience, commitment. In order to become a successful politician a person should among other things possess a set of necessary skills and characteristics. One of the main skills that a person should master to become a successful politician is to be able to gain, exercise and sustain power. For this purpose a person should acquire authoritative and influential position and have influence over big number of people. This person should be able to make public believe, support and share his or her views. The basic tool that a politician uses for achieving this goal is rhetoric. In order to be able to propose his ideas, to convince public and influence the formation of public opinion of one's candidature, a politician should be able to maintain permanent dialogue with people. It implies effective use of language that works as an instrument of persuasion and, to a certain extent, even manipulation of human consciousness.

The present paper is devoted to the discussion of rhetorical devices in contemporary pre-election speeches. It is aimed at finding and analysing linguistic means that help to achieve persuasive effect of political language, in particular, a political speech. It is aimed at investigating how language works in favour of politicians and help them to convince their voters that they are better and stronger than their opponents. In other words, the basic task of the present paper is to find out what rhetorical devices politicians employ in their speeches in order to influence the formation of public opinion, and whether they are recurrent from speech to speech.

Therefore, the **goal** of the present paper is to explore rhetorical means and the tendency of their use in political speeches. The present study is important since it aims to explore and reveal not only traditional rhetorical devices, but it also attempts to find out whether there are some newly introduced rhetorical techniques, which are used by the politicians in the present day pre-election speeches.

Hence, the **hypothesis** of the research could be formulated as follows:

Politicians frequently employ specific rhetorical devices as tools of the influence and persuasion of electorate in pre-election speeches.

In order to achieve the goal of the paper, as well as to validate the hypothesis, the following enabling **objectives** are set:

1. to collect and study the theory on rhetorical devices as a means of exerting influence in politics;
2. to select and apply the methodology suitable for the analysis of pre-election speeches;

3. to collect authentic examples of pre-election speeches
4. to provide the analysis of rhetorical devices in the authentic pre-election speeches;
6. to draw conclusions based on the provided analysis

#### **Methods of research:**

**Theoretical:** In order to explore what the commonly known rhetorical devices that are usually employed by the politicians in their speeches are, it is necessary to collect and study theoretical material containing previous discussions of the subject by scholars of the corresponding field. Their observations and conclusions serve as an essential basis for the theoretical part of the present research as well as give clues for the practical part. Among other things theoretical part of the present paper is dedicated to the investigation and review of previous research dedicated to the exploration of the theme of the present paper. It is aimed at revealing whether the literature on the topic of the given paper is sufficient and what the main contributors to the field of the study of rhetoric in general and rhetorical devices in pre-election speeches, in particular, are.

**Empirical:** The Empirical part presented in the paper employs the method of rhetorical analysis; that is, it explores linguistic strategies in use on the basis of authentic samples of political discourse – a corpus of pre-election speeches. In order to prove the existence of rhetorical devices and to reveal patterns of their use throughout all the speeches, the present research also employs the method of computerised corpus analysis. The object of such analysis is a corpus of authentic texts processed with text-processing computer software which measures frequency of certain key words which are most frequent throughout the whole corpus of collected speeches.

Thus, the present research is divided into three major chapters:

**Chapter 1** analyses the literature dedicated to the topic of the present paper, that is, the literature on rhetorical devices in contemporary pre-election speeches.

**Chapter 2** is dedicated to the discussion of the empirical methods of analysis that have been applied in this research to the analysis of pre-election speeches.

**Chapter 3** reports on the results of the rhetorical analysis and computerized word frequency analysis of the corpus of pre-election speeches compiled for the present study.

# **1. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON USE OF RHETORICAL DEVICES IN POLITICAL SPEECHES**

Chapter 1 is dedicated to the analysis of selected theoretical sources on the theme of the present paper, that is, rhetorical devices in contemporary pre-election speeches. First, literature on rhetoric of political speeches will be presented. Then previous research on rhetorical devices in political speeches, in general, will be discussed. Finally, the analysis of the sources on rhetorical devices in pre-election speeches will be presented. The present chapter explores the studies of the prominent scholars who dedicated their research to the investigation of the rhetorical devices. The aim of the present chapter is to find out whether the research topic has been sufficiently investigated in the previous research literature.

## **1.1. Literature on the rhetoric of political speeches**

When speaking about politics and its representatives, the first issue of interest that usually emerges is politicians' ability to gain and sustain power. Since politicians are usually elected by people, they should find ways to make their electorate make choice in favor of a particular candidate. In order to help people to make the right choice, candidates should be able to convince public of their credibility and trustworthiness. Thus, the goal of any politician is to persuade the audience, that is, to maintain a type of communication that influences listeners' attitudes, beliefs and actions. In order to reach this goal, the orator should possess certain communication skills; in other words, he/she should master certain tactics of communicative persuasion.

Although the research on political persuasion usually encompasses its exploration by several disciplines, such as sociology or psychology, this paper mainly investigates the art of political speech from the perspective of rhetoric, with the main focus on the use of rhetorical devices. Further, an overview of the studies of rhetorical means of persuasion and the use of rhetorical devices is presented.

Aristotle was one of the first philosophers to study the art of rhetoric. He made a considerable contribution to this field and was later frequently referred to by other scholars in their studies dedicated to the investigation of rhetoric of political speeches in particular. Aristotle's studies on rhetoric became the basis of rhetoric's further investigation by the subsequent scholars.

One of the scholars who developed Aristotelian study on rhetoric was Charles U. Larson. Larson (2007: 11) defined rhetoric as ‘the faculty of observing in any given case, the available means of persuasion.’ According to Larson (2007:11), persuasion consists of artistic and inartistic proofs. The persuader controls artistic proof such as the choice of evidence, the organization of persuasion, the style of delivery, and language choices. Larson states that inartistic proof includes things not controlled by the speaker, such as the occasion, the time allotted to the speaker, and the speaker’s physical appearance. According to Larson (2007:11), persuasion succeeds or fails on a source’s credibility, or ethos; the use of emotional appeals, or pathos; logical or rational appeals, or logos; or a combination of all these. As Larson writes,

persuasion is most effective when based on the common ground, which is the shared beliefs, values, and interests existing between persuaders and persuadees. This shared territory permits persuaders to make certain assumptions about the audience and its beliefs. Assuming these beliefs, persuaders use enthymemes – a form of argument in which the first or major premise in the proof remains unstated by the persuader and, instead, is supplied by the audience. The persuader needs to identify common ground or those major premises held by audience and use them in the enthymemes (ibid).

In his research on rhetoric, Larson (2007) provides a history of rhetoric’s development: he refers to the periods and scholars who mainly influenced the development of the field. He writes that after Aristotle,

Roman students of persuasion added specific advice on what a persuasive speech ought to include. Cicero identified five elements of persuasive speaking: (1) inventing or discovering evidence and arguments, (2) organizing them, (3) styling them artistically, (4) memorizing them, and (5) delivering them skillfully (ibid: 11).

Further in his investigation, Larson (2007) states that ‘later studies of persuasion reflected the changes that accompanied the emergence of electronic media and the social sciences following World War II’ (ibid: 12). Larson’s study contains reflection on the main contributors who had their own vision on the science of rhetoric, who brought novelty or changed certain postulates in the field.

Kevin Hogan is a scholar who also made serious contribution to the investigation of rhetoric as an art of political persuasion. According to Hogan the world would be a very different place without those few individuals who have mastered persuasion skills and used them so effectively throughout the millennia. In his research he talks about the language of politics and the ways prominent politicians persuade. As Hogan (2004) puts it, ‘the techniques and strategies these great individuals used are the same techniques that salespeople, managers, entrepreneurs, public speakers, religious and political leaders today need to know to influence others to believe in their ideas’ (ibid, 25). In this respect Hogan

(2004) refers to Bill Clinton's personality and his ability to become the president of the United States in the face of sexual misconduct, financial improprieties and other scandals.

Linda Lee Kaid (2009) was among the scholars who studied political communication in terms of rhetoric. When exploring the field, Kaid (2009) provides historical background to the study of political communication referring to the main figures who had laid basis of this discipline. Kaid (2009) writes, that 'political communication traces its roots to the writing of Aristotle, Plato, Quintillian, and Cicero. In more modern contexts, the study of political communication as a theoretical and scholarly discipline is derived from a melding of multidisciplinary work in communication, political sciences, psychology, sociology, and marketing' (Kaid, 2009: 57). According to Kaid, contemporary study of political communication represents the analysis of political messages. She claims that in order to master the language of politics, the orators should be aware of certain moves, and the scholars who study political communication should be able to detect those.

The literature mentioned above reflects the theme of the present paper, since it discusses rhetoric in general. In order to narrow the research topic of the present paper, the author further presents the literature on rhetorical devices in political discourse.

## **1.2. Literature on rhetorical devices in political discourse**

Since the present paper is focused on the discussion of concrete rhetorical devices, it is worth finding out whether there have been any studies dedicated to investigation of these techniques. As the author has found out, there is a certain amount of literature on rhetorical techniques of mass persuasion in political discourse. Some of the scholars (e.g. Charteris-Black, 2005) have conducted their studies emphasizing one or several techniques they deem to be most essential in political discourse. Other scholars (Beard, 2000; Mayr, 2008) have widened their research to detailed exploration of political discourse discussing constituents that usually build up coherent text.

Mayr (2008) developed the study of rhetorical techniques, in which she claims that in order for the speech to be capable of touching the audience and, moreover, influencing their choice, this speech should first and foremost comply to certain rules of cohesion; that is, it should be comprehensive and logically structured, as well as it should strictly sustain the theme chosen without deviations or distractions that usually ruin the effect. According to Mayr (2008), one of the first tasks of any orator is to set a theme for his/her message and stick to it throughout the entire period of delivering the speech.

This idea is supported and developed in the study of Borchers (2002), in which he states that ‘the most successful politicians (or candidates) are able to integrate their issue and articulate a theme throughout their campaign. A theme has an advantage of creating a rhetorical vision for voters’ (Borchers, 2002: 308). Borchers laid special emphasis on the set of rhetorical strategies when discussing the style of political texts. As Borchers (2002) writes, ‘since the early Greeks, theorists have identified particular ways of using language to maximize its persuasive effects. Persuaders take care to choose the right words and arrange them carefully to have the maximum effect on the audience’ (Borchers, 2002: 428). Among most frequently applied rhetorical devices, according to Borchers’s observation, are parallelisms, alliteration, antithesis, repetitions as well as the use of metaphor, which are persuasive because they help the audience see the relationship between something new and something they already know. Metaphors help people to escape their previous way of seeing by looking at something from a different angle. Borchers views metaphors as effective means of transferring an audience’s positive feelings from one object to another. He concludes that those metaphors reflect a premise held by the audience and can also serve as a form of proof for the speaker’s message (Borchers, 2002: 427).

Another important claim made by Mayr (2008) in her research on language and power concerns the cohesion in the text and its importance in the context of political persuasion. As Mayr (2008) writes, ‘lexical cohesion of any discourse, including political speeches, refers to the lexical and semantic means of linking sentences together and is not simply an objective and neutral property of texts’ (Mayr, 2008: 21). According to Mayr, ideology can be expressed at the semantic level through the choice of one word over another. In her research Mayr writes about the ways cohesion in political discourse can be achieved, for example, through simple repetition of words and linking of words and expressions in meaning relations, such as synonyms or near synonyms (sameness of meaning), as in enterprising/entrepreneurial; and antonyms (two or more lexical items having a different meaning).

John Wilson (2003) is a scholar concerned with linguistic strategies that help politicians to gain influence over public via their speeches. In his research Wilson (2003) states that, linguistic options for representing the world are clearly, central issues in political discourse, but so are issues of action and textual production. Utterances within the context of political output are rarely isolated grammatical cases; they operate within historical frameworks and are frequently associated with other related utterances or texts (Wilson, 2003: 404).

The study of Jones and Peccei (2004) discusses concrete rhetorical strategies that politicians employ in their speeches to make them cohesive and convincing. In their book *Language, Society and Power*, Jones and Peccei discuss traditional rhetorical techniques

employed by the politicians as well as comment on their functions in the context of particular speeches. In the chapter entitled *Language of Politics*, and in particular, in the section *Persuasive Language – the Power of Language*, scholars discuss and illustrate traditional rhetorical strategies, in particular,

the uses of presupposition and implicature which can be used to convey ideas without explicitly stating them and can make notions which are in fact debatable seem like ‘givens’ as well as at a variety of frequently occurring rhetorical devices in political discourse, metaphor, euphemism, the three-part statement, parallelism and pronoun use and at ways they can be used to achieve ideological and communicative potency’  
(Jones and Peccei (2004:53).

A scholar who also contributed to the investigation of political language and its components was Adrian Beard (2000). In his book *Language of Politics* he explored the craft of political speech and illustrated certain rhetorical techniques and strategies aimed at the effective delivery of political texts. Specifically, he described several rhetorical devices that politicians tend to employ in their political speeches in order to emphasize certain points in their reports and sound convincing. Beard discusses the role of metonymy, metaphor, analogy, and provides authentic samples of their employment by the most prominent politicians. However, his data ‘have been selected to illustrate certain broad principles rather than to allow highly detailed analysis of specific political issues’ (Beard, 2000: 1).

One of the recent scholars who writes on rhetorical devices in political discourse is Donna, L.Lillian (2008). In her paper, Lillian focuses specifically on the use of modal auxiliaries in two political texts. The first text, *Beyond Greed: A Traditional Conservative Confronts Neoconservative Excess*, is by Hugh Segal who, according to Lillian, ‘might be described as a “mainstream” Canadian conservative’ (Lillian 2008:1). The second, *The War Against the Family*, is by William D. Gairdner who, as Lillian (2008) writes, ‘represents a far right neoconservative position in Canadian politics’ (ibid). Following Fowler, Lillian (2008) classifies the modals in Segal’s book of approximately 35,000 words and in a representative 35,000 words segment of Gairdner’s book. However, the book is narrowed to the analysis of one particular rhetorical technique, and does not discuss other.

The author of the research called *Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's Political Discourse*, Juraj Horváth, also discusses rhetorical strategies in political discourse, but on the example of one politician, Barack Obama. His paper examines the persuasive strategies of President Obama's public speaking as well as the covert ideology of the same, enshrined in his inaugural address. As Horváth writes, ‘analysis is grounded in Norman Fairclough's assumptions in critical discourse analysis, claiming that "ideologies reside in texts" that "it is not possible to “read off” ideologies from texts" and that "texts are open to diverse

interpretations' (Horváth). In his paper Horváth assesses ideological and persuasive components of the corpus of speeches of Barack Obama, in order to reveal persuasive strategies that are most common for Barack Obama's style.

Mette Nielsen (2009) also explores the style of delivery of Barack Obama. In her study *A Rhetorical Analysis of: President Barack Obama's 2009 Inaugural Address* she explores rhetorical means of persuasion of one particular politician and one particular speech. She does not provide comparative analysis of the same kind of speeches (inaugural) of other politicians, neither does she discuss the language and means of persuasion of pre-election speeches.

Junling Wang (2010) also dedicated his recent study to the analysis of Barack Obama's speeches. Based on the theory of critical discourse analysis, his study *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Speeches* analyzes Barack Obama's speeches mainly from the point of view of transitivity and modality. The analysis gives an idea of what the political purpose of speeches is and what the aims are that politicians follow delivering those speeches. Unlike the present research, the study of Wang employs the method of Critical Discourse Analysis and discusses the ways language, ideology and power are related. It does not explore rhetorical devices and discusses speeches of only one politician.

Lim (2002) is a scholar who also dedicated his study to the language of politics. In his research *Five Trends in Presidential Rhetoric: An Analysis of Rhetoric from George Washington to Bill Clinton* the author looks at the changes that take place in rhetoric of political discourse through centuries. The objects of Lim's (2002) analysis are inaugural addresses and annual messages delivered between 1789 and 2000, which he analyses applying the method of content analysis. In providing his analysis the author attempts to support his thesis that 'presidential rhetoric has become more anti-intellectual, more abstract, more assertive, more democratic, and more conversational' (Lim, 2002: 328). His study, however, does not discuss rhetorical means and does not analyze pre-election speeches.

In her research *Role of Feminine Rhetoric in Male Presidential Discourse: Achieving Speech Purpose*, Lindsay Larner (2009) also discusses the political presidential discourse. In her study she compares male and female rhetoric, their styles, aims of delivery. Moreover, in making her analysis, Larner (2009) attempts to find out whether feminine rhetoric has any role in male political discourse. In order to conduct her empirical study Larner (2009) chooses to analyze two genres of presidential speeches: Inaugural Addresses, which unify the citizenry and foster speaker-audience collaboration – goals feminine language accomplishes -, and Nomination Acceptance Speeches, which display the speaker as leader, expert, and agent – goals masculine language accomplishes. Larner (2009) hypothesizes that, 'feminine rhetoric

is useful for achieving the Inaugural's speech purposes, so male politicians should use more feminine speech in Inaugurals than Acceptances' (Larner, 2009:4). Unlike the present study, the research of Larner (2009) analyzes Inaugural Addresses and Nomination Acceptance Speeches.

In her article *On "Yes, We Can": Linguistics Power and Possibility*, Bista (2009) analyses the phrase introduced and employed in the speeches of Barack Obama. According to the author's findings, the phrase *yes, we can* 'represents various forms of meanings—challenge, possibility, ability, permission and opportunity in social, political and linguistics domains' (Bista (2009:1). In her study, Bista (2009) considers syntactic and the semantic properties of the phrase as well as compares its conventional use with more recent treatment. The study analyses contemporary politician and newly introduced phrase as means of achieving power through language. Nevertheless, the study is rather narrow, since it is focused on one particular politician and explores only one rhetorical technique.

The sources mentioned so far are not sufficient, since they discuss rhetorical devices in political discourse different from the one that is explored in the present paper. Further, the author searched for recent literature that discusses rhetorical devices specifically in pre-election speeches.

### **1.3. Literature on the rhetoric of pre-election speeches**

There have been only a few scholars who have specifically discussed pre-election presidential speeches. One of the scholars who have dedicated his work to the discussion of pre-election speeches is Shogan. The scholar has written a book *The Moral Rhetoric of American Presidents* (2006) where, along with other kinds of speeches and issues concerning rhetoric of politics in general, Shogan discusses political discourse from the position of moral, implied ideas, themes. The book does not provide a full-scope analysis of the rhetorical devices employed in pre-election speeches. In other words, pre-election speeches are only one of the topics touched upon in the book.

Christina Schäffner (1997) is a scholar who has made research on the analysis of political speeches in general, and pre-election speeches, in particular. Schäffner's book titled *Analyzing Political Speeches* (1997) discusses all kinds of speeches and rhetorical linguistic structures used in those. The book does not provide analysis on only pre-election speeches, however. The author discusses pre-election speech as one of the kinds of political discourse.

One of the contemporary writers who dedicated his research to the discussion of the style of public speaking of one particular politician is Wolfgang Mieder. He has written a book *Yes we can. Barack Obama's Proverbial Rhetoric* (2009). This research is dedicated to the exploration and analysis of the peculiarities of Obama's style of delivering public speeches. The author describes his observations on the examples of Obama's authentic speeches, including pre-election speeches. He writes that Barack Obama can be rightly considered an innovator in the art of speech making, since he has introduced a set of rhetorical devices not practiced before him. The book is dedicated to the thorough investigation of the style of speeches of one particular representative of the contemporary rhetoric. It does not provide data on the use of rhetorical devices by other politicians. Thus, it is not possible to track a tendency of use of rhetorical devices in political speeches of contemporary politicians on the basis of the research that has been published so far and the present research is necessary.

## **Chapter Summary**

The studies analysed in the chapter show that rhetoric is a widely discussed discipline, explored by many rhetoricians throughout the history of its development. As the present literature review has showed, there are scholars who have made their contribution to the development of rhetoric in general, who have written books on the rhetorical devices in political discourse, and those few who made research exploring pre-election speeches. Thus, it is possible to conclude that there is a gap in the research of rhetorical devices used specifically in pre-election speeches.

The present paper is aimed at discussing a tendency of use of rhetorical techniques in pre-election speeches, in particular. Moreover, according to the contemporary speeches, rhetoric tends to develop new forms and means of persuasion. Politicians find new ways of influencing their electorate. Thus, there may be some new rhetorical means worth exploring and discussing. Hence, the present research is an attempt to widen the frames contemporary research on rhetorical devices and discuss those newly appearing means of public persuasion in contemporary political language, and, in particular, in the language of pre-election speeches.

The following chapter discusses the methods of texts analysis that is commonly applied to the analysis of political texts and, in particular, the method that was applied to the analysis of rhetorical devices in pre-election speeches in the present study.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FOR ANALYSIS OF RHETORICAL DEVICES IN PRE-ELECTION SPEECHES

The present chapter is devoted to the discussion of several existing methods that are commonly applied to text analysis. First, the chapter discusses the methods that were introduced and used to analyze written or spoken texts. Then, the present chapter discusses the method that has been chosen for the analysis provided in the frames of the present research.

### 2.1 Approaches to Analysis of Political Language

There is a number of theories and methods of discourse analysis that have developed over years. Among most frequently employed approaches are *Content Analysis*, *Linguistic Discourse Analysis* and *Rhetorical Analysis*.

Developed by Alfred R Lindesmith in 1931, *Content Analysis* is aimed at ‘identifying, quantifying and analyzing specific words, phrases, concepts, or some other semantic data in a text or a set of texts’ (Huckin, 2004:14). Content analysis is a method that is usually used for summarizing any form of content by counting various aspects of the content. With the help of this method it is possible to obtain more objective evaluation than comparing content based on the impressions of a listener. Although it is usually applied to the analysis of written words, content analysis is considered to be a quantitative method. The results of content analysis are numbers and percentages. As Stemler puts it, ‘it is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding’ (Stemler 2001). As Stemler puts it, ‘content analysis can be a powerful tool for determining authorship’ (Stemler, 2001). This technique is also useful for examining trends and patterns in documents. For example, Stemler and Bebell (1998) conducted a content analysis of school mission statements to make some inferences about what schools hold as their primary reasons for existence. The key distinctive feature of this approach, according to Huckin (2004), is that it concentrates on the surface features; it typically serves only to provide empirical basis for other more sophisticated methods (Huckin, 2004:14), and can only be applied to data that are durable in nature (Stemler, 2001).

Another research method, which was introduced by Brown and Yule in 1983 and further developed by Barton, is *Linguistic Discourse Analysis*. According to Barton (2004:57), ‘it analyzes the ways specific features of language (be they small and particular,

like aspects of sentence structure; or large and extensive, like genres and socio-cultural world views) contribute to the interpretation of texts in their different contexts' (Barton, 2004:57).

Linguistic discourse analysis is a very broad area, since it embraces a set of different sub-approaches, whereas each uses different data for its investigation. Ethnography of communication (Saville-Troike, 1989; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1990), for instance, is aimed at exploring how communication works within different cultures, draws from linguistic anthropology, as well as discusses such issues as language socialization on the basis of data from cultural performances of oral traditions, such as narratives told by a culture's storytellers. Interactive sociolinguistics (Wilson, 2003) explores language within smaller social groups, such as gender groups, investigating conversations, arguments and other interactions that commonly take place within these groups. Genre analysis (Johns, 1997; Swales, 1990;) is aimed at exploring the structure of texts in the contexts of discourse communities, in particular, that of academic disciplinary communities, it looks at the ways that texts reflect the social nature of disciplines in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, taking academic discourse texts as a basis for investigating natural and social sciences. Systemic linguistics (Halliday, 1978, 1998) focuses on the structure of a text, discussing the structure of clauses and sentences of the texts of educational settings (Halliday 1978, 1998: 57). All these approaches have found wide practical application in the analysis of large amount of texts; however, Discourse Analysis does not provide definite answers; it is not a "hard" science, but an insight/knowledge based on continuous debate and argumentation.

## **2.2. Methodology applied to the analysis of pre-election speeches**

Since the focus of the present research is on the language in political speeches and persuasive effect that politicians achieve by using rhetorical devices while conducting and delivering these speeches, the research employs the method of *Rhetorical Analysis*. The term has undergone different interpretations from the times of Aristotle, who wrote educational treatise *On Rhetoric*, whereas the word is often associated with the means of producing effective discursive acts. According to Selzer (2004) 'rhetoric has also taken on an interpretive function in recent years' (Selzer, 2004: 280). As Selzer (2004) writes 'rhetoric has come to be used not just as a means of producing effective communications, but also as a way of understanding communication' (ibid.). In other words, rhetoric possesses two functions: to study language and to study how to use language.

Rhetoric and rhetorical analysis in particular, has been a subject of interest since its studies by Aristotle, Quintilian, and Cicero who developed a set of terms which later became the ‘five canons for rhetoric’. As Selzer (2004) writes, these are, ‘*inventio* (i.e., the finding or creation of information for persuasive acts, and the planning of strategies), *dispositio* (or arrangement), *elocutio* (or style), *memoria* (the recollection of rhetorical resources that one might call upon, as well as the memorization of what has been invented and arranged), and *pronuntiatio* (or delivery)’ (Selzer, 2004: 284). Selzer (2004) lists several linguists who made impact in the development of rhetoric science. According Selzer (2004), a serious contribution to the study of rhetorical analysis as well as to the development of terminology employed in the field is made by 20<sup>th</sup> century rhetoricians, such as Kenneth Burke (ibid: 285) He developed a host of terms that he used to understand rhetorical performances, and his admirers have continued to employ Burkean terms *act*, *agent*, *agency*, *scene*, *purpose*, *identification*, and *consubstantiality* to understand better the rhetorical moves that exist in all sorts of rhetorical acts (ibid).

Among other scholars who worked in this area of linguistics is a philosopher Stephen Toulmin. As Selzer (2004) writes, ‘Toulmin suggested a series of terms that would account for the conduct of arguments in particular fields. Roland Barthes was a “pioneer of analyzing wrestling and toys in his *Mythologies* (1972)” (ibid). Selzer mentions several other scholars who left trace in the development of the analysis of language of persuasion.

The aim of the method of rhetorical analysis largely corresponds to the task of the present research, that is, to find out how people within specific social situations attempt to influence others through language. As rhetoric is fundamentally involved in the study of persuasion, rhetorical analysis helps the researchers to understand better how specific rhetorical episodes are persuasive, as well as to get a better idea of the attitudes, beliefs and values that are conveyed in particular rhetorical moments. As Selzer (2004) claims, ‘the task of rhetorical analyst is to read the message of the speaker interpretively, try to understand the essence of the message as well as how this message is crafted to earn a particular response’ (Selzer, 2004: 281-282).

Selzer (2004) claims that, ‘in order to be able to interpret the message of the speaker, rhetorical analyst addresses the same issues as the speaker himself does, that is, how should the message be shaped and delivered in order to create persuasive effect’ (ibid). According to Selzer’s (2004) observation, there are many approaches to rhetorical analysis, whereas these approaches are not usually mutually exclusive, they can be placed within two extremes along one continuum. At the one end of the continuum are analyses that concentrate more on the texts, while at the other – the approaches that focus on context rather than on text. The target

of text analysis is one or another kind of rhetorical terminology. This approach is called *textual analysis* (ibid).

Since the present research discusses the ways political figures use language (linguistic means) in their speeches (texts) in order to influence the public, it is appropriate to apply rhetorical analysis (Selzer, 2004) to the study of pre-election speeches in the present research. As Selzer (2004) claims, 'the main issue that is considered by text-based rhetorical analysis is, of course, what the speaker has to offer on a given subject to a particular audience, but apart from this, it also considers issues like arrangement, style and delivery' (ibid., 285). Since the focus of the present research is laid on the linguistic stylistic features that political figures employ in their texts, it is relevant to carry rhetorical analysis from the perspective of style. The question that constitutes the basis for this rhetorical analysis of style is how the message is constructed and delivered, whereas the central issue to discuss is the choice of syntactical and lexical means. Thus, it is possible to formulate the basic steps for the rhetorical analysis for the present research:

- Discussion of syntactical patterns (sentence structures and constructions) and their function in the text;
- Discussion of lexical devices (vocabulary, figurative means) and their function in the text.

In order to prove the existence of rhetorical devices and to reveal patterns of their use throughout all the speeches, the present research also employs the method of computerised corpus analysis. The object of such analysis is a corpus of authentic texts processed with text-processing computer programme.

The method is aimed at measuring frequency of words in the text. It is a famous and widely approbated corpus-based method, since it has been earlier applied to other studies in linguistics (Biber, 1999). By means of this method, it is possible to observe the tendency of occurrence of certain rhetorical patterns throughout the entire corpus of collected texts. For this purpose, the research author has collected a corpus of contemporary pre-election speeches as an object of research. Thus, with the help of this method, it is possible to reach the goal of the present research, that is to explore rhetorical means and the tendency of their use in political speeches.

## **Chapter Summary**

The present chapter discussed existing methods of texts analysis that are widely recognized and applied to the research work of many linguists. In addition, the chapter discussed the

methods that are most appropriate, and thus, are employed in the present research. These are: rhetorical analysis method and corpus-based quantitative word frequency analysis method.

The following chapter discusses the results of rhetorical analysis of corpus of texts containing pre-election speeches by prominent politicians. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the existence of certain rhetorical patterns present throughout the speeches, to find out whether there is a tendency of using similar syntactic and linguistic patterns in this type of speeches.

### **3. RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF PRE-ELECTION SPEECHES AND DISCUSSION ON FINDINGS**

#### **3.1. Research procedure, findings and discussion**

One of the main condition for any text to achieve understanding, appraisal and, of course, ability to convince its perceiver is its logical structure, clear sense and unambiguousness, as well as transparency of ideas set forth. To reveal whether the authors of pre-election speeches employ these devices, the present empirical study applies two methods of analysis: rhetorical analysis and computerized corpus analysis. The present chapter discusses the procedure and presents the results of the analysis of rhetorical devices in political discourse of both kinds of analysis applied to the research. First, the present chapter discusses the research procedure and presents the discussion on the results of rhetorical analysis. Second, the chapter discusses the procedure and findings of computerized corpus analysis to validate the results of the rhetorical study. Finally, this chapter provides a summary of the findings and the discussion on the results.

To start with, the present chapter discusses the procedure and presents the findings of rhetorical analysis of pre-election speeches to see what the rhetorical devices that politicians apply to their speeches are.

##### **3.1.1. Rhetorical analysis and discussion**

The aim of the rhetorical analysis was to find rhetorical devices in the collected corpus of 16 authentic pre-election speeches of contemporary American politicians. The author applied the list of rhetorical devices that are commonly used in public speaking while making rhetorical analysis (Online 1). Thus, rhetorical analysis was aimed at finding rhetorical devices that politicians employ in their speeches, as well as to reveal certain tendency of use of rhetorical devices in each of the speeches throughout all the collected speeches.

The present subchapter presents and discusses findings of rhetorical analysis. It provides samples of rhetorical devices of particular kind found in the collected speeches along with commentaries on their use and role in the context of particular speech.

## Repetition in presidential speeches

To begin with, one of the wide-spread classical rhetorical devices that is frequently employed in pre-election speeches is **repetition** of the word. According to Borchers (2002), repetition involves restating a key word or phrase to reinforce the point being made (Borchers, 2002: 428). One of the possible variations of repetition of the word is when it takes scattered character, when one or several words are repeated throughout the entire text from place to place. These are usually the key words the author attempts to draw public attention to during the whole period of delivering the speech, thus these words are endowed with particular importance not only in the context of the speech, but also in the context of electorate's life. For example, when delivering his speech during the 2008 Presidential Campaign in Indiana George W. Bush used to repeat the word *family* several times throughout the speech:

*(1) This election comes down to some clear choices for America's **families**, choices on issues of great consequence. The first clear choice is the most important because it concerns the security of your **family**...*

*I want to thank the **families** of those who wear our nation's uniform... As I've told **families** all across this country, we will make sure your loved ones have the support necessary to complete their missions...*

*As I've told **families** all across this country, we will make sure your loved ones have the support necessary to complete their missions.*

*The security of our **families** is vital, and it's important to our people of this country to understand the records...*

*The second -- the second clear choice in this election concerns your **family's** budget...*

*The third choice in this election involves the quality of life for our nation's **families**...*

*We'll continue to improve life for our **families** by making health care more affordable and accessible...*

*We will expand health savings accounts, which will help our **families** and small business owners...*

*And the final -- the final choice in this election is on the values that are so crucial to keeping our **families** strong...*

*Most American **families** do not look toward -- to Hollywood as a source of values...*

*The security and prosperity of our country, the health and education of our **families**, the retirement of our citizens, and the direction of our culture are all at stake. The next four years, we'll work to protect our **families**, build our prosperity, and defend our values."*

(Appendix 1)

Another similar kind of repetition that Bush employed in his speech involves the phrase *your friends and neighbours*:

*(2) We need your help coming down the stretch to get **your friends and neighbours** to go to the polls. We have a duty in our democracy to vote. We have an obligation to vote.*

*So I'm asking you to tell **your friends and neighbours** about that obligation...*

*Now, I would like for you to share this startling statistic with **your friends and neighbours**...*

*And I want you to remind **your friends and neighbours**, when you're out there getting people to the polls, what this economy has been through.*

*I want you to remind **your friends and neighbours** as you get them to the polls that George W. did get elected, and our seniors did get their checks.*

(Appendix 1)

Both (1) and (2) examples refer to the same domain that is aimed at the appeal to the things that are usually most important to all people, that is, their family, friends and neighbours. Bush deliberately employs these words in order to touch most sacred and significant matters as well as to show that he also shares electorate's attitude towards these matters and it is one of aspects on the basis of which future president and his people can be united.

In fact, as the analysis of pre-election speeches shows, the words that belong to the domain of "family" are one of the most frequently employed by politicians during their campaigns. Such choice is self-explanatory, since these are the words that remain to be the most important matters for any person (who is part of electorate). Thus, such appeal to most significant and sacred tends to have a manipulative effect on human consciousness.

In order to prove one's credibility and trustworthiness and the fact that he can thus, be voted for, Bush constantly tells about his previous achievements (during the first term of his presidency) summing up by frequently repeated phrase: "I kept my word":

*(3) When I ran for President four years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families, and **I kept my word**...*

*As a candidate, I pledged to end the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. **I kept my word**...*

*When I ran for President four years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. **I kept my word**...*

(Appendix 1.)

The phrase *I kept my word* in the example (3) serves as a confirmation of the accomplishments made so far. It is used to make people believe, that this candidate really fulfils his promises by improving the situation in the country, and, thus, can be elected for the second term.

One more example of repetition carries local rather than scattered character, since the word is repeated throughout two paragraphs running, but rather intensively. The word that is repeated is *free* and its derivative *freedom*:

(4) *And we're spreading **freedom** and liberty...*

***Freedom** is on the march...*

*I believe everybody in the world yearns to be **free**...*

*I believe people deep in their soul want to live in a **free** society...*

*I believe that because **freedom** is not America's gift to the world, **freedom** is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.*

#### (Appendix 1)

As it can be seen from the example (4), the choice of word to be repeated is not accidental. Orator understands that freedom is something every person and every nation aspires to. Considering this Bush appeals to one of sacred goals of people's souls and minds, to willingness to be free and live in a free country.

Former president Bill Clinton also practised repetition during his announcement speech in Arkansas on October 3, 1991. One of the frequently repeated words as well as the key word of his speech was an expression *American Dream*:

(5) *All of you, in different ways, have brought me here today, to step beyond a life and a job I love, to make a commitment to a larger cause: Preserving the **American Dream** ...*

*I refuse to be part of a generation that celebrates the death of Communism abroad with the loss of the **American Dream** at home...*

*And I know that we are losing America's leadership in the world because we're losing the **American dream** right here at home...*

*If we have no sense of community the American dream will continue to wither...*

*In the **American dream**, in family values, in individual responsibility, and in the obligation of government to help people who were doing the best they could...*

I tell you, by making common cause with those children, we give new life to the **American dream**...

(Appendix 5)

Clinton deliberately makes this expression (*American Dream*) a thread running through the speech. Americans perceive it as a promise of prosperity, as a signal of a better, richer and happier life that will come after Clinton is elected. By recurrent use of this expression Clinton shows that he realizes and shares everyone's aspiration towards the ideal life which lies ahead, that he understands the essence of this expression and promises to bring it into life as soon as he is elected.

Another word that the author found frequently repeated in Bill Clinton's announcement speech is the word *home*:

*(6) I refuse to be part of a generation that celebrates the death of Communism abroad with the loss of the American Dream at **home**...*

*In the Soviet Union in recent months teach us an important lesson: National security begins at **home**...*

*And I know that we are losing America's leadership in the world because we're losing the American dream right here at **home**...*

*Middle class people are spending more hours on the job, spending less time with their children, bringing **home** a smaller paycheck to pay more for health care and housing and education...*

*I want the American people to know that a Clinton Administration will defend our national interests abroad, put their values into our social policy at **home**, and spend their tax money with discipline...*

(Appendix 5)

The word *home* is usually associated with pleasant and warm emotions, since it implies family, cosiness and feeling of security. The word itself carries positive connotation, thus, should cause the same pleasant feelings to arise in hearts and souls of the public. In the context of the present speech (example 6) the word *home* is used as a synonym for America. The president draws this comparison in order to make people understand that he co-feels with American nation in desire to see America (their home) secured, prosperous, preserving family values and traditions. By using such tactics Clinton implies a promise that he brings defence and security to America, thus to their home when he comes to power. In fact the words that belong to the domain of "home" are quite popular and often used by other politicians in their elections speech.

Another domain of repetitive words that deserves to be paid special attention to is *people*. According to the analysis of the election speeches, this domain contains such words as citizens, nationals, class. The following quotation taken from Bill Clinton's announcement speech serves as an illustration of this point.

*(7) All of you, in different ways, have brought me here today, to step beyond a life and a job I love, to make a commitment to a larger cause: Preserving the American Dream ... Restoring the hopes of the forgotten **middle class**...*

*And proud that we've done it without giving up the things we cherish and honour most about our way of life. Solid, **middle-class** values of work, Will, family, individual responsibility, and community...*

*As I've travelled across our state, I've found that everything we believe in, everything we've fought for, is threatened by an administration that refuses to take care of our own, has turned its back on the **middle class**, and is afraid to change while the world is changing...*

***Middle class** people are spending more hours on the job, spending less time with their children, bringing home a smaller paycheck to pay more for health care and housing and education...*

*Together I believe we can provide leadership that will restore the American dream - that will fight for the forgotten **middle class** - that will provide more opportunity, insist on more responsibility and create a greater sense of community for this great country...*

*But I do believe the rich should pay their fair share. For 12 years, the Republicans have raised taxes on the **middle class**.*

*It's time to give the **middle class** tax relief...*

*But its important to remember that the most irresponsible people of all in the 1980s were those at the top...not those who were doing worse, not the hard-working **middle class**, but those who sold out our savings and loans with bad deals and spent billions on wasteful takeovers and mergers - money that could have been spent to create better products and new jobs.*

*Do you know that in the 1980s, while **middle-class** income went down, charitable giving by working people went up?*

*Well put government back on the side of the hard-working **middle-class** families of America who think most of the help goes to those at the top of the ladder, some goes to the bottom, and no one speaks for them...*

*This is not just a campaign for the Presidency – it is a campaign for the future, for the forgotten hard-working **middle class** families of America who deserve a government that fights for them. (Appendix 5)*

As the example (7) shows Clinton does not address lower or upper class, he chooses the class that according to the overall statistics constitutes the majority of the population of the

country. Thus, in order to maximize one's chances and to enlist majority's support Clinton tends to appeal to this particular layer of America's society, which, he also does in quite an unordinary way. While employing the word combination *middle class* he wraps it in such adjectives as *forgotten* or *hard-working* which tends to strengthen the address to a particular part of the audience by introducing such feelings as understanding, compassion and sharing middle classes' difficulties and problems.

Newly elected American president Barack Obama also employs such traditional stylistic means as repetition in his election speeches. While campaigning in 2008 in Ohio, Obama chose several words to attract the attention of the audience. One of such key words was the verb *chose* and its derivative *choice*:

(8) *We don't have to **choose** between allowing our financial system to collapse and spending billions of taxpayer dollars to bail out Wall Street banks...*

*The **choice** in this election isn't between tax cuts and no tax cuts....*

*When it comes to jobs, the **choice** in this election is not between putting up a wall around America or allowing every job to disappear overseas....*

*When it comes to health care, we don't have to **choose** between a government-run health care system and the unaffordable one we have now...*

*When it comes to giving every child a world-class education so they can compete in this global economy for the jobs of the 21st century, the **choice** is not between more money and more reform – because our schools need both...*

*And when it comes to keeping this country safe, we don't have to **choose** between retreating from the world and fighting a war without end in Iraq....*

*The cost of this economic crisis, and the cost of the war in Iraq, means that Washington will have to tighten its belt and put off spending on things we can afford to do without. On this, there is no other **choice**... In one week, we can come together as one nation, and one people, and once more choose our better history.*

(Appendix 14)

According to the example (8) Obama puts the word *choice* not only as an agenda of his speech, but also endows his audience with responsibility before the country. When mentioning the word *choice* Obama draws the picture of future life that America can face if its people make the right choice. Obama means that this choice is highly important and serious, only in case Americans make their choice in favour of Obama, everything that is promised will be realized.

In order to get closer to his electorate and unite the forces Obama makes an emphasis on the word *together*:

(9) *You invest in America, America will invest in you, and **together**, we will move this country forward...*

*But you and I know that it is time to come **together** and change this country...*

*In one week, we can come **together** as one nation, and one people, and once more choose our better history...*

*If you will stand with me, and fight with me, and give me your vote, then I promise you this – we will not just win Ohio, we will not just win this election, but **together**, we will change this country and we will change the world.*

(Appendix 14)

As the example (9) illustrates that the use of the word *together* has many functions in the speech. First of all, it unifies the president with his audience. By using this word president as if joins the crowd, shows his sympathy and willingness to be one common nation. Second, he expresses his will to collaborate, to bring his contribution and help in building common prosperous future for America. And finally, he asks people to join him in building common prosperous future for America. The implication is that only in case of this joining of forces, America can become strong and prosperous country.

Another word that the author found repetitive in the speech of Obama was the word *change*:

(10) *After decades of broken politics in Washington, eight years of failed policies from George Bush, and twenty-one months of a campaign that has taken us from the rocky coast of Maine to the sunshine of California, we are one week away from **change** in America...*

*In one week, at this defining moment in history, you can give this country the **change** we need...*

*That's how we've come so far and so close – because of you. That's how we'll **change** this country – with your help...*

*Those are the theories that got us into this mess. They haven't worked, and it's time for **change**. That's why I'm running for President of the United States....*

*It's not **change** when John McCain wants to give a \$700,000 tax cut to the average Fortune 500 CEO.*

*It's not **change** when he wants to give \$200 billion to the biggest corporations or \$4 billion to the oil companies or \$300 billion to the same Wall Street banks that got us into this mess.*

*It's not **change** when he comes up with a tax plan that doesn't give a penny of relief to more than 100 million middle-class Americans.*

*That's not **change**...*

*And I will put in place the common-sense regulations I've been calling for throughout this campaign so that Wall Street can never cause a crisis like this again. That's the **change** we need....*

*But as I've said from the day we began this journey all those months ago, the **change** we need isn't just about new programs and policies....*

*But you and I know that it is time to come together and **change** this country.*

*I ask you to believe – not just in my ability to bring about **change**, but in yours.... if you will stand with me, and fight with me, and give me your vote, then I promise you this – we will not just win Ohio, we will not just win this election, but together, we will **change** this country and we will **change** the world.*

(Appendix 14)

The word change in the example (10) is very manipulative since in the minds of people it is usually associated with the change for a better life and not the other way round. When a change is promised any person psychologically is inclined in favour of something better than it was before, at least the person hopes so. The example (10) is rather illustrative itself, since it contains not only the word that is recurrently used throughout the speech, but also explains what the word *change* would mean in the context of America as well as under what condition it occurs. According to Obama change will happen only after and in case he is elected, but not his opponent. In case his opponent wins the elections, no change is going to happen. In other words, as Obama promises that change for the better happens only when he is chosen the president.

When it comes to the use of repetition politicians do not just choose one or several words as key words for the audience to pay attention to from time to time during the speech. In order to keep the audience attentively following the message and the main ideas during the whole time of delivering the speech, politicians structure their speeches according to the principle of parallelism.

### **Parallelism as a means of persuasion**

As the study of Singh and Peccei (2004) shows, ‘when politicians want to draw attention to a particular part of their message and make it stand out from the rest of the speech, they often use **parallelism**, a device which expresses several ideas in a series of similar structures’ (Singh and Peccei, 2004:45). According to the present analysis, parallelisms or different parallel constructions are one of the most frequent and popular rhetorical device employed by politicians in their election speeches. It can be explained by politicians’ common desire to draw public’s attention to the most important statements of their speeches as well as to make it sound smooth and rhythmically.

As Singh and Peccei (2004) consider, ‘this can serve to emphasise that the ideas are equal in importance and can add a sense of symmetry and rhythm, which makes the speech more memorable’(ibid).

According to the present analysis politicians exploit various forms of parallel constructions. As Leanne (2009) writes, ‘politicians employ a wide variety parallel constructions that give power to their oration, among them anaphora, conduplicatio, epistrophe and mesodiplosis, among them. These rhetorical techniques help politicians to structure their key ideas and themes and drive key points home’ (Leanne, 2009: 108).

The analysis showed that politicians very widely use parallelisms of different kind in their pre-election speeches. One of the most widely used parallelism is *anaphora*. Leanne (2009) considers, that ‘it is an excellent tool for focusing attention on key words and ideas, since those words or ideas are emphasized at the start of a successive sentence, phrase, or clause’(ibid).

During his speech at the 2004 Presidential Campaign in Davenport George W. Bush used the following anaphoric structures:

(11) *We overcame these obstacles because of the hard work of Iowa's small business people, because we've got the best workers in the world.*

*We've overcome these obstacles because we've got the best farmers in the world.*

*And we've overcome these obstacles because of well-timed tax relief for the American people.”*

(Appendix 3)

(12) “*We gave tax relief to every American who pays federal income taxes. (Applause).*

*We gave tax relief for families with children.*

*We gave tax relief for married couples. (Applause) What kind of tax code is it that penalizes marriage? It's a tax code that needs to be changed. (Applause).*

*We gave tax relief for every small business that purchases equipment. And this time, the check really was in the mail.”*

(Appendix 3)

*(13) Because we acted, our economy since last summer has grown at a rate as fast as any in nearly 20 years.*

*Because we acted, America has added more than 1.5 million new jobs since last August. (Applause).*

*Because we acted, Iowa has added more than 11,000 jobs over the past year...*

*Because we acted, Iowa's unemployment rate now is 4.3 percent. (Applause.) When it comes to creating jobs for American workers, we are turning the corner and we're not going back. (Applause)*

(Appendix 3)

All three examples (11, 12 and 13) are aimed at emphasizing the achievements accomplished so far (during the first term of his presidency) for to make people see that the president has worked hard and brought a big contribution in the development of the country and, thus, can be trusted for the second term. Besides that, Bush makes his audience understand that it took him quite an effort (*we overcame obstacles*) to achieve everything he speaks about. Recurrent applause of the public tends to speak for itself. People are satisfied and appreciate Bush's efforts and are eager to believe him.

The following example appears to be rather illustrative, since it clearly emphasizes the purpose of president's service for the audience to feel that their possible future president acts according to their ideals, since liberty is every American's dream, goal and ideal:

*(14) By serving the ideal of liberty, we're bringing hope to others, and that makes America more secure.*

*By serving the ideal of liberty, we're making the world a more peaceful place.*

*By serving the ideal of liberty, we serve the deepest ideals of our country. Freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world. (Applause.)*

(Appendix 3)

While making his speech Bush stresses matters that are most important for American nationals to provide themselves with good quality of life as well as to feel financial security and independence, these are, of course, job matters:

(15) **To keep jobs in America, regulations need to be reasonable and fair.**

**To keep jobs in America, we must end the junk lawsuits which threaten our small businesses. (Applause)...**

**To keep jobs in America, we will not overspend your money, and we will keep your taxes low. (Applause).**

**To keep jobs in America, we will offer a workers a lifetime of learning, and to make sure they get training for the jobs of the future at our community colleges. The education and training community colleges offer can be the bridge between people's lives as they are, and people's lives as they want them to be.**

(Appendix 3)

As a matter of fact, after making such statements, which imply understanding of what should be done *to keep jobs in America* as well as promises that everything will be done in favour of it, Bush, certainly finds support among the audience. As it can be seen from the example (15), this support and appreciation is expressed in recurrent applause.

The following examples (16, 17) are quoted one after another the same as they are used in the text. Such use is quite a deliberate. Both anaphoric constructions represent Bush's intention to show his vision of future America, he wants to show that he shares the same desires and supports the same things as American citizens. Hence, he gets the support of his electorate in the form of the applause:

(16) **We want our workers to be able to own their own health care accounts so they can take them from job to job.**

**We want younger workers to be able to own a Social Security personal retirement account that they can call their own and pass on from one generation to the next. (Applause).**

**We want people owning their own farm and their own small business. See, we understand when you own something, you have a vital stake in the future of this country. The world is -- times have changed, but some things are not going to change.**

(17) **We stand for things.**

**We stand for something.**

**We stand for institutions, like marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. (Applause)**

**We stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every person counts. (Applause).**

**We stand for judges who faithfully interpret the law, instead of legislating from the bench.**

**And we stand for a culture of responsibility in America.**

(Appendix 3)

Former American president Bill Clinton also frequently employed anaphoric constructions during his announcement speech in Arkansas on October 3, 1991. The following quotation is one of the vivid examples of such use:

(18) *We've got to grow this economy, not shrink it...*

*We've got to invest more money in emerging technologies to help keep high-paying jobs here at home.*

*We've got to convert from a defence to a domestic economy...*

*We've got to expand world trade, tear down barriers, but demand fair trade policies if we're going to provide good jobs for our people.*

(Appendix 5)

By repeating the phrase *we've got to* (Example 18), Bill Clinton shows that he understands and considers his obligations and tasks he has to fulfil, thus implying a promise that he gets down to them as soon as he is a president. Clinton shows that he realizes the gaps he has to fill, the problems that the country still faces, so that, the audience understands that he takes all these matters seriously and considers their importance for the American future.

John Kerry also widely practised the use of anaphoric constructions during his 2004 Presidential campaign in Pennsylvania. The basic tactics he adhered to while delivering his speech was blaming and criticizing his opponent in election race George W. Bush who proposed his candidature for the second term. In order to discredit his competitor, Kerry enumerated all the failures that Bush led his country to during the first term of his presidency. One of the techniques that Kerry employed to do that was the use of anaphoric constructions:

(19) *George W. Bush has become the first President since Herbert Hoover to lose jobs on his watch. **He has become the first president** in more than 70 years to have the incomes of American families decline in each year of his presidency.*

***He has become the first President** to turn a record surplus into the largest deficit in history.*

***And he has become the first President** to launch an all-out assault on Social Security since Franklin Roosevelt first signed the program into law.*

(Appendix 8)

In order to stress audience's attention to the fact the Bush was *the first President to...*, Kerry repeats this phrase at the beginning of every new sentence of the paragraph (in the example

19), but in order to make his statements sound convincing and to depict his competitor in an unfavourable light, Kerry deliberately uses words and phrases that carry negative connotation, for example: *lose jobs, families' income decline, largest deficit in history*. All these phrases are aimed at juxtaposing oneself with one's competitor that is, at reflecting all the failures and losses of his opponent, thus, implying all the positive characteristics of oneself. In other words, Kerry intends to show all the worst that was before and all the best that yet lies ahead.

After the enumeration of Bush's *blunders* Kerry states that *it's time* for a change (as per example 20). In particular, Kerry lists all the tasks that it is necessary to fulfil in order to change the country for the best. To emphasize the importance of each of these tasks, Kerry starts every new sentence with the same introductory phase:

(20) *It's time to stop rewarding companies for shipping jobs overseas.*

*It's time to create good jobs in America again instead of jobs that pay \$9000 less than the ones they replaced.*

*And it's time to save Social Security instead of raiding it and privatizing it.*

(Appendix 8)

According to the present analysis, anaphora is also highly practised and beloved by present American president Barack Obama, who widely used them during his 2008 Presidential campaign. He uses anaphoric constructions for different purposes and in different contexts. As other candidates, Obama exploits the tactics of opponent's attack. As it was mentioned above there are certain key words that politicians apply to their speeches for an emotional appeal to the public. In the case of Obama, one of such words is *change*. In the case of Obama's presidency, the word carries positive connotation; in the case of his opponent's McCain's – negative connotation. The following example of anaphora use carries negative rather than positive connotation:

(21) *It's not change when John McCain wants to give a \$700,000 tax cut to the average Fortune 500 CEO.*

*It's not change when he wants to give \$200 billion to the biggest corporations or \$4 billion to the oil companies or \$300 billion to the same Wall Street banks that got us into this mess.*

*It's not change when he comes up with a tax plan that doesn't give a penny of relief to more than 100 million middle-class Americans. That's not change.*

(Appendix 14)

Another context where Obama uses anaphora is *achievement part*. As the example (22) shows, in this case Obama intends to separate and emphasize each and single accomplishment of American nation, thus, support and inspire his electorate with the feeling of pride for the country for its strength and power. By doing do, Obama expresses his solidarity and unification with American nation in sharing such emotions.

(22) *That's how we've overcome war and depression.*

*That's how we've won great struggles for civil rights and women's rights and worker's rights.*

*And that's how we'll emerge from this crisis stronger and more prosperous than we were before – as one nation; as one people...*

*That's how we create not just more millionaires, but more middle-class families.*

*That's how we make sure businesses have customers that can afford their products and services.*

*That's how we've always grown the American economy – from the bottom-up.*

(Appendix 14)

To proceed with juxtaposition effect, Obama refers to the previous times when people were deceived and mistreated. Such tactics is aimed at depicting oneself in the better light on the contrast with previous rules (although not mentioned by names). As the example (23) illustrates, Obama separates his thoughts and makes stress on each sentence by repeating the beginning of each to make the contrast sound more vivid and outspoken:

(23) *For the past six years **we've been told** that our mounting debts don't matter.*

***We've been told** that the anxiety Americans feel about rising health care costs and stagnant wages are an illusion.*

***We've been told** that climate change is a hoax.*

***We've been told** that tough talk and an ill-conceived war can replace diplomacy, and strategy, and foresight.*

(Appendix 12)

In order to express one's solidarity and desire for unification with American nation, Obama makes an appeal to his electorate, enumerating things that he considers should be done on the joint basis in order to improve the situation in the country. It can be illustrated by following example:

(24) *Let us begin this hard work together.*

*Let us transform this nation.*

*Let us be the generation that reshapes our economy to compete in the digital age.*

*Let's set high standards for our schools and give them the resources they need to succeed.*

*Let's recruit a new army of teachers, and give them better pay and more support in exchange for more accountability.*

*Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and let's lay down broadband lines through the heart of inner cities and rural towns all across America.*

*Let's protect the hard-earned benefits their companies have promised.*

*Let's make it possible for hardworking Americans to save for retirement. Let's allow our unions and their organizers to lift up this country's middle-class again. We can do that.*

(Appendix 12)

Obama's opponent John McCain in 2008 election race also widely employed anaphoric constructions. But unlike his colleagues McCain mainly applied this technique in the context of making promises or introducing his plans of improving the situation in the country. In order to sound convincing and certain that he can bring his plans into life, McCain tended emphasize each of his potential actions by stating them in separate sentences which start with the key phrase, like for instance. This idea is reflected in the following example:

(25) *I have a plan to protect the value of your home and get it rising again by buying up bad mortgages and refinancing them so if your neighbour defaults he doesn't bring down the value of your house with him.*

*I have a plan to let retirees and people nearing retirement keep their money in their retirement accounts longer so they can rebuild their savings...*

*I have a plan to hold the line on taxes and cut them to make America more competitive and create jobs here at home.*

(Appendix 10)

In the same way as his opponent Barack Obama, McCain uses the strategy of juxtaposition (Example 26). In order to set forth his own candidature's priority, he introduces each statement with the phrase *If I'm elected President*, but afterwards employs the tactics of contrasting. In addition, in order to strengthen this effect McCain exploits words and phrases

of negative connotation like *fine* (penalty), *raise taxes*, *cut jobs*, *kill more jobs* in the case of Obama's depiction, and words of opposite, positive connotation in the case of oneself representation:

*(26) If I'm elected President, I won't spend nearly a trillion dollars more of your money, on top of the \$700 billion we just gave the Treasury Secretary, as Senator Obama proposes. Because he can't do that without raising your taxes or digging us further into debt. I'm going to make government live on a budget just like you do.*

*If I'm elected President, I won't fine small businesses and families with children, as Senator Obama proposes, to force them into a new huge government run health care program, while he keeps the cost of the fine a secret until he hits you with it. I will bring down the skyrocketing cost of health care with competition and choice to lower your premiums, and make it more available to more Americans. I'll make sure you can keep the same health plan if you change jobs or leave a job to stay home.*

*If I'm elected President, I won't raise taxes on small businesses, as Senator Obama proposes, and force them to cut jobs. I will keep small business taxes where they are, help them keep their costs low, and let them spend their earnings to create more jobs.*

*If I'm elected President, I won't meet unconditionally with the Castro brothers, while they keep political prisoners in jail, stifle free media and block free elections in Cuba.*

*When I am President, we are going to pressure the Cuban government to free their people. The day is coming when Cuba will be free.*

*If I'm elected President, I won't make it harder to sell our goods overseas and kill more jobs as Senator Obama proposes. I will open new markets to goods made in America and make sure our trade is free and fair (alliteration). And I'll make sure we help workers who've lost a job that won't come back find a new one that won't go away.*

(Appendix 10)

Apart from keeping audience's attention drawn to the most important ideas throughout the speeches or its separate paragraphs, orators often bring their ideas to the highest peak, to the culmination. This device is called **climax**. Anaphora is a parallel construction which is usually accompanied by climax. George W. Bush is one of the representatives of climax users in his speeches. Quotation (27) as well as those listed below are examples of joint use of anaphora and climax:

*(27) It's great to be back here in the Quad Cities area;*

*it's a great place to work and raise your family;*

*it's what I would call the heart and soul of the country.*

(Appendix 3)

In the case of anaphoric constructions climax serves a final statement that as if concludes all the ideas set forth beforehand. It contains the most important and catchy thought of orator. On the one hand it generalizes the statements made, but on the other hand it expands the meaning of these statements. In the quotation (27), for example, by providing the sentence *It's what I would call the heart and soul of the country*, George W. Bush concludes his message, but at the same time widens the scope he covers when enumerating things he considers to be great. The use of such words as *heart, soul* standing together with the word *country* reflects Bush's perception and attitude towards America, which is supposed to cause appreciation as well as sympathies of electorate sharing the same views.

(28) *I want to be your President for four more years to make our country safer.*

*I want to be your President for four more years to make our economy stronger.*

*I want to be your President for four more years to make our future brighter and better for every one of our citizens.*

(Appendix 3)

Example (28) contains similar mechanism of working on public, since the last sentence contains words that tend to bring adrenalin into the audience's blood. The reason for such reaction hides in the choice of such words as *brighter, better future* which carry positive connotation as well as inspire hope in electorate's hearts.

(29) *Our strategy is clear: **We have** strengthened the protections for the homeland.*

***We're** reforming our intelligence capabilities.*

***We're** transforming the United States military.*

***We will** keep the all-volunteer army an all-volunteer army. **There will be no draft.***

(30) ***We** passed a really good piece of reform legislation.*

***We're** raising the standards.*

***We've** increased federal spending, but now we're asking for results.*

***We** want to measure.*

(Appendix 1)

In the examples (29) and (30), the last sentences carry both additive and resume effect; on the one hand, they provide the additive information in the form of a new, separate,

differently structured sentence, but on the other hand they sum up previous ideas in one loud culminate sentence, which expresses solidarity with one's nation in terms of picturing American future.

(31) ***I want to thank the Findlay High School Marching Band for joining us.***

***I want to thank Will Gravatt Band for joining us today.***

***Most of all, I want to thank you all.***

***I want to thank the grassroots activists, the people who are putting up the signs, the people making the phone calls, the people who have worked so hard to make this rally such a successful rally.***

***I want to thank you for what you have done, and I want to thank you for what you are going to do, which is turn out that vote.***

(Appendix 1)

Bill Clinton also employed climax in his speeches to emphasize most important ideas of his address. For example,

(32) ***Opportunity for all means reforming the health care system to control costs, improve quality, expand preventive and long-term care, maintain consumer choice, and cover everybody. And we don't have to bankrupt the taxpayers to do it. We do have to take on the big insurance companies and health care bureaucracies and get some real cost control into the system. I pledge to the American people that in the first year of a Clinton Administration, we will present a plan to Congress and the American people to provide affordable, quality health care for all Americans.***

***Opportunity for all means making our cities and our streets safe from crime and drugs. Across America, citizens are banding together to take their streets and neighbourhoods back. In a Clinton Administration, we'll be on their side with new initiatives like community policing, drug treatment for those who need it, and boot camps for first-time offenders.***

***Opportunity for all means making taxes fair. I'm not out to soak the rich. I wouldn't mind being rich. But I do believe the rich should pay their fair share. For 12 years, the Republicans have raised taxes on the middle class. It's time to give the middle class tax relief.***

***Finally, opportunity for all means we must protect our environment and develop an energy policy that relies more on conservation and clean natural gas so all our children will inherit a world that is cleaner, safer, and more beautiful.***

(Appendix 5)

In the case of example (32) Clinton repeats the phrase which carries positive connotation, which in fact, helps him to win part of the game. The phrase *opportunity for all*

itself works as a promise as well as convinces the audience that during Clinton's presidency all people will have opportunities to have jobs, provide for their families and have financial security, in other words, live in a country that offers *opportunities for all*. The last sentence works as a culmination for the ideas listed before. This sentence sounds loud and seems especially emphasized, due to the choice of words such as *cleaner, safer, beautiful, protect, environment, world, children*, which carry most positive connotation, as well as contains orator's resume on the main tasks that he sets for himself to be fulfilled during the term of his presidency. Such technique definitely manipulates electorate's minds since they hear what they want to hear and are pleased that their potential president shares their wishes and beliefs.

As it was mentioned above, Barack Obama frequently explores anaphoric constructions and climax in his speeches. As well as other his colleagues, Obama often brings his ideas to the culmination, collecting all the significance and importance of the previous statements in the last sentence. For example, Obama starts his election speech in Ohio as follows:

(33) *In one week, you can turn the page on policies that have put the greed and irresponsibility of Wall Street before the hard work and sacrifice of folks on Main Street.*

*In one week, you can choose policies that invest in our middle-class, create new jobs, and grow this economy from the bottom-up so that everyone has a chance to succeed; from the CEO to the secretary and the janitor; from the factory owner to the men and women who work on its floor.*

*In one week, you can put an end to the politics that would divide a nation just to win an election; that tries to pit region against region, city against town, Republican against Democrat; that asks us to fear at a time when we need hope.*

*In one week, at this defining moment in history, you can give this country the change we need.*

(Appendix 14)

The same as in the previous examples, the last sentence of the example (33) comprises the final thought of the paragraph. The orator endows this sentence with special importance by using such loud phrases as *defining moment in history, country, change*, which implies a promise that in a one week's time (when Barack Obama is elected), America would face a great moment when the country would change for the best.

Although as the analysis shows anaphora is parallelism which is most frequently exploited in election speeches, there are still cases of other parallel constructions such as, for instance *mesodiplosis*. The same as other parallel constructions, mesodiplosis is aimed at focusing audience's attention at the particular words, phrases or statements conveyed in

speech. In the case of mesodiplosis, these words appear in the middle of the sentence or successive sentences.

The author found an example of mesodiplosis in the election speech delivered by George W. Bush during his Presidential campaign in Ohio:

(34) *We got to make sure government responds to these times by standing **side-by-side** with people, **side-by-side** with our workers and **side-by-side** with our families.*  
(Appendix 1)

By stressing a compound word *side-by-side* (Quotation 34), Bush wants to point out that according to his vision (during his presidency), government should directly participate in the lives of every individual, for them to feel state institutions' support and help.

(35) *And that's why I went to the United States Congress and asked for \$87 billion of supplemental **funding** in September of 2003, necessary **funding**, important **funding**, to support our troops in harm's way. And we received good support for that.*

(Appendix 1)

In the case of example (35), the word *funding* is used recurrently to let people know what are the expense item that state money are spent on. By emphasizing this word, Bush makes the audience see that he realizes the importance of troops financing, as well as focuses audience's attention at his personal participation in the process of asking and obtaining supplementary funding.

John Kerry also used mesodiplosis during his 2004 presidential campaign in Pennsylvania:

(36) *Give me that line item veto pen, **and I will** cut the fat out of the budget.*

*Fourth, John Edwards **and I will** fight for automatic spending cuts if Congress can't keep spending in check.*

(Appendix 8)

In this case (example 36), Kerry emphasizes the idea that if he is endowed with power he makes all possible to achieve stability in America's economy. In other words, he lays stress on the words conveying promise.

Barack Obama also uses *mesodiplosis* construction to stress public's attention to the key words of his speech. In the following example he stresses the word *government*, which is accompanied by the words that carry positive connotation, such as *better, more competent, upholding values*. Moreover, he expresses his solidarity with American nationals in desire for a change of government, he sees and offers the future with 'better, more competent government which is able to uphold common American values':

(37) *We need a better **government** – a more competent **government** – a **government** that upholds the values we hold in common as Americans*

(Appendix 1)

(38) *Ohio, that's what hope is – that thing inside us that insists, despite all evidence to the contrary, that something **better** is waiting around the bend; that insists there are **better** days ahead.*

(Appendix 1)

Example (38) represents the same technique, whereas the word that is stressed (*better*) carries positive connotation, thus, implies change for the better when Obama becomes president.

Another parallel construction that the author found to be used in the election speech, is *symploce*, which is a combination of anaphora (recurrence of the same word, phrase at the beginning of the successive sentences or clauses) and epistrophe (the recurrence of the same words or phrases at the end of the sentences or clauses).

Bush was one the politicians to use this construction during his 2004 election speech:

(39) *And we're getting it done on behalf of the people of this country. **When it comes to reforming schools to provide an excellent education for all our children, results matter.***

***When it comes to health care reforms that give families more access and more choices, results matter.***

***When it comes to improving our economy, and creating quality jobs, results matter.***

***When it comes to a strong farm economy, results matter.***

***When it comes to better securing our homeland, fighting the forces of terror, and promoting the peace, results matter.***

***When it comes to electing a President, results matter.***

(Appendix 3)

Example (39) contains enumeration of the things that Bush considers to be of vital importance, and when it comes to solving these issues, the outcome is of special significance. Thus, he implies that if he is elected all the matters that he lists in these paragraphs would be considered and dealt with high responsibility and care so that the result is best possible.

Obama also used this construction in his 2008 presidential campaign.

(40) *Some of us had grandparents or parents who said **maybe I can't** go to college **but my child can**; **maybe I can't** have my own business **but my child can**.*

(Appendix 13)

First of all, it is worth to comment on the choice of words that Obama exploits in the quotation (40). These are the words that belong to the domain of *family* mentioned above. *Grandparents, parents, child* – all these words carry positive connotation, since they are most sacred and important words for any person who has family and cares for it. Thus, choice of words makes half of success of the statement, but in order to emphasize the meaning of the statement, Obama exploits contrast technique. Thus, he expresses the idea that any parent agrees to, that in case a grandparent or parent did not manage to fulfil their plans, their children will inherit this desire and opportunity and lives full life. Moreover, the statement implies promise, that as soon as Obama is elected, he makes everything to provide children with such opportunities.

When it comes to the conviction of the uniqueness and distinctiveness of the ideas proposed by the given orator, the audience should understand in what way is it so different. In order to make the elector feel the difference between *before* and *what follows*, politicians often rely on such rhetorical device as antithesis.

#### **Antithesis as contrast indicator**

According to the analysis of the corpus of selected speeches **antithesis** is one of the commonly used rhetorical device. According to the present research politicians very often use this rhetorical device to indicate contrast of two ideas or statements.

For example during his presidential campaign in Davenport on August 4, 2004, Bush made the following statements to be commented on:

(41) *When it comes to improving America's public schools, **we're turning the corner, and we're not turning back.***

(42) *When it comes to giving Americans more choices about their health care and making health care more affordable, **we're moving America forward and we're not going to turn back.***

(43) *And in all we do to improve health care in America, we'll make sure the **health decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by bureaucrats in Washington, D.C.***

(Appendix 3)

According to the quotations (41-43) by introducing contrastive pair, Bush wants to emphasize his vision of providing social guaranties, which is, to make their quality and quantity grow, considering interests and desires of real American citizens, and not the bureaucrats in power, who only follow their own aims.

*(44) Free countries do not export terror. Free countries listen to the dreams and aspirations of their citizens.*

*(45) Freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.*

(Appendix 3)

*(46) Listen, the strength of this country is not our military; the strength of this country is not our wallets -- the strength of this country is the heart and soul of the American people.*

*(47) Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth -- not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake.*

(Appendix 1)

The same as in the examples discussed earlier (41-43), quotations (44-47), in particular, antithesis used in these statements, emphasize Bush's understanding of the main value for any country, that is, its people. This implies, that Bush promises, that all the actions that would be made in frames of his presidency would be brought into life with the consideration of this thought. The words of positive connotation used in these statements such as freedom, heart, soul, strength help the orator to consolidate his positions in influencing his electorate.

*(48) In a war, sometimes you have to **change your tactics, but never your principles.***

*(49) History has shown that **Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right.***

*(50) The job of a President is **to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations.***

(Appendix 1)

As a future president, Bush clearly realizes his mission, whereas he should strictly adhere to his principles, and not pass his obligations on to those who will replace after his presidency term would be over, in other words, as the examples (48-50) show, Bush promises to be a strong leader and honest person, and not the other way round.

*(51) I don't want my child or your child to be part of a country that's **coming apart instead of coming together.***

(Appendix 1)

According to the example (51), Clinton wants to tell his electorate about his intentions concerning the fate of America. As a future president, he emphasizes his prior goal in this direction. Clinton strengthens the effect of his contrastive statements by introducing key words from *family domain* (of positive connotation) which, as it was said above, appears to be the most important thing for any person. Thus, Clinton, implies the future fate of his children is equally important to him as the future of any American child.

(52) *We've got to **grow this economy, not shrink it.***

(53) *This must be **a campaign of ideas, not slogans.***

(Appendix 5)

By introducing antithesis in his speech (examples 52-53) Clinton wants to emphasize that he realizes the basic aim of his presidency, meaning, that it should be oriented towards practical improvement of America's level of welfare.

(54) ***Governments don't raise children, parents do.***

(55) ***And while rich peoples incomes went up, charitable giving by the wealthy went down.***

(Appendix 5)

In order to strengthen the antithesis effect politicians frequently employ antonymic pairs, like in the case of John McCain's speeches example 52 and 55. It makes the audience more sharply feel the difference between the ideas contrasted.

(56) ***That's not a tax cut, that's welfare.***

(57) ***America didn't become the greatest nation on earth by redistributing wealth; we became the greatest nation by creating new wealth.***

(Appendix 10)

The same as the other politicians John McCain tries to sound more expressive by introducing the key words (in the context of pre-election speeches - the words of vital importance for the nation), such as *welfare, wealth* (Examples 56-57). According to these examples, McCain shows what his policy would be oriented to (*creating new wealth*) in case of his victory.

The examples of Obama's antithesis usage (58-66) mainly contain antonymic pairs oriented towards audience's better and clearer perception of the difference between nonsense and common sense, as per Obama's point of view. And, according to his manipulation he makes this viewpoint shared by his electorate.

*(58) American people don't want to hear politicians attack each other - you want to hear about how we're going to attack the challenges facing middle class families each and every day.*

(Appendix 16)

*(59) And it means making a deal with every American who has the drive and the will but not the money to go to college.*

*(60) We are not separated by the pro-America and anti-America parts of this nation - we all love this country, no matter where we live or where we come from.*

*(61) There are patriots who supported this war in Iraq and patriots who opposed it; patriots who believe in Democratic policies and those who believe in Republican policies.*

*(62) They have not served a Red America or a Blue America - they have served the United States of America.*

*(63) But this isn't a time for fear or panic. This is a time for resolve and leadership.*

*(64) With that fundamental belief that here in America, our destiny is not written for us, but by us.*

*(65) He gives you a tax credit with one hand, but raises your taxes with the other.*

*(66) The rescue plan that passed Congress last week isn't the **end** of what we'll do to strengthen this economy, it's only the **beginning**.*

(Appendix 16)

In order to strengthen the effect of perception of certain ideas, there should be certain sound intensifier. In the context of the public speeches, it is usually achieved by repetition of certain letters in the words that are closely located next to each other. This rhetorical device is called alliteration.

### **Alliteration**

Another rhetorical device which appears to be widely employed by politicians in their pre-election speeches is **alliteration**, which is, as Leanne (2009) puts it, 'deliberate repetition of the starting consonant sound which draws attention to those particular words and serves as

a valuable technique for underscoring key words and ideas' (Leanne, 2009: 115). As the author of the book dedicated to the art of speech of Obama proceeds, 'alliteration is needed to emphasize words and concepts, and often to add eloquence to the beginning of his speeches' (ibid). As the analysis of the corpus of the selected speeches shows, the words that are stressed at the expense of this rhetorical technique are introduced not only at the beginning of the speeches: 'the recurrence of initial consonant sounds may also be sprinkled throughout a sentence' (ibid). One of the orators who is, according to the analysis of the speeches, is keen on using alliteration during his presidential campaign is Bush. One of the cases where Bush this technique appears to be especially spectacular is the part in the speech dedicated to the achievements. Since in the case of his speech in Bush applies for the second presidential term, he wants his electorate to see what is the volume of work done so far, thus, he provides well-reasoned proof to be elected for the second term. Examples (67) and (68) illustrate this argument:

(67) *So we provided more funds to hospitals healing -- handling a low volume of patients.*

(68) *We've increased payments for ambulance providers and suppliers in rural areas.*

(Appendix 3)

By using alliteration, Bush wants to stress things and events that caused strong shock among American people. Thus, by reminding people of such painful pages of their history Bush attempts express solidarity as well as to arouse emotional feedback from the electorate. This idea is reflected in the following quotation:

(69) *After September the 11th, we could not fail to imagine that a brutal tyrant who hated America, had ties to terror, had used weapons of mass destruction might use those weapons or share his deadly capabilities with our enemies.*

(Appendix 3)

As a person and as a potential president, Bush emphasizes the main values he would go along with during his presidency, thus, sharing such commonly accepted human values, he wants to enlist support and sympathies of American people. Quotations (70) and (71) clearly reflect this intention:

(70) *The individual values we try to live by won't change: courage and compassion, reverence and integrity.*

(Appendix 3)

(71) *A President must lead with **consistency** and **strength**.*

(Appendix 1)

When intending to lay a special stress on some idea which appears to important in the context of the speech as well as in the context of American history, Bush chooses the words which do not only start with the same consonant, but which also appear to sound similarly, so that the word collocation acquires the shape of catchy expression. Thus, people's attention is attracted to the key words in the speech in general, or, in the given passage, in particular:

(72) *Now, I would like for you to share this **startling statistic** with your friends and neighbours...* (Appendix 1)

(73) *Senator Kerry has turned his back on "**pay any price**" and "**bear any burden**"...*

(Appendix 1)

In his presidential campaign held Pennsylvania in the year 2004, John Kerry also employed the technique of alliteration when making several ideas sound especially important. The same as Bush, Kerry attempted to appeal to his electorate, by emphasizing the values and ideas that are commonly held to be praised and aspired to, such as for example, "decency and dignity" in the quotation (74):

(74) *If you work hard and contribute to your country, you can retire with a level of **decency** and **dignity**.*

(Appendix 8)

Kerry "tries to cash in" on the love towards family and hard times of America, where they would have had to survive. Such technique is aimed at arousing emotional feedback from the electorate in the form of compassion:

(75) *Imagine if your **parents** or your **grandparents** had to work on the **factory floor** long into their 70s – into their 80s?*

(Appendix 8)

In order to arouse appraisal and sympathies of his electors, Kerry refers to his prior achievements, mentioning prominent figures of the same high rank to be associated with:

(76) *Back in the 1980's, I broke with my party and joined with **reformers** like Warren **Rudman**, a **Republican** from New Hampshire, to push for deficit **reduction**.*

(Appendix 8)

The same as previous orators John McCain eagerly emphasizes the points which concern his future-oriented activities as well as accentuates previous governors' failures, which he, most probably, is planning to improve. These ideas are reflected in quotations (77) and (78):

(77) *I will open new markets to goods made in America and make sure our trade is **free** and **fair**.*

(Appendix 10)

(78) *That turned a **recession** into a **depression**.*

(Appendix 10)

Present American president Barack Obama also favours alliteration during his speeches. This fact can be proved by his 2008 presidential campaign, where he emphasized certain key words not only in frames of one sentence, like in the example (79):

(79) *But despite all of this, I ask of you what's been asked of the American people in **times of trial** and **turmoil**.*

(Appendix 13)

There were certain paragraphs constructed on the basis of this rhetorical device. This can be exemplified by the quotation (80), where Obama employed words, which primarily started with or contained consonant "m". The choice of words as well as the letter "m" in these words tends to create melodious and mild effect, which is pleasant to perceive, thus, the audience can easier and more willingly believe in the message it hears.

(80) ***Some** of us had grandparents or parents who said **maybe** I can't go to college but **my** child can; **maybe** I can't have **my** own business but **my** child can. I **may** have to rent, but **maybe my** children will have a **home** they can call their own. I **may** not have a lot of **money** but **maybe my** child will run for Senate. I **might** live in a **small** village but **maybe someday my** son can be president of the United States of America.*

(Appendix 13)

Another popular way to attract listeners' attention to the key notions of the speech is repetitive use of conjunction between these notions. Such technique of broadening spaces between the key word is called polysyndeton.

## **Polysyndeton**

As the analysis of the selected speeches shows that politicians are keen on using such rhetorical device as polysyndeton. As Leanne (2009) writes ‘it serves as a very valuable technique for building up or amplifying a point, in part because the repetition of conjunctions stands out and hence the list of words seems to go on at greater length than normal’ (Leanne, 2009:118). As a matter of fact polysyndeton is commonly used as a tool for enumeration, whereas objects, notions or actions that are listed become catchier for perception and consideration. Repetitive use of conjunction such as *and* and *or*, between certain words tends to signal of their significance and cause emotional influence on the audience.

In the case of George W. Bush it is difficult to group sentences that contain instances of alliteration in one category. In some (as in the quotation 81) Bush enumerates his colleagues, who went through pre-election battle together with him. Hence, Bush represents himself as an experienced politician and as a result of his further election- a winner:

(81) *I remember campaigning with Nussle **and** Leach **and** Latham, **and** your fine United States senator, Charles Grassley.*

(Appendix 3)

(82) *You cannot be pro-patient **and** pro-doctor **and** pro-trial lawyer at the same time.*

(Appendix 3)

Some examples contain instances where alliteration is used in order to show one’s readiness and eagerness to work hard in favour of America’s prosperity as well as to cheer up people and cause the same enthusiasm to appear in their minds and souls:

(83) *We have more to do to make our economy stronger. Listen, we’ve come through a recession **and** terror attacks **and** corporate scandals **and** a stock market decline.*

(Appendix 3)

(84) *We must work to change the conditions that give rise to terror: poverty **and** hopelessness **and** resentment.*

(Appendix 3)

(85) *And when you get them to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America **and** a stronger America **and** a better America.*

(Appendix 1)

(86) **And** *we'll keep our promise for Social Security for our seniors **and** we will strengthen Social Security for generations to come.*

(Appendix 1)

During his presidential campaign in 1991 Bill Clinton used alliteration to express solidarity with his people in blaming his predecessors of politics of in-action:

(87) *People out here don't care about the idle rhetoric of "left" **and** "right" **and** "liberal" and "conservative" **and** all the other words that have made our politics a substitute for action.*

(Appendix 5)

He also used this technique to show that he realizes the needs of American society and promises to fulfil these during his presidential term. This idea is expressed in quotations (88) and (89):

(88) *We need more than photo ops and empty rhetoric - we need standards **and** accountability **and** excellence in education.*

(Appendix 5)

(89) *In a Clinton Administration, students **and** parents **and** teachers will get a real education President.*

(Appendix 5)

(90) *Teddy Roosevelt **and** Harry Truman **and** John Kennedy didn't hesitate to use the bully pulpit of the Presidency.*

(Appendix 5)

As the analysis shows Barack Obama used polysyndeton numerous during his presidential campaign in 2008. When doing so, Obama mainly wanted to express one's willingness to collaborate with his nation, implying that only in the case of joint forces under his rule would face prosperous future. The following quotations contain instances of polysyndeton aimed at sharing strategies of future life improvement as well as inspiration of his people with belief that together (with Obama) it is highly possible:

(91) *And I was convinced that when we come together, our voices are more powerful than the most entrenched lobbyists, **or** the most vicious political attacks, **or** the full force of a status quo in Washington that wants to keep things just the way they are.*

(Appendix 14)

(92) *It should ensure a shot at success not only for those with money **and** power **and** influence, but for every single American who's willing to work.*

(Appendix 14)

(93) *We'll create two million new jobs by rebuilding our crumbling roads, **and** bridges, **and** schools, **and** by laying broadband lines to reach every corner of the country.*

(Appendix 14)

(94) *...if you will stand with me, **and** fight with me, **and** give me your vote, then I promise you this – we will not just win Ohio...*

(Appendix 14)

(95) *Senator McCain didn't tell us about the studies that say his plan would cause 20 million Americans to lose their health insurance, **or** how the Chamber of Commerce said it would be a disaster for businesses, **or** how it would de-regulate the insurance industry so that they don't have to cover things like mammograms, **or** vaccinations, **or** maternity care. He thinks we won't notice these things.*

(Appendix 13)

(96) *This isn't about losing a campaign - this is about Americans who are losing their jobs, **and** their homes, **and** their life savings.*

(Appendix 13)

(97) *But we're going to have to work, **and** struggle, **and** fight for every single one of those 13 days to move our country in a new direction.*

(Appendix 16)

(98) *It's getting harder and harder to make the mortgage, **or** fill up your gas tank, **or** even keep the electricity on at the end of the month.*

(Appendix 16)

(99) *That means recruiting an army of new teachers, **and** paying them better, **and** giving them more support in exchange for higher standards and more accountability.*

(Appendix 16)

(100) *The men and women from Virginia and all across America who serve on our battlefields may be Democrats and Republicans and Independents, but they have fought together **and** bled together **and** some died together under the same proud flag.*

(Appendix 16)

(102) *This isn't about losing a campaign - this is about Americans who are losing their jobs, **and** their homes, **and** their life savings.*

(Appendix 16)

In order to keep to preserve certain connection with a listener, an orator should try to sometimes lead him out to a dialogue. It should not, of course, be a verbal, but rather “behind the scenes” dialogue. For this purpose, orator introduces questions, he leaves open for answering, he leaves the space to filled in by every individual listener himself. This technique is commonly known as a rhetorical question.

### **Rhetorical questions**

According to the corpus of selected pre-election speeches, politicians are keen on “asking” rhetorical questions during their campaign. In fact, it is one of the most popular forms of putting the statements, since it “speaks” to an audience. As Leanne (2009) writes, ‘rhetorical questions is very popular technique of focusing audience’s attention. Rhetorical questions— questions whose answers are considered obvious and therefore are not answered by a speaker explicitly—help to emphasize points and crystallize attention around important issues’ (Leanne, 2009: 106).

During his presidential campaign in 2004 George W. Bush introduced rhetorical questions containing address to his elector, whether he is worth being elected for? In fact, his question contains hidden answer, “yes, he is, because he gives a promise to defend America” Thus, by introducing rhetorical question of such kind, Bush knowingly enlists his electors’ support:

*(127) Every incumbent who's asking for the vote has to answer a question: **Why? Why should the American people give me the great privilege of serving as your President for four more years?***

(Appendix 3)

*(128) Now, I had a choice to make: **Do I forget the lessons of September the 11th and trust a madman? Or do I take action to defend America?***

(Appendix 3)

All the following examples contain rhetorical questions, introduced to emphasize the importance of American future without any previous mistakes to be repeated. They are asked by the potential presidents to be trusted in, because they realize what should be done for the change for the better:

Clinton:

*(129) **They want us to look at each other across a racial divide so we don't turn and look to the White House and ask, why are all of our incomes going down, why are all of us losing jobs? Why are we losing our future?***

(Appendix 5)

Kerry:

(130) *Do we want four more years of a President who gives more to those with the most and tells a struggling middle-class that everything's just fine? Or do we want a President who will honour middle-class values and fight for middle-class opportunities?*

(Appendix 8)

McCain:

(131) *Will we continue to lead the world's economies or will we be overtaken? Will the world become safer or more dangerous? Will our military remain the strongest in the world? Will our children and grandchildren's future be brighter than ours?*

(Appendix 9)

Obama:

(132) *Will this country be better off four years from now?*

(Appendix 14)

(133) *Will they say that this was a time when America lost its way and its purpose? When we allowed our own petty differences and broken politics to plunge this country into a dark and painful recession? Or will they say that this was another one of those moments when America overcame? When we battled back from adversity by recognizing that common stake that we have in each other's success?*

(Appendix 16)

Sometimes in order to help the listener to take a correct answer to the questions asked beforehand, orators provide them with their variant. Such a next step to a dialogue after the rhetorical question is called **hypophora**.

### **Hypophora**

In order to sound argumentative and trustworthy, politicians should provide practical answers to the questions set (by themselves), but on behalf of the audience. Since these are the questions of social interest. Hence they expect to be answered by potential president. Making this, a candidate can receive additional bonus from his/her electorate.

As the analysis of the corpus of speeches shows, some politicians do preserve this “unpublished law”. George W. Bush is one of them. According to the example (134) he knows the answer top one of the crucial questions for any American citizen, moreover, he realizes, that it does not satisfy those and needs to be changed:

(134) *What kind of tax code is it that penalizes marriage? It's a tax code that needs to be changed.*

(Appendix 3)

According to the quotation from his pre-election speech, Bill Clinton also realizes deficiencies of the situation. Providing the answer to the stated question he expresses criticism and implication of hidden promise to change existing reality.

Clinton:

(135) *How can you ask people who work or who are poor to behave responsibly, when they know that the heads of our biggest companies raised their own pay in the last decade by four times the percentage their workers' pay went up? Three times as much as their profits went up.*

(Appendix 5)

(136) *When they ran their companies into the ground and their employees were on the street, what did they do? They bailed out with golden parachutes to a cushy life.*

(Appendix 5)

In order to express one's direct participation, willingness to collaborate, share the responsibility or avoid it, orators usually resort to the usage of particular **pronouns** suitable for each concrete case.

### **Pronouns as a rhetorical device**

As the analysis of the corpus shows, pronoun is one of the (if not the most) recurrent lexical means used in the pre-election speeches. According to the way and goal of its usage, it can be here looked at as one of the rhetorical device aimed at social influence. As Beard (2000) puts it,

...the pronouns politicians use in their speeches are worth looking at because they make a significant contribution to the overall effect. In fact, politicians and their speech writers, have some difficult decisions to make when it comes to using the pronouns that will keep appearing in their speeches: how much responsibility are they prepared to take on themselves: how much responsibility are they willing to share with other colleagues; how confident are they that whole groups of people share their views; how much responsibility for failure are they prepared to accept as their own?

(Beard, 2000: 44-45)

As the analysis of the collected speeches shows, politicians mainly employ a mixture of first person singular pronoun "I" and first person plural pronoun "we" ("our"). In fact, both the forms have certain implication hidden behind their usage. First person singular "I" is introduced mainly when the orator wants to emphasize personal involvement in some process

or action, basically when telling positive news. “I” is also used in case of making promises, to sound powerful and mighty in one’s plans and certainty to bring it into life.

First person plural pronoun “we”, in turn, is uttered when a politician wants to accentuate his wish to collaborate the nation. As Mayr (2008) refers, “Goodin (1980) has remarked that an important aspect of appealing to audience prejudices is the orator’s claim to share their perspective... The language of participation in general, and the word *we* in particular, figures importantly in this process. Use of the first person plural implies a unity between the speaker and his audience that is typically a fraud.” (Mayr, 2008:142)

Pronoun “we” is also used to share the responsibility with the members of one’s administration, to ensure oneself and one’s own reputation against the risk of failure. In other words to minimize responsibility when the plans are too grand to be achieved one one’s own. So, according to the collected speeches of George W. Bush, it is possible to observe all the instances mentioned above. The following quotations (137-139) contains recurrent use of first person plural pronoun “we” for the purposes of sharing the responsibility for the actions promised to be fulfilled:

(137) *So we've got to reform our high schools to make sure a high school diploma means something. We're going to expand math and science so young people can compete in our high tech world. We will expand the use of the Internet to bring high level training into classrooms. With four more years, we will help a rising generation gain the skills and confidence they need to realize the American Dream. (Applause.)*

(Appendix 3)

(138) *We have more to do to make quality health care available and affordable. When we came to office, too many older Americans could not afford prescription drugs -- and Medicare didn't pay for them.*

(Appendix 3)

(139) *To keep jobs in America, we must end the junk lawsuits which threaten our small businesses. (Applause.) To keep jobs in America, we will not overspend your money, and we will keep your taxes low. (Applause.) To keep jobs in America, we will offer a workers a lifetime of learning, and to make sure they get training for the jobs of the future at our community colleges. And we're going to make sure America's families keep more of something they never have enough of...*

When telling about his future intentions, Bush sometimes tends to introduce first person singular pronoun “I”, to emphasize personal involvement in the actions planned, to remind public that it would all be possible under his governance:

(140) *We've got more to do. I'm running for four more years because we've got more to do. (Applause.) We must continue to work with our friends and allies around the world to aggressively pursue the terrorists in Iraq and Afghanistan and elsewhere.*

(141) *We will continue to build our alliances. We will continue to work with our friends for the cause of security and peace. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries. (Applause.) We will keep our commitment to help Afghanistan and Iraq become peaceful, democratic societies.*

(Appendix 3)

Bush also employs plural form “we” to express unification with his nation on the basis of common achievements, to show his people that all these achievements are only possible on the joint basis. Moreover, thus, Bush inspires Americans for future collaboration (being the head of it) and new common success. Quotations (142-144) clearly reflect this idea:

(142) *To help people get access to quality care, we've expanded community health centers for low income Americans. We've created health savings accounts, so families can save, tax-free, for their own health care needs. When it comes to giving Americans more choices about their health care and making health care more affordable, we're moving America forward and we're not going to turn back.*

(Appendix 3)

(143) *No, we've come through much together. We've done hard work. During the next four years we will spread ownership and opportunity all throughout our land.*

(Appendix 3)

(144) *I want to be your President for four more years so we can continue to rally the armies of compassion, so we can help change America one heart, one soul, one conscience at a time.*

(Appendix 3)

Bill Clinton preserves similar tactics of pronoun use. He employs first person plural pronoun “we” willing to join his people in the process of improvement the quality of Americans. He believe that it is the process where “we” is an appropriate pronoun, since what he believes is good for Americans can only be achieved together. The same as the politician discussed previously, Clinton does not forgets about himself, introducing singular person pronoun “I” to stress one’s considerations, that is belongings to the process. But soon after introducing “I” he returns to “we” in the part of solving difficulties, which is always better if done together. Examples (145-148) illustrate these ideas:

(145) *But **we** cannot build a safe and secure world unless we can first make America strong at home. It is **our** ability to take care of **our** own at home that gives us the strength to stand up for what **we** believe around the world.*

(Appendix 5)

(146) *As governor for 11 years, working to preserve and create jobs in a global economy, **I** know our competition for the future is Germany and the rest of Europe, Japan and the rest of Asia. And **I** know that **we** are losing America's leadership in the world because **we're** losing the American dream right here at home.*

(Appendix 5)

(147) ***I'm** going to tell you in plain language what **I** intend to do as President. How **we** can meet the challenges **we** face - that's the test for all the Democratic candidates in this campaign. Americans know what **we're** against. Let's show them what **we're** for.*

(Appendix 5)

(148) ***I** honestly believe that if **we** try to do these things, **we** will still not solve the problems of today or move into the next century with confidence unless **we** do what President Kennedy did and ask every American citizen to assume personal responsibility for the future of **our** country.*

(Appendix 5)

Clinton also introduces “we” to blur the boundaries of responsibility, so that he is not the only one who is in charge and to blame in case of failure:

(149) *We must provide the answers...the solutions. And we will. We're going to turn this country around and get it moving again, and we're going to fight for the hard-working middle-class families of America for a change.*

(Appendix 5)

(150) *We should insist that people move off welfare rolls and onto work rolls. We should give people on welfare the skills they need to succeed, but we should demand that everybody who can work and become a productive member of society.*

(Appendix 5)

During his presidential campaign in Pennsylvania in 2004 John Kerry introduced a great deal of pronouns in his speech. He did not only introduced a variety of pronouns, but a play on these pronouns, that is a constant abrupt switches from one to another (from “I” to “we”) and a contrast (between “he” (his) and “I” or “we”). The same as the previous orators, Kerry used to employ first person singular pronoun “I”, first person plural pronoun “we”, but also second person pronoun “you”, third person singular pronoun “he”, along with a set of possessive pronouns “my”, “our”, “his”, “your”, “their”. The following (151) example demonstrates a technique, whereas Kerry switches from one pronoun to another, that is, from “I” to “we” in the frames of one sentence. In order to emphasize one’s power and serious intentions, he introduces “I”. But as soon as it comes to the promises where the result is yet quite fuzzy and risky to take the whole responsibility for, Kerry introduces plural form of the pronoun “we”:

(151) *When I am President, we will make a fresh start in Iraq to bring in our allies and train Iraqis so that we can succeed and bring our troops home. I will fight a tougher, smarter, more effective war on terror. We will hunt down, capture, and kill the terrorists wherever they are.*

(Appendix 8)

Another pronoun that deserves to be spoken about and which is largely represented in the speech of Kerry is the pronoun “he”. Kerry introduces this pronoun (“he” or “his”) when criticizing previous governors. Thus, Kerry wants to stress the difference in governing the country before him, and the form of governing he proposes. A politicians which is attacked most of all on the part of Kerry is his opponent George W. Bush, who had ruled the country right before this campaign and offers his candidature for the second term. Kerry strongly criticizes Bush for his previous failures and soon after each such linguistic attack, he

introduces either “I” or “we”, implying that he (and the whole country) is not willing and will not let the same repeat. Quotations (152-157) tend to illustrate this idea:

(152) *George W. Bush has become the first President since Herbert Hoover to lose jobs on **his** watch. **He** has become the first president in more than 70 years to have the incomes of American families decline in each year of **his** presidency. **He** has become the first President to turn a record surplus into the largest deficit in history. And **he** has become the first President to launch an all-out assault on Social Security since Franklin Roosevelt first signed the program into law.*

(153) *In 2000, George Bush promised the American people that **he** would never touch the money in the Social Security Trust Fund. Within months of taking office, **he** broke that promise. All told, **he** has taken more than \$500 billion of your Social Security.*

(154) *What George Bush still doesn't understand is that **his** four year spending spree on tax giveaways for millionaires has undermined the hopes of middle-class families and put Social Security on a dangerous road. Now **he**'s asking for another four years to privatize the program, and undo the sacred compact **we**'ve made with our seniors.*

(155) *George Bush now says **he** has a plan for Social Security. And it's even worse than what **he**'s already done. For the millions of middle-class families who wonder whether Social Security will be there when they retire, George Bush's answer, in **his** own words, is this: “I'm going to come out strong after **my** swearing in with...privatizing of Social Security.” Mr. President, that's one January surprise **we** can all live without.*

(156) *George Bush wants to finish the job **he** started in **his** first term. **He** wants to be the first President in history to put the greatest retirement program in American history at risk – a program built by generations of sacrifice and hard work.*

(157) *If George Bush can't see how spending away **our** children's future on tax cuts for those who don't need them, **he** never will. If **he** can't understand why raiding the Social Security trust fund means risking **our** future, **he**'ll keep on doing it. And if **he** doesn't get why sacrificing the retirement of millions of middle-class families to reward the powerful and well-connected is wrong, well then, **he** has proven beyond a doubt that **he**'s out of touch. **His** only new ideas are bad ideas.*

(Appendix 8)

As it can be seen from the examples (158- 161), Kerry introduces pronouns “our”, “you” and “your” in order to express solidarity with his nation, to make them see that he cares and co-lives their problems:

(158) *Well I'm here to tell you that even though this is George Bush's plan, it doesn't have to be **our** future. And now is **our** moment to choose. Do **we** want four more years of a President who gives more to those with the most and tells a struggling middle-class that everything's just fine? Or do **we** want a President who will honor middle-class values and fight for middle-class opportunities?*

(159) *I believe that **we** can protect Social Security for our seniors, lift up middle-class families, and keep America's promise to **our** children and **our** grandchildren. And when **I**'m President, that's exactly what **we**'ll do. **We** need a fresh start in America*

(160) *Social Security is part of the promise of America. It's a sacred compact between generations. If **you** work hard and contribute to **your** country, **you** can retire with a level of decency and dignity. Imagine if that was taken away? Imagine if **your** parents or **your** grandparents had to work on the factory floor long into their 70s – into their 80s? Imagine if they had to sell the house **you** grew up in to pay for **their** food or their medicine? This is wrong, this is devastating, this is the reckless course on which George Bush has placed this nation, and **we** have to change it. As president, **I** will set a new direction for America – a new direction for America's middle class.*

(Appendix 8)

When Kerry wants to sound especially mighty and powerful in one's intentions, he persistently employs the pronoun "I". the next (162) quote serves as an evidence for this fact:

(161) *...That leaves less money for food, medicine, and even an occasional gift for a grandchild. That's wrong and when **I**'m president, **I**'m going to change it.*

(162) *First, **I** will not privatize of Social Security. **I** will not cut benefits. **I** will not raise the retirement age. Because when **you**'ve worked hard for a lifetime, America owes **you** what **you**'ve earned.*

*Second, every budget **I** send to Congress will detail how **we** intend to pay for every proposal. And **we**'ll restore the simple rule that George W. Bush opposes: pay-as-you-go.*

*That's what **we** have done in this campaign. Every proposal **I** have made details how **we** plan to pay for it.*

*And **we**'re going to go further – **we**'ll go after wasteful government spending and bloated government contracts – because **you** deserve a government that works better and costs less.*

*Third, **I** will ask Congress for constitutionally-permissible line item veto to slice the pork out of the federal budget.*

*Give me that line item veto pen, and **I** will cut the fat out of the budget.*

*Fourth, John Edwards and **I** will fight for automatic spending cuts if Congress can't keep spending in check.*

***He** got rid of these rules, **I** will restore them.*

*Finally, **I** will implement the McCain-Kerry proposal to end corporate welfare as **we** know it.*

(Appendix 8)

Unlike the orators mentioned above, John McCain was rather consistent in his speech during the presidential campaign in Florida in 2008. He was more keen on using first person singular pronoun “I” when making promises regarding the future of America. In doing so, he wanted to show his mightiness, self-confidence and certainty of his plans and intentions, which tends to deserve more trust and faith that it would be brought into life. As the quotation below (163) show repetitive and persistent use of “I” (as a future president) made his promises sound quite powerful and effective:

*(163) I've been fighting for this country since I was seventeen years old, and I have the scars to prove it. If I'm elected President, I will fight to take America in a new direction from my first day in office until my last. I'm not afraid of the fight, I'm ready for it.*

*I'm not going to spend \$700 billion dollars of your money just bailing out the Wall Street bankers and brokers who got us into this mess. I'm going to make sure we take care of the people who were devastated by the excesses of Wall Street and Washington. I'm going to spend a lot of that money to bring relief to you, and I'm not going to wait sixty days to start doing it.*

*I have a plan to protect the value of your home and get it rising again by buying up bad mortgages and refinancing them so if your neighbour defaults he doesn't bring down the value of your house with him.*

*I have a plan to let retirees and people nearing retirement keep their money in their retirement accounts longer so they can rebuild their savings.*

*I will protect Social Security so that retirees get the benefits they have earned, and I will bring both parties together to fix Social Security so that it is there for future generations.*

*I have a plan to hold the line on taxes and cut them to make America more competitive and create jobs here at home.*

*If I'm elected President, I won't spend nearly a trillion dollars more of your money, on top of the \$700 billion we just gave the Treasury Secretary, as Senator Obama proposes. Because he can't do that without raising your taxes or digging us further into debt. I'm going to make government live on a budget just like you do.*

*I will freeze government spending on all but the most important programs like defence, veterans care, Social Security and health care until we scrub every single government program and get rid of the ones that aren't working for the American people. And I will veto every single pork barrel bill Congresses passes.*

(Appendix 9)

According the pre-election speech of his presidential campaign in 2008 present American president Barack Obama expressed an appeal to collaboration and unification with American people. It is proved by the frequent use of the first person singular pronoun “we”. It

signals of the willingness to set one's hopes on the commonness of actions which will lead the country towards success. It can be seen from the quotations 164-166:

(164) *We began this journey in the depths of winter nearly two years ago, on the steps of the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois. Back then, we didn't have much money or many endorsements. We weren't given much of a chance by the polls or the pundits, and we knew how steep our climb would be.*

(Appendix 14)

(165) *And I was convinced that when we come together, our voices are more powerful than the most entrenched lobbyists, or the most vicious political attacks, or the full force of a status quo in Washington that wants to keep things just the way they are.*

(Appendix 14)

(166) *Understand, if we want get through this crisis, we need to get beyond the old ideological debates and divides between left and right. We don't need bigger government or smaller government. We need a better government – a more competent government – a government that upholds the values we hold in common as Americans.*

(Appendix 14)

When Barack Obama introduces the word President he switches over to the first person singular pronoun "I". Moreover, he this tendency is also present when making promises. Repetitive use of the pronoun "I" makes him look more confident and trustworthy. Examples (167-169) illustrate this fact:

(167) *As President, I will ensure that the financial rescue plan helps stop foreclosures and protects your money instead of enriching CEOs. And I will put in place the common-sense regulations I've been calling for throughout this campaign so that Wall Street can never cause a crisis like this again.*

(168) *I will end those breaks as President, and I will give American businesses a \$3,000 tax credit for every job they create right here in the United States of America. I'll eliminate capital gains taxes for small businesses and start-up companies that are the engine of job creation in this country. We'll create two million new jobs by rebuilding our crumbling roads, and bridges, and schools, and by laying broadband lines to reach every corner of the country. And I will invest \$15 billion a year in renewable sources of energy to create five million new energy jobs over the next decade – jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced; jobs building solar panels and wind turbines and a new electricity grid; jobs building the fuel-efficient cars of tomorrow, not in Japan or South Korea but here in the United States of America; jobs that will help us eliminate the oil we import from the Middle East in ten years and help save the planet in the bargain. That's how America can lead again.*

(169) *I will never hesitate to defend this nation, but I will only send our troops into harm's way with a clear mission and a sacred commitment to give them the equipment they need in battle and the care and benefits they deserve when they come home. I will*

*build new partnerships to defeat the threats of the 21st century, and I will restore our moral standing, so that America is once again that last, best hope for all who are called to the cause of freedom, who long for lives of peace, and who yearn for a better future... As President, I will go through the federal budget, line-by-line, ending programs that we don't need and making the ones we do need work better and cost less.*

(Appendix 14)

When orators introduce a number of objects at one go, they usually choose to list them in three, since it is the number which makes things sound more accurate and pleasant for a listener's ear. This rhetorical device, which is often taken into account by the politicians, is called **tricolon**.

### **Tricolon or rule of three**

As Singh and Peccei (2004) observe, “one of the best-known structural devices in political rhetoric is the use of the ‘three-part statement’ . For some reason, people seem to find things that are grouped in threes particularly aesthetically pleasing.” (Singh and Peccei, 2004: 49) When stating this Singh and Peccei (2004) refer to Goodman who (in Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992) has looked at the predominance of ‘triads, threes and eternal triangles’ in cultures from all around the world. “The importance of the three-part statement as a rhetorical device is widely found in political documents and oratory.” (ibid) This is also true for pre-election speeches collected for the present analysis. For example, George. W. Bush chooses to emphasize important human issues in the number of three:

(169) *The institutions that give us direction and purpose are important: **our families, our schools, our religious congregation.***

(Appendix 3)

Bush also chooses this technique when willing to unite with one's nation for the purposes of change of America:

(170) *I want to be your President for four more years so we can continue to rally the armies of compassion, so we can help change America **one heart, one soul, one conscience at a time.***

(Appendix 3)

(171) *You cannot be **pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-plaintiff injury attorney.***

(Appendix 3)

He groups things in three when he wants to emphasize his basic tasks he is planning to bring into life:

(172) *The next four years, we'll work to **protect our families, build our prosperity, and defend our values.***

(Appendix 3)

Bill Clinton also chooses to group things in three when stressing his knowledge about authentic national standards:

(173) *But I can tell you, where there is **no national vision, no national partnership, no national leadership.***

(Appendix 5)

(174) *Make no mistake - this election is about change: **in our party, in our national leadership, and in our country.***

(Appendix 5)

Present American president Barack Obama also turns to tricolon when he wants to accentuate significant issues for electorate to pay special attention to, which they do, thanks to the nearly rhythmical effect that is created when basic things are listed in three, without any excess information being added:

(175) *That's what you do when you are **out of ideas, out of touch, and running out of time.***

(Appendix 16)

(176) *And we'll invest in preventative care and new technology to finally lower the cost of health care **for families, businesses, and the entire economy.***

(Appendix 16)

(177) *I ask you to believe - to believe **in yourselves, in each other, and in the future we can build together.***

(Appendix 16)

(178) *In last night's debate, John McCain and I each had the chance to make the case for change - to talk about what we would do differently from the last eight years when*

*it comes to **lifting our middle-class, growing our economy, and restoring our prosperity.***

(Appendix 16)

(179) *...so that they don't have to cover things like **mammograms, or vaccinations, or maternity care.***

(Appendix 16)

(180) *This isn't about losing a campaign - this is about Americans who are losing **their jobs, and their homes, and their life savings.***

(Appendix 16)

(181) *I'll also put two million more Americans to work rebuilding our crumbling **roads, schools, and bridges.***

(Appendix 16)

In order to make things sound more obvious and commonly accepted and make people think see these things the same, orators tend to introduce words which help speaker and listener meet at the point of sharing this vision. As Simon-Vandenberg, White and Aijmer (2007) claim, such stratagem is called “**taken-for-grantedness.**” (Simon-Vandenberg, White and Aijmer, 2007: 34)

### **Taken-for – grantedness**

As the present analysis show, politicians frequently turn to this rhetorical strategy when they want to make certain statements seem as long established truths known and shared by many generations including the present one (the one that elects the president at present). As Simon-Vandenberg, White and Aijmer (2007) write ‘it is over-archingly a mechanism by which the speaker announces that the current proposition is so generally known or so generally agreed upon as to be self-evident. It is thus a dialogistically anticipatory gesture in that either a state of knowledge or a value position is projected onto the audience’ (Simon-Vandenberg, White and Aijmer, 2007: 34). As the authors proceed ‘various authors working within a functional approach to language have argued for a view of modality which goes beyond the formal categories of modal auxiliaries and epistemic adverbs to include a wide range of lexical and grammatical expressions of speakers’ attitudes towards the truth value of their propositions’ (ibid).

As the present analysis shows, one of the most frequently appearing adverbs is “of course”. According to Simon-Vandenberg, White and Aijmer (2007) ‘“*Of course*” shares this functionality of announcing self-evidence with a few other locutions, for example,

*naturally, it goes without saying, needless to say, as you know or as everyone knows, and obviously.* The adverb *of course*, as well as its equivalents, (a) presents the speaker/writer as dialogically engaged with the putative addressee in anticipating that the proposition is something which will already be known or agreed upon, and (b) construes any contrary proposition as going against common sense or common knowledge' (ibid, 38).

According to the analysis of the selected corpus, politicians are eager to introduce adverbs proving certain statements being evident. George W. Bush is one of them. He concludes one of his statements by the expression "that's logical", which makes the preceding statement sound self-evident and convincing, so that people perceive the idea as their own. Quotation (182) illustrates the point:

(182) *See, if you make it easier for people to sign up for Medicaid, it means small businesses are likely not to provide insurance for their employees because the government will provide insurance for their employees. **That's logical.***

(Appendix 1)

John Kerry also employed this technique when attacking and criticizing politics of George W. Bush. He introduced such expressions as: "this is no secret", adverbs "of course" and "certainly" to make his criticism sound more trustworthy and argumentative, as well as to make people think they know it and are of the same opinion:

(183) ***This is no secret** – this is his plan – and it's out there for anyone who wants to see it. He even hand-picked a commission to recommend privatizing Social Security.*

(184) *And **of course**, while the President doesn't seem to understand the pain his privatization plan will cause middle-class families, he **certainly** knows the pleasure it will provide financial institutions – who will earn a \$940 billion windfall for managing these private accounts.*

(Appendix 8)

In order to strengthen one's positions and make people surely think they "know" Present American President Barack Obama tended to repeat the phrase at the beginning of his statement during his pre-election speech:

(185) ***Most of you know -- Most of you know** that I opposed this war from the start.*

(Appendix 12)

*When speaking about common future and obstacles which are be easily to overcome together, Obama assures his listeners it is highly possible:*

*(186) It won't be easy, but there's no reason we can't steer ourselves out of this crisis and make this century another American century. **Of course** we can.*

(Appendix 12)

As the analysis shows, if the orators want to decrease the level of responsibility for the statement made, or they are not completely sure of the truthfulness of the statements, thus, allow for other variants to exist, politicians tend to introduce another strategy of the kind, namely such phrases as “*it's possible*”, “*would*”, “*I believe and will.*” As Simon-Vandenberg, White and Aijmer (2007) explain: “the inclusion of such words in the discourse expanding or contracting the space for other voices and alternative positions and lower the interpersonal cost for any who might advance such a viewpoint.” (ibid, 35) Money is quite a tricky and delicate issue, that is why George W. Bush chooses not to be persistent and loud, making his proposition mild and variant-permissive:

*(187) That's why **I believe** younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own money -- some of their own payroll taxes, and put it in a personal savings account, an account they call their own, an account the government cannot take away.*

John Kerry tends to sound more certain and persuasive because of the pronoun “I” he uses when making his statements. But still he does not allow himself be absolutely sure and responsible for these words, because of that he mainly employs the phrase “I believe”, which lessens his risk in case of some failures. This idea is illustrated in the quotations (188-191). The same can be said about “would”, which leaves other outcomes of the situation described possible. Examples (192) and (193) serve as evidence to this idea.

*(188) **I believe** that we need a President who defends America and fights for the middle class.*

*(189) **I believe** that we can protect Social Security for our seniors, lift up middle-class families, and keep America's promise to our children and our grandchildren.*

*(190) It wasn't a popular position, but **I believed** then – as I do now – that it was the right thing to do.*

(191) **I believe** we're all in this together.

(192) According to the President's own Council of Economic Advisors, the plan laid out by that commission **would** blow a \$2 trillion hole in the Social Security trust fund.

(193) According to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, the Bush privatization plan **would** cut Social Security benefits. It will cut them by 23 to 45 percent.

(Appendix 8)

There are cases when Barack Obama also chooses not to take the entire responsibility for the outcome of certain affair he speaks about. He clearly introduces the point as his personal, but leave certain space for alternatives. It is shown in the examples (195-197):

(195) *In one week, you can put an end to the politics that **would** divide a nation just to win an election;*

(Appendix 14)

(196) *After all, every four years, candidates from both Parties make similar promises, and **I expect** this year will be no different.*

(Appendix 12)

(197) *We were both asked whether we believed that health care should finally be the right of every American. **I believe** it should.*

As a matter of fact, rhetorical devices mentioned so far, are the techniques described and explored by many linguists in their research works dedicated to the language of politics. As the present analysis proves, these rhetorical devices are indeed, recurrently used by the politicians in contemporary pre-election speeches. But since the purpose of the present paper is to go beyond already established theories in the field of rhetoric, it explores some of the newly introduced ways of politicians' rhetoric. In fact, as the analysis shows, some of present-days politicians tend to introduce new rhetorical devices, which help them win sympathies of the electors. One of such innovation exploiter is the present USA leader and the first black president in the history of America Barack Obama.

### **Newly introduced rhetorical devices in the speeches of Barack Obama**

Apart from the rhetorical devices that have history of usage (which is also illustrated by the results of present analysis described above), there are some new techniques appearing in the field. According to the present analysis, such cases are found in the speeches of the present American president Barack Obama. In order to win the 2008 elections, he introduced

several strategies to influence his electorate. These are the key words and issues represented in a new light and with a particular implicature, which are stressed more than others throughout all the speeches. To start with, he laid special accent on the notion of union.

### **A more perfect union**

One of the issues that deserved special focusing of Barack Obama was the so-called appeal to unification. This technique is distinguished by the persistent usage of such key words as: “together”, “one” (nation or people), “common”, “union”. By emphasizing the issue, Barack wanted to express willingness to collaborate with American people and act together irrespective of race belonging. Thus, he wanted to stress that he is the same as white Americans in that he shares the same dreams as concerning the future of America and the basic values everyone considers highly important to respect. He wants to say that he is one of the Americans, that belongs to American people, he is part of the nation. Of course, Obama realizes that there is still a big gap in the race issue, where both the races feel mistreated in a way, but he considers that on a common ground (working together in favor of common country) it is possible to start solving this issue, that together it is possible to overcome and improve the situation in the country in all its spheres. Since, as Barack Obama points out, there can be no race division when concerning problems or difficulties, all are equal then. The examples listed below (198- 223) illustrate the idea:

(198) *we're all in this **together**; and we will rise or fall as **one nation** - as **one people**.*

(199) *You invest in America, America will invest in you, and **together** we will move this country forward.*

(200) *There is only the road we're traveling on as Americans - and we will rise or fall on that journey as **one nation**; as **one people**.*

(201) *I ask you to believe - to believe in yourselves, in each other, and in the future we can build **together**.*

(202) ***Together**, we cannot fail.*

(203) *...and then you and I - **together** - will change this country and change this world.*

(204) *In the face of a politics that shut you out, that's told you to settle, that's divided us for too long, you believe that we can be **one people**, reaching for what's possible, building that more perfect **union**.*

(Appendix 12)

(205) *And that is why, in the shadow of the Old State Capitol, where Lincoln once called on a house divided to stand **together** where **common** hopes and **common** dreams still live, I stand before you today to announce my candidacy for President of the United States of America.*

(206) *...today we have the chance to face the challenges of this millennium **together**, as **one people** -- as Americans.*

(207) *So let us begin. Let us begin this hard work **together**.*

(208) *Politics doesn't have to divide us on this anymore; we can work **together** to keep our country safe.*

(209) *We can work **together** to track down terrorists with a stronger military.*

(210) *That's why this campaign can't only be about me. It must be about us. It must be about what we can do **together**.*

(Appendix 13)

(211) *I want us to take up the unfinished business of perfecting our **union**, and building a better America.*

(212) ***Together** we can finish the work that needs to be done, and usher in a new birth of freedom on this Earth.*

(213) *I believed that Democrats and Republicans and Americans of every political stripe were hungry for new ideas, new leadership, and a new kind of politics – one that favours **common** sense over ideology; one that focuses on those values and ideals we hold in **common** as Americans.*

(214) *And I was convinced that when we come **together**, our voices are more powerful than the most entrenched lobbyists, or the most vicious political attacks, or the full force of a status quo in Washington that wants to keep things just the way they are.*

(215) *And that's how we'll emerge from this crisis stronger and more prosperous than we were before – as **one nation**; as **one people**.*

(216) *We need a better government – a more competent government – a government that upholds the values we hold in **common** as Americans.*

(217) *Yes, we can argue and debate our positions passionately, but at this defining moment, all of us must summon the strength and grace to bridge our differences and unite in **common** effort – black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American; Democrat and Republican, young and old, rich and poor, gay and straight, disabled or not.*

(218) *But you and I know that it is time to come **together** and change this country.*

(219) *In one week, we can come **together** as **one nation**, and **one people**, and once more choose our better history.*

(220) *I believe deeply that we cannot solve the challenges of our time unless we solve them **together** - unless we perfect our **union** by understanding that we may have*

*different stories, but we hold **common** hopes; that we may not look the same and we may not have come from the same place, but we all want to move in the same direction - towards a better future for of children and our grandchildren.*

*(221) It's a story that hasn't made me the most conventional candidate. But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts - that out of many, we are truly **one**.*

*(222) As such, Reverend Wright's comments were not only wrong but divisive, divisive at a time when we need **unity**; racially charged at a time when we need to come **together** to solve a set of monumental problems - two wars, a terrorist threat, a falling economy, a chronic health care crisis and potentially devastating climate change; problems that are neither black or white or Latino or Asian, but rather problems that confront us all.*

*(223) But I have asserted a firm conviction - a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people - that working **together** we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice is we are to continue on the path of a more perfect **union**.*

(Appendix 14)

### **Modality**

Another distinguishable feature of Obama's pre-election speeches is frequent use of modality. One of such most frequently appearing modal verbs is "can". In the case of Obama's speech, "can" and statements containing this verb have an effect of inspiration, that is filling people with enthusiasm and certainty of their strengths and possibilities. Unlike previous orators, Obama introduces modal verbs in a new light, they sound louder and stimulating thanks to the frequent usage as well as to the cover they are wrapped in. Modal verbs like "can" usually form short statements starting with pronoun "we", which symbolizes common effort in which people together with their future president (in the face of Barack Obama) **can** do much in favour of America; or starting with the pronoun "you", which means people themselves are strong and **can** improve much in case they make the right choice (in favour of Barack Obama). Thus, by using such loud phases as: "*we can do that*", Obama points the idea that American nation under his supervision is mighty and can reach high results (in case Obama is elected): The quotations listed below (224- 234) serve as evidence to this fact:

*(224) Of course we **can**.*

*(225) Together, we **cannot** fail.*

(226) *Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and let's lay down broadband lines through the heart of inner cities and rural towns all across America. We **can** do that.*

(227) *Let's allow our unions and their organizers to lift up this country's middle-class again. We **can** do that.*

(228) *Every single person willing to work should be able to get job training that leads to a job, and earn a living wage that can pay the bills, and afford child care so their kids can have a safe place to go when they work. We **can** do this.*

(Appendix 12)

(229) *We will have universal health care in America by the end of the next President's first term. We **can** do that.*

(230) *We **can** harness homegrown, alternative fuels like ethanol and spur the production of more fuel-efficient cars. We **can** set up a system for capping greenhouse gases. We **can** turn this crisis of global warming into a moment of opportunity for innovation, and job creation, and an incentive for businesses that will serve as a model for the world.*

(231) *We **can** work together to track down terrorists with a stronger military. We **can** tighten the net around their finances. We **can** improve our intelligence capabilities and finally get homeland security right. We **can** do those things.*

(232) *In one week, you **can** turn the page on policies that have put the greed and irresponsibility of Wall Street before the hard work and sacrifice of folks on Main Street.*

*In one week, you **can** choose policies that invest in our middle-class, create new jobs, and grow this economy from the bottom-up so that everyone has a chance to succeed;*

*In one week, you **can** put an end to the politics that would divide a nation just to win an election;*

*In one week, at this defining moment in history, you **can** give this country the change we need.*

(233) *Yes, we **can** argue and debate our positions passionately, but at this defining moment, all of us must summon the strength and grace to bridge our differences and unite in common effort...*

(234) *But we **cannot** let up. And we won't.*

(Appendix 13)

## **Children**

Another strategy which was found distinguishable and repetitive in Obama's speeches was children issue. Obama frequently employed the word *children* and constructed sentences using this word, so that they imply the idea that children are synonymous with future. That the word *children* is used as a symbol of peaceful and prosperous life everyone aspires to. Taking into account the very essence and role of children in every person's life, Obama implies that when making the present choice they have to consider that the future of America is at stake, the same the future of their children. He emphasizes that he sees the future of America the same important is his children's future, as well as that the happiness of every American child is equally important to him as his own child's happiness. Examples provided below (235-245) serve to prove this idea:

(235) *And we'll give every **child**, everywhere the skills and the knowledge they need to compete with any worker, anywhere in the world.*

(236) *America still has the most talented, most productive workers of any country on Earth who work two jobs or three jobs and take the last bus home at night because they want something more for their **children**.*

(237) *Some of us had grandparents or parents who said maybe I can't go to college but my **child** can; maybe I can't have my own business but my **child** can. I may have to rent, but maybe my **children** will have a home they can call their own. I may not have a lot of money but maybe my **child** will run for Senate.*

(Appendix 13)

(238) *All of us know what those challenges are today: a war with no end, a dependence on oil that threatens our future, schools where too many **children** aren't learning...*

(239) *Each of us, in our own lives, will have to accept responsibility – for instilling an ethic of achievement in our **children**...*

(240) *Every single person willing to work should be able to get job training that leads to a job, and earn a living wage that can pay the bills, and afford **child** care so their kids can have a safe place to go when they work.*

(241) *But I do believe that government should do that which we cannot do for ourselves – protect us from harm and provide a decent education for our **children**;*

(Appendix 12)

(242) *And if I'm President, we'll give every **child**, everywhere the skills and the knowledge they need to compete with any worker, anywhere in the world.*

(243) *It is time to provide every American with a world-class education. That means investing in early **childhood** education.*

(244) *I believe deeply that we cannot solve the challenges of our time unless we solve them together - unless we perfect our union by understanding that we may have*

*different stories, but we hold common hopes; that we may not look the same and we may not have come from the same place, but we all want to move in the same direction - towards a better future for of **children** and our **grandchildren**.*

(245) *It is not enough to give health care to the sick, or jobs to the jobless, or education to our **children**.*

(Appendix 14)

### **Talking personal**

When delivering the speech, Obama attempts to make the distance between himself and his public as short as possible. For this purpose he chooses to avoid strict formalities, but on the contrary to tell real stories, such as his personal biography. In fact, he dedicates much time to retelling the story of his life, connected with his family, parents, service, previous work experience and people who played certain role in his life. By doing that, he shows that he highly respects certain things and moments in life which are considered to be most important for any American person. He talks much about America as his place of birth, emphasizing the idea of destination of belonging and serving to this country. The facts of his biography and the way he talks about them, for instance, his service at Trinity (church for black people), makes his listeners understand that for him nation is a union despite race belonging. In general talking personal, story of childhood, some bitter recollections or on the contrary happy moments, evokes tender emotions. It makes people see that if person cares much about the basic things in life, thus, he would care the same about the destiny of one's country and families living in it. By talking personal, Obama tends to touch most sacred, vitally important matters, causing sympathies if the audience to arise. The quotations below (246-257) help to illustrate this idea:

(246) *This issue is personal for me. My mother died of ovarian cancer at the age of 53, and I'll never forget how she spent the final months of her life lying in a hospital bed, fighting with her insurance company because they claimed that her cancer was a pre-existing condition and didn't want to pay for treatment. If I am President, I will make sure those insurance companies can never do that again.*

(247) *Well I don't know about you, but where I come from there's nothing more fundamental than a job - not just because it provides a paycheck, because it provides a sense of dignity.*

(248) *As most of you know, I'm not a native of this great state. I -- I moved to Illinois over two decades ago. I was a young man then, just a year out of college. I knew no one in Chicago when I arrived, was without money or family connections. But a group of churches had offered me a job as a community organizer for the grand sum of 13,000 dollars a year. And I accepted the job, sight unseen, motivated then by a single, simple, powerful idea: that I might play a small part in building a better America.*

(Appendix 12)

*(249) My work took me to some of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods. I joined with pastors and lay-people to deal with communities that had been ravaged by plant closings. I saw that the problems people faced weren't simply local in nature, that the decisions to close a steel mill was made by distant executives, that the lack of textbooks and computers in a school could be traced to skewed priorities of politicians a thousand miles away, and that when a child turns to violence -- I came to realize that -- there's a hole in that boy's heart that no government alone can fill.*

(Appendix 12)

*(250) It was in these neighborhoods that I received the best education that I ever had, and where I learned the meaning of my Christian faith.*

(Appendix 12)

*(251) After three years of this work, I went to law school, because I wanted to understand how the law should work for those in need. I became a civil rights lawyer, and taught constitutional law, and after a time, I came to understand that our cherished rights of liberty and equality depend on the active participation of an awakened electorate. It was with these ideas in mind that I arrived in this capital city as a state Senator.*

(Appendix 12)

*(252) It -- It was here, in Springfield, where I saw all that is America converge -- farmers and teachers, businessmen and laborers, all of them with a story to tell, all of them seeking a seat at the table, all of them clamoring to be heard. I made lasting friendships here, friends that I see here in the audience today. It was here -- It was here where we learned to disagree without being disagreeable; that it's possible to compromise so long as you know those principles that can never be compromised; and that so long as we're willing to listen to each other, we can assume the best in people instead of the worst.*

(Appendix 12)

*(253) This belief comes from my unyielding faith in the decency and generosity of the American people. But it also comes from my own American story.*

*(254) I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slaveowners - an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.*

*(255) In my first book, *Dreams From My Father*, I described the experience of my first service at Trinity:*

*"People began to shout, to rise from their seats and clap and cry out, a forceful wind carrying the reverend's voice up into the rafters....And in that single note - hope! - I heard something else; at the foot of that cross, inside the thousands of churches across the city, I imagined the stories of ordinary black people merging with the stories of David and Goliath, Moses and Pharaoh, the Christians in the lion's den, Ezekiel's field*

*of dry bones. Those stories - of survival, and freedom, and hope - became our story, my story; the blood that had spilled was our blood, the tears our tears; until this black church, on this bright day, seemed once more a vessel carrying the story of a people into future generations and into a larger world. Our trials and triumphs became at once unique and universal, black and more than black; in chronicling our journey, the stories and songs gave us a means to reclaim memories that we didn't need to feel shame about...memories that all people might study and cherish - and with which we could start to rebuild." That has been my experience at Trinity... The church contains in full the kindness and cruelty, the fierce intelligence and the shocking ignorance, the struggles and successes, the love and yes, the bitterness and bias that make up the black experience in America.*

*(256) And this helps explain, perhaps, my relationship with Reverend Wright. As imperfect as he may be, he has been like family to me. He strengthened my faith, officiated my wedding, and baptized my children. Not once in my conversations with him have I heard him talk about any ethnic group in derogatory terms, or treat whites with whom he interacted with anything but courtesy and respect. He contains within him the contradictions - the good and the bad - of the community that he has served diligently for so many years.*

*(257) I can no more disown him than I can disown the black community. I can no more disown him than I can my white grandmother - a woman who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me, a woman who loves me as much as she loves anything in this world, but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe.*

(Appendix 13)

### **Appeal to patriotism**

Another distinguishable feature of Barack Obama's speech is an appeal to patriotism. Obama is quite persistent in talking about America and American people. Thus, he raises the authority of the country as well as the self-appraisal of people live there. A special stress is made on the racial belonging which should not be a matter of conflict for the people living in one country that despite racial differences Americans should be solidary as concerning the wish of prosperity for their country. By making such an appeal, Barack Obama shows that he is one of American people who wants the same for his country, that he shares the common vision of America's destiny. Examples provided below (258- 285) show Obama's passionate willingness to work in the favour of America, as well as to make people help him in that:

*(258) We meet today at a moment of great uncertainty for **America**.*

*(259) Here in Indianapolis and all across **America**, you're seeing your hours get cut or realizing that you can't pay every bill that's sitting on the kitchen counter.*

(260) *I know that we can steer ourselves out of this crisis. Because that's who we are. Because this is the **United States of America**.*

(261) *And at each and every moment, we have risen to meet these challenges - not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as **Americans**.*

(262) *With that fundamental belief that here in **America**, our destiny is not written for us, but by us.*

(Appendix 12)

(263) ***America** still has the most talented, most productive workers of any country on Earth who work two jobs or three jobs and take the last bus home at night because they want something more for their children.*

(264) *It won't be easy, but there's no reason we can't steer ourselves out of this crisis and make this century another **American** century.*

(265) *That's why this is no ordinary election - because this is no ordinary moment for **America**.*

(266) *Take health care. We were both asked whether we believed that health care should finally be the right of every **American**.*

(267) *This isn't about losing a campaign - this is about **Americans** who are losing their jobs, and their homes, and their life savings.*

(268) *Bottom-up growth that gives every **American** a fair shot at the **American** dream.*

(269) *Will they say that this was a time when **America** lost its way and its purpose?*

(270) *Or will they say that this was another one of those moments when **America** overcame?*

(Appendix 13)

(271) *It was here, in Springfield, where North, South, East, and West come together that I was reminded of the essential decency of the American people -- where I came to believe that through this decency, we can build a more hopeful **America**.*

(272) *that today we have the chance to face the challenges of this millennium together, as one people -- as **Americans**.*

(273) *Let's be the generation that ends poverty in **America**.*

(274) *I want us to take up the unfinished business of perfecting our union, and building a better **America**.*

(275) *After decades of broken politics in Washington, eight years of failed policies from George Bush, and twenty-one months of a campaign that has taken us from the rocky coast of Maine to the sunshine of California, we are one week away from change in **America**.*

(276) *I knew that the **American** people were a decent, generous people who are willing to work hard and sacrifice for future generations.*

(Appendix 12)

(277) *It should reward drive and innovation and growth in the free market, but it should also make sure businesses live up to their responsibility to create **American** jobs, and look out for **American** workers,*

(278) *That's how we've always grown the **American** economy – from the bottom-up. John McCain calls this socialism. I call it opportunity, and there is nothing more **American** than that.*

(279) *and I will give **American** businesses a \$3,000 tax credit for every job they create right here in the United States of **America**.*

(280) *That's how **America** can lead again.*

(Appendix 13)

(281) *They have not served a **Red America** or a **Blue America** – they have served the **United States of America**.*

(282) *We are the **United States of America**. We are a nation that's faced down war and depression; great challenges and great threats.*

(283) *And at each and every moment, we have risen to meet these challenges - not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as **Americans**.*

(284) *This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign - to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous **America**.*

(285) *But what we know -- what we have seen - is that **America** can change.*

(Appendix 14)

### **War antagonism**

One of the important strategies that Obama represents during his speech as well as is planning to bring into life is putting an end to war in Iraq. This is the thing that people are mostly willing to hear. That Barack Obama is a person who wants the same as all the Americans do - peaceful life without any war threat. Thus, Barack Obama clearly expresses his intention to end the war and promises safety and peace, which is what all Americans deserve. This is the tactics which works in favour of the orator, since this is the issue that American people are unanimous in. Quotations below (286-288) prove this idea:

(286) *We'll start by ending a war in Iraq that's costing \$10 billion a month while the Iraqi government sits on a \$79 billion surplus.*

*In the face of war, you believe there can be peace. In the face of despair, you believe there can be hope.*

(Appendix 13)

(287) *Most of you know -- Most of you know that I opposed this war from the start. I thought it was a tragic mistake. Today we grieve for the families who have lost loved ones, the hearts that have been broken, and the young lives that could have been. America, it is time to start bringing our troops home. It's time -- It's time to admit that no amount of American lives can resolve the political disagreement that lies at the heart of someone else's civil war. That's why I have a plan that will bring our combat troops home by March of 2008. Let the Iraqis know -- Letting the Iraqis know that we will not be there forever is our last, best hope to pressure the Sunni and Shia to come to the table and find peace.*

(Appendix 12)

(288) *And when it comes to keeping this country safe, we don't have to choose between retreating from the world and fighting a war without end in Iraq. It's time to stop spending \$10 billion a month in Iraq while the Iraqi government sits on a huge surplus. As President, I will end this war by asking the Iraqi government to step up, and finally finish the fight against bin Laden and the al Qaeda terrorists who attacked us on 9/11. I will never hesitate to defend this nation, but I will only send our troops into harm's way with a clear mission and a sacred commitment to give them the equipment they need in battle and the care and benefits they deserve when they come home. I will build new partnerships to defeat the threats of the 21st century, and I will restore our moral standing, so that America is once again that last, best hope for all who are called to the cause of freedom, who long for lives of peace, and who yearn for a better future.* (Appendix 15)

### **Change for the better**

Another zero-risk technique that Obama employs in his speeches is a recurrent promise of change that would come if he is elected. This is exactly formulation which mainly accompanies the word change. Only in case he is elected the change for the better comes. Barack Obama realizes that there are always some gaps to fill in, that there are always certain issues to work at, to improve. Thus, the promise of change is always expected and accepted very gladly. Hence, Obama enumerates many drawbacks that the previous system had and sets tasks which are aimed at changing those. Moreover, Obama stresses that these are the Americans who can make this change happen, since the choice that works in favour of “change” is in their own hands. Examples below (289 – 306) illustrate this idea:

(289) *After decades of broken politics in Washington, eight years of failed policies from George Bush, and twenty-one months of a campaign that has taken us from the rocky coast of Maine to the sunshine of California, we are one week away from **change** in America*

(290) *In one week, at this defining moment in history, you can give this country the **change** we need.*

(291) *Most of all, I believed in your ability to make **change** happen.*

(292) *That's how we'll **change** this country – with your help.*

- (293) *They haven't worked, and it's time for **change**.*
- (294) *The genius of our Founders is that they designed a system of government that can be **changed**.*
- (295) *For that is our unyielding faith -- that in -- in the face of impossible odds, people who love their country can **change** it.*
- (296) *And although government will play a crucial role in bringing about the **changes** that we need, more money and programs alone will not get us to where we need to go.*
- (297) *And as our economy **changes**, let's be the generation that ensures our nation's workers are sharing in our prosperity.*
- (298) *But as I've said from the day we began this journey all those months ago, the **change** we need isn't just about new programs and policies. It's about a new politics...*
- (299) *But you and I know that it is time to come together and **change** this country.*
- (300) *I ask you to believe – not just in my ability to bring about **change**, but in yours.*
- (301) *I know this **change** is possible.*
- (302) *If you will stand with me, and fight with me, and give me your vote, then I promise you this – we will not just win Ohio, we will not just win this election, but together, we will **change** this country and we will change the world.*
- (303) *And in just 13 days, we can finally bring the **change** we need to Washington.*
- (304) *Because one thing we know is that **change** never comes without a fight.*
- (305) *What we need is honest leadership and real **change**, and that's why I'm running for President of the United States.*
- (306) *It will take a real **change** in the policies and politics of the last eight years.*  
(Appendix 14)

### **3.1.2. Computerised corpus analysis and discussion**

Along with the rhetorical (stylistic) analysis provided above, the present research employs the method of corpus analysis. It is the so-called Biber's (1988) quantitative research method which is considered to be highly effective for revealing the co-occurrence of certain linguistic patterns across large number of texts. The method is already approbated and widely applied to research works in linguistics. The given method is appropriate for the present research, since it helps to reveal exact statistical data of recurrently appearing words in the selected speeches.

In order to validate the hypothesis and prove the existence of certain rhetorical patterns, the author of the present research created a corpus that would reflect certain tendency of rhetorical devices in use. For this purpose, the author selected authentic speeches of contemporary politicians. The corpus contained recent pre-election speeches delivered by 5 American politicians, including George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, John Kerry, John McCain and present American president Barack Obama. Each of these politicians campaigned for the post of America's president a certain moment of time. Three of them, in particular, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama managed to win the presidential race. As the analysis provided above showed there are certain words and phrases that are repeated by all the politicians across all the selected speeches. The present corpus analysis is aimed at revealing the words that are most frequently used in pre-elections speeches, thus, at proving that these words represent characteristic rhetorical devices repeated throughout the speeches.

The whole compiled corpus contained 16 speeches to be processed by text-processing computer programme that measures frequency of words in the text. By measuring most frequently occurring words, the author revealed certain rhetorical patterns which are recurrent from speech to speech. In order to measure the most frequently appearing words across the speeches, all the speeches were processed by software as 1 file.

According to the quantitative research of the whole corpora compiled (see Appendix 17), there is a table of words, which are arranged from most frequent to least frequent. The table consists of four columns: 1) word type, 2) rank, 3) frequency and 4) cumulative percent. For the purpose of revealing rhetorical patterns, the present analysis does not consider grammar words (like prepositions, articles, conjunctions, hedges, demonstrative pronouns and etc.) which, as the research shows, represent the majority of the words used. The object of discussion are only those words that carry meaning in the text and express key ideas of the messages delivered.

### **Pronouns**

As the quantitative research shows one of the most frequently employed category of words that are used in the speeches are pronouns. The same as the rhetorical analysis of the texts the quantitative research reveals that these words are repeated the highest number of times across the whole corpora. Pronouns statistics is reflected in Table 1 below. The data for the table are taken from the common table (see Appendices Nr. 17), therefore the figures, indicating rank, frequency and cumulative percent are considered with respect to all the words that were calculated across the compiled corpora.

Table 1

**Distribution of Personal Pronouns in the whole compiled Corpora**

Pronoun type	Rank	Frequency	Cumulative percent
<b>First - person pronouns</b>			
I	8	1119	22.11
me	56	168	47.26
my	25	303	36.10
we	5	1297	16.31
us	46	190	44.42
our	11	701	26.40
<b>Second-person pronouns</b>			
you	14	547	29.23
your	41	213	42.81
<b>Third-person Pronouns</b>			
they	32	271	39.31
their	34	263	40.17
he	28	287	37.52
his	67	142	49.98

The present table illustrates distribution of pronouns and frequency of their use across the whole corpora. The same as the rhetorical analysis, the present quantitative analysis reveals the tendency of pronouns use by politicians in their pre-election speeches. The same as it was mentioned earlier, first-person pronouns “*we*” (1297) and “*I*” (1119) are most frequently employed pronouns. Persistent use of these particular pronouns can be easily explained by the motivation of the speakers. Personal pronoun “*we*” is most frequent, since there is a significant meaning behind its use. First, with the help of this pronoun orators want to collaborate with their people. Second, by using this pronoun they share the responsibility with their colleagues, in case the outcome of promised would not be as good as promised. In the case of the first person pronoun “*I*” politicians tend to make loud promises or express self-involvement in solving certain significant matters.

The following group of personal pronouns are “*our*” (701) and “*you*” (547). Frequent use of the pronoun “*our*” can be explained by the similar motivation as “*we*”. Repeating this pronoun, politicians express their willingness to join their people in fight for the better future, to show that they are ready to share the problems and challenges the country faces and wish to

solve them. The pronoun “you”, in turn, is basically used in order to address the electorate. Politicians frequently address people in order to recollect on some events, they witnessed and suffered at a certain point in history as well to emphasize their direct role in the outcome of these elections, their future depends on.

The next pronouns are “*my*” (303) and “*he*” (287). The pronoun “*my*” is similar to “*I*” in the intention of its use. Politicians employ the pronoun “*my*” to introduce their ideas, plans and intentions. Since these promises do not always have 100% result, politicians tend to minimize the risk of failure and use it less frequently than “*I*”, substituting it by pronoun “*our*” (or “*we*”).

Politicians employ third-person pronoun “*he*”, when they speak about their predecessors on the post. By using this pronoun, they usually blame and criticize their colleagues for the previous failures. Thus, they let people understand that these won’t happen again under the rule of the present candidate.

Third-person pronouns “*they*” (271) and “*their*” (263) are also quite common across the corpus compiled. These pronouns are also used when speaking about previous leaders and their political strategies, which did not meet much appreciation on the part American people.

All the rest pronouns “*your*” (213), “*us*” (190), “*me*” (168) and “*his*” (142) have similar interpretation of use as the pronouns mentioned above. Thus, the same as the pronoun “*you*”, the pronoun “*your*” is used to address people’ future, which depends on their choice in these elections. The pronoun “*us*” is used with the same implicature as “*we*” to express collaboration and commonness of ideas with one’s electors, or in order to minimize own risks and share responsibility for the tasks set. First-person pronoun “*me*”, the same as “*I*”, is used in order to express self-involvement in certain processes and actions. The pronoun “*his*” usually stands together with “*he*”, when the orator discusses failures of the previous leaders, the present orator blame them for.

### **America and its derivatives**

As corpus analysis shows, *America* is another word which is repetitively used throughout the whole corpora of pre-election speeches. According to the data provided in Table 2 below (Appendix 17), the word *America* is 23<sup>rd</sup> in the general rank in the table, it was used 322 times throughout all the speeches, and its cumulative percentage is 35.11. The same as the stylistic analysis, corpus analysis proves that this word is one of the frequently employed words across all the speeches. Such tendency is explained by orators’ willingness to appeal to electorate’s patriotism and express their own. Thus, people can see that their potential president wishes his country to prosper and clearly sees the ways to make it so.

Table 2

**Distribution of the word America and its Derivates in the whole compiled  
Corpora**

<b>Word type</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative percent</b>
America	23	322	35.11
American	52	175	46.16
Americans	83	108	53.26

Although the word *American* is less employed in the speeches, it is still counted as one of frequently appearing word in the whole corpora. In this case this derivative is used mainly as an adjective, for example in the collocation as “*American Dream*”. According to the data provided in the Table 2. above, the word “*American*” has 52<sup>nd</sup> position in the total rank, frequency of use – 175 times and cumulative percentage 46.16. When the speakers use this word as an adjective, they mainly use it in word collocations like *American people*, *American families*, *American dream*. Set expressions like *American Dream* imply the altitude every American person deserves and should aspire to. When the audience hears such an expression it immediately imagines high quality life with all the pleasures and good it desires to have. Thus, if the orator utters such an expression from the tribune, it means that he clearly understands what it is and makes it fulfilled as soon as he becomes the leader of the country.

In fact plural form *Americans* is less frequent than other derivatives of America. According to the Table 2 above, it is 83<sup>rd</sup> in the total rank, and it was used 108 times across the corpora compiled, consequently, its cumulative percentage constitutes 53.26. Nevertheless, it is considered to be frequent with respect to the all the words in the corpora. When politicians employ the word *Americans*, they want to show that they care about citizens of America, that they represent the heritage of the country and deserve better conditions for living and work than they had before. They speak about American person to praise him and fill him with certainty of one’s abilities and role in America. Thus, the orator wins sympathies of electorate for raising their self-esteem as well as for the co-feeling and understanding the needs every American person has.

### **People**

As it was mentioned above, orators frequently address their electorate to express either willingness to collaborate on the basis of common problems and issues that has to solved, or solidarity in issues concerning prosperity of American future. Thus, politicians get closer to their electorate and get their appraisal. According to the present analysis the word people is

one of the frequently appearing word across the whole corpora compiled. According to the results of quantitative research (see the Appendices Nr. 17), the word “people” has the following distribution across the whole corpora: rank- 35, frequency-257 and cumulative percent – 40.59. As the results show, politicians tend to speak about people’s needs, problems, issues of interest, past and future to make them see, the orator cares about them and would dedicate his presidential term for providing his people with all the good they want and deserve. Politicians often speak about good qualities and abilities of American people, about sufferings and deprivations they had in the past, as well as about their families and children. Hence, they appeal to the most significant and dearest things every American has in life and make them understand these things are the same important for the present candidate. Therefore, electors can conclude, that this potential president will provide all the best for their families as for his own.

### **Modality**

According to the results of corpus analysis, politicians frequently employ modal verb *can*. As the data from the general table (see the Appendices Nr. 17) show this modal verb has 24<sup>th</sup> position in the total rank, it is used 306 times across the whole corpus, and its cumulative percent is 35.61. Such tendency has the following explanation. Politicians use this word in order to fill their electorate with certainty in one’s strength and potential. That is, they are capable of making this country prosper, since they constitute its driving force and main value. Moreover, politicians fill people with enthusiasm to make their country improve together with their leaders. Such tactics makes people sure that their future is in their hands, and they are capable of deciding it here and now, by choosing the right candidate. Thus, orators inspire their electors to make their present choice, by which they can change their country for the best.

### **President**

As corpus analysis shows, *President* is another word which was recurrently used by the politicians in their speeches. According to the data provided in the general Table (see the Appendices Nr. 17) it has 58<sup>th</sup> position in the total rank, it was used 166 times, and its cumulative percentage constitutes 47.80. The same as rhetorical analysis, the present corpus analysis proves this word to be one the most frequently employed words across the corpora compiled. According to the rhetorical analysis provided above, the word “president” is basically used by the politicians in the context of describing “president’s duties, goals and actions. Thus, the orators show that they consider those and would do their best for those to be fulfilled during their presidential term. The word “president” is also used in the context of

promise making. In this case this word is used in phases like “If I am elected President” (see example 26. above). By using the word this way, politician promises all the good that comes in case he is elected. The phase is usually followed by the enumeration of plans and intentions the present candidate is willing to fulfil as soon as he becomes a president of the United States.

### **Country and World**

In order to let people see that politicians care about the situation in their country and in the whole world and that they are planning to improve it, politicians frequently employ the key words in this issue, that is, *country* and *world*. According to the data provided in the Table 3, these words are almost equal in the indicators with respect the whole corpora compiled, since they follow one another.

*Table 3*

#### **Distribution of the words Country and World in the whole compiled Corpora**

<b>Word type</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative percent</b>
Country	45	195	44.11
World	50	178	45.59

Orators frequently use these words in their speeches in order to list all the problems and needs the country and the world in general faces at present. Thus, politicians show that they consider the amount of issues that would have to work at as they become presidents. They win sympathies of their electors, since they represent themselves as seriously disposed politicians who would dedicate themselves the improvement of present-day situation people are not satisfied with.

### **Key Verbs**

As corpus analysis shows there are certain verbs that are very frequently used in throughout the whole corpora. These verbs are listed in the Table 4 below. The data provided in the table are taken from the general Table (see the Appendices Nr. 17), so, the figures are to be considered with respect to the whole corpora compiled.

*Table 4*

#### **Distribution of Key Verbs in the whole compiled Corpora**

<b>Verb type</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative percent</b>
Do	42	203	43.14
Make	55	168	46.99

Need	68	142	50.21
Care	71	139	50.89
Know	78	123	52.35
Work	79	116	52.54
Believe	82	109	53.09
Change	84	107	53.43
Help	88	102	54.11

According to the data provided in the Table 4, the verb *do* is the most popular verb in the corpora. It has the following indicators in the table: rank 42, frequency 203 and cumulative percent – 41.60. This tendency can be explained by the fact that this verb which usually implies certain action. As the analysis shows, it is especially topical for presidential campaigns, where the orators tend to enumerate things and actions they are planning to do, when they are elected as presidents. The verb *do* as well as almost all the rest verbs presented in the Table 4 has positive connotation, as in the context of pre-election speeches it symbolizes action oriented towards something better.

The following word has similar meaning, since it is used to indicate and emphasize things that should and would be *made* as the present candidate gets down to his duties. According to the data provided in the table 4, the verb *make* has the following indicators: rank- 55, frequency -168, cumulative percent- 46.99. The word *make* also has positive connotation, as it usually used in the phases implying progress.

Politicians consider that people always feel certain need for something that is why they speak about these needs during their-pre-election speeches to let their electors see they know those needs and would do their best to fulfil those. Therefore, the verb *need* is also one of the frequently appearing verbs in the corpora. According to the table 4, it is 68<sup>th</sup> in the rank, its frequency is 142, and cumulative percent – 50.21.

The verb *care* is also one of the frequent in the corpora. According to the table 4, the verb can has 71<sup>st</sup> position in the total rank, frequency- 139 and cumulative percent – 50.89. Politicians often use this verb to express their attention and concern for their people and situation in the country. Electors are certainly flattered and moved by such attitude of the potential president, since he promises to preserve his promises to care about them and their problems all through the presidential term.

In order to create an impression of politicians, who are aware of the factual situation in the country and issues that have to be solved, politicians often exploit the verb *know*. As the data from the table 4 shows, the verb “know” has the following indicators: rank – 78, frequency-

123, cumulative number – 52.35. Thus, when the politicians introduce such phases as “I know...”, they sound more trustworthy and credible. People are eager to believe politicians’ words, since they “know” how to make their lives better.

As the analysis shows, politicians mention the verb *work* 116 times (according to the whole corpora), and its cumulative percent constitutes 52.54. By introducing this verb in their speech politicians emphasize their respect for American people’ labour and let them see that he understands the way it should be paid for and what are the conditions that should be provided for solve all these issues and show their willingness to work equally with Americans to make the country prosper and have a standard of living it deserves.

As the rhetorical analysis (above) showed, politicians often employ such a rhetorical device as “taken-for-grantedness”. By using this technique politicians usually follow two goals. First of all, make their statements sound self-evident and commonly known. For this purpose politicians, introduce such phases as “of course”, “that’s logical” or “as most of you know” (see examples 182 -186). And second, they decrease the level of their responsibility when they are not certain about the outcome of the promise made. In this case politicians employ such words and phases as “possibly”, “I believe” or “I expect” (see examples 187-197) As the present analysis reveals, the verb *believe* is, in fact, one of the frequently appearing verbs in the corpora compiled. According to the data provided in the table 4, the verb “believe” has got 82<sup>nd</sup> position in the total rank, it is repeated 77 times, and its cumulative percent is 53.05 with regard to all the corpora compiled. It proves, that politicians tend to make certain statements concerning the future of America, but still they minimize risks in order not carry all the blame on their shoulders in case their words of promise would not coincide with the real outcome. That is why, politicians often start their statements with the phase “I believe....”

According to the analysis of the whole corpora compiled, the verb *change* is also frequently repeating in the speeches. As the table 4 shows the verb “change” has 84<sup>th</sup> position in the total rank, it is repeated 107 times and its cumulative percent is 53.43. In the context of the speeches collected the verb “change” definitely has a positive connotation. When politicians use this verb, they imply change for better, which would come if the given orator is given preference in the outcome of elections. That is why, the verb “change” has a special influence on public who are, in this case, given the right to choose in favour of change for the best.

According to the data provided in Table 4 the verb *help* is 88<sup>th</sup> in the total rank, it is repeated 102 times and its cumulative percent constitutes 54.11. The reason, why politicians often employ this word is rather evident. This is the word which evokes appreciative response

from the audience, since it implies positive action on the part of the orator. People are always in need of help and glad to receive it. Thus, if a potential president promises to help his people and country to improve their standard of living, they would definitely support him in elections.

**Every, one and all**

In order to get closer to their electorate and express they care for each of them, politicians often employ such words as *every*, *one* and *all*. The following table 5 provides data which reflects the Distribution of these three words across the whole corpora.

As corpus analysis reveals, the word *all* appears 263 times across all the texts and its cumulative percent constitutes 39.74. Politicians frequently employ this word in order to unite people, to make them feel as one big nation, mighty and gifted. The same explanation refers to the word *one*. Politicians use such words in order to fill their people with enthusiasm and certainty about their strength when they are *one nation*.

*Table 5*

**Distribution of the words *every*, *one* and *all* in the whole compiled Corpora**

<b>Word type</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative number</b>
all	33	263	39.74
one	53	170	46.44
every	66	142	49.75

Moreover, when politicians employ the words like one or all, they express their willingness to collaborate with people, to be one of them, to belong to the nation. Thus, on the basis of joint forces, being one whole, president and people could bend every effort to developing their country. Politicians care not only for all the people, but pay special attention to each and every American citizen in particular. Hence, according to the table 5, the word *every* is 66<sup>th</sup> in the total rank, it is repeated 142 times, and its cumulative percent constitutes 46.75. Orators tend to concretize when they talk about matters people care about most. Thus, they show that, in the case of problem solving, every American’s life story and needs are considered and taken into account. Thus, people can see that each of them would be heard and taken care of when the present candidate becomes a president.

**Health, security, jobs and family**

There are certain issues every person cares most of all. Living in the big country, every person wants be healthy, feel safe, have well- paid jobs and family. Taking into account

these human necessities, politicians tend to emphasize these issues, by repeating such key words as *health*, *security*, *jobs* and *family*.

Table 6

**Distribution of the words *health*, *security*, *jobs* and *family* in the whole compiled Corpora**

Word type	Rank	Frequency	Cumulative percent
Health	62	147	48.81
Jobs	73	132	51.33
Security	93	99	54.92
Families	102	89	56.28

According to the Table 6 above, the word *health* is the most frequently repeated word presented in the present table, it is 62<sup>nd</sup> in the total rank, its frequency is 147 times and cumulative percent 48.81. In fact, healthy is truly the most important thing for any person. Hence, politicians earn electors' sympathies, by placing this notion on the agenda.

In order provide one's living, any person wants to have a well-paid jobs. People should be provided with convenient conditions for work as well as deserved salary. Taking into consideration these expectations, politicians express solidarity with their people as to the importance of the issue and promise regulate this matter for every person to hold a post in accordance with knowledge and skills. Therefore, the word "*jobs*" is repeated 132 times and its cumulative percent constitutes 51.33 across all the speeches.

People want to live in the country where they would feel safe, not afraid of terrorists' attacks, sudden explosions or other aggressions. That is why, they feel pleased, when politicians speak about such important problems as security. This topic is especially vital for America, due to the events of the recent years and ongoing war in Iraq. In order to rest people at peace, politicians quite often employ the word *security*. According to the data of distribution of this word across the whole corpora, the word security has 71<sup>st</sup> position in the total rank, is repeated 90 times and its cumulative percent is 50.85.

Of course, this list of related necessities would not be full without such significant part of any person's life as his family. Politicians frequently accentuate this issue, speaking about the role of family and its true value for any person, in particular, and for America, in general. Hence, politicians, appeal to the most inmost human emotions and earn electors sympathies on the basis of this emotional collaboration. Thus, according to the table 6, the word "family" is 102<sup>nd</sup> in the total rank, it is repeated 89 times and its cumulative percent constitutes 56.28.

## Chapter Summary

The present chapter presented the results of rhetorical of empirical study and the discussion on findings. The study employed two methods of research: rhetorical analysis and computerized corpus analysis.

According to the results of rhetorical analysis, there are certain rhetorical devices that contemporary American politicians tend to employ on the regular basis. These rhetorical devices appear in speeches in both syntactic and lexical patterns. As the results of rhetorical analysis of pre-election speeches show, there is a number of traditional rhetorical devices used by all the politicians in their speeches on the regular basis, as well as newly introduced rhetorical strategies.

Collected and analysed corpus of 16 pre-election speeches showed that there is a tendency of use the same rhetorical devices in each speech of each politician, as well as in the whole corpus of speeches. In accordance with the results of the rhetorical analysis, there are also some newly introduced rhetorical techniques: modality, references to personal biography, appeal to patriotism (frequent use of the words *America*), appeal to collaboration (frequent use of the words *together, one* ( nation or people), *common, union*), war antagonism, found in the speeches of Barack Obama.

According to the results of computerised corpus analysis, there are certain key words, such as, personal pronouns, *America, country, people, president, health, security, jobs* and other, that politicians tend to use most frequently in their pre-election speeches in order to focus electorate's attention on their vital importance.

## CONCLUSIONS

The present Master's Paper analyzed rhetorical devices in contemporary pre-election speeches. The object of present analysis was collected corpus of authentic political pre-election speeches of recent years. In the course of the empirical part, the author revealed the tendency of appearance of number of traditional rhetorical devices throughout the whole corpus of speeches. The author identified a number of rhetorical devices that are repeated from speech to speech and are used by all the politicians studied in the present research on the regular basis in each particular speech. In other words, the empirical study revealed the recurrence of use of the same rhetorical devices from speech to speech.

In order to achieve the goal of the present research, the author undertook certain steps to reach the research objectives set and came to the following conclusions:

1. Having collected and studied the theory on rhetorical devices as a means of exerting influence in political pre-election speeches, the author built theoretical background for further empirical research.
2. Having reviewed the corresponding literature, the author came to a conclusion that there is a certain amount of literature written dedicated to the study of rhetoric in political speeches, but there is a lack of linguistic studies on the rhetoric of pre-election speeches in particular.
3. The method of rhetorical analysis selected and applied to the empirical study allowed the author to provide the analysis of rhetorical devices in contemporary pre-election speeches. The method of computerized corpus analysis or quantitative research proved repetitiveness of certain key words, like *America, country, people, president, health, security, jobs* and other.
4. Having analysed the corpus of 16 authentic pre-election speeches the author identified a set of traditional rhetorical techniques that each politician use in pre-election reports on the regular basis. The author found and discussed the following *syntactical patterns*: parallelisms, antithesis, polysyndeton, rhetorical questions, hypophora.
5. The following *lexical devices* were revealed and discussed: repetition (including repetitive use of pronouns), alliteration, tricolon, taken-for-grantedness. To illustrate the existence of certain rhetorical patterns present throughout the corpus, the author provided quotations from the speeches and discussed the use and role of particular rhetorical devices employed in each of the case.

6. Along with traditional rhetorical devices that are frequently used by all the politicians in their speeches, the author revealed the existence of newly introduced rhetorical techniques. According to the analysis of the speeches, the author observed that Barack Obama employs certain rhetorical devices which are typical only for his style of delivering a pre-election speech. Thus, the author found that along with traditional rhetorical devices Barack Obama employs newly introduced rhetorical means. These are mainly repetition of certain notions (lexical items) and ideas that are typical for his pre-election speeches. For example, Barack Obama has introduced intensified use of modality expressed in phrases like “Yes, we can”. Barack Obama is persistent in talking about union, frequently repeating such words as “together”, “one”, “common”, and “union”. Unlike his colleagues, Barack Obama was persistent in particular emphasizing such ideas as *children, America, war antagonism* and *change*.
7. Along with rhetorical analysis, the present study employed the method computerised corpus analysis, or quantitative research. This method proved the existence of certain key words which are most frequently used throughout the whole corpus of speeches.
8. On the basis of the undertaken study the following general conclusions can be drawn. The goal of the research has been achieved: the present paper explored rhetorical means and tendency of their use in political pre-election speeches.

The results of the study validate the hypothesis: politicians frequently employ specific rhetorical devices as tools of the influence and persuasion of masses in pre-election speeches.

The undertaken study is important since it covers the gap in the previous research on the same topic. The present paper represents a special value for the scholarly science, since it revealed not only traditional rhetorical devices, but also some newly introduced rhetorical techniques, which are used by politicians in the present-day pre-election speeches. This research can be used in the studies of rhetorical devices and their role in particular political context.

The present study can be further developed, since it analyses rhetorical devices in a particular type of speeches. In order to proceed, a larger corpus of political speeches can be collected. The basis of analysis can be further widened to other kinds of political speeches and public addresses. Further research can also follow and study the development of rhetorical devices, newly appearing techniques and the ways of their use by new coming politicians.

## THESES

1. The present study has investigated the use of rhetorical devices in political discourse of presidential speeches.
2. The review of previously written literature revealed the gap in the empirical research of rhetorical devices in pre-election speeches particularly, which the present paper attempted to cover by analyzing 16 pre-election speeches of contemporary politicians.
3. A combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology selected and applied in the present paper to rhetorical analysis enabled the author to provide empirical study of rhetorical devices in political discourse.
4. In order to distinguish rhetorical devices and reveal the patterns of their use throughout all the speeches, empirical study also employed the method of computerised corpus analysis.
5. Collected and analysed corpus of 16 pre-election speeches showed that there is a tendency of use the same rhetorical devices in each speech of each politician, as well in the whole corpus of speeches.
6. As the results of rhetorical analysis of pre-election speeches show, there is a number of traditional rhetorical devices used by all the politicians in their speeches on the regular basis, as well as newly introduced rhetorical strategies.
7. In accordance with the results of the rhetorical analysis, there are some newly introduced rhetorical techniques, such as modality, references to personal biography, appeal to patriotism (e.g. frequent use of the word *America*), appeal to collaboration (e.g. frequent use of the words *together*, *one* ( nation or people), *common*, *union*) and war antagonism found in the speeches of Barack Obama.
8. According to the results of computerised corpus analysis, there are certain key words, such as *America*, *country*, *people*, *president*, *health*, *security*, *jobs* and other personal pronouns that politicians tend to use most frequently in their pre-election speeches in order to focus electorate's attention on their vital importance.
9. The results of the study validated the hypothesis. Politicians frequently employ specific rhetorical devices as tools of the influence and persuasion of masses in pre-election speeches.
10. The results of the study showed that the present research can be complimented in future with the rhetorical analysis of larger corpus of other kinds of political discourse.

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## **List of Analysed Political Speeches**

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN THE STUDY

<i>Alliteration</i>	‘deliberate repetition of the starting consonant sound which draws attention to those particular words and serves as a valuable technique for underscoring key words and ideas.’ (Leanne, 2009: 115)
<i>Anaphora</i>	recurrence of the same word, phrase at the beginning of the successive sentences or clauses
<i>Antithesis</i>	rhetorical device which is used to indicate contrast of two ideas or statements
<i>Climax</i>	is the arrangement of words or phrases in order of increasing importance or emphasis.
<i>Cohesion</i>	the use of explicit linguistic devices to signal relations between sentences and parts of texts.
<i>Computerized corpus analysis</i>	Software program, aimed at calculating frequency of words used in the collection of texts
<i>Conduplicatio</i>	Figure of repetition in which the key word or words in one phrase, clause, or sentence is/are repeated at or very near the beginning of successive sentences, clauses, or phrases; repetition of a key word over successive phrases or clauses.
<i>Corpus</i>	‘a collection of naturally occurring language texts in electronic form, often compiled according to specific design criteria and typically containing many millions of words’ (Halliday et al. 2005:168).
<i>Electorate</i>	A group of people possessing the right to vote for a particular candidate.
<i>Epistrophe</i>	the recurrence of the same words or phrases at the end of the sentences or clauses.
<i>Frequency</i>	an actual count of the linguistic features in a corpus of texts.
<i>Hypophora</i>	is a figure of reasoning in which one or more questions or objections is/are asked or stated and then answered by the speaker; reasoning aloud.
<i>Mesodiplosis</i>	the recurrence of the same words or phrases at the middle of the sentences or clauses.
<i>Modality</i>	‘linguistic device encompassing a variety of forms, including (but not limited to) modal auxiliaries, modal verbs, modal adverbs, and modal adjectives.’ (Lillian D. 2008:1)
<i>Parallelism</i>	‘a device which expresses several ideas in a series of similar structures.’ (Singh and Peccei, 2004:45)
<i>parallel constructions</i>	is a figure of balance identified by successive

	words or phrases with the same or very similar grammatical structure.
<b><i>Political discourse</i></b>	discourse which explores the ways in which we think and behave politically.
<b><i>Polisyndeton</i></b>	‘sentence construction which contains Repetitive use of conjunction such as “and” and “or”, between certain words tends.’ (Leanne, 2009:118)
<b><i>Pre-election speech</i></b>	Speeches made by politicians during the presidential campaign on the eve of elections.
<b><i>Repetition</i></b>	‘restating a key word or phrase to reinforce the point being made.’ (Borchers, 2002: 428)
<b><i>Rhetorical analysis</i></b>	the analysis, aimed at finding out how people within specific social situations attempt to influence others through language.
<b><i>Rhetorical devices</i></b>	Linguistic and syntactic means used in a text in order to persuade the listener.
<b><i>Rhetorical questions</i></b>	‘questions whose answers are considered obvious and therefore are not answered by a speaker explicitly—help to emphasize points and crystallize attention around important issues.’ (Leanne, 2009: 106)
<b><i>Symploce</i></b>	a combination of anaphora (recurrence of the same word, phrase at the beginning of the successive sentences or clauses) and epistrophe (the recurrence of the same words or phrases at the end of the sentences or clauses).
<b><i>Tricolon or “rule of three”</i></b>	is the use of words, phrases, examples, or the beginnings or endings of phrases or sentences in threes.
<b><i>Taken-for – grantedness</i></b>	a mechanism by which the speaker announces that the current proposition is so generally known or so generally agreed upon as to be self-evident. It is thus a dialogistically anticipatory gesture in that either a state of knowledge or a value position is projected onto the audience’ (Simon-Vandenbergen, White and Aijmer, 2007: 34).

# **APPENDICES**

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 1.**

#### **George W. Bush's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held Ohio on October 27, 2004**

Thank you all for coming. (Applause.) You know, it is such a beautiful day in Flag City, I think I'll just take off my jacket. (Applause.) And stay a while. (Applause.) Thanks for coming out. You are lifting our spirits. We're honored you're here. (Applause.) And Laura and I have come with the great Senator from Georgia to not only ask for your vote, but to ask for your help. (Applause.) We need your help coming down the stretch to get your friends and neighbors to go to the polls.

We have a duty in our democracy to vote. We have an obligation to vote. So I'm asking you to tell your friends and neighbors about that obligation. Get our Republicans to go out there. Get independents to go out there. And find those discerning Democrats like Zell Miller and head them to the polls. And when you get them to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America and a stronger America and a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: I have been traveling your state a lot. (Applause.) And I enjoy it. (Applause.) I have had a chance to say hello to a lot of the citizens from Ohio. And I've been telling them why they ought to put me back in office. But perhaps the most important reason why I ought to have four more years is so that Laura is the First Lady for four more years. (Applause.) I'm sure some will be able to relate to this story. You know, Laura and I went to the 7th grade together in San Jacinto Junior High in Midland, Texas. We became reacquainted. She was a public school librarian, and when I asked her to marry me, she said, fine, but make me a promise. I said, okay, what is it? She said, promise me I'll never have to give a political speech. (Laughter.) I said, okay, you got a deal. Fortunately, she did not hold me to that promise. She is giving a lot of speeches, and when she does, the American people see a warm, compassionate, strong First Lady. (Applause.)

I'm looking around. I see some people out there who are follically challenged. (Laughter.) And think about that, it reminds me of my Vice President. (Laughter.) Dick Cheney is a great Vice President. He does not have the waviest hair in the race. (Laughter.) But you all will be pleased to hear, I didn't pick him because of his hairdo. (Applause.) I picked him because of his judgment; I picked him because of his experience; I picked him because he's getting the job done for the American people. (Applause.)

It's a joy to travel with my friend, Zell Miller. He's strong, he is courageous, he puts party aside and puts his country first. And for that, I am grateful. (Applause.)

I call him, Ox, you call him, Congressman. Mike Oxley is as fine as they are in the House of Representatives. He's a good man, and I appreciate his service. (Applause.) And I want to thank his wife, Pat, for joining us, as well. And I am proud to be up here, or close by, with the fine United States Senator Michael DeWine. He's doing a good job for the people of Ohio, as is George Voinovich. Make sure you put George back in. (Applause.) And I appreciate Fran DeWine joining us.

I want to thank Congressman Paul Gillmore for being here today. I want to thank your Governor, Bob Taft, for joining us today. Mr. Governor, I appreciate your service to the state of Ohio. I want to thank Jennette Bradley for joining us today, the Lieutenant Governor of the state of Ohio. I appreciate Mayor Iriti for joining us today. Mr. Mayor, you didn't ask me for any advice, but I'm going to give you some: Fill the potholes. (Applause.) Mayor Iriti is a good man, and I appreciate him being here, and I want to thank you, Mr. Mayor, for serving. I want to thank all the other state and local officials.

I want to thank the Findlay High School Marching Band for joining us. (Applause.) I want to thank Wil Gravatt Band for joining us today.

Most of all, I want to thank you all. I want to thank the grassroots activists, the people who are putting up the signs, the people making the phone calls, the people who have worked so hard to make this rally such a successful rally. I want to thank you for what you have done, and I want to thank you for what you are going to do, which is turn out that vote. (Applause.) And with your help, there is no doubt in my mind, we'll carry Ohio again and win a great victory on November the 2nd. (Applause.)

This election comes down to some clear choices for America's families, choices on issues of great consequence. The first clear choice is the most important because it concerns the security of your family. All progress on every other issue depends on the safety of our citizens. This will be the first presidential election since September the 11th, 2001. Americans will go to the polls in a time of war and of ongoing threat unlike any we have faced before. The terrorists who kill thousands of innocent people are still dangerous, and they are determined to strike. The outcome of this election will set the direction of the war against terror. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. (Applause.) If America shows uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch. (Applause.)

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth -- not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear: We have strengthened the protections for the homeland. We're reforming our intelligence capabilities. We're transforming the United States military. We will keep the all-volunteer army an all-volunteer army. There will be no draft. (Applause.) We are relentless, we are determined, we are staying on the offensive so we do not have to face these terrorists here at home. (Applause.)

And we're spreading freedom and liberty. Some amazing things have happened in a short period of time. I want the youngsters here to understand what has happened in the world. In Afghanistan, three-and-a-half years ago, young girls couldn't go to school. And if their mothers did not toe the line of the ideologues of hate who ran that country, they were whipped in the public square, sometimes executed in a sports stadium. We acted to defend ourselves. We upheld the doctrine that said, if you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist. And in so doing -- and in so doing, we liberated people from the clutches of those barbaric people called the Taliban. Millions of people went to vote in a presidential election. The first voter was a 19-year-old woman. Freedom is on the march. (Applause.)

It's never easy to go from tyranny to liberty, but that's where we're headed. There will be elections in Iraq. Think how far that country has come from the days of mass graves and torture chambers. I believe everybody in the world yearns to be free. I believe people deep in their soul want to live in a free society. I believe that because freedom is not America's gift to

the world, freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world.  
(Applause.)

A President must lead with consistency and strength. In a war, sometimes you have to change your tactics, but never your principles. (Applause.) Americans have seen how I do my job. Even when you might not agree with me, you know what I believe, you know where I stand, and you know what I intend to do. (Applause.) On good days and on bad days, whether the polls are up or the polls are down, I will do everything we can do to defend the American people and win this war against the terrorists. (Applause.) And I will always support the men and women who wear our nation's uniform. (Applause.)

We have got a great United States military. (Applause.) And I am proud to be their Commander-in-Chief. I want to thank the families of those who wear our nation's uniform. I want to thank you for your sacrifices. I want to thank the veterans who are here today for having set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. (Applause.) As I've told families all across this country, we will make sure your loved ones have the support necessary to complete their missions.

And that's why I went to the United States Congress and asked for \$87 billion of supplemental funding in September of 2003, necessary funding, important funding, to support our troops in harm's way. And we received good support for that. As a matter of fact, the support was so strong that only 12 members of the United States Senate voted against funding for our troops, two of whom were my opponent and his running mate.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Now, I would like for you to share this startling statistic with your friends and neighbors as you get them going to the polls: There were only four members of the United States Senate, four out of a hundred, that voted to authorize the use of force and then voted against supporting our troops in harm's way. And two of those four were my opponent and his running mate.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Now, you might remember his -- Senator Kerry's explanation about that vote. He said, I actually did vote for the \$87 billion right before I voted against it. Now, I haven't spent much time in the coffee shops of Findlay, but I suspect you're not going to find many people in this part of the world who talk that way.

They kept pressing him about it. He's given four or five different explanations about the vote. One of the most interesting ones of all that speaks to my opponent, said, well, the whole thing was just a complicated matter. (Laughter.) There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in harm's way. (Applause.)

After repeatedly calling Iraq the wrong war and a diversion, Senator Kerry, this week, seemed shocked to learn that Iraq was a dangerous place full of dangerous weapons. (Laughter.) The Senator used to know that, even though he seems to have forgotten it over the course of the campaign. But that's why we went there. See, Iraq was a dangerous place run by a dangerous tyrant who hated the United States. And he had a lot of weapons. And we've seized or destroyed more than 400,000 tons of munitions, including explosives at thousands of sites. And we're continuing to round up weapons nearly every day.

Now, I want to remind you all, If Senator Kerry had had his way, we would still be taking our global test.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: And Saddam Hussein would still be in power, and he would control all those weapons and explosives and could have shared them with a terrorist enemy. Now, the Senator is making wild charges about missing explosives. One of his top foreign policy advisors admits he doesn't know the facts. He said, "I don't know the truth." End quote. Well, think about that. The Senator is denigrating the actions of our troops and commanders in the field without knowing the facts. Our military is now investigating a number of possible scenarios, including that the explosives may have been moved before our troops even arrived at the site. This investigation is important and it is ongoing. And a political candidate who jumps to conclusions without knowing the facts is not the person you want as the Commander-in-Chief. (Applause.)

Unfortunately, that is part of a pattern. My opponent is throwing out the wild claim that he knows where bin Laden was in the fall of 2001, and that our military passed up a chance to get him at Tora Bora. You might remember that. He kept repeating that in the debates. Well, this is unjustified criticism of our military commanders in the field. This is the kind of -- worse kind of Monday-morning quarterbacking, what we've come to expect from him, however. In fact, our commander in Afghanistan, General Tommy Franks, recently wrote this about Tora Bora: "The Senator's understanding of events does not square with reality." He went on to say, the General says, "American Special Forces were actively involved in the search for the terrorists at Tora Bora," and that "intelligence reports at the time place bin Laden in any of several countries." That's what Tommy Franks, who knew what he's talking about, said.

Poor Senator Kerry got into political difficulty and revised his views. He saw our actions in Tora Bora differently. In the fall of 2001, on national television, he said this about Tora Bora: "I think we've been doing this pretty effectively, and we should continue to do it that way." At the time the Senator said about Tora Bora: "I think we have been smart. I think the administration leadership has done it well and we are on the right track." End quote. All I can say is that I am George W. Bush and I approve of that message. (Applause.)

The security of our families is vital, and it's important to our people of this country to understand the records. Senator Kerry's record on national security has the far deeper problem than election-year flip-flopping. On the largest national security issues of our time, he has been consistently wrong. When Ronald Reagan was confronting the Soviet Union at the height of the Cold War, Senator Kerry said that President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was making America less safe. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and President Ronald Reagan was right. (Applause.)

When former President Bush led a coalition against Saddam Hussein in 1991, Senator Kerry voted against the use of forces to liberate Kuwait. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong and former President Bush was right. (Applause.)

In 1994, just one year after the first bombing of the World Trade Center, Senator Kerry proposed massive cuts in America's intelligence budget, so massive that even his Massachusetts colleague, Ted Kennedy, opposed them. History has shown that Senator Kerry was wrong, and -- we have got to be fair -- that Senator Kennedy was right. (Applause.)

During the last 20 years, in key moments of challenge and decision for America, Senator Kerry has chosen the position of weakness and inaction. With that record, he stands in opposition not just to me, but to the great tradition of the Democratic Party. The party of Franklin Roosevelt, the party of Harry Truman, the party of John Kennedy is rightly remembered for confidence and resolve in times of war and hours of crisis. Senator Kerry has turned his back on "pay any price" and "bear any burden," and he has replaced those commitments with "wait and see," and "cut and run."

Many Democrats in this country do not recognize their party anymore. And traveling Ohio, I want to speak to every one of them. If you believe that America should lead with strength and purpose and confidence in our ideals, I would be honored to have your support, and I'm asking for your vote. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: The second -- the second clear choice in this election concerns your family's budget. When I ran for President four years ago, I pledged to lower taxes for American families, and I kept my word. (Applause.) We doubled the child credit to \$1,000 per child to help our families. We reduced the marriage penalty. I believe the tax code ought to encourage marriage, not penalize marriage. (Applause.) We dropped the lowest bracket to 10 percent, we reduced income taxes for everybody that pays income taxes. After-tax income, that's money in your pocket. It's gone up by about 10 percent since I became your President.

And I want you to remind your friends and neighbors, when you're out there getting people to the polls, what this economy has been through. Six months prior to my arrival, the stock market was in serious decline. Then we had a recession. Then we had corporate scandals. But we passed what's called the Sarbanes-Oxley bill, a bill that makes it abundantly clear that we will not tolerate dishonesty in the boardrooms of America. (Applause.) And I want to thank Congressman Oxley for authoring this legislation.

I know there are places hurting here in Ohio. I've traveled into those neighborhoods. I've talked about an economic plan to continue growth. But I want to remind you that just last month, the unemployment rate in the state of Ohio went from 6.3 percent to 6 percent, and this great state added 5,500 new jobs in one month. We're on the move. We're moving forward. (Applause.)

My opponent has very different plans for your budget. He's going to take a big chunk out of it.

AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: He voted against the child tax credit; he voted against marriage penalty relief; he voted against lower taxes. And if his way had prevailed, the average family in America would have been paying \$2,000 more in taxes to the federal government.

AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: That may not seem like a lot to folks in Washington; it means a lot to people in Finley, Ohio. (Applause.)

He served in the United States Senate for 20 years, and he's voted for higher taxes 98 times. That's five times every year he served in the Senate. I would call that a predictable pattern -- (laughter) -- a reliable indicator. (Laughter.) When a senator does something that often, he

must really enjoy it. (Laughter.) Around the campaign, he's been promising \$2.2 trillion in new federal spending -- that's trillion with a "T." That's a lot, even for a senator from Massachusetts. (Laughter.)

So they asked him, how are you going to pay for it? And he said that same old, tired line you've heard over and over again: We're going to tax the rich. Well, there's a problem with that. When you're run up the top two brackets, you only raise between \$600 billion and \$800 billion. That's far short of the \$2.2 trillion he has promised. I would call that a tax gap. And guess who gets to usually fill that tax gap.

AUDIENCE: We do!

THE PRESIDENT: You do. The good news is we're going to carry Ohio and we're not going to let him tax you. (Applause.)

The third choice in this election involves the quality of life for our nation's families. A good education and quality health care are important for your future. As a candidate, I pledged to end the soft bigotry of low expectations by reforming our public schools. I kept my word. (Applause.) We passed a really good piece of reform legislation. We're raising the standards. We've increased federal spending, but now we're asking for results. We want to measure. See, you can't solve a problem unless you diagnose the problem. And we're diagnosing problems all across America and we're beginning to solve them. Our test scores in reading and math are up. We're closing achievement gaps for minority students all across America. We'll build on these reforms and extend them to our high schools so that no child is left behind in our country. (Applause.)

We'll continue to improve life for our families by making health care more affordable and accessible. We'll make sure the poor and the indigent get health care in what's called community health centers. We'll make sure our low-income -- our program for low-income -- children in low-income families is fully subscribed so they get health care. To make sure health care is affordable, we'll help our small businesses. We'll allow them to pool together so they can spread risk and buy insurance at the same discounts big companies are able to do. (Applause.)

We will expand health savings accounts, which will help our families and small business owners. Let me tell you what else we need to do. We need to do something about these frivolous lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine and running good doctors out of practice. (Applause.)

I was in Canton the other day talking to a OB/GYN who got run out of business because these lawsuits made her premiums too high to practice medicine. And I met too many citizens not only in your state, but across the country -- too many moms, expectant moms, who are worried about their health care and the health care of their baby because these lawsuits have made OB/GYN care more scarce. This is a national problem. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-plaintiff injury attorney at the same time. You've got to make a choice. My opponent made his choice and he put a personal injury trial lawyer on the ticket.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: I have made my choice. I'm standing with the doctors of Ohio, I'm standing with the patients of Ohio. I'm for medical liability reform now. (Applause.)

In one of our debates, my opponent looked straight in the camera when they asked him about his health care plan, he said, "the government doesn't have anything to do with it." I'll be frank with you, I could barely contain myself. The government has got a lot to do with his plan. Eighty percent of the people who sign up on his plan would end up on the government. See, if you make it easier for people to sign up for Medicaid, it means small businesses are likely not to provide insurance for their employees because the government will provide insurance for their employees. That's logical. And when the government starts writing the checks, the government starts making the rules. And when it comes to health care when the government's making the rules, the government starts making decisions for you and decisions for your doctor. The wrong prescription for health care in America is to increase the role of the federal government. (Applause.)

In all we do to improve health care, we'll make sure the decisions are made by patients and doctors, not by officials in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

The fourth clear choice in this election comes to your retirement. Our nation has made a solemn commitment to America's seniors on Social Security and Medicare. When I ran for President four years ago, I promised to keep that commitment and improve Medicare by adding prescription drug coverage. I kept my word. (Applause.) We have modernized Medicare for our seniors. Beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare. (Applause.)

And we'll keep our promise for Social Security for our seniors and we will strengthen Social Security for generations to come. I remember the campaign in 2000. I remember those ads they were running. You might remember them. They said if George W. gets elected, the seniors are not going to get their checks. They may be doing it again this year. I want you to remind your friends and neighbors as you get them to the polls that George W. did get elected, and our seniors did get their checks. (Applause.) And our seniors will continue to get their checks. Nobody's going to take away your check.

Baby boomers like me, we're in pretty good shape when it comes to the Social Security trust. We'll probably get our checks. But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to worry about whether or not the Social Security system will be there for them when they retire. That's why I believe younger workers ought to be able to take some of their own money -- some of their own payroll taxes, and put it in a personal savings account, an account they call their own, an account the government cannot take away. (Applause.)

Now, my opponent takes a different approach. He says he's going to strengthen Social Security, he's going to protect it. But you might remember, he is the only candidate in this race who has voted eight times for higher taxes on Social Security benefits.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: He doesn't like talking about that. He can run, but he cannot hide. (Applause.)

And he offered nothing for the younger generation in terms of reform. The job of a President is to confront problems, not to pass them on to future Presidents and future generations. In a new term, I will bring Republicans and Democrats together to strengthen the Social Security system for generations to come. (Applause.)

And the final -- the final choice in this election is on the values that are so crucial to keeping our families strong. And here, my opponent and I are miles apart. I stand for the appointment of federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law. (Applause.) I believe marriage is a sacred commitment -- (applause) -- a pillar of our civilization, and I will defend it. This is not a partisan issue. When Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act, defining marriage as a union of a man and a woman, the vast majority of Democrats supported it, and President Bill Clinton signed it into law. But Senator Kerry was part of an out-of-the-mainstream minority that voted against the Defense of Marriage Act.

AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: I believe that reasonable people can find common ground on difficult issues. Republicans and Democrats came together and agreed we should ban the brutal practice of partial birth abortion. (Applause.) I proudly signed that bill. (Applause.) But Senator Kerry was part of an out-of-the-mainstream minority that voted against the ban.

AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: He voted against parental notification laws, and against the Unborn Victims of Violence Act. I will continue to reach out to Americans of every belief and move this good-hearted nation toward a culture of life. (Applause.)

At one point in this campaign, you might remember this, my opponent said that the heart and soul of America can be found in Hollywood.

AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: Most American families do not look toward -- to Hollywood as a source of values. The heart and soul of America is found in communities like Flag City, Ohio. (Applause.)

All these choices make this one of the most important elections in our history. The security and prosperity of our country, the health and education of our families, the retirement of our citizens, and the direction of our culture are all at stake. And the decision is in the best of hands. It is in the hands of the American people. (Applause.) It is in your hands. You get to decide. And that gives me great confidence. See, I'm optimistic about this country and our future. One of my favorite quotes is from a fellow Texan named Tom Lea. He said this: He said, "Sarah and I live on the east side of the mountain. It is the sunrise side, not the sunset side. It is the side to see the day that is coming, not to see the day that is gone." During the course of this campaign, my opponent has spent much of his campaign talking about the day that is gone. I'm talking about the day that's coming. (Applause.)

We've been through a lot together. We have been through a lot together during the last nearly four years. Because we've done the hard work of climbing the mountain, we can see the valley below. The next four years, we'll work to protect our families, build our prosperity, and defend our values. We will work hard to spread freedom and liberty so we can achieve the peace we want for generations to come.

Four years ago, when I traveled your great state asking for the vote, I made you this pledge, that if I was elected to the office I hold, I would uphold the honor and its dignity. With your

help, with your hard work, I will do so for four more years. Thanks for coming. God bless.  
Thank you all. Thanks for coming. (Applause.)

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 2.**

#### **George W. Bush's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Pennsylvania on October 21, 2004**

Thank you all. (Applause.) Thank you all for coming. (Applause.) So he said, a couple of hundred people might show up if you came. (Applause.) I came; thousands are here; and I'm grateful. (Applause.) You know what this tells me -- with your help, we will carry Pennsylvania on November the 2nd. (Applause.)

Listen, we have a duty in our country to vote. And I'm asking you to turn to your friends and neighbors, go to your coffee shops, your houses of worship, your community centers, and tell people that we have a duty. And as you get people going to the polls, don't overlook discerning Democrats, people like Senator Zell Miller from Georgia. (Applause.) Our message is for everybody: If you want a safer America, a stronger America, and a better America, put me and Dick Cheney back in office. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all for coming. I am so grateful so many came. It means a lot. My only regret is that Laura is not here to see this crowd. (Applause.) She was a public school librarian when I met her for the second time. See, we went to the 7th grade together, San Jacinto Junior High in Midland, Texas. When I met her the second time, and I finally asked her to marry me, she said, fine, just so long as I never have to give a speech. (Laughter.) I said, okay, you got a deal. Fortunately, she didn't hold me to that promise. She's giving a lot of speeches, and when she does, the American people see a compassionate, strong, great First Lady. (Applause.) She is not with me today, but one of our twin daughters, Barbara, has come. (Applause.) Thank you for coming, baby. There's nothing better than campaigning for a President with a daughter you love. (Applause.)

I'm proud of my Vice President, Dick Cheney. (Applause.) Now, look, I admit it, he does not have the waviest hair in the race. (Laughter.) I did not pick him because of his hairdo. (Laughter.) I picked him because of his experience, his judgment. I picked him because he can get the job done. (Applause.)

I am proud to have been introduced to this great crowd by Major Dick Winters. (Applause.) An American hero who commanded Easy Company in World War II. (Applause.) I want to thank Congressman Todd Platts for joining us today. I'm proud you're here, Congressman. I want to thank the folks who are here from the statehouse and local office. I'm here to say as clearly as I can that Scott Paterno needs to be the next congressman from the 17th congressional district. (Applause.) I appreciate Tom Corbett, who is going to be the next attorney general; and Jean Craige Pepper, who's running for treasurer. (Applause.)

But most of all, I want to thank you all for coming. (Applause.) It's getting close to voting time. (Applause.) It's time to crank up the phones. It's time to put up the signs. (Applause.) It is time to carry Pennsylvania. (Applause.)

In the last few years, the people have come to know me. They know my blunt way of speaking -- I get that from my mother. They know I mangle the English language sometimes -

- I get that from my dad. (Laughter.) Americans also know I tell you exactly what I'm going to do, and I keep my word. (Applause.)

When I came into office, the stock market had been in serious decline for six months, and the American economy was sliding into a recession. To help families and to get this economy growing again, I pledged to reduce taxes. I kept my word. (Applause.) The results are clear. The recession was one of the shallowest in American history. Over the last three years our economy has grown at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. The home ownership rate in America is at an all-time high. (Applause.) The past 13 months, we've added 1.9 million new jobs. (Applause.) The unemployment rate across our country is 5.4 percent -- lower than the average rates of the 1970s, 1980s, and the 1990s. (Applause.) Farm income is up. This economy is moving forward, and we're not going to go back to the days of tax and spend. (Applause.)

To make sure jobs are here in America, to make sure people can find work, America must be the best place in the world to do business. That means less regulations on our job creators. That means we got to do something about these frivolous lawsuits that are plaguing small business owners. (Applause.) To keep jobs here in America, Congress needs to pass my energy plan. (Applause.) It's a plan that encourages conservation, and encourages renewables. It's a plan that encourages clean coal technology. It is a plan that recognizes, to keep jobs in America, we must be less dependent on foreign sources of energy. (Applause.) To keep jobs here in America, we must open up markets for U.S. products. Listen, we can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere so long as the rules are fair. (Applause.)

To make sure this economy continues to grow, we got to be wise about how we spend your money and keep the taxes low. (Applause.) Taxes are an issue in this campaign. Now, my opponent has his own history on the economy.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. In 20 years as a senator from Massachusetts, he's built a record -- of a senator from Massachusetts. (Applause.) He's voted -- he has voted to raise taxes 98 times.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. He voted to tax Social Security benefits.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Ninety-eight times in 20 years, that's about five times a year -- I would call that a predictable pattern. See, he can run from his record, but he cannot hide. (Applause.)

Now, he's promising not to raise taxes for anyone who earns less than \$200,000 a year. He said that with a straight face. (Laughter.) The problem is to keep that promise, he'd have to break all his other promises. He has promised \$2.2 trillion in new federal spending -- that's trillion with a "T." And so, they said, how are you going to pay for it, and he said, fine, he's just going to raise taxes on the rich. Now, you've heard that before. When he tries to raise taxes on the rich, that raises between \$600 billion and \$800 billion. There's a gap between what he's promised and how he says he's going to pay for it. And guess who usually gets to fill the gap. AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: There's something else wrong with the tax the rich slogan. The rich hire lawyers and accountants for a reason -- to slip the bill and pass it to you. We are not going to let him tax you. We will carry Pennsylvania and win on November the 2nd. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: When I came into office our public schools had been waiting decades for hopeful reform. Too many of our children were being shuffled through school without learning the basics. I pledged to restore accountability in the school and to challenge the soft bigotry of low expectations. I kept my word. (Applause.) We passed the No Child Left Behind Act and we're seeing results. Our children are making sustained gains in reading and math. We're closing achievement gaps all around this country, and we're not going to go back the days of low standards and accepted mediocrity. (Applause.)

When I came into office we had a problem in Medicare. Medicine was changing, but Medicare was not. For example, we'd pay hundreds -- tens of thousands of dollars for heart surgery, but not one dime for the prescription drugs that could prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That did not make any sense to our seniors. It wasn't right. I pledged to bring Republicans and Democrats together to strengthen and modernize Medicare; I kept my word. (Applause.) Seniors are getting discounts on medicine. And beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drug coverage under Medicare. (Applause.)

We got more to do on health care. We got to make sure health care is available and affordable. We'll have a safety net for those with the greatest needs. That's why I believe in community health centers for the poor and the indigent. We'll do more to make sure poor children are fully subscribed in our programs for low-income families. Most of the uninsured in America work for small businesses. Small businesses are having trouble affording health care. To enable small businesses to afford health care we must allow them to pool together so they can buy insurance at the same discount big businesses get to do. (Applause.)

We will expand health savings accounts so workers and small businesses are able to pay lower premiums and people can save, tax-free, in an health care account they manage and call their own. (Applause.) To make sure health care is available and affordable, we have to do something about the frivolous lawsuits that are running up the cost of medicine and running good doctors out of practice. (Applause.) You have a problem here in the state of Pennsylvania because of these junk lawsuits. You're losing too many good docs. Too many OB/GYNs are leaving the practice. Too many pregnant women are wondering whether or not they're going to get the health care they need in order to bring their child into this world. The system is broken. You cannot be pro-doctor, pro-patient and pro-personal injury lawyer at the same time. (Applause.) You have to make a choice. My opponent put a personal injury lawyer on the ticket.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: He voted against medical liability reform ten times. I'm standing with the doctors. I'm standing with the patients. I'm standing with the people of Pennsylvania. I'm for medical liability reform now. (Applause.)

I laid out a health care plan that's sensible and reasonable. Now, my opponent has got his health care plan of his own. And it's a plan for bigger government.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Now, the other day in the debate, he looked right in the camera again and he said this about his health care plan -- "The government has nothing to do with it." I remember him saying that. I was standing right there. (Laughter.) I could barely contain myself. (Applause.) The government has got a lot to do with his health care plan. Eight out of ten Americans would end up on a government health insurance program. Eight million Americans would lose their private health insurance at work, and most would go on a government plan. He says his plan helps small businesses. That's what -- that's not what small business groups think. They called it an overpriced albatross that would saddle small businesses with 225 new mandates.

I have a different view. We've got to help small businesses afford insurance, not saddle them with a bunch of rules of regulations from Washington, D.C. (Applause.) In all we do to reform health care, I believe the health decisions need to be made by doctors and patients, not by officials in our Nation's Capital. (Applause.)

I'll continue to set out policies for an optimistic and hopeful America. I believe this country should be an ownership society. There's a saying -- there's a saying, no one ever washes a rental car. (Laughter.) There's a lot of wisdom in that statement. When you own something, you care about it. When you own something in America, you care about the future of our country. (Applause.) That's why -- that's why we promote entrepreneurship in this administration. Every time a small business is started in America, somebody is achieving the American Dream. (Applause.)

We're encouraging health savings accounts so people have the security of owning and managing their own health care account. We're encouraging home ownership. Listen, more and more people are able to open the door where they live and say, welcome to my home, welcome to my piece of property -- and America is better off for it. (Applause.)

In a new term, we'll take the next step to build an ownership society by strengthening Social Security. Now, let me speak to the seniors who are here. You remember the 2000 campaign when they were running the TV ads that said if George W. gets elected, the seniors will not get their checks. That's old-style scare politics. I want you to remind your friends and neighbors, they got their checks. They'll continue to get their checks. And baby boomers like me are in pretty good shape when it comes to the Social Security trust fund. But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. See, we need to worry about whether or not the Social Security trust will be solvent when they need help in retirement. I think younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their payroll taxes and set up a personal savings account that earns a better rate of return, an account they call their own, an account the government cannot take away. (Applause.)

When it comes to Social Security, as you heard the other night in the debates, my opponent wants to maintain the status quo.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: The job of a President is to confront problems, not pass them on to future generations or future Presidents. (Applause.) He's against the Social Security reforms I laid out, and he's against about every other reform that gives more authority and control to the individual. On issue after issue, from Medicare without choices to schools with less accountability to raising taxes, he takes the side of more centralized control and more government. There is a word for that attitude. There is a word for that philosophy. It is called liberalism. (Applause.)

Now, he dismisses that word as a label. He must have seen it differently when he said, I'm a liberal and proud of it. (Laughter.) The others have noticed, as well. There's a nonpartisan National Journal magazine that did a study and named him the most liberal member of the United States Senate. That takes a lot of hard work in that bunch. (Laughter.) Can you imagine being more liberal than Ted Kennedy?

AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: He can run -- he can even run in camo -- but he cannot hide. (Applause.)

I have a different record. I have a different philosophy. I do not believe in big government and I do not believe government should be indifferent. I'm what I call a compassionate conservative. I believe in policies that empower people to improve their lives, not try to run their lives. We'll continue to help men and women all across this country find the skills and tools they need to prosper in a time of change -- skills and tools necessary to realize the great promise of our country. That's how I have led, and that's how I will continue to lead for four more years. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: In this time of change, some things do not change. Those are the values we try to live by: courage and compassion, reverence and integrity. In changing times, we will support the institutions that give our lives direction and purpose -- our families, our schools, our religious congregations. (Applause.) We stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. (Applause.) We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. (Applause.) We stand for the Second Amendment which protects every Americans individual right to bear arms. (Applause.) We stand for the appointment of federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law.

My opponent's words on these issues are a little muddy, but his record is plenty clear. He says he supports the institution of marriage, but voted against the Defense of Marriage Act.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: He voted against the ban on the brutal practice of partial birth abortion.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: He called the Reagan years as a period of moral darkness.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: There is a mainstream in American politics, and my opponent sits on the far left bank. (Applause.) During this campaign, he can run but he cannot hide. (Applause.)

This election will also determine how America responds to the continuing danger of terrorism. I believe the most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. (Applause.) If America shows uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch. (Applause.)

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth -- not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our

strategy is clear. We are defending the homeland. I thank the first responders who are here with us today. (Applause.) We're strengthening our intelligence. We're transforming our military. We will not have a draft. The all-volunteer army will remain an all-volunteer army. (Applause.) We are staying on the offensive. We will strike the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home. (Applause.) We will spread freedom and liberty, and we will prevail.

Our strategy is succeeding. Think about the world, the way it was some three-and-a-half years ago -- think about this. Afghanistan was the home base of al Qaeda. Pakistan was a transit point for terrorist groups. Saudi Arabia was fertile ground for terrorist fundraising. Libya was secretly pursuing nuclear weapons. Iraq was a dangerous place and a gathering threat. And al Qaeda was largely unchallenged as it planned horrific attacks.

Because the United States of America led, Afghanistan is an ally in the war on terror and is now a free nation -- (applause.) Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders; Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests; Libya is dismantling its weapons programs; the army of a free Iraq is fighting for its country's freedom; and more than three-quarters of al Qaeda's associates and members have been brought to justice. (Applause.)

We are standing with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq. I want the youngsters here to understand what has taken place -- (applause) -- what has taken place during a brief period of your life. It wasn't all that long ago that young girls couldn't go to school in Afghanistan. It wasn't all that long ago that their mothers were taken into the public square and whipped because they wouldn't toe the line of these ideologues of hate called the Taliban. It wasn't all that long ago that the people of that country lived in darkness. Because we acted in our own self-interest, because we acted to destroy the al Qaeda terrorists training camps, because we worked to secure ourselves, 25 million people live in freedom. They had presidential elections a couple of weekends ago in Afghanistan. (Applause.) The first voter in Afghanistan was a 19-year-old girl. (Applause.) Freedom is on the march, and the people of Afghanistan have gone from darkness to light. (Applause.)

The people of Iraq will be voting for a President in January. Think how far that society has come from the day of torture chambers and mass graves. It's in our interest that we spread freedom. Free societies will be hopeful societies which no longer feed resentments and breed violence for export. Free governments in the Middle East will fight the terrorists, instead of harboring them. Freedom will help us keep the peace we all want. Freedom is on the move, and America is more secure for it. (Applause.)

So our mission is clear. Our mission is clear. We will help these countries train armies and police forces and security forces in Afghanistan and Iraq so they can do the hard work of defending their freedom, so they can stand up and fight these terrorists who are trying to stop the advance of freedom. We'll help the countries get on the path of stability and democracy as quickly as possible, and then our troops will come home with the honor they have earned. (Applause.)

We have a great United States military, because those who wear the uniform are people of such great character and service and duty and honor. (Applause.) And I want to thank the veterans who are here today for having set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. (Applause.) And I want to thank the military families who are here for the sacrifices you have made. (Applause.) And I assure you, we'll keep the commitment we have made to the troops and their families. They will have the resources they need to complete their missions.

That's why I went to the Congress in September of 2003 and asked for \$87 billion of supplemental funding to support our troops in harm's way. I received great bipartisan support. Your Senators Senator Specter and Santorum, voted with me on that bill. (Applause.) It was an important piece of legislation. Most people up in Congress understood how important it was. As a matter of fact, only 12 members of the United States Senate voted against funding for our troops -- two of who were my opponent and his running mate.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Now, I want to tell you another startling statistic. When you're out gathering the vote, I want to tell you another startling statistic, a true fact. There were only four members of the United States Senate, four out of a hundred, that had voted to authorize the use of force and then voted against the funding to support our troops in harm's way -- two of whom are my opponent and his running mate.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: So they asked him how he could have made that vote. They asked him how he could have made that vote. And you might remember perhaps the most famous quote of the 2004 campaign. Here is what he said -- "I actually did vote for the \$87 billion before I voted against it."

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: They kept asking him and he kept answering -- he must have given five or six different explanations. One of the most interesting ones of all is he finally said the whole thing was a complicated matter. (Laughter.) There's nothing complicated about supporting our troops in harm's way. (Applause.)

All elections come down to a choice, and in this, America's first presidential election since September the 11th, the security of our country as at risk in many ways different than we have ever faced before. We're in the midst of a global war against a well-trained, highly motivated enemy, an enemy that has no conscience. An enemy that hates Americans because of the very freedoms we love. The next commander-in-chief must lead us to victory in this war. Yet, you cannot win a war when you do not believe you are fighting one. (Applause.)

Senator Kerry was recently asked how September the 11th had changed him. And he replied this: "It did not change me much at all." End quote.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: His unchanged world becomes obvious when he calls the war against terror primarily an intelligence and law enforcement operation, rather than a war which requires the full use of American strength. Senator Kerry's top foreign policy advisor questioned this is even a war at all. And here's what he said: "We're not in a war on terror in a literal sense. It's like saying 'the war on poverty' -- it's just a metaphor." End quote. It's a different mind-set, a different attitude. Confusing food programs with terrorist killings reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of the world we live in, of the world we face. And this is very dangerous thinking.

Senator Kerry also misunderstands our battle against insurgents and terrorists in Iraq. He called Iraq a diversion from the war on terror. Let me talk about the case of one terrorist to

show you how wrong this thinking is. The terrorist leader we face today in Iraq, the one responsible for car bombings and beheadings of Americans, is a man named Zarqawi. Zarqawi ran a terrorist training camp in Afghanistan until our military arrived. He then went to Iraq. He received medical care in Iraq. He plotted and planned in Iraq. To confirm where he's coming from, just the other day Zarqawi announced his allegiance to Osama bin Laden. If Zarqawi and his associates were not busy fighting American forces in Iraq, does my opponent think they would be living peaceful and productive lives? Course not. That's why Iraq is not a diversion, but a central commitment in the war on terror. (Applause.)

The Senator the other day talked about the need for America to pass a global test when it comes to committing our troops.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not making that up. He was standing right there when he said it. No, we'll work with our friends and allies. I'll continue to build alliances and strong coalitions. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: I believe -- I believe in the transformational power of liberty. That's what I believe. I believe liberty can transform nations. One of our friends, Laura and my friends is Prime Minister of Japan. He's a friend. I saw at the United Nations in New York. I said, listen, I'm going to be talking about you on the campaign trail, do you mind? He said, no, go ahead and talk about me. I said, okay. What he didn't -- I didn't ask him permission to tell you that Elvis is his favorite singer. (Laughter.) We've gotten to know him quite well. It probably doesn't sound much to folks out there that I would call him my friend. But remember, 60 years ago, we were at war with Japan. They were the sworn enemy of the United States of America. My dad, like many of his generation, like many of the Band of Brothers, fought against the Japanese -- people of that generation served. And your dads and granddads did the same, I'm confident.

After we won the war, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, believed that liberty could transform an enemy into an ally. That's what he believed. There was a lot of skepticism about that, a lot of doubt. There was a lot of anger because of the war, and you can understand why. Families' lives have been turned upside down because of death during the war. A lot of people would said, well, the enemy can't possibly become a democracy. But our predecessors stayed with it. And as a result of that belief, I sit down at the table today talking about how to keep the peace with Prime Minister Koizumi. Some day, an American President will be sitting down with a duly-elected leader of Iraq, talking about peace in the Middle East. And our children and our grandchildren will be better off for it. (Applause.)

I believe -- I believe that millions in the Middle East plead in silence for their liberty. I believe women in the Middle East want to live in a free society. I believe mothers and fathers in the Middle East want to raise their children in a free and peaceful world. I believe all these things because freedom is not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world. (Applause.)

For all Americans these years in our history will always stand apart. There are quiet times in the life of a nation when little is expected of its leaders. This isn't one of those times. This is a

time that requires firm resolve, clear vision, and a deep faith in the values that makes us a great nation.

None of us will ever forget that week when one era ended and another began. On September the 14th, 2001, I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers. It is a day I will never forget. I will never forget the voices of those in hard hats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes." I will never forget the police or firefighter coming out of the rubble who grabbed me by the arm and he looked me square in the eye, and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day -- ever since that day, I wake up every morning thinking about how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes. (Applause.)

Four years ago -- four years ago, when I traveled your great state asking for the vote, I made a pledge that if you gave me a chance to serve, I would uphold the honor and the dignity of the office to which I have been elected. With your help, with your hard work, I will do so for four more years.

God bless. Thanks for coming. Thank you all. (Applause.)

*Appendices*  
**Appendix 3.**

**George W. Bush's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Davenport on August 4, 2004**

Thank you all so very much for coming. Thanks for having me. (Applause.) It's great to be back here in the Quad Cities area; it's a great place to work and raise your family; it's what I would call the heart and soul of the country. (Applause.) We have a little difference of opinion about the heart and soul -- some of them think you can find it in Hollywood.

THE AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: I think you find it right here in Davenport, Iowa. (Applause.)

I'm looking forward to the race. I'm here to ask for your vote and ask for your help. (Applause.) Everywhere we're going, the crowds are big, the enthusiasm is high, the signs are good -- with your help, Dick Cheney and I will have four more years. (Applause.)

I regret -- I regret that Laura is not here to see this significant crowd. (Applause.) She is a fabulous First Lady. (Applause.) She is a great mother and a wonderful wife. Today I'm going to give you some reasons for you to put me back in office, but perhaps the most important reason of all is so that Laura will be the First Lady for four more years. (Applause.)

I'm proud to be running with Dick Cheney. I admit, he's not the prettiest one on the ticket. (Laughter.) I didn't pick him for his looks. (Laughter.) I picked him for his judgment and his experience. Dick Cheney is a great Vice President. (Applause.)

I want to thank my friend, Jim Nussle. I appreciate his leadership in the United States Congress. He's the budget man. He's looking out after your money. He and I understand when we spend money in Washington, it's not the government's money, it's the people's money. (Applause.)

I appreciate my friend, Jim Leach joining us today. What a fine, fine citizen of the state of Iowa. (Applause.) I want to thank my friend, Tom Latham, for joining us, the congressman from the other part of the state. Thanks for inviting him here to eastern Iowa. (Applause.) It's good for your congressmen to get a taste for the decency of the folks that live in this part of the state. (Applause.)

I want to thank Chuck Gipp, David Vaudt, all the state officials here. I appreciate the mayor coming. Mr. Mayor, we're proud you're here. (Applause.) Fill the potholes. (Laughter.)

I want to thank Mayor Freemire, of Bettendorf, as well; I'm proud you're here. I want to thank my friend, David Roederer, who is campaign chairman for this great state of Iowa. I appreciate my friend, Larry Gatlin -- we were both raised in west Texas together, I was in Midland, he was in Odessa. I can't sing, he can. (Laughter and applause.)

Listen, I want to thank all the grassroots activists who are here. I appreciate you coming. I want to thank you for what you are going to do -- which is to register the voters. We have a duty in this country to vote. Make sure you register people. Don't worry about what party they're in; we want everybody voting in America. (Applause.) However, now when you're

convincing them who to vote for, don't overlook discerning Democrats and wise independents. (Laughter.) When you get them headed toward the poll, nudge them our way. I'm counting on your help, and together we're going to win not only Iowa, but it's going to be a great victory in November nationwide. (Applause.) We were close in Iowa last time. Not this time, we're going to carry it. (Applause.)

Every incumbent who's asking for the vote has to answer a question: Why? Why should the American people give me the great privilege of serving as your President for four more years? In the past years we've been through a lot together. We've been through a whole lot together. And we've accomplished a great deal. But there's only one reason to look backward at the record, and that is to determine who best to lead our nation forward.

I'm asking for your vote because so much is at stake. We have more to do. We must work to move America forward. I want to be your President for four more years to make our country safer. (Applause.)

THE AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: I want to be your President for four more years to make our economy stronger. I want to be your President for four more years to make our future brighter and better for every one of our citizens. (Applause.) From creating jobs to improving schools, from fighting terror to spreading the peace, we have made much progress and there is still more to do. (Applause.)

We have more to do to make our public schools the centers of excellence we know that they can be, so that no child is left behind in this country. When we came to office three-and-a-half years ago, too many children were being shuffled from grade to grade, year after year, without learning the basics. So we've challenged the soft bigotry of low expectations. We've raised the bar. (Applause.) We believe in accountability. We believe in making sure local folks are in charge of public schools. We believe in empowering parents. And, today, children across America are showing real progress in reading and math. When it comes to improving America's public schools, we're turning the corner, and we're not turning back. (Applause.)

Listen, we've got more to do. The world we're in is changing. The jobs of the future will require greater knowledge and a higher level skills. So we've got to reform our high schools to make sure a high school diploma means something. We're going to expand math and science so young people can compete in our high tech world. We will expand the use of the Internet to bring high level training into classrooms. With four more years, we will help a rising generation gain the skills and confidence they need to realize the American Dream. (Applause.)

We have more to do to make quality health care available and affordable. When we came to office, too many older Americans could not afford prescription drugs -- and Medicare didn't pay for them. Leaders in both political parties for years had promised prescription drug coverage for our seniors -- we got it done. (Applause.) Already, more than 4 million seniors have signed up for drug discount cards that provide real savings. Beginning in 2006, all seniors on Medicare will be able to choose a plan that suits their needs and gives them coverage for prescription drugs.

I remember campaigning with Nussle and Leach and Latham, and your fine United States senator, Charles Grassley. (Applause.) I said, we're going to strengthen Medicare to make sure rural hospitals in Iowa get the help they need. So we provided more funds to hospitals

healing -- handling a low volume of patients. We've increased payments for ambulance providers and suppliers in rural areas. We're giving better bonuses to physicians, so we can keep good doctors practicing in rural America. In other words, we delivered on our promise to the people of Iowa. (Applause.) The other folks talk a good game -- we deliver. (Applause.)

To help people get access to quality care, we've expanded community health centers for low income Americans. We've created health savings accounts, so families can save, tax-free, for their own health care needs. When it comes to giving Americans more choices about their health care and making health care more affordable, we're moving America forward and we're not going to turn back. (Applause.)

This world is changing. Most Americans get their health care coverage through their work. Most of today's new jobs are created by small businesses, which too often cannot afford to provide health coverage. To help more American families get health insurance, we must allow small employers to join together to purchase insurance at the discounts available to big companies. (Applause.)

To improve health care, we must end the frivolous lawsuits that raise health care costs and drive doctors out of medicine. (Applause.) You cannot be pro-patient and pro-doctor and pro-trial lawyer at the same time. (Applause.) You have to choose. My opponent made his choice, and he put him on the ticket. (Laughter.) I made my choice: I will continue to work with Congress to pass medical liability reform for the patients of America. (Applause.)

We can do more to harness technology to reduce costs and prevent health care mistakes. We can do more to expand research and seek new cures for terrible diseases. And in all we do to improve health care in America, we'll make sure the health decisions are made by doctors and patients, not by bureaucrats in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

We have more to do to make our economy stronger. Listen, we've come through a recession and terror attacks and corporate scandals and a stock market decline. We overcame these obstacles because of the hard work of Iowa's small business people, because we've got the best workers in the world. We've overcome these obstacles because we've got the best farmers in the world. (Applause.)

And we've overcome these obstacles because of well-timed tax relief for the American people. Listen, we didn't pick winners and losers when it came to tax relief. We gave tax relief to every American who pays federal income taxes. (Applause.) We gave tax relief for families with children. We gave tax relief for married couples. (Applause.) What kind of tax code is it that penalizes marriage? It's a tax code that needs to be changed. (Applause.) We gave tax relief for every small business that purchases equipment. And this time, the check really was in the mail. (Applause.)

Because we acted, our economy since last summer has grown at a rate as fast as any in nearly 20 years. Because we acted, America has added more than 1.5 million new jobs since last August. (Applause.) Because we acted, Iowa has added more than 11,000 jobs over the past year. Because we acted, Iowa's unemployment rate now is 4.3 percent. (Applause.) When it comes to creating jobs for American workers, we are turning the corner and we're not going back. (Applause.)

We worked to strengthen our farmers and ranchers. We passed a good Farm Bill, I was proud to sign it. We phased out the death tax, so America's family farmers [sic] can stay in the family. (Applause.) We've opened up foreign markets for Iowa and Illinois farmers. You see,

if you're good at something, you ought to have the opportunity to sell that which you're good at around the world. (Applause.)

Listen, this country needs an energy strategy. We must become less dependent on foreign sources of energy if we want to keep jobs here in America. (Applause.) And one way to become -- one way to become less dependent on foreign sources of energy is to promote alternate sources of fuel, like biodiesel and ethanol. (Applause.) I told the people of this state when I was running in 2000, I support ethanol. I have kept my promise to Iowa's farmers. (Applause.) In the last three years, America's farmers have posted record net-cash, farm income -- record. Record exports. Record farm equity and land values. I have made the success of America's farmers and ranchers a priority, and America is better off for it. (Applause.)

To keep jobs in America, regulations need to be reasonable and fair. To keep jobs in America, we must end the junk lawsuits which threaten our small businesses. (Applause.) To keep jobs in America, we will not overspend your money, and we will keep your taxes low. (Applause.) To keep jobs in America, we will offer a workers a lifetime of learning, and to make sure they get training for the jobs of the future at our community colleges. The education and training community colleges offer can be the bridge between people's lives as they are, and people's lives as they want them to be.

And we're going to make sure America's families keep more of something they never have enough of, and that is time -- time to be with your kids, time to take care of your parents, time to go to class to improve yourselves. Congress needs to work with the administration to enact comp-time and flex-time to help America's families better juggle their home needs and their work needs. (Applause.)

What I'm telling you is, after four more years, the economy will be better. More small business owners will be in America. Better and higher paying jobs will exist here. And our farmers will be able to put something aside for the future generations. (Applause.)

We have more to do to wage and win the war against terror. America's future depends on our willingness to lead in this world. If America shows uncertainty and weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This is not going to happen on my watch. (Applause.)

THE AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: The world changed on a terrible September morning, and since that day, we have changed the world. Before September the 11th, Afghanistan served as the home base for al Qaeda, which trained and deployed thousands of killers to set up terror cells in dozens of countries, including our own. Today, Afghanistan is a rising democracy. Afghanistan is a place where many young girls now go to school for the first time. (Applause.) Afghanistan is an ally in the war against terror, and America and the world are safer. (Applause.)

Before September the 11th, Pakistan was a safe transit point for terrorists. Today, Pakistan is an ally in the war on terror. Pakistani forces are aggressively helping to round up the terrorists. America and the world are safer. (Applause.)

In Saudi Arabia, before September the 11th, terrorists were raising money and recruiting and operating with little opposition. Today, the Saudi government is taking the fight to al Qaeda. America and the world are safer. (Applause.)

Before September the 11th, Libya was spending millions to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Today, because America and our allies have sent a strong and clear message, the leader of Libya has abandoned his pursuit of weapons of mass destruction, and America and the world are safer. (Applause.)

Before September the 11th, the ruler of Iraq was a sworn enemy of America. He was defying the world. He was firing weapons at American pilots, enforcing the world's sanctions. He had pursued and used weapons of mass destruction -- (applause) -- against his own people. He had harbored terrorists. He invaded his neighbors. He subsidized families of suicide bombers. He had murdered tens of thousands of his own citizens. He was a source of great instability in a volatile part of the world. After September the 11th, we looked at all the threats in a new light. One of the lessons of September the 11th, is this country must take threats seriously before they fully materialize. (Applause.)

The September the 11th Commission concluded that our institutions of government had failed to imagine the horror of that day. After September the 11th, we could not fail to imagine that a brutal tyrant who hated America, had ties to terror, had used weapons of mass destruction might use those weapons or share his deadly capabilities with our enemies. (Applause.) We saw a threat. The United States Congress, members of both political parties -- including my opponent -- looked at the same intelligence and saw a threat to America. The United Nations looked at the same intelligence, and it saw a threat and unanimously demanded a full accounting of Saddam Hussein's weapons and weapons programs, or face serious consequences. That's what the free world demanded. After 12 years of defiance, the tyrant refused to comply. He continued to deceive the world. He deceived the weapons inspectors that the world had sent into Iraq. Now, I had a choice to make: Do I forget the lessons of September the 11th and trust a madman?

THE AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: Or do I take action to defend America? Given that choice, I will defend our country. (Applause.)

THE AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: Because the dictator sits in a prison cell, the people of Iraq are better off. America and the world are safer. (Applause.)

When it comes to fighting the threats of our world, when it comes to making America safer, when it comes to spreading peace, we're moving forward, and we're not turning back. (Applause.)

We've got more to do. I'm running for four more years because we've got more to do. (Applause.) We must continue to work with our friends and allies around the world to aggressively pursue the terrorists in Iraq and Afghanistan and elsewhere. See, you can't talk sense to the terrorists.

THE AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: You cannot negotiate with them.

THE AUDIENCE: No!

THE PRESIDENT: You cannot hope for the best. We must engage the enemies around the world so we do not have to face them here at home. (Applause.) America will continue to lead the world with confidence and moral clarity. (Applause.) We put together a strong coalition to help us defeat terror, and that's necessary. Over 60 nations are involved with the proliferation security initiative. Nearly 40 nations are involved in Afghanistan. Some 30 nations are involved in Iraq. We will continue to build our alliances. We will continue to work with our friends for the cause of security and peace. But I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries. (Applause.)

We will keep our commitment to help Afghanistan and Iraq become peaceful, democratic societies. These two nations are now governed by strong leaders, people who want the boys and girls of their respective countries to grow up in peace. They know what we know in America: moms and dads long for a peaceful society; they long for their children to be able to be educated and realize their dreams. The people of these countries are stepping up, providing security for their own people. After years of brutality they see a glimmer of hope, a chance to live in a free society. And these people can count on our help and the help of our coalition.

You see, when we acted to protect our own security, we also promised to help deliver them from tyranny, to restore their sovereignty, to help set them on the path to liberty. And when America gives its word, America will keep its word. (Applause.)

In these crucial times, our commitments are kept by the men and women of our military. At bases across our country and the world, I've had the privilege of meeting with those who defend our country and sacrifice for our security. I've seen their great decency and their unselfish courage. The cause of freedom is in really good hands. (Applause.) And our men and women in uniform deserve the full support of our government. (Applause.) Last September, while our troops were in combat in both Afghanistan and Iraq, I proposed supplemental funding to support our military and its mission. This legislation provided funding for body armor and vital equipment, hazard pay, health benefits, ammunition, fuel and spare parts for our military. In the Senate, only a small, out-of-the-mainstream minority of 12 voted against the legislation. Two of those 12 senators are my opponent and his running mate.

THE AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: Here's how my opponent tried to explain his vote. He said: I actually did vote for the \$87 billion, before I voted against it. (Laughter.) End quote. (Laughter.) Then he went on to say that he was proud that he and his running mate voted against it and he further said: The whole thing is a complicated matter.

There is nothing complicated about supporting our troops in combat. (Applause.)

In the long run, our security is not guaranteed by force, alone. We must work to change the conditions that give rise to terror: poverty and hopelessness and resentment. A free and peaceful Iraq, and a free and peaceful Afghanistan will be a powerful example to their neighbors in a part of the world that is desperate for freedom. (Applause.)

Free countries do not export terror. Free countries listen to the dreams and aspirations of their citizens. By serving the ideal of liberty, we're bringing hope to others, and that makes America more secure. By serving the ideal of liberty, we're making the world a more peaceful place. By serving the ideal of liberty, we serve the deepest ideals of our country. Freedom is

not America's gift to the world; freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world. (Applause.)

We have more to do to protect us. Enemies who hate us are still plotting to harm us. Those who claim that America's war on terror is to blame for terror threats against the United States have a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of the enemy. See, the 9/11 Commission said something wise: Our homeland is safer, but we are not yet safe.

Beginning immediately after September the 11th, we started the hard process of reform. We transformed our defenses. We've created a new Department of Homeland Security. We passed the Patriot Act to give law enforcement the tools they need to help make America more secure. (Applause.) The mission of the FBI is now focused on preventing terror. We're integrating intelligence and law enforcement better than we ever have before. We've taken action on a large majority of the Commission's recommendations. We have more to do to better secure our ports and borders, to train first responders, to dramatically improve our intelligence gathering capability. That's why this week I called on Congress to create a position of National Intelligence Director, so that one person is in charge of coordinating all our intelligence efforts, overseas and here at home.

These reforms are not going to be easy. I understand that. You see, reform is never easy in Washington. (Laughter.) There's a lot of entrenched interests there. People don't like to have the status quo challenged. It's not enough, though, to advocate reform, you have to be able to get it done. (Applause.)

And we're getting it done on behalf of the people of this country. When it comes to reforming schools to provide an excellent education for all our children, results matter. When it comes to health care reforms that give families more access and more choices, results matter. When it comes to improving our economy, and creating quality jobs, results matter. When it comes to a strong farm economy, results matter. When it comes to better securing our homeland, fighting the forces of terror, and promoting the peace, results matter. When it comes to electing a President, results matter. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: No, there's a lot of big talkers in the nation's capital. We just like to be known as the people who can get the job done. (Applause.) We're living in a time of great change. And it's an exciting time -- it really is -- to be an American. We got to make sure government responds to these times by standing side-by-side with people, side-by-side with our workers and side-by-side with our families. The best way to do so, in my judgment, is to encourage people to own something; to encourage people to own their own homes. Listen, the home ownership in America is at an all-time high, and that's good news for our country. (Applause.)

We want our workers to be able to own their own health care accounts so they can take them from job to job. We want younger workers to be able to own a Social Security personal retirement account that they can call their own and pass on from one generation to the next. (Applause.)

We want people owning their own farm and their own small business. See, we understand when you own something, you have a vital stake in the future of this country. The world is -- times have changed, but some things are not going to change. Our belief in liberty will not change. Our belief in the non-negotiable demands of human dignity will not change. Our

desire to make sure opportunity, the great American experience is spread throughout every corner of this country, will not change. The individual values we try to live by won't change: courage and compassion, reverence and integrity. The institutions that give us direction and purpose are important: our families, our schools, our religious congregation. They are so important and so fundamental, they deserve the respect of government. (Applause.)

We stand for things. We stand for something. We stand for institutions, like marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. (Applause.) We stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every person counts. (Applause.) We stand for judges who faithfully interpret the law, instead of legislating from the bench.

And we stand for a culture of responsibility in America. This culture of ours is changing from one that has said, if it feels good, do it, and, if you've got a problem, blame somebody else -- to a culture in which each of us understands we're responsible for the decisions we make in life. (Applause.) If you're fortunate enough to be a mother or a father, you are responsible for loving your child with all your heart and all your soul. (Applause.) If you're worried about the quality of the education in the community in which you live, you are responsible for doing something about it. (Applause.) If you are a CEO in corporate America, you're responsible for telling the truth to your shareholders and your employees. (Applause.)

And in a responsibility society, each of us is responsible for loving our neighbor just like we'd like to be loved ourselves. Listen, the strength of this country is not our military; the strength of this country is not our wallets -- the strength of this country is the heart and soul of the American people. (Applause.)

I want to be your President for four more years so we can continue to rally the armies of compassion, so we can help change America one heart, one soul, one conscience at a time. (Applause.)

For all Americans, these years in our history will always stand apart. There are quiet times in the life of a nation, when little is expected of its leaders. This isn't one of those times. It's a time that requires strength and firm resolve. This is a time that requires courage and our willingness to lead.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: That's why we love you! (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: None of us will ever forget that era -- that week when one era ended and another one began. On September the 14th, 2001, I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers. It's a day I will never forget. There were workers in hard hats yelling at me: Whatever it takes. A guy grabbed me by the arm, he had tears in his eyes, he was exhausted from searching through the rubble to find his friend. He said: Do not let me down. He took it personally. The people searching through the rubble took that day personally. You took it personally and so did I. (Applause.)

I wake up every morning thinking about how to better protect our people. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes. (Applause.)

THE AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: No, we've come through much together. We've done hard work. During the next four years we will spread ownership and opportunity all throughout our land. We'll pass the enduring values of our country to another generation. And during the next four years

we'll continue to lead in the cause of freedom, so the world will be a more peaceful place.  
(Applause.)

You know, four years ago I traveled your great state asking for the vote, and I made a pledge that if you honored me with this great responsibility I would uphold the dignity and the honor of the office to which I had been elected, so help me, God. (Applause.) And with your help, I will do so during the next four years. May God bless you. Thanks for coming. Thank you all.  
(Applause.)

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 4.**

#### **George W. Bush's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Florida on October 19, 2004**

Thank you all for coming today. (Applause.) I am proud to be the first sitting President ever to have visited The Villages. (Applause.) The other ones missed out on a lot. Thanks for having me. Thanks for coming. This is a huge crowd, for which I am grateful. (Applause.) I told Jeb it looks like a beautiful day in The Villages. (Applause.) He said, it's always a beautiful day in The Villages. (Applause.)

I'm traveling your state to ask for the vote. I think you got to get out amongst the people and say, I want your vote. I'm going to give you some reasons to put me back into office. I also want your help. You need to go to your friends and neighbors. Tell them we have a duty in our free society to vote. When you get them headed to the polls, remind them, if they want a safer America, a stronger America, a better America, to put me and Dick Cheney back in office. (Applause.)

My one regret is that Laura is not with me today.

AUDIENCE: Awww --

THE PRESIDENT: I know, that's generally the reaction. (Laughter.) I'm going to give you some reasons, as I said, to put me in, but perhaps the most important one of all is so that Laura is the First Lady for four more years. (Applause.) When I met her again -- see, we went to the 7th grade together in San Jacinto Junior High in Midland, Texas. When I met her again, she was a public school librarian. I said, will you marry me. She said, fine, just so long as I never have to give a speech. (Laughter.) I said, okay, you got a deal. Fortunately, she did not hold me to that promise. She's giving a lot of speeches, and when she does, the American people see a strong, warm, compassionate, great First Lady. (Applause.)

I am proud of my running mate, Dick Cheney. (Applause.) I readily concede he does not have the waviest hair in the race. (Laughter.) I did not pick him for his hairdo. (Laughter.) I picked him because of his experience and sound judgment. (Applause.)

I am very proud of my brother, the Governor of Florida, Jeb Bush. (Applause.) He is a strong, consistent leader. You do not have to worry about him shifting his political thoughts because of a poll or a focus group. (Applause.) And when times were tough during the four hurricanes, Jeb led this state with resolve and compassion. (Applause.) Brother Marvin is with us today, as well, and I want to thank Marv for coming. I love to be with my family. I get great strength from my faith, my family, and my friends. (Applause.)

I want to thank Carey Baker for his service, not only in the Armed Forces, but in the statehouse. (Applause.) As I came up on the stage, Mrs. Baker informed me they'll be having a child tomorrow. (Laughter.) Let's just make sure it's tomorrow. (Laughter.)

I want to thank Congressman Cliff Stearns for his leadership in the House of Representatives. (Applause.) I appreciate the service of the state chief financial officer, Tom Gallagher. (Applause.) I want to thank all the other state and local officials who are here. I want to thank Ralph Reed, the Bush-Cheney '04 Southeast Regional Chair, for his leadership and friendship. I want to thank Carole Jean Jordan, who's the Republican Party Florida chairman. I want to

thank all the people who are involved in grassroots politics. I want to thank those of you who are putting up the signs. I want to thank those of you who are making the phone calls. With your help, there is no doubt in my mind we will carry Florida again and win a great victory on November the 2nd. (Applause.)

Finally, I want to thank my friend, Mark Wills, the country singer who has been entertaining you today. (Applause.)

In the last few years, the American people have come to know me. They know my blunt way of speaking. I get that from my mother. (Laughter.) They know that sometimes I mangle the English language. I get that from my father. (Laughter.) Americans also know that I tell you exactly what I'm going to do, and I keep my word. (Applause.)

I enjoyed telling the people what I was going to do during our three debates. Those were important debates because they showed the clear differences between my opponent and me. We have different records, we have very different plans for the future. My record is one of reforming education, of lowering taxes, of providing prescription drug coverage for our seniors, of improving homeland protections, and of waging an aggressive war against the ideologues of hate. (Applause.) I enjoyed the chance to lay out my vision for the future. Instead of articulating a vision or a positive agenda for the future, the Senator, my opponent, is relying on a litany of complaints and an old-style scare tactic.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: As proven by his record and a series of contradictions in this campaign, my opponent will say anything he thinks will benefit him politically at the time. (Applause.) I will do what I have said I will do. We will keep the promise of Social Security for our seniors, and there will no draft as long as I'm the President. (Applause.) On November the 2nd, the people of America will reject the politics of fear and vote for an agenda of hope and opportunity and security. (Applause.)

When I came into office, the stock market had been in serious decline for six months. And then we headed into a recession. To help families and to get this economy growing again, I pledged to reduce taxes. I kept my word. (Applause.) The results are clear. The recession was one of the shallowest in American history. Over the last three years, our economy has grown at rates as fast as any in nearly 20 years. Today the home ownership rate in America is at an all-time high. (Applause.) In the past 13 months we've added more than 1.9 million new jobs. The unemployment rate in America is 5.4 percent, lower than the average rate of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. (Applause.) The unemployment rate in Florida is 4.5 percent. (Applause.) This economy of ours is moving forward, and we're not going to go back to the days of tax and spend. (Applause.)

To make sure quality jobs are created here in America, America must be the best place in the world to do business. That means less regulations on our job creators. That means we will do something about the frivolous lawsuits that plague our small business owners.

To keep jobs here, Congress needs to pass my energy plan. It's a plan that encourages conservation, a plan that encourages renewables, encourages new technologies. It's a plan that recognizes we can explore for natural gas in environmentally friendly ways. We will not drill off the coast of Florida. It's a plan that uses clean coal technology. To keep jobs here in America, America must be less dependent on foreign sources of energy. (Applause.)

To create jobs we need to reject economic isolationism. We've opened up our markets from products for overseas, and that is good for the American consumer. See, the market works this way. If you have more products to choose from, you're likely to get that which you want at a better price and higher quality. So instead of shutting down our market, what we'll continue to do is open up other people's markets. I say to China, you treat us the way we treat you. We can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere, so long as the playing field is level. (Applause.)

To make sure this economy continue to grow, we've got to be wise about how we spend your money -- and keep your taxes low. (Applause.) My opponent has his own history on the economy. In 20 years as a senator from Massachusetts, he has built the record of -- a senator from Massachusetts. (Laughter.) He voted for higher taxes 98 times in his 20 years. That's about five times a year. I would call that a predictable pattern. (Laughter.) Now the Senator is promising not to raise taxes for anyone who earns less than \$200,000 a year. He said that with a straight face. (Laughter.) The problem is, to keep that promise he would have to break almost all of his other ones. He's made a lot of promises. He's promised over \$2.2 trillion -- a program of new spending. He said he's going to raise the money by taxing the rich. You can't raise enough money by taxing the rich to raise \$2.2 trillion. There is a gap, a gap between what he's promised and what he can raise. And guess who usually gets to fill the gap?

AUDIENCE: We do!

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah. You've also heard that talk before about taxing the rich. The rich hire lawyers and accountants for a reason, to slip the bill and pass it on to you. We're not going to let him tax you. We're going to carry Florida and win on November the 2nd. (Applause.)

When I came in this office, our public schools had been waiting decades for hopeful reform. Fortunately, you had a governor who had been providing hopeful reform. But too many of our children were shuffled through school year after year, grade after grade, without learning the basics. I pledged to restore accountability to our schools and end the soft bigotry of low expectations, and I kept my word. (Applause.) We're seeing the results. Our children are making sustained gains in reading and math. We're closing achievement gaps all across America. And we're not going to go back to the days of low standards and mediocrity in the public schools in America. (Applause.)

When we came into office, we had a problem with Medicare. Medicine was changing; Medicare was not. And let me give you an example. Many here understand what I'm talking about. Medicare would pay hundreds of thousands of dollars for heart surgery, but not one dime for the prescription drugs that could prevent the heart surgery from being needed in the first place. That did not make any sense for people on Medicare. It didn't make any sense for the taxpayers of the country. I pledged to bring Republicans and Democrats together to strengthen and modernize Medicare for our seniors. I kept my word. (Applause.) Seniors are getting discounts on medicine, and beginning in 2006, all seniors will be able to get prescription drugs coverage under Medicare.

We have more work to do when it comes to moving forward with health care. I have practical plans to make sure health care is available and affordable. We need a safety net for those with the greatest need. I believe in community health centers, places where the poor and the indigent can get good preventative and primary care. In a new term, we'll make sure every poor county in America has a community health center. (Applause.) We will do more to make sure poor children are fully subscribed in our programs for low-income families.

Do you realize that half of the working uninsured work for small businesses? Small businesses are having trouble affording health care. In order to help our workers get health care, in order to help small businesses, we must allow small businesses to pool together, to join together, so they can buy insurance at the same discounts big companies are able to do. (Applause.) We will continue to expand health savings accounts so workers and small businesses are able to pay lower premiums and people can save tax-free in a health care account they call their own.

To make sure health care is available and affordable, we must do something about the junk lawsuits that are running up the cost of health care and running good docs out of practice. (Applause.) By forcing doctors to practice defensive medicine, medical lawsuits cost the government, and therefore, you, about \$28 billion a year. Lawsuits drive up insurance premiums, which drive good doctors out of practice. I have met too many OB/GYNs who are worried about being able to stay in practice. I have met too many of their patients, women who are worried about getting the health care they need. See, you can't be pro-doctor, pro-patient, and pro-personal injury lawyer at the same time. You have to choose. My opponent made his choice and he put a personal injury lawyer on the ticket. I made my choice. I'm standing with the docs and the patients. I am for medical liability reform now. (Applause.)

And I urge you to vote for Mel Martinez in the Senate. He will join us in fighting for medical liability reform now. (Applause.)

My opponent has a health care plan, a plan for bigger, more intrusive government. The other day, he tried to tell the Americans that when it comes to his health care plan -- and I quote -- "The government has nothing to do with it." I could barely contain myself. (Laughter.) Facts are eight out of ten people who get health care under Senator Kerry's plan would be placed on a government program. He said his plan helps small businesses, but yet, further study concluded that it is an overpriced albatross that would saddle small businesses with 225 new mandates. I have a better idea. I want to help small businesses afford health care, not saddle them with new government rules. (Applause.)

The choice in this election is clear. My opponent wants to move in the direction of government-run health care. I believe health decisions should be made by patients and doctors, not by officials in Washington, D.C. He can run, but he cannot hide. (Applause.)

I have set out policies that move this country toward a positive and optimistic vision. I believe our country can and must become an ownership society. You know, there's an old saying, no one ever washes a rental car. (Laughter.) A lot of wisdom in that statement. When you own something, you care about it. When you own something, you have a vital stake in the future of your country. That's why we'll continue to encourage ownership. Every time a small business is started, someone is achieving the American Dream. (Applause.) That's why we're encouraging health savings accounts, so people have the security of owning their own health care plan. That's why we'll continue to spread the ownership of homes all across America. I love it when more and more people from all walks of life open up the door where they live and say, welcome to my home; welcome to my piece of property. (Applause.)

In a new term, we'll take the next step toward building an ownership society by strengthening Social Security. Now, let me remind you of something that took place in the 2000 campaign. They said in those political ads that if George W. gets elected, our seniors will not get their Social Security checks. You might remember those ads. I want you to remind your friends and neighbors they got their checks. Nobody is going to take away the checks of those who are now on Social Security. And baby boomers like me, we're in pretty good shape when it

comes to Social Security. But we need to worry about our children and our grandchildren. We need to make sure Social Security is available for them. That is why I believe younger workers ought to be allowed to take some of their own payroll taxes and put it in a personal savings account that will earn better interest, a personal savings account they can call their own, an account the government cannot take away. (Applause.)

My opponent wants to maintain the status quo when it comes to Social Security. That is unacceptable for younger Americans. I believe a President should solve problems, not pass them on to future generations or future presidents. (Applause.) On issue after issue, from Medicare without choices to schools with less accountability to higher taxes on working Americans, my opponent takes the side of more centralized control and bigger government. There's a word for that attitude. It's called liberalism.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: He dismisses it as simply a label. He must have seen it differently when he told a newspaper, I am a liberal and proud of it. Don't take my word for it. Take the word of the nonpartisan National Journal Magazine that did a study of voting records and named him the most liberal member of the United States Senate. That takes a lot of hard work. (Laughter.) It's hard to be more liberal than the likes of Ted Kennedy. He can run, but he cannot hide. (Applause.)

I have a very different record and a different philosophy. I do not believe in big government, and I do not believe that government should be indifferent. I am a compassionate conservative. I believe in policies that empower people to improve their lives, not try to run their lives. I believe we should help men and women find the skills and tools needed to prosper in a time of change. We're helping all Americans to have a future of dignity and independence, and that is now I will lead our nation for four more years. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: In this time of change -- in this time of change, some things do not change -- the values we try to live by, courage and compassion, reverence and integrity. In a time of change, we must support the institutions that give our lives direction and purpose -- our families, our schools, our places of worship. We stand for a culture of life in which every person matters and every being counts. (Applause.) We stand for marriage and family, which are the foundations of our society. (Applause.) We stand for the appointment of federal judges who know the difference between personal opinion and the strict interpretation of the law. (Applause.)

This election will also determine how America responds to the continuing danger of terrorism. The most solemn duty of the American President is to protect the American people. If America shows uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will drift toward tragedy. This will not happen on my watch. (Applause.)

Since that terrible morning of September the 11th, 2001, we have fought the terrorists across the Earth -- not for pride, not for power, but because the lives of our citizens are at stake. Our strategy is clear. We're defending the homeland. We're reforming and strengthening our intelligence capabilities. We're transforming our military so the all-volunteer army will remain an all-volunteer army. We're staying on the offensive. We will strike the terrorists abroad so we do not have to face them here at home. (Applause.)

We will spread freedom and liberty, and we will prevail. Our strategy is succeeding. Think about the world the way it was some three-and-a-half years ago. Afghanistan was the home base of al Qaeda. Pakistan was a transit point for terrorist groups. Saudi Arabia was fertile ground for terrorist fundraising. Libya was secretly pursuing nuclear weapons. Iraq was a dangerous place and a gathering threat, and al Qaeda was largely unchallenged as it planned attacks.

Because we led, because the United States of America was firm in our resolve, Afghanistan is free and is now an ally in the war on terror. (Applause.) Pakistan is capturing terrorist leaders. Saudi Arabia is making raids and arrests. Libya is dismantling its weapons programs. The army of a free Iraq is fighting for freedom, and more than three-quarters of al Qaeda's key members and associates have been brought to justice. (Applause.)

We're standing with the people in Afghanistan and Iraq. I want the youngsters here to understand how profound history has changed because of the actions we took to defend ourselves. Think about Afghanistan. It wasn't all that long ago that the Taliban ran that country. These ideologues of hatred would not even allow young girls to go to school, and their mothers were taken into the public square and whipped if they didn't toe their line. Because we acted, because we upheld doctrine that said if you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as a terrorist, millions of citizens went to vote in a presidential election. The first voter in Afghanistan for the election of a President was a 19-year-old woman. (Applause.)

Freedom is on the march. Freedom is on the march in a part of world that no one ever dreamt would be free. In Iraq, there will be presidential elections in several months. Think how far that country has come, from the days of torture rooms and mass graves. No, we're standing with those people. When America gives its word, America must keep its word. And we're standing with them. And we're standing with them because we understand that free societies in the Middle East will be hopeful societies, which no longer feed resentments and breed violence for export. Free governments in the Middle East will fight the terrorists, instead of harboring them. And that will help us keep the peace.

Our strategy -- our strategy and our mission in Afghanistan and Iraq should be clear. We'll train the armies and the police in those countries so the people of Afghanistan and the people of Iraq can do the hard work of defending their freedom. We will get those countries on the path of stability and democracy as quickly as possible. And then our troops will come home with the honor they have earned. (Applause.)

I am proud to be the Commander-in-Chief of a great United States military. (Applause.) I want to thank the veterans who are here for having set such a great example for those who wear the uniform. (Applause.) I want to thank the military families who are here. (Applause.)

The single most important responsibility is to make sure our military has all the tools and resources they need to complete their missions. That's why I went to the United States Congress in September of 2003 and asked for \$87 billion of funding to support our troops in combat. I was very pleased with the overwhelming bipartisan support for that initiative. The support was so strong that only 12 members of the United States Senate voted against the funding -- two of whom were my opponent and his running mate.

AUDIENCE: Boo!

THE PRESIDENT: As you're out gathering the vote, remind people of this startling fact: There were only four members of the United States Senate who voted to authorize the use of force and then voted against funding our troops in harm's way -- only four members, two of whom were my opponent and his running mate.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: You might remember his famous quote when they asked him about his vote, he said, I actually did vote for the \$87 billion right before I voted against it.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: Sunday -- Sunday was the one-year anniversary of Senator Kerry's vote against funding for our troops. My opponent's many and conflicting positions on this issue are a case study into why his contradictions call into question his credibility and his ability to lead our nation. September of 2003, as the \$87 billion funding package was being debated in Congress, he said on national TV, "It would be irresponsible to abandon our troops by voting against it." His words. And yet one month later, he did exactly that irresponsible thing; he voted against the funding. And so we say, why, what happened to change the Senator's mind so abruptly in one month? Well, his opponent in the Democrat primary, Howard Dean, was gaining ground as an antiwar candidate. Senator Kerry apparently decided supporting the troops, even while in harm's way was not as important as shoring up his own political position.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: At a time -- at a time of a great threat to our country, at a time of great challenge in the world, the Commander-in-Chief must stand on principle, not on the shifting sands of political convenience. (Applause.)

We have big differences when it comes to how to protect America. You might remember in one of the debates Senator Kerry proposed that we must pass a global test before we defend ourselves.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: I didn't make that up. I was standing right there. I heard him. (Laughter.) The problem with the global test is that the Senator can never pass it. And that's dangerous in the world in which we live. I say he can't because remember 1990, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution supporting action to remove Saddam Hussein from Kuwait. The international community was united. Countries throughout the world joined the coalition. And yet even after United Nations' approval, Senator Kerry voted against the authorization for the use of force. He says removing Saddam Hussein was a mistake, during one of the debates.

AUDIENCE: Booo!

THE PRESIDENT: He said -- well, here's how he would have solved the problem. He would have asked the United Nations to pass another United Nations Security Council resolution.

AUDIENCE: BOOO!

THE PRESIDENT: Precisely what Saddam Hussein wanted to hear, another resolution. Had the Senator had his way, Saddam Hussein not only would be sitting in a palace, he would have occupied Kuwait, and the world would be dangerous for it. America is better off with Saddam Hussein sitting in a prison cell. (Applause.)

I'll work to build alliance. We'll work to make sure our coalition remains strong, but I will never turn over America's national security decisions to leaders of other countries. (Applause.)

I believe in the transformational power of liberty. I'll tell you what I mean by that. One of our friends in the international community is the Prime Minister of Japan, Koizumi. I saw him at the United Nations and said, you know, I'm talking about you everywhere you go across the country. I said, I hope you don't mind. He said, no. I didn't tell him I was going to tell you, though, that his favorite singer was Elvis. (Laughter.) Shows we're getting to know each other quite well. Doesn't seem like much, does it, that the head of Japan is a friend. But think about the history. Wasn't all that long ago, 60 years ago, that we were at war with the Japanese. Perhaps some here in the crowd was in that war. My dad, our dad, was fighting the Japanese. I guarantee you people had relatives fighting the Japanese who are here. They were the sworn enemy of the United States of America.

After we won that war, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, along with other Americans, believed in the power of liberty to transform an enemy into an ally. And there was a lot of skepticism about that. You can imagine why. Japan conceivably becoming a democracy, people would ask. Why do we worry about an enemy that has upset so many families in America? But people believe, and as a result of people having firm belief, I sit down now at the table with the Prime Minister of Japan, talking about the peace we all want. Some day, an American President will be sitting down with the duly-elected leader of Iraq, talking about keeping the peace in the Middle East, and our children and our grandchildren will be better off for it. (Applause.)

I believe that millions in the Middle East plead in silence for their freedom. I believe women in the Middle East want to live in a free society. I believe the mothers and the fathers of the Middle East want to bring their children up in a free and peaceful world. I believe all these things, because freedom is not America's gift to the world, freedom is the Almighty God's gift to each man and woman in this world. (Applause.)

For all Americans, these years in our history will always stand apart. There are quiet times in the life of a nation when little is expected of its leaders. This is not one of those times. This is a time that requires firm resolve, clear vision, and a deep faith in the values that makes this a great nation.

None of us will ever forget that week when one era ended and another began. On September the 14th, 2001, I stood in the ruins of the Twin Towers. It's a day I will never forget. I will never forget the voices of those in hard hats yelling at me at the top of their lungs, "Whatever it takes!" I will never forget the look in the man's eyes as he grabbed me by the arm and he said, "Do not let me down." Ever since that day, I wake up every morning thinking about how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes. (Applause.)

Four years ago, when I traveled your great state, four years ago when I came to The Villages, for that matter, I made this pledge, that if you gave me a chance to serve, I would uphold the

honor and the dignity of the office to which I had been elected. With your help, I will do so for four more years. God bless. Thanks for coming. Thank you all. Thank you all. (Applause.)

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 5.**

#### **Bill Clinton's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Arkansas on October 3, 1991**

Thank you all for being here today, for your friendship and support, for giving me the opportunity to serve as your Governor for 11 years, for filling my life full of blessings beyond anything I ever deserved.

I want to thank especially Hillary and Chelsea for taking this big step in our life's journey together. Hillary, for being my wife, my friend, and my partner in our efforts to build a better future for the children and families of Arkansas and America. Chelsea, in ways she is only now coming to understand, has been our constant joy and reminder of what our public efforts are really all about: a better life for all who will work for it, a better future for the next generation.

All of you, in different ways, have brought me here today, to step beyond a life and a job I love, to make a commitment to a larger cause: Preserving the American Dream ... Restoring the hopes of the forgotten middle class... Reclaiming the future for our children.

I refuse to be part of a generation that celebrates the death of Communism abroad with the loss of the American Dream at home.

I refuse to be part of a generation that fails to compete in the global economy and so condemns hard-working Americans to a life of struggle without reward or security.

That is why I stand here today...because I refuse to stand by and let our children become part of the first generation to do worse than their parents. I don't want my child or your child to be part of a country that's coming apart instead of coming together.

Over 25 years ago, I had a professor at Georgetown who taught me that America was the greatest country in history because our people believed in and acted on two simple ideas: first, that the future can be better than the present; and second, that each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.

That fundamental truth has guided my public career, and brings me here today. It is what we've devoted ourselves to here in Arkansas. I'm proud of what we've done here in Arkansas together. Proud of the work we've done to become a laboratory of democracy and innovation. And proud that we've done it without giving up the things we cherish and honor most about our way of life. Solid, middle-class values of work, Will, family, individual responsibility, and community.

As I've traveled across our state, I've found that everything we believe in, everything we've fought for, is threatened by an administration that refuses to take care of our own, has turned its back on the middle class, and is afraid to change while the world is changing.

The historic events in the Soviet Union in recent months teach us an important lesson: National security begins at home. For the Soviet Empire never lost to us on the field of battle. Their system rotted from the inside out, from economic, political and spiritual failure.

To be sure, the collapse of communism requires a new national security policy. I applaud the President's recent initiative in reducing nuclear weapons. It is an important beginning. But make no mistake - the end of the Cold War is not the end of threats to America. The world is still a dangerous and uncertain place. The first and most solemn obligation of the president is to keep America strong and safe from foreign dangers, and promote democracy around the world.

But we cannot build a safe and secure world unless we can first make America strong at home. It is our ability to take care of our own at home that gives us the strength to stand up for what we believe around the world.

As governor for 11 years, working to preserve and create jobs in a global economy, I know our competition for the future is Germany and the rest of Europe, Japan and the rest of Asia. And I know that we are losing America's leadership in the world because we're losing the American dream right here at home.

Middle class people are spending more hours on the job, spending less time with their children, bringing home a smaller paycheck to pay more for health care and housing and education. Our streets are meaner, our families are broken, our health care is the costliest in the world and we get less for it.

The country is headed in the wrong direction fast, slipping behind, losing our way...and all we have out of Washington is status quo paralysis. No vision, no action. Just neglect, selfishness, and division.

For 12 years, Republicans have tried to divide us - race against race - so we get mad at each other and not at them. They want us to look at each other across a racial divide so we don't turn and look to the White House and ask, why are all of our incomes going down, why are all of us losing jobs? Why are we losing our future?

Where I come from we know about race-baiting. They've used it to divide us for years. I know this tactic well and I'm not going to let them get away with it.

For 12 years, the Republicans have talked about choice without really believing in it. George Bush says he wants school choice even if it bankrupts the public schools, and yet he's more than willing to make it a crime for the women of America to exercise their individual right to choose.

For 12 years, the Republicans have been telling us that America's problems aren't their problem. They washed their hands of responsibility for the economy and education and health care and social policy and turned it over to fifty states and a thousand points of light. Well, here in Arkansas we've done our best to create jobs and educate our people. And each of us has tried to be one of those thousand points of light. But I can tell you, where there is no national vision, no national partnership, no national leadership, a thousand points of light leaves a lot of darkness.

We must provide the answers...the solutions. And we will. We're going to turn this country around and get it moving again, and we're going to fight for the hard-working middle-class families of America for a change.

Make no mistake - this election is about change: in our party, in our national leadership, and in our country.

And we're not going to get positive change just by Bush-bashing. We have to do a better job of the old-fashioned work of confronting the real problems of real people and pointing the way to a better future. That is our challenge in 1992.

Today, as we stand on the threshold of a new era, a new millennium, I believe we need a new kind of leadership, leadership committed to change. Leadership not mired in the politics of the past, not limited by old ideologies...Proven leadership that knows how to reinvent government to help solve the real problem of real people.

That is why today I am declaring my candidacy for President of the United States. Together I believe we can provide leadership that will restore the American dream - that will fight for the forgotten middle class - that will provide more opportunity, Insist on more responsibility and create a greater sense of community for this great country.

The change we must make isn't liberal or conservative. It's both, and it's different. The small towns and main streets of America aren't like the corridors and backrooms of Washington. People out here don't care about the idle rhetoric of "left" and "right" and "liberal" and "conservative" and all the other words that have made our politics a substitute for action. These families are crying out desperately for someone who believes the promise of America is to help them with their struggle to get ahead, to offer them a green light instead of a pink slip.

This must be a campaign of ideas, not slogans. We don't need another President who doesn't know what he wants to do for America. I'm going to tell you in plain language what I intend to do as President. How we can meet the challenges we face - that's the test for all the Democratic candidates in this campaign. Americans know what we're against Let's show them what we're for.

We need a new covenant to rebuild America. It's just common sense. Government's responsibility is to create more opportunity. The people's responsibility is to make the most of it.

In a Clinton Administration, we are going to create opportunity for all. We've got to grow this economy, not shrink it. We need to give people Incentives to make long-term investment in America and reward people who produce goods and services, not those who speculate with other people's money. We've got to invest more money in emerging technologies to help keep high-paying jobs here at home. We've got to convert from a defense to a domestic economy.

We've got to expand world trade, tear down barriers, but demand fair trade policies if we're going to provide good jobs for our people. The American people don't want to run from the world. We must meet the competition and win.

Opportunity for all means world-class skills and world-class education. We need more than photo ops and empty rhetoric - we need standards and accountability and excellence in education. On this issue, I'm proud to say that Arkansas has led the way.

In a Clinton Administration, students and parents and teachers will get a real education President.

Opportunity for all means pre-school for every child who needs it, and an apprenticeship program for kids who don't want to go to college but do want good jobs. It means teaching

everybody with a job to read, and passing a domestic GI Bill that would give every young American the chance to borrow the money necessary to go to college and ask them to pay it back either as a small percentage of their income over time, or through national service as teachers or policemen or nurses or child care workers.

In a Clinton Administration, everyone will be able to get a college loan as long as they're willing to give something back to their country In return.

Opportunity for all means reforming the health care system to control costs, improve quality, expand preventive and long-term care, maintain consumer choice, and cover everybody. And we don't have to bankrupt the taxpayers to do it. We do have to take on the big insurance companies and health care bureaucracies and get some real cost control into the system. I pledge to the American people that in the first year of a Clinton Administration, we will present a plan to Congress and the American people to provide affordable, quality health care for all Americans.

Opportunity for all means making our cities and our streets safe from crime and drugs. Across America, citizens are banding together to take their streets and neighborhoods back. In a Clinton Administration, we'll be on their side with new initiatives like community policing, drug treatment for those who need it, and boot camps for first-time offenders.

Opportunity for all means making taxes fair. I'm not out to soak the rich. I wouldn't mind being rich. But I do believe the rich should pay their fair share. For 12 years, the Republicans have raised taxes on the middle class. It's time to give the middle class tax relief.

Finally, opportunity for all means we must protect our environment and develop an energy policy that relies more on conservation and clean natural gas so all our children will inherit a world that is cleaner, safer, and more beautiful.

But hear me now. I honestly believe that if we try to do these things, we will still not solve the problems of today or move into the next century with confidence unless we do what President Kennedy did and ask every American citizen to assume personal responsibility for the future of our country.

The government owes our people more opportunity, but we all have to make the most of it through responsible citizenship.

*We should insist that people move off welfare rolls and onto work rolls. We should give people on welfare the skills they need to succeed, but we should demand that everybody who can work and become a productive member of society.*

We should insist on the toughest possible child support enforcement. Governments don't raise children, parents do. And when they don't, their children pay forever and so do we.

And we have got to say, as we've tried to do in Arkansas, that students have a responsibility to stay in school. If you drop out for no good reason, you should lose your driver's license. But its important to remember that the most irresponsible people of all in the 1980s were those at the top...not those who were doing worse, not the hard-working middle class, but those who sold out our savings and loans with bad deals and spent billions on wasteful takeovers and mergers - money that could have been spent to create better products and new jobs.

Do you know that in the 1980s, while middle-class income went down, charitable giving by working people went up? And while rich peoples incomes went up, charitable giving by the wealthy went down. Why? Because our leaders had an ethic of get it while you can and to heck with everybody else.

How can you ask people who work or who are poor to behave responsibly, when they know that the heads of our biggest companies raised their own pay in the last decade by four times the percentage their workers' pay went up? Three times as much as their profits went up. When they ran their companies into the ground and their employees were on the street, what did they do? They bailed out with golden parachutes to a cushy life. That's just wrong.

Teddy Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy didn't hesitate to use the bully pulpit of the Presidency. They changed America by standing up for what's right. When Salomon Brothers abused the Treasury markets, the President was silent. When the rip-off artists looted our S&L's the President Was Silent. In a Clinton Administration, when people sell their companies and their workers and their country down the river, they'll get called on the carpet. We're going to insist that they invest In this country and create jobs for our people.

In the 1980s, Washington failed us too. We spent more money on the present and the past and less on the future. We spent \$500 billion to recycle assets in the S&L mess, but we couldn't afford \$5 billion for unemployed workers or to give every kid in this country the chance to be in Head Start. We can do better than that, and we will.

A Clinton Administration won't spend our money on programs that don't solve problems and a government that doesn't work. I want to reinvent government to make it more efficient and more effective. I want to give citizens more choices in the services they get, and empower them to make those choices. That's what we've tried to do in Arkansas. We've balanced the budget every year and improved services. We've treated taxpayers like our customers and our bosses, because they are.

I want the American people to know that a Clinton Administration will defend our national interests abroad, put their values into our social policy at home, and spend their tax money with discipline. Well put government back on the side of the hard-working middle-class families of America who think most of the help goes to those at the top of the ladder, some goes to the bottom, and no one speaks for them.

But we need more than new laws, new promises, or new program. We need a new spirit of community, a sense that we are all in this together. If we have no sense of community the American dream will continue to wither. Our destiny is bound up with the destiny of every other American. Were all in this together, and we will rise or fail together.

A few years ago, Hillary and I visited a classroom in Los Angeles, in an area plagued by drugs and gangs. We talked to a dozen sixth graders, whose number one concern was being shot going to and from school. Their second worry was turning 12 or 13 and being forced to join a gang or be beaten. And finally, they were worried about their own parents' drug abuse.

Newly half a century ago, I was born not far from here in Hope, Arkansas. My mother had been widowed three months before I was born. I was raised for four years by my grandparents, while she went back to nursing school. They didn't have much money. I spent a lot of time with my great-grandparents. By any standard, they were poor. But we didn't blame other people. We took responsibility for ourselves and for each other because we knew we

could do better. I was raised to believe In the American dream, in family values, in individual responsibility, and in the obligation of government to help people who were doing the best they could.

Its a long way in America from that loving family which is embodied today in a picture on my wall in the Governor's office of me at the age of six holding my great-grandfather's hand to an America where children on the streets of our cities don't know who their grandparents are and have to worry about their own parents' drug abuse.

I tell you, by making common cause with those children, we give new life to the American dream. And that is our generation's responsibility - to form a new covenant... more opportunity for all, more responsibility from everyone, and a greater sense of common purpose.

I believe with all my heart that together, we can make this happen. We can usher in a new era of progress, prosperity and renewal. We can – we must. This is not just a campaign for the Presidency – it is a campaign for the future, for the forgotten hard-working middle class families of America who deserve a government that fights for them. A campaign to keep America strong at home and around the world. Join with us. I ask for your prayers, your help, your hands, and your hearts. Together we can make America great again, and build a community of hope that will inspire the world.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 6.**

#### **Bill Clinton's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Philadelphia on April 16, 1992**

As many of you know, I've spent the last few days back home in Little Rock, under doctor's orders not to speak. Imagine how much happier you would be if all the politicians in America lost their voices for a week every year.

Unfortunately, most Americans are struggling to make their voices heard every day. For the last seven months, I've traveled back and forth across this country, listening to the thousands of people I've met: Unemployed workers who've lost not only their jobs but their pensions, their health care, and even their homes. Laid-off defense workers who now make their living driving cabs. Elderly couples whose refrigerators are bare because so much of their monthly Social Security check has to go for prescription drugs. Middle-class families everywhere who've taken second jobs to make ends meet.

The determination and quiet courage of these brave Americans has kept me going through the toughest moments of this campaign. Every day, their struggles and their stories have reminded me what this election is really all about.

This campaign can't be just another shallow political quarrel between Republicans and Democrats in Washington. For more than a decade, both parties have failed us there. In 1992, the very future of the American Dream is at stake. Unless we decide we want a different kind of President with a very different economic policy -- unless we decide we're going to be more responsible as citizens for our common problems, we're in for more trouble.

For me, the American Dream is not a slogan. It has been a way of life. I was born in 1946, as America was entering the greatest economic boom the world has ever seen. I grew up in a state where almost half the people lived below the poverty line. My mother was widowed three months before I was born. I was raised by my grandparents until I was four. My grandmother was a nurse. My grandfather had a grade-school education and ran a small grocery store. We didn't have much money. But growing up, I and my generation always knew that if we worked hard and played by the rules, we'd be rewarded -- and I have been, beyond my wildest dreams.

Millions of young people growing up in this country today can't count on that dream. They look around and see that their hard work may not be rewarded. Most people are working harder for less these days, as they have been for well over a decade. The American Dream is slipping away along with the loss of our economic leadership.

For 11 years as Governor, I've fought against the loss of American jobs and industry. I got into this race for President when it became clear to me that without a change in Presidential leadership, we couldn't turn our country around.

In the weeks and months to come, I will spell out my plans to turn this country around -- reforming America's schools, radically changing government, making our streets safe again from drugs and crime, opening up world markets to expanded world trade. This campaign

isn't about slogans and 30-second sound bites. It's time we offer real answers to the real problems of real people.

George Bush looks at America as it is today -- at the decline of the middle class and the explosion of poverty -- and he says, "Do nothing." A few weeks ago, the front page of the Boston Globe carried a headline that said, "Do Nothing on Economy, Bush Advises Lawmakers." Under that headline was a picture of President Bush meeting with the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl. Kohl was smiling. Maybe because his country is doing something; they have a national economic strategy that is beating our brains in. So does Japan. So do all of the major countries in the world.

But George Bush doesn't. His strategy is, do nothing.

The only time President Bush changes is when the polls change or the pressures mount. Last year, the opponent was David Duke, the issue was civil rights, and George Bush wrongly called the civil rights act a quota bill. Then came Pat Buchanan, and his assault on arts funding. So Bush fired the head of the National Endowment for the Arts. Then critics from Richard Nixon to me criticized him for dragging his feet on aid to the former Soviet Union. So he scheduled a speech within 15 minutes of mine to call for that aid.

Two days ago, the President traveled to Macomb County to talk about a major job training program which I have already proposed but which he has done nothing to enact after three years as President.

And today, after 11 years of an administration that has led an all-out assault on college aid to middle-class students -- one year after he proposed a budget which cut off Pell Grants to every family making more than \$10,000 a year -- but just twelve days before the Pennsylvania primary, the President comes here to Pennsylvania to promise universal access to college loans.

And they say I'm slick.

A campaign conversion isn't the same as a lifetime of conviction and a commitment to change. Today I want to talk about real change -- about the fundamental problems of leadership and organization that are holding our economy back, and put forth a plan to address the long-term economic challenges we face. I have come here to Wharton, home to so much of America's economic potential, to talk about what went wrong with our economy in the '80s -- the excesses of business; the misjudgments of labor; the errors made by President Bush, his predecessor, and Congress -- and to challenge you to help make things right in the '90s.

I have come here to the Wharton School because Wharton is home to much of America's economic potential, and has produced many of our best corporate leaders, including my friend John Sculley. What you learn here will help shape not only the career you choose, but your country's economic future.

But Wharton is also a powerful symbol of where our country went wrong in the 1980s. It was here at Wharton that Michael Milken got the idea to use junk bonds to leverage corporate buyouts -- a quick-buck scheme that was supposed to shake up failed management but too often forced corporations to lay off workers in formerly profitable plants, reduce R&D, and ultimately to go bankrupt or sell out again under the crushing burden of unserviceable debt.

It was here at Wharton that by 1987, the year the stock market crashed, 25% of the graduating class was going into investment banking -- a quarter of the best graduates at one of America's top business schools pursuing high incomes in high finance rather than in the apparently less glamorous work of creating jobs, goods and services to make America richer.

It was here at Wharton in the 1980s that students nicknamed the investment banking club "The Unindicted," and the Wharton "Wall of Fame," which honors famous alumni chosen by the students, kept photos of Donald Trump, who glorified the art of the deal, and Michael Milken on display until Trump went bankrupt and Milken was on his way to jail.

And it is here at Wharton in 1992 that we must speak frankly about where we've been and what we've lost; where we're headed and what kind of nation we want to be. Together, we must bring an end to the something-for-nothing ethic of the '80s.

Last October, the Philadelphia Inquirer ran a remarkable series called "America: What Went Wrong," which documented in statistics and stories what has happened to the country we love. The series, written by Donald Barlett and James Steele, is must reading for any student of politics, ethics, or business -- and it holds important lessons for politicians and voters alike.

Barlett and Steele found that for the forgotten middle class, the '80s were an economic disaster. The size of the middle class fell for the first time since the '30s. Middle-class people are spending more time on the job, less time with their children, and bringing home less money to pay more for health care, housing, and education -- while those at the top of the totem pole saw their taxes go down and their incomes go up.

People who make over \$200,000 saw their incomes rise fifteen times faster than average Americans. The average middle-class person, by contrast, is working 158 hours a year more than in 1969 for about the same income -- an extra month of work without extra pay. A new social order is emerging, more unequal, more divided, more impenetrable to those who seek to get ahead.

The U.S. fell from 8th to 22nd in wage inequality in the 1980s. According to a recent study, one percent of the people in the '80s got 60 percent of the country's growth. America is evolving a new social order, more unequal, more divided, more impenetrable to those who seek to get ahead. And although America's rich got richer in the 1980s, the country did not. Ten years ago, America had the highest wages in the world. Now we're tenth, and falling. We went from being the world's largest creditor to being the world's largest debtor. The stock market tripled, but wages went down.

Our savings rate is half that of Japan; workers in America earn a quarter less than workers in Germany. Our investment rate is lower than all our major competitors. Our students rank near the bottom in international math and science tests. We spend a quarter of what our competitors do on training programs for our workers. Germany and Japan have productivity growth rates three and four times ours because they educate their people better, invest more in their future, and organize their economies to compete in the world, and we don't.

For 11 years, we've had no economic vision, no economic leadership, no national economic strategy. The single driving idea behind economic policy in the '80s has been to keep taxes low on corporations and upper-income individuals and keep government out of our way. This idea was evidenced most clearly in the President's recent veto of a tax bill crafted largely by Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, a pro-business Democrat, and Congressman Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois. The bill would have increased investment in new plant and

equipment, homes and real estate, and small business. The President vetoed it because these incentives would have been paid for by increased taxes on the wealthy whose taxes were lowered in the '80s.

This policy hasn't worked. The current administration has compiled the worst economic record in 50 years. George Bush's Presidency has produced slower economic growth, slower job growth, and slower income growth than any administration since the Great Depression -- and the biggest deficits and highest middle-class tax burden of any administration in history.

This is not a Democratic or a Republican issue. It's America against the rest of the world. Every other advanced nation is governed by a body with a strategy for increasing growth, developing high-wage jobs through increasing investment, and enhancing cooperation among government, business, labor and education.

That's why even when the Bush recession ends -- and we all hope it ends soon -- most Americans will find themselves worse off than before it began. They may find jobs, but there will be fewer high-wage jobs. American companies will hire back fewer manufacturing workers and office workers, because in the meantime those jobs will have been automated or farmed out to factories abroad. Downward trends in wages and benefits, increasing costs for health care, and more job insecurity will be the order of the day.

#### THE NEW ECONOMY

If the Republicans' failed experiment in supply-side economics didn't produce growth, create upward mobility, or prepare millions of Americans to compete and win in the world economy, neither will the old Democratic theory that says we can just tax and spend our way out of any problem we face.

Since 1973, American productivity has grown a third as fast as it grew from 1948 until then. If Republican and Democratic administrations had been able to maintain the level of productivity growth over the last two decades that we enjoyed in the three decades before that, the median family income today would be over \$47,000 instead of \$35,000.

I believe we need a radical new approach to economics that will give new hope to our people and breathe new life into the American Dream. A new national strategy that will reward work, expand opportunity, and put people first, with more public and private investment, the world's best-educated workforce, and competitive strategies in health care, energy, and trade.

The answers I offer aren't liberal or conservative. They're both and they're different.

The world has changed dramatically in recent years, and we have to change with it. History has handed us an extraordinary opportunity in the 1990s. The rise of the new economy coincides with the triumph of democracy and the end of the Cold War. At the moment we most need to marshal and reorganize our resources, the greatest collection of high-value talent and assets has become available. With the right plan to convert defense spending to domestic growth, we can catapult America back to the forefront in world economic leadership.

The old economy of a generation ago rewarded countries whose firms had strong organizational hierarchies and strict work rules. In the new economy, our prosperity will depend instead on the capacities of our workers and our firms to change. As Peter Drucker

wrote recently, "The factory of tomorrow will be organized around information rather than automation."

We need a new economic approach that provides every person and every firm the means to be more productive. In a world in which money and production are mobile, the skills of its workers and the ingenuity of its entrepreneurs are what can set any nation apart. To revitalize our economy, restore our competitiveness, and boost our productivity, we need a national economic strategy that will fundamentally change the way we do business at home and around the world:

\* First, we need to grant every American the fundamental right to a good education, lifelong learning and training, in a world where what you can earn depends on what you can learn.

\* Second, we need to invest the time, the patience, and the money to rebuild our economy and make it grow again.

\* Finally, we need to demand change throughout our society -- from business, labor, and government -- and work together to forge a new social compact for economic growth.

## THE LEARNING ECONOMY

If we're going to turn this country around, we've got to empower every American with the education and training essential to get ahead. We can only be a high-wage, high-growth country if we are a high-skills country.

I want to build a vibrant, innovating, learning economy in which government ensures opportunities, not results, and equips everyone to win by becoming more productive. That means preschool for every child who needs it, and fully funding Head Start. National standards and testing in elementary and secondary schools, and an annual report card for every state, school district, and school.

It means giving every young American who works hard and plays by the rules a chance to get ahead: A nationwide apprenticeship program for high school students who don't go to college, so they can learn valuable skills and get jobs with rising wages. A national trust fund out of which any American can borrow money for a college education, so long as they pay it back either as a small percentage of their income over time or with a couple of years of national service as teachers, police officers, or child care workers.

But schools alone cannot lead the change; we need help as well from the workplace to ensure that every working American has the opportunity to learn new skills every year. We need to teach every adult to read and give them a chance to get a GED in the next five years. Every working person today should have the chance to hone and upgrade their skills every year. In a Clinton Administration, we'll require firms to invest the equivalent of 1 to 1.5 percent of their payroll on training for everybody, not just top executives, or pay into a fund for training.

## REBUILDING AMERICA FOR THE LONG TERM

To build a 21st-century economy, America must revive a 19th-century habit, by investing in the common, national economic resources that enable every person and every firm to create wealth and value. Our productivity and income have been growing so slowly because we've stopped investing in the economic infrastructure that binds our markets and businesses together, and in the research and development that can restore America to the cutting edge of

the world economy. The only foundation for prospering in the global economy is investing in ourselves.

The Philadelphia Inquirer series compared the behavior of American companies today to what went on a few decades ago. By almost every measure, our companies are living more for today and investing less down the road.

In the 1950s, American companies invested \$3 billion in new manufacturing plant and equipment for every \$1 billion they paid in interest. By the 1980s, they were paying \$1.6 billion in interest for every \$1 billion in new plant and equipment.

In 1953, corporations paid \$2.3 billion in corporate income taxes for every \$1 billion they paid in executive salaries. In 1987, corporations paid \$2.4 billion to their executives for every \$1 billion they paid the government in taxes.

As a nation, we're spending more on the present and the past, and building less for the future. We need a President who will turn our country and our culture around so that we once again begin to take the long view. Elsewhere, I have spelled out my package of incentives to provide long-term economic growth:

- \* An investment tax credit, and a new enterprise tax cut that rewards those with the patience, the courage, and the determination to invest in new businesses that create new jobs. These ideas are better than a capital gains tax cut because they reward investment in jobs, goods, and services.

- \* Making the research and development tax credit permanent, so companies can begin to make long-term plans, along with changes to increase investment in real estate and energy conservation.

- \* And a separate "future budget" for the federal government to make investments that will enrich our country over the long term, to increase our investments in education, environmental technology, research and development, and infrastructure as we reduce the position of our budget going to defense and inflation in health costs.

We have opportunities to make investments in infrastructure, in civilian research and development, and in the transition from a defense to a domestic economy -- that will pay off handsomely down the line.

We can start by accelerating the renovation of the country's highways, bridges, water, and sewage systems. Japan has embarked on a \$3.1 trillion infrastructure program that puts our highway bill to shame. Since we are already paying a gas tax for a six-year program, we should authorize states and cities to contract out all the funds over the next two years. That would create tens of thousands of jobs.

A Clinton Administration will use a portion of transportation funding and possibly funds transferred from defense to create a high-speed rail network between our nation's major cities. Bullet trains in five major corridors could serve 500,000 passengers a day at speeds up to 300 miles an hour.

In the new economy, infrastructure means information as well as transportation. More than half the U.S. workforce is employed in information-intensive industries, yet we have no national strategy to create a national information network. Just as the interstate highway

system in the 1950s spurred two decades of economic growth, we need a door-to-door fiber optics system by the year 2015 to link every home, every lab, every classroom, and every business in America.

We should also change the way we create infrastructure for the next century. New sources of investment capital can be tapped from the private sector, in partnership with government. For example, we should consider creating a federal, self-financing, public-private corporation to support viable infrastructure projects that can attract some private capital.

At the same time, we need to sharply increase our national commitment to research and development. Japan and Germany spend half again as much on civilian R&D as we do, and have the productivity growth rates to show for it. Every dollar we take out of military R&D in the post-Cold War era should go to R&D for commercial technologies, until civilian R&D can match and eventually surpass our Cold War military R&D commitment.

If we want to help U.S. companies keep pace in the world economy, we need to restore America to the forefront, not just in inventing products but in bringing them to market. Too often, we have won the battle of the patents but lost the war of creating jobs and profits. American scientists invented the microwave, the VCR, the color TV, and the memory chip, and yet today the Koreans, the Japanese, and other nations make most of those products.

We should create a civilian research and development agency to support research in the few dozen strategic technologies that scientists have already identified as the basis for launching new growth industries over the next two decades, and revitalizing traditional ones. The civilian DARPA will coordinate R&D to help companies develop innovative technologies and bring new products to market. And without inhibiting the competition that drives innovation, we will encourage and promote collaborative efforts among firms and with research institutes for commercial development just as we have done with defense technologies for 40 years.

More than 25 million Americans lost their jobs at the end of World War II, and we made the most of their skills to launch the greatest boom in history. Now that the Cold War is over and victory is ours, we need a plan to transfer the talents of our people from defense abroad to progress and prosperity at home.

First, we must help the people whose lives will be turned upside down by defense cuts. In a Clinton Administration, we'll encourage early retirement with pro-rated pensions, and expand the GI Bill to give people educational leave before retiring. We'll provide displaced defense workers assistance in retraining, placement, and relocation. And we'll create a fund administered by the National Science Foundation to help defense scientists, engineers, and technicians master critical civilian technology fields, such as biotechnology, synthetic materials, and renewable energy resources.

For small defense manufacturers, the Small Business Administration will provide small conversion loans to help finance their transition, and launch a Technology Assistance Service -- modeled on the Agricultural Extension Service -- to provide easy access to the technical expertise it takes to convert to commercial production. The Economic Development Agency will help communities hit hard by defense cutbacks plan for closures and contract terminations.

Perhaps most important, at a time when only 17 percent of our work force is in manufacturing -- compared to 28 percent in Japan and 32 percent in Germany -- we need to seize the

opportunity to spur the development of new infrastructure, efficient energy generation, and environmental technologies that could revitalize our dwindling manufacturing base.

## A NEW COMPACT FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

Finally, if we're going to overcome the old economic arrangements that are holding America back, American workers and American businesses are going to have to be open to change.

This country doesn't need a new program for every problem, and we won't get change simply by spending more on programs already on the books. We need to reinvent government to deliver new services in different ways, eliminate unnecessary layers of management, and offer people more choices. We also need to show the discipline to put our fiscal house in order.

In a Clinton Administration, government will no longer be able to grow faster than ordinary people's ability to pay for it can grow. I want to lead a government prepared to end spending that doesn't work and reinvent programs to make sure they will. I've proposed a 3 percent across the board cut in the federal bureaucracy. We should give the President a line-item veto, and elect a President with the resolve to use it.

Government isn't the only institution that has to change. To succeed in the global economy, we need a new spirit of cooperation between labor and management that will forge a new compact for economic growth.

As future managers, you have a responsibility to help overcome the old antagonisms between American management and labor. As Americans, you will have a duty to look beyond your company's short-term profits and narrow interests of the moment to the long-term interests of your company's workers and the nation as a whole.

We need a whole new organization of work, where workers at the front lines make decisions, not just follow orders, and entire layers of bureaucratic middle management become obsolete. We need a new style of management, where front-line workers and managers will have more responsibility to make decisions that improve quality and increase productivity. And we need to restore the link between pay and performance by encouraging companies to provide for employee ownership and profit-sharing, and recognize that we should all go up or down together. Where this is being done today, companies are enjoying high growth rates. Where workers embrace change, they often become more prosperous and secure.

In the new American economy, everyone will have to change, and everyone will get something in return. Workers will gain new prosperity and independence, including health care and training, but unions will have to give up non-productive work rules and rigid job classifications and be open to change. Managers will reap more profits but will have to manage for the long run, and not treat themselves better than their workers are treated. Corporations will reach new heights in productivity and profitability, but CEOs will have to put the long-term interests of their workers, their customers, and their companies first.

Now it is your turn to choose: Is that what brought you to business school? What kind of world do you want to build when you graduate from Wharton? What do you want from life, and what are you willing to give your country?

You are among the most talented and most privileged of your generation. And you owe a special responsibility not just to do the best you can for yourself, but to do right by your country.

Together, we can build a new American community that honors individual achievement, neighborhood security, economic growth, academic and corporate excellence, government efficiency, and national strength. The new American community will summon -- by example, encouragement, by exhortation, and sometimes by law -- a new spirit of service at every level of our society.

So that citizens will serve their families and their consciences; managers will serve their workers; corporations will serve their clients and their customers; executives will serve their shareholders; elected officials will serve the national interest; and government will once again serve our people.

And when we build this community, this mutually reinforcing fabric of rights and responsibilities, challenges and commitments, America will rise above the perils and uncertainties of this moment, and become most productive, most prosperous, most energetic, and most respected nation in the world again.

"I believe," in the words of Thomas Wolfe, "that (today) we are lost here in America, but I believe that we shall be found. And this belief ... is for me -- and I think for all of us -- not only our own hope, but America's everlasting, living dream."

*Appendices*

**Appendix 7**

**John Kerry's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Boston on July 29, 2004**

Thank you, so much....Thank you....Thank you, so much....

I'm John Kerry and I'm reporting for duty.

Thank you.

We are here -- thank you -- We are here tonight -- We are here tonight because we love our country.

We're proud of what America is and what it can become.

My fellow Americans, we're here tonight united in one purpose: to make America stronger at home and respected in the world.

A great American -- A great American novelist wrote that you can't go home again. He could not have imagined this evening. Tonight, I am home; home -- home where my public life began and those who made it possible live; home where our nation's history was written in blood, idealism, and hope; home where my parents showed me the values of family, faith, and country.

Thank you. Thank you, all of you, for a welcome home I will never forget.

I -- I wish -- I wish my parents could share this moment. They went to their rest in the last few years, but their example, their inspiration, their gift of open eyes, and open eyes, and open mind, and endless heart, and, and world that doesn't have an end -- are bigger and more lasting than any words at all.

I was born, as you -- some of you saw in the film in Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Colorado -- when my dad was a pilot in World War II. Now, I am not one to read into things, but guess which wing of the hospital the maternity ward was in? I'm not kidding. I was born in the West Wing.

My mother -- My mother was the rock of our family, as so many mothers are. She stayed up late to help me with my homework. She sat by my bed when I was sick. She answered the questions of a child who, like all children, found the world full of wonders and mysteries. She was my den mother when I was a Cub Scout, and she was so proud of her fifty year pin as a Girl Scout leader. She gave me her passion for the environment. She taught me to see trees as the cathedrals of nature. And by the power of her example, she showed me that we can and must complete the march towards full equality for all women in the United States of America.

My dad -- My dad did the things that a boy remembers. My dad did the things that a boy remembers. He gave me my first model airplane, my first baseball mitt, my first bicycle. He also taught me that we are here for something bigger than ourselves; he lived out the responsibilities and the sacrifices of the greatest generation to whom we owe so much.

And when I was a young man, he was in the State Department, stationed in Berlin when it and the world were divided between democracy and communism. I have unforgettable memories of being a kid mesmerized by the British, French, and American troops, each of them guarding their own part of the city, and Russians standing guard on that stark line separating East from West. On one occasion, I rode my bike into Soviet East Berlin. And when I proudly told my dad, he promptly grounded me.

But what I learned has stayed with me for a lifetime. I saw how different life was on different sides of the same city. I saw the fear in the eyes of people who were not free. I saw the gratitude of people towards the United States for all that we had done. I felt goose bumps as I got off a military train and I heard the Army band strike up "Stars and Stripes Forever." I learned what it meant to be America at our best. I learned the pride of our freedom. And I am determined now to restore that pride to all who look to America.

Mine -- Mine were greatest -- Mine were greatest generation parents. And as I thank them, we all join together to thank a whole generation for making America strong, for winning World War II, winning the Cold War, and for the great gift of service which brought America fifty years of peace and prosperity.

My parents inspired me to serve, and when I was a high school, a junior, John Kennedy called my generation to service. It was the beginning of a great journey -- a time to march for civil rights, for voting rights, for the environment, for women, for peace. We believed we could change the world. And you know what? We did.

But we're not finished. But we're not finished. The journey isn't complete. The march isn't over. The promise isn't perfected. Tonight, we're setting out again. And together, we're going to write the next great chapter of America's story. We -- We have it in our power to change the world but only if we're true to our ideals, and that starts by telling the truth to the American people.

As President, that is my first pledge to you tonight.

As President, I will restore trust and credibility to the White House.

I ask you -- I ask you to judge me by my record: As a young prosecutor, I fought for victim's rights and made prosecuting violence against women a priority. When I came to the Senate, I broke with many in my own party to vote for a balanced budget, because I thought it was the right thing to do. I fought to put a 100,000 police officers on the streets of America. And then, I reached out across the aisle with John McCain, to work to find the truth about our POW's and "Missing in Action," and to finally make peace in Vietnam.

I -- I will be -- I will be a Commander-in-Chief who will never mislead us into war. I will have a Vice President who will not conduct secret meetings with polluters to rewrite our environmental laws. I will have a Secretary of Defense who will listen to the advice of the military leaders. And I will appoint an Attorney General who will uphold the Constitution of the United States.

My fellow Americans -- My -- My fellow Americans this is the most important election of our lifetime. The stakes are high. We are a nation at war -- a global war on terror against an enemy unlike any we've ever known before. And here at home, wages are falling, health care costs are rising, and our great middle class is shrinking. People are working weekends -- two jobs, three jobs; and they're still not getting ahead.

We're told that outsourcing jobs is good for America. We're told -- We're told that new jobs that pay 9,000 dollars less than the jobs that have been lost is the best that we can do. They say this is the best economy that we've ever had. And they say, anyone who thinks otherwise is a pessimist. Well here is our answer: There is nothing more pessimistic than saying that America can't do better.

We're -- We can do better. We can do better and we will. We're the optimists. For us, this is a country of the future. We're the "can do" people.

And let's not forget what we did in the 1990s. We balanced the budget. We paid down the debt. We created 23 million new jobs. We lifted millions out of poverty and we lifted the standard of living for the middle class. We just need to believe in ourselves -- and we can do it again.

So tonight -- So tonight -- So tonight -- So tonight, in the city where America's freedom began, only a few blocks from where the sons and daughters of liberty gave birth to our nation -- here tonight, on behalf of a new birth of freedom, on behalf of the middle class who deserve a champion, and those struggling to join it who deserve a fair shot; for the brave men and women in uniform who risk their lives and for their families who pray for their return; for all those who believe that our best days are ahead of us -- with great faith in the American people, I accept your nomination for President of the United States.

I am proud -- Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you.

I -- I am proud -- I am proud that at my side will be a running mate whose life is the story of the American dream and who's worked every day to make that dream real for all Americans: Senator John Edwards of North Carolina and his wife Elizabeth and their family. Thank you.

This son of a mill worker is ready to lead, and next January Americans will be proud to have a fighter for the middle class to succeed Dick Cheney as Vice President of the United States.

And -- And what can I say about Teresa?

She -- She has the strongest moral compass of anyone I know. She's down to earth, nurturing, courageous, wise, and smart. She speaks her mind and she speaks the truth, and I love her for that, too. And that's why America will embrace her as the next First Lady of the United States.

For Teresa -- For Teresa and me -- For Teresa and me, no matter what the future holds or the past has given us, nothing will ever mean as much as our children, as you could sense, listening to them. We love them not just for who they are and what they've become, but for being themselves, making us laugh, holding our feet to the fire, and never letting me get away with anything. Thank you, Andre, Alex, Chris, Vanessa, and John.

And in this journey, I am accompanied by an extraordinary band of brothers led by that American hero, a patriot called Max Cleland. Our band of brothers -- Our band of brothers doesn't march because of who we are as veterans, but because of what we learned as soldiers. We fought for this nation because we loved it, and we came back with the deep belief that every day is extra. We may be a little older. We may be a little grayer, but we still know how to fight for our country.

And standing with us in that fight -- Standing with us in that fight are those who shared with me the long season of the primary campaign: Carol Moseley Braun, General Wesley Clark,

Howard Dean, Dick Gephardt, Bob Graham, Dennis Kucinich, Joe Lieberman, Al Sharpton. To all of you, I say "thank you" for teaching me and testing me. But mostly, we say "thank you" for standing up for our country and for giving us the unity to move America forward.

My fellow Americans, the world tonight is very different from the world of four years ago. But I believe the American people are more than equal to the challenge.

Remember the hours after September 11th, when we came together as one to answer the attack against our homeland. We drew strength when our firefighters ran up stairs and risked their lives, so that others might live. When rescuers rushed into smoke and fire at the Pentagon. When the men and women of Flight 93 sacrificed themselves to save our nation's Capitol. When flags were hanging from front porches all across America, and strangers became friends. It was the worst day we have ever seen, but it brought out the best in all of us.

I am proud -- I am proud that after September 11th all our people rallied to President Bush's call for unity to meet the danger. There were no Democrats. There were no Republicans. There were only Americans. And how we wish it had stayed that way.

Now I know -- Now I know that there are those who criticize me for seeing complexities -- and I do -- because some issues just aren't all that simple. Saying there are weapons of mass destruction in Iraq doesn't make it so. Saying we can fight a war on the cheap doesn't make it so. And proclaiming mission accomplished certainly doesn't make it so.

As President -- As President, I will ask the hard questions and demand hard evidence. I will immediately reform the intelligence system, so policy is guided by facts, and facts are never distorted by politics. And as President -- as President, I will bring back this nation's time-honored tradition: The United States of America never goes to war because we want to; we only go to war because we have to. That is the standard of our nation.

I know -- I know what kids go through when they're carrying --

I -- I know what kids go through when they're carrying an M-16 in a dangerous place, and they can't tell friend from foe. I know what they go through when they're out on patrol at night and they don't know what's coming around the next bend. I know what it's like to write letters home telling your family that everything's all right when you're just not sure that that's true.

As President, I will wage this war with the lessons I learned in war. Before you go to battle, you have to be able to look a parent in the eye and truthfully say: "I tried everything possible to avoid sending your son or daughter into harm's way. But we had no choice. We had to protect the American people, fundamental American values against a threat that was real and imminent." So lesson number one -- this is the only justification for going to war. And on my first day in office, I will send a message to every man and woman in our armed forces: You will never be asked to fight a war without a plan to win the peace.

I know -- I know what we have to do in Iraq.

I know what we have to do in Iraq. We need a President who has the credibility to bring our allies to our side and share the burden, reduce the cost to American taxpayers, reduce the risk to American soldiers. That's the right way to get the job done and bring our troops home.

Here is the reality: that won't happen -- that won't happen until we have a president who restores America's respect and leadership, so we don't have to go it alone in the world.

And we need -- And we need to rebuild our alliances, so we can get the terrorists before they get us.

I defended this country as a young man and I will defend it as President.

Let there be no mistake. Let there be no mistake: I will never hesitate to use force when it is required. Any attack will be met with a swift and a certain response. I will never give any nation or any institution a veto over our national security.

And I will build a stronger military. We will add 40,000 active duty troops -- not in Iraq, but to strengthen American forces that are now overstretched, overextended, and under pressure. We will double our special forces to conduct terrorist operations -- anti-terrorist operations. And we will provide our troops with the newest weapons and technology to save their lives and win the battle. And we will end the backdoor draft of the National Guard and reservists.

To all -- To all -- To all who serve in our armed forces today, I say, help is on the way.

As President -- As President I will fight a smarter, more effective war on terror. We will deploy every tool in our arsenal: our economic as well as our military might; our principles as well as our firepower.

In these dangerous days there is a right way and a wrong way to be strong. Strength is more than tough words. After decades of experience in national security, I know the reach of our power, and I know the power of our ideals.

We need to make America once again a beacon in the world. We need to be looked up to -- not just feared.

We need to lead a global effort against nuclear proliferation to keep the most dangerous weapons in the world out of the most dangerous hands in the world.

We need a strong military and we need [to lead] strong alliances. And then -- And then with confidence and determination, we will be able to tell the terrorists: You will lose and we will win. The future doesn't belong to fear; it belongs to freedom.

And the front lines -- And the front lines of this battle are not just far away; they're right here on our shores. They're at our airports, and potentially in any city or town. Today, our national security begins with homeland security. The 9-11 Commission has given us a path to follow, endorsed by Democrats, Republicans, and the 9-11 families. As President, I will not evade or equivocate; I will immediately implement all the recommendations of that commission. We shouldn't be letting ninety-five percent of our container ships come into our ports without ever being physically inspected. We shouldn't be leaving nuclear and chemical plants without enough protection. And we shouldn't be opening firehouses in Baghdad and shutting them in the United States of America.

And tonight -- And tonight -- And tonight we have an important message for those who question the patriotism of Americans who offer a better direction for our country. Before wrapping themselves in the flag and shutting their eyes to the truth and their ears, they should remember what America is really all about. They should remember the great idea of freedom for which so many have given their lives. Our purpose now is to reclaim our democracy itself. We are here to affirm that when Americans stand up and speak their minds and say America can do better, that is not a challenge to patriotism; it is the heart and soul of patriotism.

You see -- You see that flag -- You see that that flag up there? We call her "Old Glory" -- "The Stars and Stripes Forever." I fought under that flag, as did so many of those people who were here tonight and all across the country. That flag flew from the gun turret behind my head, and it was shot through and through and tattered, but it never ceased to wave in the wind. It draped the caskets of men that I served with and friends I grew up with. For us, that flag is the most powerful symbol of who we are and what we believe in: our strength, our diversity, our love of country -- all that makes America both great and good.

That flag doesn't belong to any president. It doesn't belong to any ideology. It doesn't belong to any political party. It belongs to all the American people.

My fellow citizens -- thank you.

My fellow citizens -- My fellow citizens, elections are about choices. And choices are about values. In the end, it's not just policies and programs that matter; the President who sits at that desk must be guided by principle.

For four years, we've heard a lot of talk about values. But values spoken without actions taken are just slogans. They're -- Values are not just words. Values are what we live by. They're about the causes we champion and the people we fight for. And it's time for those who talk about family values to start valuing families.

You don't value families -- You don't value families -- You don't value families by kicking kids out of after school programs and taking cops off that streets, so that Enron can get another tax break. We believe -- We believe in the family value of caring for our children and protecting the neighborhoods where they walk and they play. And that is the choice in this election. You don't value families by denying real prescription drug coverage to seniors, so big drug companies can get another windfall profit. We believe in the family value expressed in one of the oldest Commandments: "Honor thy father and thy mother." As President, I will not privatize Social Security. I will not cut benefits. And together, we will make sure that senior citizens never have to cut their pills in half because they can't afford life-saving medicine.

And that is a choice in this election.

You don't -- You don't -- You don't value families if you force them to take up a collection to buy body armor for a son or daughter in the service, if you deny veterans health care, or if you tell middle class families to wait for a tax cut, so the wealthiest among us can get even more. We believe in the value of doing what's right for everyone in the American family.

And that's the choice in this election.

We believe that what matters most is not narrow appeals masquerading as values, but the shared values that show the true face of America; not narrow values that divide us, but the shared values that unite us: family, faith, hard work, opportunity and responsibility for all, so that every child, every adult, every parent, every worker in America has an equal shot at living up to their God-given potential. That is the American dream and the American value.

What -- What -- What --

What does it mean in America today when Dave McCune, a steel worker that I met in Canton, Ohio, saw his job sent overseas and the equipment in his factory was literally unbolted, crated

up, and shipped thousands of miles away along with that job? What does it mean when workers I've met have had to train their foreign replacements?

America can do better. And tonight we say, "Help is on the way."

What does it mean -- What does it mean when Mary Ann Knowles, a woman with breast cancer that I met in New Hampshire, had to keep working day after day through her chemotherapy, no matter how sick she felt, because she was terrified of losing her family's health insurance.

America can do better. And help is on the way.

What does it mean when Deborah Kromins from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania works and she saves all her life and finds out that her pension has disappeared into thin air – and the executive who looted it has bailed out on a golden parachute?

America can do better. And help is on the way.

What does it mean when twenty five percent of our children in Harlem have asthma because of hair [air] pollution?

We can do better. America can do better. And help is on the way.

What does it mean when people are huddled in blankets in the cold, sleeping in Lafayette Park on the doorstep of the White House itself and the number of families living in poverty has risen by three million in the last four years?

America can do better. And help is on the way.

So tonight, we come here tonight to ask: Where is the conscience of our country?

I'll tell you where it is. I'll tell you where it is: it's in rural and small town America; it's in urban neighborhoods and the suburban main streets; it's alive in the people that I've met in every single part of this land. It's bursting in the hearts of Americans who are determined to give our values and our truth back to our country.

We value jobs that actually pay you more than the job that you lost. We value jobs where, when you put in a week's work, you can actually pay your bills, provide for your children, lift up the quality of your life. We value an America where the middle class is not being squeezed, but doing better.

So here is our economic plan to build a stronger America:

First, new incentives to revitalize manufacturing.

Second, investment in technology and innovation that will create the good-paying jobs of the future.

Third, close the tax loopholes that reward companies for shipping our jobs overseas. Instead, we will reward companies that create and keep the good paying jobs right where they belong - in the good old U.S.A.

We value -- We value an America that exports products, not jobs. And we believe American workers should never have to subsidize the loss of their own job.

Next, we will trade and we will compete in the world. But our plan calls for a fair playing field, because if you give the American worker a fair playing field, there's no one in the world that the American worker can't compete against.

And we're going to return -- And we're going to return to fiscal responsibility because it is the foundation of our economic strength. Our plan will cut the deficit in half in four years by ending tax giveaways that are nothing more than corporate welfare. And we will make government live by the rule that every family has to live by: Pay as you go.

And let me -- Let me tell you what we won't do: We won't raise taxes on the middle class.

You've heard -- You've heard a lot of false charges about this in recent months. So let me say straight out what I will do as President: I will cut middle class taxes. I will reduce the tax burden on small business. And I will roll back the tax cuts for the wealthiest individuals who make over 200,000 dollars a year, so we can invest in job health care, education, and job creation.

Our education plan for a stronger America sets high standards and it demands accountability from parents, teachers, and schools. It provides for smaller class sizes and it treats teachers like the professionals that they are. And it gives a tax credit to families for each and every year of college.

When I -- When I was a prosecutor, I met young kids who were in trouble, abandoned -- all of them -- by adults. And as President, I am determined that we stop being a nation content to spend 50,000 dollars a year to send a young person to prison for the rest of their life -- when we could invest 10,000 dollars a year in Head Start, Early Start, Smart Start, a real start to the lives of our children.

And we value -- And we value health care that's affordable and accessible for all Americans.

Since 2000, four million people have lost their health insurance. Millions more are struggling to afford it.

You know what's happening. Your premiums, your co-payments, your deductibles have all gone through the roof.

Our health care plan for a stronger America cracks down on the waste and the greed and the abuse in our health care system. And it will save families a thousand dollars a year on premiums. You'll get to pick your own doctor -- and patients and doctors, not insurance company bureaucrats, will make medical decisions. Under our health care plan, Medicare will negotiate lower drug prices for seniors. And all Americans will be able to buy less expensive prescription drugs from countries like Canada.

The story of people -- The story of people struggling for health care is the story of so many Americans. But you know what, it's not the story of senators and menators [members] of Congress. Because we give ourselves great health care and you get the bill. Well I'm here to say tonight, your family's health care is just as important as any politician's in Washington, D.C.

And when I am President, we will stop being the only advanced nation in the world which fails to understand that health care is not a privilege for the wealthy and the connected and the elected – it is a right for all Americans. And we will make it so.

We value an America -- We value an America that controls its own destiny because it's finally and forever independent of Mideast oil. What does it mean for our economy and our national security when we have only three percent of the world's oil reserves, yet we rely on foreign countries for fifty-three percent of what we consume?

I want an America that relies on its ingenuity and innovation – not the Saudi royal family.

And our energy plan for a stronger America -- our energy plan will invest in new technologies and alternative fuels and the cars of the future -- so that no young American in uniform will ever be held hostage to our dependence on oil from the Middle East.

I've told you -- I've told you about our plans for the economy, for education, for health care, for energy independence. I want you to know more about them. So now I'm going to say something that Franklin Roosevelt could never have said in his acceptance speech.

I - I want to address these next words directly to President George W. Bush.

In -- In the weeks ahead -- In the weeks ahead let's be optimists, not just opponents. Let's build unity in the American family, not angry division. Let's honor this nation's diversity; let's respect one another; and let's never misuse for political purposes the most precious document in American history, the Constitution of the United States.

My friends -- My friends -- My friends -- My friends, the high road may be harder -- the high road may be harder, but it leads to a better place. And that's why Republicans and Democrats must make this election a contest of big ideas, not small-minded attacks. This is our time to reject the kind of politics calculated to divide race from race, region from region, group from group. Maybe some just see us divided into those red states and blue states, but I see us as one America -- red, white, and blue. And when I am President, the government I lead will enlist people of talent, Republicans as well as Democrats, to find the common ground, so that no one who has something to contribute to our nation will be left on the sidelines.

And let me say it plainly: In that cause, and in this campaign, we welcome people of faith. America is not us and them. I think of what Ron Reagan said of his father a few weeks ago, and I want to say this to you tonight: I don't wear my religion on my sleeve. But faith -- But faith has given me values and hope to live by, from Vietnam to this day, from Sunday to Sunday. I don't want to claim that God is on our side. As Abraham Lincoln told us, I want to pray humbly that we are on God's side.

And whatever -- And whatever our faith -- whatever our faith, one belief should bind us all: The measure of our character is our willingness to give of ourselves for others and for our country.

These aren't Democratic values. These aren't Republican values. They're American values. We believe in them. They're who we are. And if we honor them, if we believe in ourselves, we can build an America that is stronger at home and respected in the world.

So much promise stretches before us. Americans have always reached for the impossible, looked to the next horizon, and asked: What if?

Two young bicycle mechanics from Dayton asked, "What if this airplane could take off at Kitty Hawk?" It did that and it changed the world forever. A young President asked, "What if we could go to the moon in ten years?" And now we're exploring the stars and the solar system themselves [exploring the solar system and stars themselves]. A young generation of entrepreneurs asked, "What if we could take all the information in a library and put it on a chip the size of a fingernail?" We did that. And that too changed the world.

And now it's our time to ask: "What if?"

What if we find a breakthrough to Parkinson's, diabetes, Alzheimer's and AIDS? What if we have a President -- What if we have a President who believes in science, so we can unleash the wonders of discovery like stem cell and treat illness for millions of lives?

What -- What if -- What if we -- What if we do what adults should do and make sure all our children are safe in the afternoons after school? What if we have a leadership that's as good as the American dream, so that bigotry and hatred never again steal the hope or future of any American?

I -- I learned a lot about these values on that gunboat patrolling the Mekong Delta with Americans -- you saw them -- who come from places as different as Iowa and Oregon, Arkansas, Florida, California.

No one -- No one cared -- No one cared where we went to school. No one cared about our race or our backgrounds. We were literally all in the same boat. We looked out -- We looked out one for the other, and we still do.

That is the kind of America I will lead as President -- an America where we are all in the same boat.

Never has there been a moment more urgent for Americans to step up and define ourselves. I will work my heart out. But, my fellow citizens, the outcome is in your hands more than mine.

It is time to reach for the next dream. It is time to look to the next horizon. For America, the hope is there. The sun is rising. Our best days are still to come.

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

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 8**

#### **John Kerry's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Pennsylvania on October 19, 2004**

Thank you – it's great to be back in Wilkes-Barre.

We face a fundamental choice in this election – the choice of a lifetime – and a choice that couldn't be clearer.

I believe that we need a President who defends America and fights for the middle class.

When I am President, we will make a fresh start in Iraq to bring in our allies and train Iraqis so that we can succeed and bring our troops home. I will fight a tougher, smarter, more effective war on terror. We will hunt down, capture, and kill the terrorists wherever they are.

But a President has to be able to do more than one thing at a time. And today, I want to talk about one of the great issues that matter to middle-class families all across America – saving Social Security.

Seventy-two years ago today, another candidate for President by the name of Franklin Roosevelt came here to Pennsylvania to discuss how we could restore America's prosperity and America's future.

At that time, this nation was in the depths of the Great Depression.

The incumbent president then, Herbert Hoover, had actually lost jobs on his watch – and so has George W. Bush—the first president in 11 presidents to do so.

He failed to restore our economic prosperity – and so has George W. Bush.

And as Roosevelt said, President Hoover's policies had jeopardized, “the welfare of our people and the credit of our country” – and so has George W. Bush's.

Seventy-two years later, it's Déjà vu all over again.

George W. Bush has become the first President since Herbert Hoover to lose jobs on his watch. He has become the first president in more than 70 years to have the incomes of American families decline in each year of his presidency. He has become the first President to turn a record surplus into the largest deficit in history. And he has become the first President to launch an all-out assault on Social Security since Franklin Roosevelt first signed the program into law.

What George Bush still doesn't understand is that his four year spending spree on tax giveaways for millionaires has undermined the hopes of middle-class families and put Social Security on a dangerous road. Now he's asking for another four years to privatize the program, and undo the sacred compact we've made with our seniors.

Well I'm here to tell you that even though this is George Bush's plan, it doesn't have to be

our future. And now is our moment to choose. Do we want four more years of a President who gives more to those with the most and tells a struggling middle-class that everything's just fine? Or do we want a President who will honor middle-class values and fight for middle-class opportunities?

I believe that we can protect Social Security for our seniors, lift up middle-class families, and keep America's promise to our children and our grandchildren. And when I'm President, that's exactly what we'll do.

We need a fresh start in America. Because the truth is, middle-class families can't afford another four years of the Bush economy – four more years of policies that have weakened America.

It's time to stop rewarding companies for shipping jobs overseas.

It's time to create good jobs in America again instead of jobs that pay \$9000 less than the ones they replaced.

And it's time to save Social Security instead of raiding it and privatizing it.

Because George Bush has spent his way into the largest deficits in American history, the retirement of millions and the future of our children are now at risk. A child born today will inherit a \$20,000 debt – a "Birth Tax" that he or she had no part in creating. And middle-class Americans who have worked a lifetime may be forced to choose between a retirement of more hard work or hard times. That's wrong, that's a betrayal of the middle-class, and we can't let it happen in our America.

Social Security is part of the promise of America. It's a sacred compact between generations. If you work hard and contribute to your country, you can retire with a level of decency and dignity. Imagine if that was taken away? Imagine if your parents or your grandparents had to work on the factory floor long into their 70s – into their 80s? Imagine if they had to sell the house you grew up in to pay for their food or their medicine? This is wrong, this is devastating, this is the reckless course on which George Bush has placed this nation, and we have to change it. As president, I will set a new direction for America – a new direction for America's middle class.

On November 2nd, Social Security is on the ballot. A choice between one candidate who will save Social Security – and another who will undermine it.

When this President took office, he inherited the largest surplus in American history -- \$5.6 trillion that could have saved Social Security for generations.

As my friend President Clinton likes to say, if you see a turtle sitting on a fence post, you know it didn't get there by itself. The surplus was the culmination of a 15-year, bipartisan battle to get federal spending and the federal budget under control. Back in the 1980's, I broke with my party and joined with reformers like Warren Rudman, a Republican from New Hampshire, to push for deficit reduction. It wasn't a popular position, but I believed then – as I do now – that it was the right thing to do.

In the 1990s, we finished the job. We brought Democrats and Republicans together to pass a historic bipartisan balanced budget agreement. We not only balanced the budget for the first

time in decades, we created the opportunity to save Social Security for generations to come. It didn't matter whether you were a Republican or Democrat – it only mattered that we were doing the right thing for our children, our seniors, and the millions of middle-class families struggling to get ahead.

This President had a historic bipartisan opportunity to protect Social Security. Instead, George Bush squandered that moment and raided the Social Security trust fund for tax breaks that gave the most to those who needed it least.

Not once, not twice, but three times, he spent billions and billions on tax breaks for the wealthiest individuals and biggest corporations. He even proposed to use your Social Security money to give Enron a \$254 million tax rebate. In fact, the money he spent on tax cuts for those with an average income of over \$1 million a year could have saved Social Security for 75 years.

In 2000, George Bush promised the American people that he would never touch the money in the Social Security Trust Fund. Within months of taking office, he broke that promise. All told, he has taken more than \$500 billion of your Social Security. Today, the surplus is gone, and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve says that the only way to pay for George Bush's reckless tax cuts is to cut Social Security. Well let me say it loud and clear – when I am President, that's not going to happen.

Just today, America's seniors got some more bad news. For a typical senior, nearly half of this year's Social Security cost of living adjustment is going to be eaten away by the record rise in Medicare premiums. And for 2 million seniors, their entire cost of living increase will be completely wiped out by the higher Medicare premiums. That leaves less money for food, medicine, and even an occasional gift for a grandchild. That's wrong and when I'm president, I'm going to change it.

George Bush now says he has a plan for Social Security. And it's even worse than what he's already done. For the millions of middle-class families who wonder whether Social Security will be there when they retire, George Bush's answer, in his own words, is this: "I'm going to come out strong after my swearing in with...privatizing of Social Security." Mr. President, that's one January surprise we can all live without.

George Bush wants to finish the job he started in his first term. He wants to be the first President in history to put the greatest retirement program in American history at risk – a program built by generations of sacrifice and hard work. This is what the President must mean when he talks about his "ownership society": when it comes to your retirement, you're on your own.

This is no secret – this is his plan – and it's out there for anyone who wants to see it. He even hand-picked a commission to recommend privatizing Social Security.

According to the President's own Council of Economic Advisors, the plan laid out by that commission would blow a \$2 trillion hole in the Social Security trust fund.

According to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, the Bush privatization plan would cut Social Security benefits. It will cut them by 23 to 45 percent.

And of course, while the President doesn't seem to understand the pain his privatization plan will cause middle-class families, he certainly knows the pleasure it will provide financial institutions – who will earn a \$940 billion windfall for managing these private accounts.

\$940 billion for the investment houses – lower benefits for seniors, and a higher tax bill for you.

If George Bush can't see how spending away our children's future on tax cuts for those who don't need them, he never will. If he can't understand why raiding the Social Security trust fund means risking our future, he'll keep on doing it. And if he doesn't get why sacrificing the retirement of millions of middle-class families to reward the powerful and well-connected is wrong, well then, he has proven beyond a doubt that he's out of touch. His only new ideas are bad ideas.

But the good news is, we now have the chance to leave all this behind.

My friends, it's time to Save Social Security. And that means George Bush's time is up. We're ready for a fresh start in America.

John Edwards and I have a real plan to cut the budget deficit in half and protect Social Security. It will take some tough choices – cutting corporate welfare, streamlining government, and finding ways to pay for every program we propose -- but that's what leadership is about – and that's the leadership I will provide as the President of the United States.

First, I will not privatize Social Security. I will not cut benefits. I will not raise the retirement age. Because when you've worked hard for a lifetime, America owes you what you've earned.

Second, every budget I send to Congress will detail how we intend to pay for every proposal. And we'll restore the simple rule that George W. Bush opposes: pay-as-you-go.

That's what we have done in this campaign. Every proposal I have made details how we plan to pay for it.

And we're going to go further – we'll go after wasteful government spending and bloated government contracts – because you deserve a government that works better and costs less.

Third, I will ask Congress for constitutionally-permissible line item veto to slice the pork out of the federal budget.

According to Citizens Against Government Waste, this year's budget includes more than 10,000 pork-barrel projects – more than double the number of pork barrel projects when George Bush came into office. And this president has never once vetoed one bill; the first president in a hundred years not to do that.

Give me that line item veto pen, and I will cut the fat out of the budget.

Fourth, John Edwards and I will fight for automatic spending cuts if Congress can't keep spending in check.

This President not only ignored the spending caps we had in place since the 1990's --he got rid of them.

He got rid of these rules, I will restore them.

Finally, I will implement the McCain-Kerry proposal to end corporate welfare as we know it.

It's time to stop asking taxpayers to subsidize loopholes and giveaways to make rich corporations richer. Today, there are more than 100 corporate welfare programs in the budget that cost you more than \$65 billion a year.

The McCain-Kerry proposal crosses party lines.

So far, John can't get anyone in the Bush White House to listen to it. Well I'll tell you what -- when I'm President, John McCain will get the first pen when I sign this bill into law.

My friends, this isn't about being a Democrat or a Republican. It's about what's right for America.

The hope for a better future is one that has sustained our nation through its best moments and its darkest days.

When Franklin Roosevelt came to Pennsylvania 72 years ago today, that hope seemed almost lost.

But the American people rose up and they forged a new future.

FDR believed, as you do, and I do, that America's an optimistic country -- that the American dream belongs to each and every one of us...that there's nothing we can't do if we just believe in ourselves.

We simply can't risk destroying our fundamental compact between generations -- when you work hard and play by the rules, America should work hard to take care of you when you retire. That was Franklin Roosevelt's essential promise when he created Social Security and it's been the sacred obligation one generation has passed on to the next. I believe we're all in this together. George Bush believes you're out there on your own.

We can't afford to undermine our sacred compact between generations. We can't afford four more years of George Bush. We need a fresh start.

FDR's words from seven decades ago still have a powerful meaning today. He said here in Pennsylvania: "I am as certain as mortal man can be certain...that from the moment that we set our hands openly and frankly and courageously to this problem, we shall have reached the end of our long, hard ... road ...."

On November 2nd, we will reach the end of this "long, hard" road ... and together we will take America in a new direction.

So I ask you to stand up on November 2nd. I ask for your vote and your help so we can give our country back its future.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 9.**

#### **John McCain's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Minnesota on September 4, 2008**

Thank you all very much. Tonight, I have a privilege given few Americans — the privilege of accepting our party's nomination for President of the United States. And I accept it with gratitude, humility and confidence.

In my life, no success has come without a good fight, and this nomination wasn't any different. That's a tribute to the candidates who opposed me and their supporters. They're leaders of great ability, who love our country, and wished to lead it to better days. Their support is an honor I won't forget.

I'm grateful to the President for leading us in those dark days following the worst attack on American soil in our history, and keeping us safe from another attack many thought was inevitable; and to the First Lady, Laura Bush, a model of grace and kindness in public and in private. And I'm grateful to the 41st President and his bride of 63 years, and for their outstanding example of honorable service to our country.

As always, I'm indebted to my wife, Cindy, and my seven children. The pleasures of family life can seem like a brief holiday from the crowded calendar of our nation's business. But I have treasured them all the more, and can't imagine a life without the happiness you give me. Cindy said a lot of nice things about me tonight. But, in truth, she's more my inspiration than I am hers. Her concern for those less blessed than we are — victims of land mines, children born in poverty and with birth defects — shows the measure of her humanity. I know she will make a great First Lady.

When I was growing up, my father was often at sea, and the job of raising my brother, sister and me would fall to my mother alone. Roberta McCain gave us her love of life, her deep interest in the world, her strength, and her belief we are all meant to use our opportunities to make ourselves useful to our country. I wouldn't be here tonight but for the strength of her character.

My heartfelt thanks to all of you, who helped me win this nomination, and stood by me when the odds were long. I won't let you down. To Americans who have yet to decide who to vote for, thank you for your consideration and the opportunity to win your trust. I intend to earn it.

Finally, a word to Senator Obama and his supporters. We'll go at it over the next two months. That's the nature of these contests, and there are big differences between us. But you have my respect and admiration. Despite our differences, much more unites us than divides us. We are fellow Americans, an association that means more to me than any other. We're dedicated to the proposition that all people are created equal and endowed by our Creator with inalienable rights. No country ever had a greater cause than that. And I wouldn't be an American worthy of the name if I didn't honor Senator Obama and his supporters for their achievement.

But let there be no doubt, my friends, we're going to win this election. And after we've won, we're going to reach out our hand to any willing patriot, make this government start working for you again, and get this country back on the road to prosperity and peace.

These are tough times for many of you. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home. All you ever asked of government is to stand on your side, not in your way. And that's just what I intend to do: stand on your side and fight for your future.

And I've found just the right partner to help me shake up Washington, Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska. She has executive experience and a real record of accomplishment. She's tackled tough problems like energy independence and corruption. She's balanced a budget, cut taxes, and taken on the special interests. She's reached across the aisle and asked Republicans, Democrats and Independents to serve in her administration. She's the mother of five children. She's helped run a small business, worked with her hands and knows what it's like to worry about mortgage payments and health care and the cost of gasoline and groceries.

She knows where she comes from and she knows who she works for. She stands up for what's right, and she doesn't let anyone tell her to sit down. I'm very proud to have introduced our next Vice President to the country. But I can't wait until I introduce her to Washington. And let me offer an advance warning to the old, big spending, do nothing, me first, country second Washington crowd: change is coming.

I'm not in the habit of breaking promises to my country and neither is Governor Palin. And when we tell you we're going to change Washington, and stop leaving our country's problems for some unluckier generation to fix, you can count on it. We've got a record of doing just that, and the strength, experience, judgment and backbone to keep our word to you.

You know, I've been called a maverick; someone who marches to the beat of his own drum. Sometimes it's meant as a compliment and sometimes it's not. What it really means is I understand who I work for. I don't work for a party. I don't work for a special interest. I don't work for myself. I work for you.

I've fought corruption, and it didn't matter if the culprits were Democrats or Republicans. They violated their public trust, and had to be held accountable. I've fought big spenders in both parties, who waste your money on things you neither need nor want, while you struggle to buy groceries, fill your gas tank and make your mortgage payment. I've fought to get million dollar checks out of our elections. I've fought lobbyists who stole from Indian tribes. I fought crooked deals in the Pentagon. I fought tobacco companies and trial lawyers, drug companies and union bosses.

I fought for the right strategy and more troops in Iraq, when it wasn't a popular thing to do. And when the pundits said my campaign was finished, I said I'd rather lose an election than see my country lose a war.

Thanks to the leadership of a brilliant general, David Petraeus, and the brave men and women he has the honor to command, that strategy succeeded and rescued us from a defeat that would have demoralized our military, risked a wider war and threatened the security of all Americans.

I don't mind a good fight. For reasons known only to God, I've had quite a few tough ones in my life. But I learned an important lesson along the way. In the end, it matters less that you can fight. What you fight for is the real test.

I fight for Americans. I fight for you. I fight for Bill and Sue Nebe from Farmington Hills, Michigan, who lost their real estate investments in the bad housing market. Bill got a

temporary job after he was out of work for seven months. Sue works three jobs to help pay the bills.

I fight for Jake and Toni Wimmer of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Jake works on a loading dock; coaches Little League, and raises money for the mentally and physically disabled. Toni is a schoolteacher, working toward her Master's Degree. They have two sons, the youngest, Luke, has been diagnosed with autism. Their lives should matter to the people they elect to office. They matter to me.

I fight for the family of Matthew Stanley of Wolfboro, New Hampshire, who died serving our country in Iraq. I wear his bracelet and think of him every day. I intend to honor their sacrifice by making sure the country their son loved so well and never returned to, remains safe from its enemies.

I fight to restore the pride and principles of our party. We were elected to change Washington, and we let Washington change us. We lost the trust of the American people when some Republicans gave in to the temptations of corruption. We lost their trust when rather than reform government, both parties made it bigger. We lost their trust when instead of freeing ourselves from a dangerous dependence on foreign oil, both parties and Senator Obama passed another corporate welfare bill for oil companies. We lost their trust, when we valued our power over our principles.

We're going to change that. We're going to recover the people's trust by standing up again for the values Americans admire. The party of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Reagan is going to get back to basics.

We believe everyone has something to contribute and deserves the opportunity to reach their God-given potential from the boy whose descendents arrived on the Mayflower to the Latina daughter of migrant workers. We're all God's children and we're all Americans.

We believe in low taxes; spending discipline, and open markets. We believe in rewarding hard work and risk takers and letting people keep the fruits of their labor.

We believe in a strong defense, work, faith, service, a culture of life, personal responsibility, the rule of law, and judges who dispense justice impartially and don't legislate from the bench. We believe in the values of families, neighborhoods and communities.

We believe in a government that unleashes the creativity and initiative of Americans. Government that doesn't make your choices for you, but works to make sure you have more choices to make for yourself.

I will keep taxes low and cut them where I can. My opponent will raise them. I will open new markets to our goods and services. My opponent will close them. I will cut government spending. He will increase it.

My tax cuts will create jobs. His tax increases will eliminate them. My health care plan will make it easier for more Americans to find and keep good health care insurance. His plan will force small businesses to cut jobs, reduce wages, and force families into a government run health care system where a bureaucrat stands between you and your doctor.

Keeping taxes low helps small businesses grow and create new jobs. Cutting the second highest business tax rate in the world will help American companies compete and keep jobs

from moving overseas. Doubling the child tax exemption from \$3500 to \$7000 will improve the lives of millions of American families. Reducing government spending and getting rid of failed programs will let you keep more of your own money to save, spend and invest as you see fit. Opening new markets and preparing workers to compete in the world economy is essential to our future prosperity.

I know some of you have been left behind in the changing economy and it often seems your government hasn't even noticed. Government assistance for unemployed workers was designed for the economy of the 1950s. That's going to change on my watch. My opponent promises to bring back old jobs by wishing away the global economy. We're going to help workers who've lost a job that won't come back, find a new one that won't go away.

We will prepare them for the jobs of today. We will use our community colleges to help train people for new opportunities in their communities. For workers in industries that have been hard hit, we'll help make up part of the difference in wages between their old job and a temporary, lower paid one while they receive retraining that will help them find secure new employment at a decent wage.

Education is the civil rights issue of this century. Equal access to public education has been gained. But what is the value of access to a failing school? We need to shake up failed school bureaucracies with competition, empower parents with choice, remove barriers to qualified instructors, attract and reward good teachers, and help bad teachers find another line of work.

When a public school fails to meet its obligations to students, parents deserve a choice in the education of their children. And I intend to give it to them. Some may choose a better public school. Some may choose a private one. Many will choose a charter school. But they will have that choice and their children will have that opportunity.

Senator Obama wants our schools to answer to unions and entrenched bureaucracies. I want schools to answer to parents and students. And when I'm President, they will.

My fellow Americans, when I'm President, we're going to embark on the most ambitious national project in decades. We are going to stop sending \$700 billion a year to countries that don't like us very much. We will attack the problem on every front. We will produce more energy at home. We will drill new wells offshore, and we'll drill them now. We will build more nuclear power plants. We will develop clean coal technology. We will increase the use of wind, tide, solar and natural gas. We will encourage the development and use of flex fuel, hybrid and electric automobiles.

Senator Obama thinks we can achieve energy independence without more drilling and without more nuclear power. But Americans know better than that. We must use all resources and develop all technologies necessary to rescue our economy from the damage caused by rising oil prices and to restore the health of our planet. It's an ambitious plan, but Americans are ambitious by nature, and we have faced greater challenges. It's time for us to show the world again how Americans lead.

This great national cause will create millions of new jobs, many in industries that will be the engine of our future prosperity; jobs that will be there when your children enter the workforce.

Today, the prospect of a better world remains within our reach. But we must see the threats to peace and liberty in our time clearly and face them, as Americans before us did, with confidence, wisdom and resolve.

We have dealt a serious blow to al Qaeda in recent years. But they are not defeated, and they'll strike us again if they can. Iran remains the chief state sponsor of terrorism and on the path to acquiring nuclear weapons. Russia's leaders, rich with oil wealth and corrupt with power, have rejected democratic ideals and the obligations of a responsible power. They invaded a small, democratic neighbor to gain more control over the world's oil supply, intimidate other neighbors, and further their ambitions of reassembling the Russian empire. And the brave people of Georgia need our solidarity and prayers. As President I will work to establish good relations with Russia so we need not fear a return of the Cold War. But we can't turn a blind eye to aggression and international lawlessness that threatens the peace and stability of the world and the security of the American people.

We face many threats in this dangerous world, but I'm not afraid of them. I'm prepared for them. I know how the military works, what it can do, what it can do better, and what it should not do. I know how the world works. I know the good and the evil in it. I know how to work with leaders who share our dreams of a freer, safer and more prosperous world, and how to stand up to those who don't. I know how to secure the peace.

When I was five years old, a car pulled up in front of our house. A Navy officer rolled down the window, and shouted at my father that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. I rarely saw my father again for four years. My grandfather came home from that same war exhausted from the burdens he had borne, and died the next day. In Vietnam, where I formed the closest friendships of my life, some of those friends never came home with me. I hate war. It is terrible beyond imagination.

I'm running for President to keep the country I love safe, and prevent other families from risking their loved ones in war as my family has. I will draw on all my experience with the world and its leaders, and all the tools at our disposal — diplomatic, economic, military and the power of our ideals — to build the foundations for a stable and enduring peace.

In America, we change things that need to be changed. Each generation makes its contribution to our greatness. The work that is ours to do is plainly before us. We don't need to search for it.

We need to change the way government does almost everything: from the way we protect our security to the way we compete in the world economy; from the way we respond to disasters to the way we fuel our transportation network; from the way we train our workers to the way we educate our children. All these functions of government were designed before the rise of the global economy, the information technology revolution and the end of the Cold War. We have to catch up to history, and we have to change the way we do business in Washington.

The constant partisan rancor that stops us from solving these problems isn't a cause, it's a symptom. It's what happens when people go to Washington to work for themselves and not you.

Again and again, I've worked with members of both parties to fix problems that need to be fixed. That's how I will govern as President. I will reach out my hand to anyone to help me get this country moving again. I have that record and the scars to prove it. Senator Obama does not.

Instead of rejecting good ideas because we didn't think of them first, let's use the best ideas from both sides. Instead of fighting over who gets the credit, let's try sharing it. This amazing country can do anything we put our minds to. I will ask Democrats and Independents to serve with me. And my administration will set a new standard for transparency and accountability.

We're going to finally start getting things done for the people who are counting on us, and I won't care who gets the credit.

I've been an imperfect servant of my country for many years. But I have been her servant first, last and always. And I've never lived a day, in good times or bad, that I didn't thank God for the privilege.

Long ago, something unusual happened to me that taught me the most valuable lesson of my life. I was blessed by misfortune. I mean that sincerely. I was blessed because I served in the company of heroes, and I witnessed a thousand acts of courage, compassion and love.

On an October morning, in the Gulf of Tonkin, I prepared for my 23rd mission over North Vietnam. I hadn't any worry I wouldn't come back safe and sound. I thought I was tougher than anyone. I was pretty independent then, too. I liked to bend a few rules, and pick a few fights for the fun of it. But I did it for my own pleasure; my own pride. I didn't think there was a cause more important than me.

Then I found myself falling toward the middle of a small lake in the city of Hanoi, with two broken arms, a broken leg, and an angry crowd waiting to greet me. I was dumped in a dark cell, and left to die. I didn't feel so tough anymore. When they discovered my father was an admiral, they took me to a hospital. They couldn't set my bones properly, so they just slapped a cast on me. When I didn't get better, and was down to about a hundred pounds, they put me in a cell with two other Americans. I couldn't do anything. I couldn't even feed myself. They did it for me. I was beginning to learn the limits of my selfish independence. Those men saved my life.

I was in solitary confinement when my captors offered to release me. I knew why. If I went home, they would use it as propaganda to demoralize my fellow prisoners. Our Code said we could only go home in the order of our capture, and there were men who had been shot down before me. I thought about it, though. I wasn't in great shape, and I missed everything about America. But I turned it down.

A lot of prisoners had it worse than I did. I'd been mistreated before, but not as badly as others. I always liked to strut a little after I'd been roughed up to show the other guys I was tough enough to take it. But after I turned down their offer, they worked me over harder than they ever had before. For a long time. And they broke me.

When they brought me back to my cell, I was hurt and ashamed, and I didn't know how I could face my fellow prisoners. The good man in the cell next door, my friend, Bob Craner, saved me. Through taps on a wall he told me I had fought as hard as I could. No man can always stand alone. And then he told me to get back up and fight again for our country and for the men I had the honor to serve with. Because every day they fought for me.

I fell in love with my country when I was a prisoner in someone else's. I loved it not just for the many comforts of life here. I loved it for its decency; for its faith in the wisdom, justice and goodness of its people. I loved it because it was not just a place, but an idea, a cause

worth fighting for. I was never the same again. I wasn't my own man anymore. I was my country's.

I'm not running for president because I think I'm blessed with such personal greatness that history has anointed me to save our country in its hour of need. My country saved me. My country saved me, and I cannot forget it. And I will fight for her for as long as I draw breath, so help me God.

If you find faults with our country, make it a better one. If you're disappointed with the mistakes of government, join its ranks and work to correct them. Enlist in our Armed Forces. Become a teacher. Enter the ministry. Run for public office. Feed a hungry child. Teach an illiterate adult to read. Comfort the afflicted. Defend the rights of the oppressed. Our country will be the better, and you will be the happier. Because nothing brings greater happiness in life than to serve a cause greater than yourself.

I'm going to fight for my cause every day as your President. I'm going to fight to make sure every American has every reason to thank God, as I thank Him: that I'm an American, a proud citizen of the greatest country on earth, and with hard work, strong faith and a little courage, great things are always within our reach. Fight with me. Fight with me.

Fight for what's right for our country.

Fight for the ideals and character of a free people.

Fight for our children's future.

Fight for justice and opportunity for all.

Stand up to defend our country from its enemies.

Stand up for each other; for beautiful, blessed, bountiful America.

Stand up, stand up, stand up and fight. Nothing is inevitable here. We're Americans, and we never give up. We never quit. We never hide from history. We make history.

Thank you, and God Bless you.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 10**

#### **John McCain's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Florida on October 17, 2008**

It's great to be here in Miami. Florida is a must-win state on November 4th, and with your help, we're going to win Florida, and bring change to Washington, DC.

We had a good debate this week. You may have noticed -- there was a lot of talk about Senator Obama's tax increases and Joe the Plumber. Last weekend, Senator Obama showed up in Joe's driveway to ask for his vote, and Joe asked Senator Obama a tough question. I'm glad he did; I think Senator Obama could use a few more tough questions.

The response from Senator Obama and his campaign yesterday was to attack Joe. People are digging through his personal life and he has TV crews camped out in front of his house. He didn't ask for Senator Obama to come to his house. He wasn't recruited or prompted by our campaign. He just asked a question. And Americans ought to be able to ask Senator Obama tough questions without being smeared and targeted with political attacks.

The question Joe asked about our economy is important, because Senator Obama's plan would raise taxes on small businesses that employ 16 million Americans. Senator Obama's plan will kill those jobs at just the time when we need to be creating more jobs. My plan will create jobs, and that's what America needs.

Senator Obama says that he wanted to spread your wealth around. When politicians talk about taking your money and spreading it around, you'd better hold onto your wallet. Senator Obama claims that wants to give a tax break to the middle class, but not only did he vote for higher taxes on the middle class in the Senate, his plan gives away your tax dollars to those who don't pay taxes. That's not a tax cut, that's welfare. America didn't become the greatest nation on earth by redistributing wealth; we became the greatest nation by creating new wealth.

This is the choice that we face. These are hard times. Our economy is in crisis. Americans are fighting in two wars. We face many enemies in this dangerous world, and many challenges here at home.

The next President won't have time to get used to the office. He won't have the luxury of studying up on the issues before he acts. He will have to act immediately. And to do that, he will need experience, courage, judgment and a bold plan of action to take this country in a new direction. We cannot spend the next four years as we have spent much of the last eight: waiting for our luck to change. We have to act immediately. I said it at the last debate: I'm not George Bush; if Senator Obama wants to run against George Bush, he should have run for President 4 years ago. We need a new direction now. We have to fight for it.

I've been fighting for this country since I was seventeen years old, and I have the scars to prove it. If I'm elected President, I will fight to take America in a new direction from my first day in office until my last. I'm not afraid of the fight, I'm ready for it.

I'm not going to spend \$700 billion dollars of your money just bailing out the Wall Street bankers and brokers who got us into this mess. I'm going to make sure we take care of the

people who were devastated by the excesses of Wall Street and Washington. I'm going to spend a lot of that money to bring relief to you, and I'm not going to wait sixty days to start doing it.

I have a plan to protect the value of your home and get it rising again by buying up bad mortgages and refinancing them so if your neighbor defaults he doesn't bring down the value of your house with him.

I have a plan to let retirees and people nearing retirement keep their money in their retirement accounts longer so they can rebuild their savings.

I will protect Social Security so that retirees get the benefits they have earned, and I will bring both parties together to fix Social Security so that it is there for future generations.

I have a plan to hold the line on taxes and cut them to make America more competitive and create jobs here at home.

Raising taxes makes a bad economy much worse. Keeping taxes low creates jobs, keeps money in your hands and strengthens our economy.

The explosion of government spending over the last eight years has put us deeper in debt to foreign countries that don't have our best interests at heart. It weakened the dollar and made everything you buy more expensive.

If I'm elected President, I won't spend nearly a trillion dollars more of your money, on top of the \$700 billion we just gave the Treasury Secretary, as Senator Obama proposes. Because he can't do that without raising your taxes or digging us further into debt. I'm going to make government live on a budget just like you do.

I will freeze government spending on all but the most important programs like defense, veterans care, Social Security and health care until we scrub every single government program and get rid of the ones that aren't working for the American people. And I will veto every single pork barrel bill Congress passes.

If I'm elected President, I won't fine small businesses and families with children, as Senator Obama proposes, (juxtaposition of oneself to Obama) to force them into a new huge government run health care program, while he keeps the cost of the fine a secret until he hits you with it. I will bring down the skyrocketing cost of health care with competition and choice to lower your premiums, and make it more available to more Americans. I'll make sure you can keep the same health plan if you change jobs or leave a job to stay home.

I will provide every single American family with a \$5000 refundable tax credit to help them purchase insurance. Workers who already have health care insurance from their employers will keep it and have more money to cover costs. Workers who don't have health insurance can use it to find a policy anywhere in this country to meet their basic needs.

If I'm elected President, I won't raise taxes on small businesses, as Senator Obama proposes, and force them to cut jobs. I will keep small business taxes where they are, help them keep their costs low, and let them spend their earnings to create more jobs.

If I'm elected President, I won't meet unconditionally with the Castro brothers, while they keep political prisoners in jail, stifle free media and block free elections in Cuba. When I am

President, we are going to pressure the Cuban government to free their people. The day is coming when Cuba will be free.

I will open new markets to goods made in America and make sure our trade is free and fair. And I'll make sure we help workers who've lost a job that won't come back find a new one that won't go away.

If I'm elected President, I won't make it harder to sell our goods overseas and kill more jobs as Senator Obama proposes. I will open new markets to goods made in America and make sure our trade is free and fair. And I'll make sure we help workers who've lost a job that won't come back find a new one that won't go away.

The last President to raise taxes and restrict trade in a bad economy as Senator Obama proposes was Herbert Hoover. That turned a recession into a depression. They say those who don't learn the lessons of history are doomed to repeat them. Well, my friends, I know my history lessons, and I sure won't make the mistakes Senator Obama will.

If I'm elected President, we're going to stop sending \$700 billion to countries that don't like us very much. I won't argue to delay drilling for more oil and gas and building new nuclear power plants in America, as Senator Obama does. We will start new drilling now. We will invest in all energy alternatives -- nuclear, wind, solar, and tide. We will encourage the manufacture of hybrid, flex fuel and electric automobiles. We will invest in clean coal technology. We will lower the cost of energy within months, and we will create millions of new jobs.

Let me give you the state of the race today. We have 18 days to go. We're 6 points down. The national media has written us off. Senator Obama is measuring the drapes, and planning with Speaker Pelosi and Senator Reid to raise taxes, increase spending, take away your right to vote by secret ballot in labor elections, and concede defeat in Iraq. But they forgot to let you decide. My friends, we've got them just where we want them.

What America needs in this hour is a fighter; someone who puts all his cards on the table and trusts the judgment of the American people. I come from a long line of McCains who believed that to love America is to fight for her. I have fought for you most of my life. There are other ways to love this country, but I've never been the kind to do it from the sidelines.

I know you're worried. America is a great country, but we are at a moment of national crisis that will determine our future. Will we continue to lead the world's economies or will we be overtaken? Will the world become safer or more dangerous? Will our military remain the strongest in the world? Will our children and grandchildren's future be brighter than ours?

My answer to you is yes. Yes, we will lead. Yes, we will prosper. Yes, we will be safer. Yes, we will pass on to our children a stronger, better country. But we must be prepared to act swiftly, boldly, with courage and wisdom.

I know what fear feels like. It's a thief in the night who robs your strength.

I know what hopelessness feels like. It's an enemy who defeats your will.

I felt those things once before. I will never let them in again. I'm an American. And I choose to fight.

Don't give up hope. Be strong. Have courage. And fight.

Fight for a new direction for our country. Fight for what's right for America.

Fight to clean up the mess of corruption, infighting and selfishness in Washington.

Fight to get our economy out of the ditch and back in the lead.

Fight for the ideals and character of a free people.

Fight for our children's future.

Fight for justice and opportunity for all.

Stand up to defend our country from its enemies.

Stand up, stand up, stand up and fight. America is worth fighting for. Nothing is inevitable here. We never give up. We never quit. We never hide from history. We make history.

Now, let's go win this election and get this country moving again.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 11.**

#### **Barack Obama's pre-election address to the people of Berlin delivered on July 24, 2008**

Thank you to the citizens of Berlin and -- and thank you to the people of Germany. Let me thank Chancellor Merkel and Foreign Minister Steinmeier for welcoming me earlier today. Thank you Mayor Wowereit, the Berlin Senate, the police, and most of all thanks to all of you for this extraordinary welcome. Thank you.

I come to Berlin as so many of my countrymen have come before; although tonight, I speak to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen -- a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world.

I know that I don't look like the Americans who've previously spoken in this great city. The journey that led me here is improbable. My mother was born in the heartland of America, but my father grew up herding goats in Kenya. His father -- His father -- my grandfather -- was a cook, a domestic servant to the British.

At the height of the Cold War, my father decided, like so many others in the forgotten corners of the world, that his yearning -- his dream -- required the freedom and opportunity promised by the West. And so he wrote letter after letter to universities all across America until somebody, somewhere answered his prayer for a better life.

That is why I am here. And you are here because you too know that yearning. This city, of all cities, knows the dream of freedom. And you know that the only reason we stand here tonight is because men and women from both of our nations came together to work, and struggle, and sacrifice for that better life.

Ours is a partnership that truly began 60 years ago this summer, on the day when the first American plane touched down at Tempelhof. On that day -- On that day much of this continent still lay in ruin. The rubble of this city had yet to be built into a wall. The Soviet shadow had swept across Eastern Europe, while in the West, America, Britain, and France took their stock of their losses, and pondered how the world might be remade.

This is where the two sides met. And on the twenty-fourth of June, 1948, the Communists chose to blockade the western part of the city. They cut off food and supplies to more than two million Germans in an effort to extinguish the last flame of freedom in Berlin.

The size of our forces was no match for the larger Soviet Army. And yet retreat would have allowed Communism to march across Europe. Where the last war had ended, another World War could have easily begun. And all that stood in the way was Berlin. And that's when -- that's when the airlift began, when the largest and most unlikely rescue in the history brought food and hope to the people of this city.

The odds were stacked against success. In the winter, a heavy fog filled the sky above, and many planes were forced to turn back without dropping off the needed supplies. The streets where we stand were filled with hungry families who had no comfort from the cold.

But in the darkest hours, the people of Berlin kept the flame of hope burning. The people of Berlin refused to give up. And on one fall day, hundreds of thousands of Berliners came here,

to the Tiergarten, and heard the city's mayor implore the world not to give up on freedom. "There is only one possibility," he said. "For us to stand together united until this battle is won... The people of Berlin have spoken. We have done our duty," he said, "and we will keep on doing our duty. People of the world, now do your duty. People of the world, look at Berlin."

People of the world -- look at Berlin!

Look at Berlin, where Germans and Americans learned to work together and trust each other less than three years after facing each other on the field of battle.

Look at Berlin, where the determination of a people met the generosity of the Marshall Plan and created a German miracle; where a -- where a victory over tyranny gave rise to NATO, the greatest alliance ever formed to defend our common security.

Look at Berlin, where the bullet holes in the buildings and the somber stones and pillars near the Brandenburg Gate insist that we never forget our common humanity.

People of the world -- look at Berlin, where a wall came down, a continent came together, and history proved that there is no challenge too great for a world that stands as one.

Sixty years after the airlift, we are called upon again. History has led us to a new crossroad, with new promise and new peril. When you, the German people, tore down that wall -- a wall that divided East and West; freedom and tyranny; fear and hope -- walls came tumbling down around the world. From Kiev to Cape Town, prison camps were closed, and the doors of democracy were opened. Markets opened too, and the spread of information and technology reduced barriers to opportunity and prosperity. While the 20th century taught us that we share a common destiny, the 21st century has revealed a world more intertwined than at any time in human history.

The fall of the Berlin Wall brought new hope. But that very closeness has given rise to new dangers -- dangers that cannot be contained within the borders of a country or by the distance of an ocean.

Think about it: The terrorists of September 11th plotted in Hamburg and trained in Kandahar and Karachi before killing thousands from all over the globe on American soil. As we speak, cars in Boston and factories in Beijing are melting the ice caps in the Arctic, shrinking coastlines in the Atlantic, and bringing drought to farms from Kansas to Kenya.

Poorly secured nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, or secrets from a scientist in Pakistan could help build a bomb that detonates in Paris. The poppies in Afghanistan come to Berlin in the form of the heroin. The poverty and violence in Somalia breeds the terror of tomorrow. The genocide in Darfur shames the conscience of us all.

In this new world, such dangerous currents have swept along faster than our efforts to contain them. And that is why we cannot afford to be divided. No one nation, no matter how large or powerful, can defeat such challenges alone. None of us can deny these threats, or escape responsibility in meeting them. In the absence of Soviet tanks and a terrible wall, it has become easy to forget this truth. And if we're honest with each other, we know that sometimes, on both sides of the Atlantic, we have drifted apart, and forgotten our shared destiny.

In Europe, the view that America is part of what has gone wrong in our world, rather than a force to help us make it right, has become all too common. In America, there are voices that deride and deny the importance of Europe's role in our security and our future. Both views miss the truth: that Europeans today are bearing new burdens and taking more responsibility in critical parts of the world; and that just as American bases built in the last century still help to defend the security of this continent, so does our country still sacrifice greatly for freedom around the globe.

Yes, there have been differences between America and Europe. No doubt, there will be differences in the future. But the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together. A change of leadership in Washington will not lift this burden. In this new century, Americans and Europeans alike will be required to do more -- not less. Partnership and cooperation among nations is not a choice; it is the only way, the one way, to protect our common security and advance our common humanity.

That is why the greatest danger of all is to allow new walls to divide us from one another. The walls between old allies on either side of the Atlantic cannot stand. The walls between the countries with the most and those with the least cannot stand. The walls between races and tribes; natives and immigrants; Christians and Muslims and Jews cannot stand. These now are the walls we must tear down.

We know -- We know that these walls have fallen before. After centuries of strife, the people of Europe have formed a Union of promise and prosperity. Here, at the base of a column built to mark victory in war, we meet in the center of a Europe at peace. Not only have walls come down in Berlin, but they've come down in Belfast, where Protestant and Catholic found a way to live together; in the Balkans, where our Atlantic alliance ended wars and brought savage war criminals to justice; and in South Africa, where the struggle of a courageous people defeated apartheid.

So history reminds us that walls can be torn down. But the task is never easy. True partnership and true progress requires constant work and sustained sacrifice. They require sharing the burdens of development and diplomacy; of peace and progress. They require allies who will listen to each other, learn from each other and, most of all, trust each other.

That is why America cannot turn inward. That is why Europe cannot turn inward. America has no better partner than Europe. Now -- Now is the time to build new bridges across the globe as strong as the one that binds us across the Atlantic. Now is the time to join together, through constant cooperation and strong institutions and shared sacrifice and a global commitment to progress, to meet the challenges of the 21st century. It was this spirit that led airlift planes to appear in the sky above our heads, and people to assemble where we stand today. And this is the moment when our nations -- and all nations -- must summon that spirit anew.

This is the moment when we must defeat terror and dry up the well of extremism that supports it. This threat is real and we cannot shrink from our responsibility to combat it. If we could create NATO to face down the Soviet Union, we can join in a new and global partnership to dismantle the networks that have struck in Madrid and Amman; in London and Bali; in Washington and New York. If we could win a battle of ideas against the communists, we can stand with the vast majority of Muslims who reject the extremism that leads to hate instead of hope.

This is the moment when we must renew our resolve to rout the terrorists who threaten our security in Afghanistan, and the traffickers who sell drugs on your streets. No one welcomes war. I recognize the enormous difficulties in Afghanistan. But my country and yours have a stake in seeing that NATO's first mission beyond Europe's borders is a success. For the people of Afghanistan, and for our shared security, the work must be done. America can't do this alone. The Afghan people need our troops and your troops; our support and your support to defeat the Taliban and al Qaeda, to develop their economy, and to help them rebuild their nation. We have too much at stake to turn back now.

This -- This is the moment when we must renew the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. The two superpowers that faced each other across the wall of this city came too close too often to destroying all we have built and all that we love. With that wall gone, we need not stand idly by and watch the further spread of the deadly atom. It is time to secure all loose nuclear materials; to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and to reduce the arsenals from another era. This is the moment to begin the work of seeking the peace of a world without nuclear weapons.

This is the moment when every nation in Europe must have the chance to choose its own tomorrow, free from the shadows of yesterday. In this century, we need a strong European Union that deepens the security and prosperity of this continent, while extending a hand abroad. In this century -- in this city of all cities -- we must reject the Cold War mind-set of the past, and resolve to work with Russia when we can, to stand up for our values when we must, and to seek a partnership that extends across this entire continent.

This is the moment when we must build on the wealth that opens [sic] markets have created, and share its benefits more equitably. Trade has been a cornerstone of our growth and global development. But we will not be able to sustain this growth if it favors the few, and not the many. Together -- Together we must forge trade that truly rewards the work that creates wealth, with meaningful protections for our people and our planet. This is the moment for trade that is free and fair for all.

This is the moment we must help answer the call for a new dawn in the Middle East. My country must stand with yours and with Europe in sending a direct message to Iran that it must abandon its nuclear ambitions. We must support the Lebanese who've marched and bled for democracy, and the Israelis and the Palestinians who seek a secure and lasting peace. And despite -- despite past differences, this is the moment when the world should support the millions of Iraqis who seek to rebuild their lives, even as we pass responsibility to the Iraqi government and finally bring this war to a close.

This -- This is the moment when we must come together to save this planet. Let us resolve that we will not leave our children to a world where the oceans rise and famine spreads and terrible storms devastate our lands. Let us resolve that all nations -- including my own -- will act with the same seriousness of purpose as has your nation, and reduce the carbon we send into our atmosphere. This -- This is the moment to give our children back their future. This is the moment to stand as one.

And this is the moment when we must give hope to those left behind in a globalized world. We must remember that the Cold War born in this city was not a battle for land or treasure. Sixty years ago, the planes that flew over Berlin did not drop bombs; instead they delivered food, and coal, and candy to grateful children. And in that show of solidarity, those pilots won more than a military victory. They won hearts and minds; love and loyalty and trust -- not just from the people in this city, but from all those who heard the story of what they did here.

Now the world will watch and remember what we do here -- what we do with this moment. Will we extend our hand to the people in the forgotten corners of this world who yearn for lives marked by dignity and opportunity, by security and justice? Will we lift the child in Bangladesh from poverty, and shelter the refugee in Chad, and banish the scourge of AIDS in our time?

Will we stand for the human rights of the dissident in Burma, the blogger in Iran, or the voter in Zimbabwe? Will we give meaning to the words “never again” in Darfur?

Will we acknowledge -- Will we acknowledge that there is no more powerful example than the one each of our nations projects to the world? Will we reject torture and stand for the rule of law? Will we -- Will we -- Will we welcome immigrants from different lands, and shun discrimination against those who don't look like us or worship like we do, and keep the promise of equality and opportunity for all of our people?

People of Berlin -- people of the world -- this is our moment. This is our time.

I know my country has not perfected itself. At times, we've struggled to keep the promise of liberty and equality for all of our people. We've made our share of mistakes, and there are times when our actions around the world have not lived up to our best intentions.

But I also know how much I love America. I know that for more than two centuries, we have strived -- at great cost and great sacrifice -- to form a more perfect union; to seek, with other nations, a more hopeful world. Our allegiance has never been to any particular tribe or kingdom -- indeed, every language is spoken in our country; every culture has left its imprint on ours; every point of view is expressed in our public squares. What has always united us, what has always driven our people, what drew my father to America's shores -- is a set of ideals that speak to aspirations shared by all people: that we can live free from fear and free from want; that we can speak our minds and assemble with whomever we choose and worship as we please.

These are the aspiration[s] that join the fates of all nations in this city. These aspirations are bigger than anything that drives us apart. It is because of these aspirations that the airlift began. It is because of these aspirations that all free people -- everywhere -- became citizens of Berlin. It is in pursuit of these aspirations that a new generation -- our generation -- must make our mark on the world.

People of Berlin -- and people of the world -- the scale of our challenge is great. The road ahead will be long. But I come before you to say that we are heirs to a struggle for freedom. We are a people of improbable hope. With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our heart, let us remember this history, and answer our destiny, and remake the world once again.

Thank you, Berlin. God bless you. Thank you. Thank you.

*Appendices*

**Appendix 12.**

**Barack's Obama's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Chicago, Illinois on February 10, 2007**

Hello Springfield! ...Look at all of you. Look at all of you. Goodness. Thank you so much. Thank you so much. Giving all praise and honor to God for bringing us here today. Thank you so much. I am -- I am so grateful to see all of you. You guys are still cheering back there? [to audience on left.]

Let me -- Let me begin by saying thanks to all you who've traveled, from far and wide, to brave the cold today. I know it's a little chilly -- but I'm fired up.

You know, we all made this journey for a reason. It's humbling to see a crowd like this, but in my heart I know you didn't just come here for me. You...came here because you believe in what this country can be. In the face of war, you believe there can be peace. In the face of despair, you believe there can be hope. In the face of a politics that shut you out, that's told you to settle, that's divided us for too long, you believe that we can be one people, reaching for what's possible, building that more perfect union.

That's the journey we're on today. But let me tell you how I came to be here. As most of you know, I'm not a native of this great state. I -- I moved to Illinois over two decades ago. I was a young man then, just a year out of college. I knew no one in Chicago when I arrived, was without money or family connections. But a group of churches had offered me a job as a community organizer for the grand sum of 13,000 dollars a year. And I accepted the job, sight unseen, motivated then by a single, simple, powerful idea: that I might play a small part in building a better America.

My work took me to some of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods. I joined with pastors and lay-people to deal with communities that had been ravaged by plant closings. I saw that the problems people faced weren't simply local in nature, that the decisions to close a steel mill was made by distant executives, that the lack of textbooks and computers in a school could be traced to skewed priorities of politicians a thousand miles away, and that when a child turns to violence -- I came to realize that -- there's a hole in that boy's heart that no government alone can fill.

It was in these neighborhoods that I received the best education that I ever had, and where I learned the meaning of my Christian faith.

After three years of this work, I went to law school, because I wanted to understand how the law should work for those in need. I became a civil rights lawyer, and taught constitutional law, and after a time, I came to understand that our cherished rights of liberty and equality depend on the active participation of an awakened electorate. It was with these ideas in mind that I arrived in this capital city as a state Senator.

It -- It was here, in Springfield, where I saw all that is America converge -- farmers and teachers, businessmen and laborers, all of them with a story to tell, all of them seeking a seat at the table, all of them clamoring to be heard. I made lasting friendships here, friends that I see here in the audience today. It was here -- It was here where we learned to disagree without being disagreeable; that it's possible to compromise so long as you know those principles that

can never be compromised; and that so long as we're willing to listen to each other, we can assume the best in people instead of the worst.

That's why we were able to reform a death penalty system that was broken; that's why we were able to give health insurance to children in need; that's why we made the tax system right here in Springfield more fair and just for working families; and that's why we passed ethics reform that the cynics said could never, ever be passed.

It was here, in Springfield, where North, South, East, and West come together that I was reminded of the essential decency of the American people -- where I came to believe that through this decency, we can build a more hopeful America. And that is why, in the shadow of the Old State Capitol, where Lincoln once called on a house divided to stand together, where common hopes and common dreams still live, I stand before you today to announce my candidacy for President of the United States of America.

Now -- Now, listen, I -- I... -- thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you. [to audience chanting "Obama"]

Look, I -- I...recognize that there is a certain presumptuousness in this, a certain audacity, to this announcement. I know that I haven't spent a lot of time learning the ways of Washington. But I've been there long enough to know that the ways of Washington must change.

The genius of our Founders is that they designed a system of government that can be changed. And we should take heart, because we've changed this country before. In the face of tyranny, a band of patriots brought an empire to its knees. In the face of secession, we unified a nation and set the captives free. In the face of Depression, we put people back to work and lifted millions out of poverty. We welcomed immigrants to our shores. We opened railroads to the west. We landed a man on the moon. And we heard a King's call to let "justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

We've done this before: Each and every time, a new generation has risen up and done what's needed to be done. Today we are called once more, and it is time for our generation to answer that call. For that is our unyielding faith -- that in -- in the face of impossible odds, people who love their country can change it.

That's what Abraham Lincoln understood. He had his doubts. He had his defeats. He had his skeptics. He had his setbacks. But through his will and his words, he moved a nation and helped free a people. It's because of the millions who rallied to his cause that we're no longer divided, North and South, slave and free. It's because men and women of every race, from every walk of life, continued to march for freedom long after Lincoln was laid to rest, that today we have the chance to face the challenges of this millennium together, as one people -- as Americans.

All of us know what those challenges are today: a war with no end, a dependence on oil that threatens our future, schools where too many children aren't learning, and families struggling paycheck to paycheck despite working as hard as they can. We know the challenges. We've heard them. We've talked about them for years.

What's stopped us from meeting these challenges is not the absence of sound policies and sensible plans. What's stopped us is the failure of leadership, the smallness -- the smallness of our politics -- the ease with which we're distracted by the petty and trivial, our chronic avoidance of tough decisions, our preference for scoring cheap political points instead of

rolling up our sleeves and building a working consensus to tackle the big problems of America.

For the past six years we've been told that our mounting debts don't matter. We've been told that the anxiety Americans feel about rising health care costs and stagnant wages are an illusion. We've been told that climate change is a hoax. We've been told that tough talk and an ill-conceived war can replace diplomacy, and strategy, and foresight. And when all else fails, when Katrina happens, or the death toll in Iraq mounts, we've been told that our crises are somebody else's fault. We're distracted from our real failures, and told to blame the other Party, or gay people, or immigrants.

And as people have looked away in disillusionment and frustration, we know what's filled the void: the cynics, the lobbyists, the special interests -- who've turned our government into a game only they can afford to play. They write the checks and you get stuck with the bill. They get the access while you get to write a letter. They think they own this government, but we're here today to take it back. The time for that kind of politics is over. It is through. It's time to turn the page -- right here and right now.

Now look --

[Audience chants "Obama...Obama...Obama"]

Okay. Alright. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you.

Look, look, we have made some progress already. I was proud to help lead the fight in Congress that led to the most sweeping ethics reforms since Watergate. But Washington has a long way to go, and it won't be easy. That's why we'll have to set priorities. We'll have to make hard choices. And although government will play a crucial role in bringing about the changes that we need, more money and programs alone will not get us to where we need to go. Each of us, in our own lives, will have to accept responsibility -- for instilling an ethic of achievement in our children, for adapting to a more competitive economy, for strengthening our communities, and sharing some measure of sacrifice.

So let us begin. Let us begin this hard work together. Let us transform this nation. Let us be the generation that reshapes our economy to compete in the digital age. Let's set high standards for our schools and give them the resources they need to succeed. Let's recruit a new army of teachers, and give them better pay and more support in exchange for more accountability. Let's make college more affordable, and let's invest in scientific research, and let's lay down broadband lines through the heart of inner cities and rural towns all across America. We can do that.

And as our economy changes, let's be the generation that ensures our nation's workers are sharing in our prosperity. Let's protect the hard-earned benefits their companies have promised. Let's make it possible for hardworking Americans to save for retirement. Let's allow our unions and their organizers to lift up this country's middle-class again. We can do that.

Let's be the generation that ends poverty in America. Every single person willing to work should be able to get job training that leads to a job, and earn a living wage that can pay the bills, and afford child care so their kids can have a safe place to go when they work. We can do this.

And let's be the generation that finally, after all these years, tackles our health care crisis. We can control costs by focusing on prevention, by providing better treatment to the chronically ill, and using technology to cut the bureaucracy. Let's be the generation that says right here, right now: We will have universal health care in America by the end of the next President's first term. We can do that.

Let's be the generation that finally frees America from the tyranny of oil. We can harness homegrown, alternative fuels like ethanol and spur the production of more fuel-efficient cars. We can set up a system for capping greenhouse gases. We can turn this crisis of global warming into a moment of opportunity for innovation, and job creation, and an incentive for businesses that will serve as a model for the world. Let's be the generation that makes future generations proud of what we did here.

Most of all, let's be the generation that never forgets what happened on that September day and confront the terrorists with everything we've got. Politics doesn't have to divide us on this anymore; we can work together to keep our country safe. I've worked with the Republican Senator Dick Lugar to pass a law that will secure and destroy some of the world's deadliest weapons. We can work together to track down terrorists with a stronger military. We can tighten the net around their finances. We can improve our intelligence capabilities and finally get homeland security right. But let's also understand that ultimate victory against our enemies will only come by rebuilding our alliances and exporting those ideals that bring hope and opportunity to millions of people around the globe.

We can do those things.

But all of this cannot come to pass until we bring an end to this war in Iraq. Most of you know -- Most of you know that I opposed this war from the start. I thought it was a tragic mistake. Today we grieve for the families who have lost loved ones, the hearts that have been broken, and the young lives that could have been. America, it is time to start bringing our troops home. It's time -- It's time to admit that no amount of American lives can resolve the political disagreement that lies at the heart of someone else's civil war. That's why I have a plan that will bring our combat troops home by March of 2008. Let the Iraqis know -- Letting the Iraqis know that we will not be there forever is our last, best hope to pressure the Sunni and Shia to come to the table and find peace.

And there's one other thing that it's not too late to get right about this war, and that is the homecoming of the men and women, our veterans, who have sacrificed the most. Let us honor their courage by providing the care they need and rebuilding the military they love. Let us be the generation that begins that work.

I know there are those who don't believe we can do all these things. I understand the skepticism. After all, every four years, candidates from both Parties make similar promises, and I expect this year will be no different. All of us running for President will travel around the country offering ten-point plans and making grand speeches; all of us will trumpet those qualities we believe make us uniquely qualified to lead this country. But too many times, after the election is over, and the confetti is swept away, all those promises fade from memory, and the lobbyists and special interests move in, and people turn away, disappointed as before, left to struggle on their own.

That's why this campaign can't only be about me. It must be about us. It must be about what we can do together. This campaign must be the occasion, the vehicle, of your hopes, and your dreams. It will take your time, your energy, and your advice to push us forward when we're

doing right, and let us know when we're not. This campaign has to be about reclaiming the meaning of citizenship, restoring our sense of common purpose, and realizing that few obstacles can withstand the power of millions of voices calling for change.

By ourselves, this change will not happen. Divided, we are bound to fail. But the life of a tall, gangly, self-made Springfield lawyer tells us that a different future is possible.

He tells us that there is power in words.

He tells us that there's power in conviction.

That beneath all the differences of race and region, faith and station, we are one people.

He tells us that there's power in hope.

As Lincoln organized the forces arrayed against slavery, he was heard to say this: "Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought to battle through."

That is our purpose here today. That is why I am in this race -- not just to hold an office, but to gather with you to transform a nation. I want -- I want to win that next battle -- for justice and opportunity. I want to win that next battle -- for better schools, and better jobs, and better health care for all. I want us to take up the unfinished business of perfecting our union, and building a better America.

And if you will join with me in this improbable quest, if you feel destiny calling, and see as I see, the future of endless possibility stretching out before us; if you sense, as I sense, that the time is now to shake off our slumber, and slough off our fears, and make good on the debt we owe past and future generations, then I am ready to take up the cause, and march with you, and work with you -- today.

Together we can finish the work that needs to be done, and usher in a new birth of freedom on this Earth.

Thank you very much everybody -- let's get to work! I love you. Thank you.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 13.**

#### **Barack's Obama's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Indianapolis, Indiana on October 8, 2008**

We meet today at a moment of great uncertainty for America. Yesterday, we saw another significant drop in the stock market as the anxiety about this financial crisis grew worse. Overnight, the same thing happened with markets around the world. And this morning, the Federal Reserve took swift action together with other nations to stem what is now a full-blown global financial crisis. I support that action, as I've said before that this is a global problem and it needs to be solved through a global effort. I hope this global response continues as leaders of major financial institutions and representatives from nations around the world gather in Washington soon.

We are facing a very serious challenge, and all of us - all of us - have a stake in its solution. Because the credit markets are frozen right now, there's a ripple effect throughout our economy. Businesses large and small are finding it impossible to get loans, which means they can't buy new equipment or make payroll. Auto plants that have been around for decades are closing their doors and laying off workers who've never known another job in their entire life. And we have already lost three-quarters of a million jobs just this year.

Here in Indianapolis and all across America, you're seeing your hours get cut or realizing that you can't pay every bill that's sitting on the kitchen counter. It's harder to make the mortgage or fill up your gas tank and some people don't even know whether they'll be able to keep the electricity on at the end of the month. The money you've been putting away for your retirement or your kids' college education is disappearing faster than you can count. The dream that so many generations have fought for feels like it's slowly slipping away.

But I'm here today to tell you that there are better days ahead. I know these are tough times. I know that many of you are anxious about the future. But this isn't a time for fear or panic. This is a time for resolve and leadership. I know that we can steer ourselves out of this crisis. Because that's who we are. Because this is the United States of America. This is a nation that has faced down war and depression; great challenges and great threats. And at each and every moment, we have risen to meet these challenges - not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as Americans. With resolve. With confidence. With that fundamental belief that here in America, our destiny is not written for us, but by us. That's who we are, and that's the country we need to be right now.

America still has the most talented, most productive workers of any country on Earth who work two jobs or three jobs and take the last bus home at night because they want something more for their children. We're still the home to innovation and technology, colleges and universities that are the envy of the world. Some of the biggest ideas in history have come from our small businesses and our research facilities. It won't be easy, but there's no reason we can't steer ourselves out of this crisis and make this century another American century. Of course we can.

But I also know this. It will take a new direction. It will take new leadership in Washington. It will take a real change in the policies and politics of the last eight years.

And that's why the decision you make in twenty-seven days is so important. That's why this is no ordinary election - because this is no ordinary moment for America.

In last night's debate, John McCain and I each had the chance to make the case for change - to talk about what we would do differently from the last eight years when it comes to lifting our middle-class, growing our economy, and restoring our prosperity. But all we heard from Senator McCain was more of the same Bush economics that led us to this point.

Take health care. We were both asked whether we believed that health care should finally be the right of every American. I believe it should. But Senator McCain didn't say that. And when you look at his radical health care plan, you can see why.

He talks about giving every family a \$5,000 credit to buy health care, but he didn't mention last night that he'll also tax your benefits for the first time in history. It's an old Washington bait and switch. He gives you a tax credit with one hand, but raises your taxes with the other. And he didn't mention that the average health care plan costs \$12,000 in the first place.

Senator McCain didn't tell us about the studies that say his plan would cause 20 million Americans to lose their health insurance, or how the Chamber of Commerce said it would be a disaster for businesses, or how it would de-regulate the insurance industry so that they don't have to cover things like mammograms, or vaccinations, or maternity care. He thinks we won't notice these things.

Well, I've got news for John McCain: we notice, we know better, and we're not going to let him get away with it.

This issue is personal for me. My mother died of ovarian cancer at the age of 53, and I'll never forget how she spent the final months of her life lying in a hospital bed, fighting with her insurance company because they claimed that her cancer was a pre-existing condition and didn't want to pay for treatment. If I am President, I will make sure those insurance companies can never do that again.

My health care plan will ensure that insurance companies can't discriminate against those who are sick and need care most. If you have health insurance, the only thing that will change under my plan is the amount you pay in premiums. That will be less. And if you don't have health insurance, you'll be able to get the same kind of health insurance that Members of Congress get for themselves. We'll invest in preventative care and new technology to finally lower the cost of health care for families, businesses, and the entire economy. That's the change we need, and that's the choice you face in this election.

Even as so many Americans are worried about their medical bills or keeping their jobs or staying in their homes, Senator McCain's campaign announced last week that they plan to "turn the page" on the discussion about our economy and spend the final weeks of this election attacking me instead. His campaign actually said, and I quote, "if we keep talking about the economy, we're going to lose."

Well I've got news for John McCain. This isn't about losing a campaign - this is about Americans who are losing their jobs, and their homes, and their life savings. I can take four more weeks of John McCain's attacks, but America can't take four more years of John McCain's George Bush policies. We can't afford four more years of the economic theory that says we should give more and more to those with the most and hope that prosperity trickles down to everyone else. We can't afford more four years of John McCain's call for less

regulation so that no one in Washington is watching anyone on Wall Street. We've seen where that's led us and we're not going back.

It is time to turn the page on eight years of economic policies that put Wall Street before Main Street but ended up hurting both. We need policies that grow our economy from the bottom-up, so that every American, everywhere has the chance to get ahead. Not just corporate CEOs, but their secretaries too. Not just the person who owns the factory, but the men and women who work on its floor. Because if we've learned anything from this economic crisis, it's that we're all connected; we're all in this together; and we will rise or fall as one nation - as one people.

The rescue plan that passed Congress last week isn't the end of what we'll do to strengthen this economy, it's only the beginning. Now we need to pass a rescue plan for the middle-class that will provide every family immediate relief to cope with rising food and gas prices, save one million jobs by rebuilding our schools and roads, and help states and cities avoid budget cuts and tax increases. And we should extend expiring unemployment benefits to those Americans who've lost their jobs and can't find new ones. I've been fighting for this plan for months. My opponent has said nothing. And that is the choice in this election.

You've heard a lot about taxes in this campaign. Well here's the truth - John McCain and I are both offering tax cuts. The difference is, he wants to give the average Fortune 500 CEO a \$700,000 tax cut but nothing at all to over 100 million Americans.

I'll give a middle-class tax cut to 95% of all workers. And if you make less than \$250,000 a year, you won't see your taxes increase one single dime - not your payroll taxes, not your income taxes, not your capital gains taxes - nothing. Because in an economy like this, the last thing we should do is raise taxes on the middle-class.

My opponent wants to give \$200 million in tax cuts to the biggest corporations in America. I will eliminate capital gains taxes for the small businesses and the start-ups that will create the high-wage, high-tech jobs of tomorrow.

John McCain wants to give tax breaks to the corporations that ship our jobs overseas. If I am President, I will end those tax breaks and give them to companies that create good jobs in the United States of America. That is the choice in this election.

Senator McCain's first reaction to this economic crisis was to say that "the fundamentals of our economy are strong." Well I don't know about you, but where I come from there's nothing more fundamental than a job - not just because it provides a paycheck, because it provides a sense of dignity. And if we want to turn this economy around and lead the world in the 21st century, we have to create the high-wage jobs of tomorrow right here in America.

If I am President, I will invest \$15 billion a year in renewable sources of energy to create five million new, green jobs over the next decade - jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced; jobs building solar panels and wind turbines and fuel-efficient cars; jobs that will help us end our dependence on oil from Middle East dictators.

I'll also put two million more Americans to work rebuilding our crumbling roads, schools, and bridges - because it is time to build an American infrastructure for the 21st century.

And we'll give every child, everywhere the skills and the knowledge they need to compete with any worker, anywhere in the world. I will not allow countries to out-teach us today so

they can out-compete us tomorrow. It is time to provide every American with a world-class education. That means investing in early childhood education. That means recruiting an army of new teachers, and paying them better, and giving them more support in exchange for higher standards and more accountability. And it means making a deal with every American who has the drive and the will but not the money to go to college: if you commit to serving your country after you graduate, we will make sure you can afford your tuition. You invest in America, America will invest in you, and together we will move this country forward.

Finally, I will take on the corruption in Washington and on Wall Street to make sure a crisis like this can never, ever happen again. I'll put in place the common-sense regulations and rules of the road I've been calling for since March - rules that will keep our market free, fair, and honest; rules that will restore accountability and responsibility in our corporate boardrooms.

And just as we demand accountability on Wall Street, I will also demand it in Washington. That's why I'm not going to stand here and simply tell you what I'm going to spend, I'm going to tell you how we're going to save when I am President.

I'll do what you do in your own family budgets and make sure we're spending money wisely. I will go through the entire federal budget, page by page, line by line, and eliminate programs that don't work and aren't needed. We'll start by ending a war in Iraq that's costing \$10 billion a month while the Iraqi government sits on a \$79 billion surplus. And we'll save billions more by cutting waste, improving management, and strengthening oversight.

These are the changes and reforms we need. A new era of responsibility and accountability on Wall Street and in Washington. Common-sense regulations to prevent a crisis like this from ever happening again. Investments in the technology and innovation that will restore prosperity and lead to new jobs and a new economy for the 21st century. Bottom-up growth that gives every American a fair shot at the American dream.

I won't pretend this will be easy or come without cost. We will all need to sacrifice and we will all need to pull our weight because now more than ever, we are all in this together. What this crisis has taught us is that at the end of the day, there is no real separation between Main Street and Wall Street. There is only the road we're traveling on as Americans - and we will rise or fall on that journey as one nation; as one people.

This country and the dream it represents are being tested in a way that we haven't seen in nearly a century. And future generations will judge ours by how we respond to this test. Will they say that this was a time when America lost its way and its purpose? When we allowed our own petty differences and broken politics to plunge this country into a dark and painful recession?

Or will they say that this was another one of those moments when America overcame? When we battled back from adversity by recognizing that common stake that we have in each other's success?

This is one of those moments. I realize you're cynical and fed up with politics. I understand that you're disappointed and even angry with your leaders. You have every right to be. But despite all of this, I ask of you what's been asked of the American people in times of trial and turmoil throughout our history. I ask you to believe - to believe in yourselves, in each other, and in the future we can build together.

Together, we cannot fail. Not now. Not when we have a crisis to solve and an economy to save. Not when there are so many Americans without jobs and without homes. Not when there are families who can't afford to see a doctor, or send their child to college, or pay their bills at the end of the month. Not when there is a generation that is counting on us to give them the same opportunities and the same chances that we had for ourselves.

We can do this. Americans have done this before. Some of us had grandparents or parents who said maybe I can't go to college but my child can; maybe I can't have my own business but my child can. I may have to rent, but maybe my children will have a home they can call their own. I may not have a lot of money but maybe my child will run for Senate. I might live in a small village but maybe someday my son can be president of the United States of America.

Now it falls to us. Together, we cannot fail. And I need you to make it happen. If you want the next four years looking like the last eight, then I am not your candidate. But if you want real change - if you want an economy that rewards work, and that works for Main Street and Wall Street; if you want tax relief for the middle class and millions of new jobs; if you want health care you can afford and education that helps your kids compete; then I ask you to knock on some doors, make some calls, talk to your neighbors, and give me your vote on November 4th. And if you do, I promise you - we will win Indiana, we will win this election, and then you and I - together - will change this country and change this world.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless America.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 14.**

#### **Barack's Obama's pre-election speech from the presidential campaign held in Ohio on October 27, 2008**

One week.

After decades of broken politics in Washington, eight years of failed policies from George Bush, and twenty-one months of a campaign that has taken us from the rocky coast of Maine to the sunshine of California, we are one week away from change in America.

In one week, you can turn the page on policies that have put the greed and irresponsibility of Wall Street before the hard work and sacrifice of folks on Main Street.

In one week, you can choose policies that invest in our middle-class, create new jobs, and grow this economy from the bottom-up so that everyone has a chance to succeed; from the CEO to the secretary and the janitor; from the factory owner to the men and women who work on its floor.

In one week, you can put an end to the politics that would divide a nation just to win an election; that tries to pit region against region, city against town, Republican against Democrat; that asks us to fear at a time when we need hope.

In one week, at this defining moment in history, you can give this country the change we need.

We began this journey in the depths of winter nearly two years ago, on the steps of the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois. Back then, we didn't have much money or many endorsements. We weren't given much of a chance by the polls or the pundits, and we knew how steep our climb would be.

But I also knew this. I knew that the size of our challenges had outgrown the smallness of our politics. I believed that Democrats and Republicans and Americans of every political stripe were hungry for new ideas, new leadership, and a new kind of politics – one that favors common sense over ideology; one that focuses on those values and ideals we hold in common as Americans.

Most of all, I believed in your ability to make change happen. I knew that the American people were a decent, generous people who are willing to work hard and sacrifice for future generations. And I was convinced that when we come together, our voices are more powerful than the most entrenched lobbyists, or the most vicious political attacks, or the full force of a status quo in Washington that wants to keep things just the way they are.

Twenty-one months later, my faith in the American people has been vindicated. That's how we've come so far and so close – because of you. That's how we'll change this country – with your help. And that's why we can't afford to slow down, sit back, or let up for one day, one minute, or one second in this last week. Not now. Not when so much is at stake.

We are in the middle of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. 760,000 workers have lost their jobs this year. Businesses and families can't get credit. Home values are falling. Pensions are disappearing. Wages are lower than they've been in a decade, at a time when the cost of health care and college have never been higher. It's getting harder and harder to make the mortgage, or fill up your gas tank, or even keep the electricity on at the end of the month.

At a moment like this, the last thing we can afford is four more years of the tired, old theory that says we should give more to billionaires and big corporations and hope that prosperity trickles down to everyone else. The last thing we can afford is four more years where no one in Washington is watching anyone on Wall Street because politicians and lobbyists killed common-sense regulations. Those are the theories that got us into this mess. They haven't worked, and it's time for change. That's why I'm running for President of the United States.

Now, Senator McCain has served this country honorably. And he can point to a few moments over the past eight years where he has broken from George Bush – on torture, for example. He deserves credit for that. But when it comes to the economy – when it comes to the central issue of this election – the plain truth is that John McCain has stood with this President every step of the way. Voting for the Bush tax cuts for the wealthy that he once opposed. Voting for the Bush budgets that spent us into debt. Calling for less regulation twenty-one times just this year. Those are the facts.

And now, after twenty-one months and three debates, Senator McCain still has not been able to tell the American people a single major thing he'd do differently from George Bush when it comes to the economy. Senator McCain says that we can't spend the next four years waiting for our luck to change, but you understand that the biggest gamble we can take is embracing the same old Bush-McCain policies that have failed us for the last eight years.

It's not change when John McCain wants to give a \$700,000 tax cut to the average Fortune 500 CEO. It's not change when he wants to give \$200 billion to the biggest corporations or \$4 billion to the oil companies or \$300 billion to the same Wall Street banks that got us into this mess. It's not change when he comes up with a tax plan that doesn't give a penny of relief to more than 100 million middle-class Americans. That's not change.

Look – we've tried it John McCain's way. We've tried it George Bush's way. Deep down, Senator McCain knows that, which is why his campaign said that "if we keep talking about the economy, we're going to lose." That's why he's spending these last weeks calling me every name in the book. Because that's how you play the game in Washington. If you can't beat your opponent's ideas, you distort those ideas and maybe make some up. If you don't have a record to run on, then you paint your opponent as someone people should run away from. You make a big election about small things.

Ohio, we are here to say "Not this time. Not this year. Not when so much is at stake." Senator McCain might be worried about losing an election, but I'm worried about Americans who are losing their homes, and their jobs, and their life savings. I can take one more week of John McCain's attacks, but this country can't take four more years of the same old politics and the same failed policies. It's time for something new.

The question in this election is not "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" We know the answer to that. The real question is, "Will this country be better off four years from now?"

I know these are difficult times for America. But I also know that we have faced difficult times before. The American story has never been about things coming easy – it's been about rising to the moment when the moment was hard. It's about seeing the highest mountaintop from the deepest of valleys. It's about rejecting fear and division for unity of purpose. That's how we've overcome war and depression. That's how we've won great struggles for civil rights and women's rights and worker's rights. And that's how we'll emerge from this crisis stronger and more prosperous than we were before – as one nation; as one people.

Remember, we still have the most talented, most productive workers of any country on Earth. We're still home to innovation and technology, colleges and universities that are the envy of the world. Some of the biggest ideas in history have come from our small businesses and our research facilities. So there's no reason we can't make this century another American century. We just need a new direction. We need a new politics.

Now, I don't believe that government can or should try to solve all our problems. I know you don't either. But I do believe that government should do that which we cannot do for ourselves – protect us from harm and provide a decent education for our children; invest in new roads and new science and technology. It should reward drive and innovation and growth in the free market, but it should also make sure businesses live up to their responsibility to create American jobs, and look out for American workers, and play by the rules of the road. It should ensure a shot at success not only for those with money and power and influence, but for every single American who's willing to work. That's how we create not just more millionaires, but more middle-class families. That's how we make sure businesses have customers that can afford their products and services. That's how we've always grown the American economy – from the bottom-up. John McCain calls this socialism. I call it opportunity, and there is nothing more American than that.

Understand, if we want get through this crisis, we need to get beyond the old ideological debates and divides between left and right. We don't need bigger government or smaller government. We need a better government – a more competent government – a government that upholds the values we hold in common as Americans.

We don't have to choose between allowing our financial system to collapse and spending billions of taxpayer dollars to bail out Wall Street banks. As President, I will ensure that the financial rescue plan helps stop foreclosures and protects your money instead of enriching CEOs. And I will put in place the common-sense regulations I've been calling for throughout this campaign so that Wall Street can never cause a crisis like this again. That's the change we need.

The choice in this election isn't between tax cuts and no tax cuts. It's about whether you believe we should only reward wealth, or whether we should also reward the work and workers who create it. I will give a tax break to 95% of Americans who work every day and get taxes taken out of their paychecks every week. I'll eliminate income taxes for seniors making under \$50,000 and give homeowners and working parents more of a break. And I'll help pay for this by asking the folks who are making more than \$250,000 a year to go back to the tax rate they were paying in the 1990s. No matter what Senator McCain may claim, here are the facts – if you make under \$250,000, you will not see your taxes increase by a single dime – not your income taxes, not your payroll taxes, not your capital gains taxes. Nothing. Because the last thing we should do in this economy is raise taxes on the middle-class.

When it comes to jobs, the choice in this election is not between putting up a wall around America or allowing every job to disappear overseas. The truth is, we won't be able to bring

back every job that we've lost, but that doesn't mean we should follow John McCain's plan to keep giving tax breaks to corporations that send American jobs overseas. I will end those breaks as President, and I will give American businesses a \$3,000 tax credit for every job they create right here in the United States of America. I'll eliminate capital gains taxes for small businesses and start-up companies that are the engine of job creation in this country. We'll create two million new jobs by rebuilding our crumbling roads, and bridges, and schools, and by laying broadband lines to reach every corner of the country. And I will invest \$15 billion a year in renewable sources of energy to create five million new energy jobs over the next decade – jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced; jobs building solar panels and wind turbines and a new electricity grid; jobs building the fuel-efficient cars of tomorrow, not in Japan or South Korea but here in the United States of America; jobs that will help us eliminate the oil we import from the Middle East in ten years and help save the planet in the bargain. That's how America can lead again.

When it comes to health care, we don't have to choose between a government-run health care system and the unaffordable one we have now. If you already have health insurance, the only thing that will change under my plan is that we will lower premiums. If you don't have health insurance, you'll be able to get the same kind of health insurance that Members of Congress get for themselves. We'll invest in preventative care and new technology to finally lower the cost of health care for families, businesses, and the entire economy. And as someone who watched his own mother spend the final months of her life arguing with insurance companies because they claimed her cancer was a pre-existing condition and didn't want to pay for treatment, I will stop insurance companies from discriminating against those who are sick and need care most.

When it comes to giving every child a world-class education so they can compete in this global economy for the jobs of the 21st century, the choice is not between more money and more reform – because our schools need both. As President, I will invest in early childhood education, recruit an army of new teachers, pay them more, and give them more support. But I will also demand higher standards and more accountability from our teachers and our schools. And I will make a deal with every American who has the drive and the will but not the money to go to college: if you commit to serving your community or your country, we will make sure you can afford your tuition. You invest in America, America will invest in you, and together, we will move this country forward.

And when it comes to keeping this country safe, we don't have to choose between retreating from the world and fighting a war without end in Iraq. It's time to stop spending \$10 billion a month in Iraq while the Iraqi government sits on a huge surplus. As President, I will end this war by asking the Iraqi government to step up, and finally finish the fight against bin Laden and the al Qaeda terrorists who attacked us on 9/11. I will never hesitate to defend this nation, but I will only send our troops into harm's way with a clear mission and a sacred commitment to give them the equipment they need in battle and the care and benefits they deserve when they come home. I will build new partnerships to defeat the threats of the 21st century, and I will restore our moral standing, so that America is once again that last, best hope for all who are called to the cause of freedom, who long for lives of peace, and who yearn for a better future.

I won't stand here and pretend that any of this will be easy – especially now. The cost of this economic crisis, and the cost of the war in Iraq, means that Washington will have to tighten its belt and put off spending on things we can afford to do without. On this, there is no other choice. As President, I will go through the federal budget, line-by-line, ending programs that we don't need and making the ones we do need work better and cost less.

But as I've said from the day we began this journey all those months ago, the change we need isn't just about new programs and policies. It's about a new politics – a politics that calls on our better angels instead of encouraging our worst instincts; one that reminds us of the obligations we have to ourselves and one another.

Part of the reason this economic crisis occurred is because we have been living through an era of profound irresponsibility. On Wall Street, easy money and an ethic of "what's good for me is good enough" blinded greedy executives to the danger in the decisions they were making. On Main Street, lenders tricked people into buying homes they couldn't afford. Some folks knew they couldn't afford those houses and bought them anyway. In Washington, politicians spent money they didn't have and allowed lobbyists to set the agenda. They scored political points instead of solving our problems, and even after the greatest attack on American soil since Pearl Harbor, all we were asked to do by our President was to go out and shop.

That is why what we have lost in these last eight years cannot be measured by lost wages or bigger trade deficits alone. What has also been lost is the idea that in this American story, each of us has a role to play. Each of us has a responsibility to work hard and look after ourselves and our families, and each of us has a responsibility to our fellow citizens. That's what's been lost these last eight years – our sense of common purpose; of higher purpose. And that's what we need to restore right now.

Yes, government must lead the way on energy independence, but each of us must do our part to make our homes and our businesses more efficient. Yes, we must provide more ladders to success for young men who fall into lives of crime and despair. But all of us must do our part as parents to turn off the television and read to our children and take responsibility for providing the love and guidance they need. Yes, we can argue and debate our positions passionately, but at this defining moment, all of us must summon the strength and grace to bridge our differences and unite in common effort – black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American; Democrat and Republican, young and old, rich and poor, gay and straight, disabled or not.

In this election, we cannot afford the same political games and tactics that are being used to pit us against one another and make us afraid of one another. The stakes are too high to divide us by class and region and background; by who we are or what we believe.

Because despite what our opponents may claim, there are no real or fake parts of this country. There is no city or town that is more pro-America than anywhere else – we are one nation, all of us proud, all of us patriots. There are patriots who supported this war in Iraq and patriots who opposed it; patriots who believe in Democratic policies and those who believe in Republican policies. The men and women who serve in our battlefields may be Democrats and Republicans and Independents, but they have fought together and bled together and some died together under the same proud flag. They have not served a Red America or a Blue America – they have served the United States of America.

It won't be easy, Ohio. It won't be quick. But you and I know that it is time to come together and change this country. Some of you may be cynical and fed up with politics. A lot of you may be disappointed and even angry with your leaders. You have every right to be. But despite all of this, I ask of you what has been asked of Americans throughout our history.

I ask you to believe – not just in my ability to bring about change, but in yours.

I know this change is possible. Because I have seen it over the last twenty-one months. Because in this campaign, I have had the privilege to witness what is best in America.

I've seen it in lines of voters that stretched around schools and churches; in the young people who cast their ballot for the first time, and those not so young folks who got involved again after a very long time. I've seen it in the workers who would rather cut back their hours than see their friends lose their jobs; in the neighbors who take a stranger in when the floodwaters rise; in the soldiers who re-enlist after losing a limb. I've seen it in the faces of the men and women I've met at countless rallies and town halls across the country, men and women who speak of their struggles but also of their hopes and dreams.

I still remember the email that a woman named Robyn sent me after I met her in Ft. Lauderdale. Sometime after our event, her son nearly went into cardiac arrest, and was diagnosed with a heart condition that could only be treated with a procedure that cost tens of thousands of dollars. Her insurance company refused to pay, and their family just didn't have that kind of money.

In her email, Robyn wrote, "I ask only this of you – on the days where you feel so tired you can't think of uttering another word to the people, think of us. When those who oppose you have you down, reach deep and fight back harder."

Ohio, that's what hope is – that thing inside us that insists, despite all evidence to the contrary, that something better is waiting around the bend; that insists there are better days ahead. If we're willing to work for it. If we're willing to shed our fears and our doubts. If we're willing to reach deep down inside ourselves when we're tired and come back fighting harder.

Hope! That's what kept some of our parents and grandparents going when times were tough. What led them to say, "Maybe I can't go to college, but if I save a little bit each week my child can; maybe I can't have my own business but if I work really hard my child can open one of her own." It's what led immigrants from distant lands to come to these shores against great odds and carve a new life for their families in America; what led those who couldn't vote to march and organize and stand for freedom; that led them to cry out, "It may look dark tonight, but if I hold on to hope, tomorrow will be brighter."

That's what this election is about. That is the choice we face right now.

Don't believe for a second this election is over. Don't think for a minute that power concedes. We have to work like our future depends on it in this last week, because it does.

In one week, we can choose an economy that rewards work and creates new jobs and fuels prosperity from the bottom-up.

In one week, we can choose to invest in health care for our families, and education for our kids, and renewable energy for our future.

In one week, we can choose hope over fear, unity over division, the promise of change over the power of the status quo.

In one week, we can come together as one nation, and one people, and once more choose our better history.

That's what's at stake. That's what we're fighting for. And if in this last week, you will knock on some doors for me, and make some calls for me, and talk to your neighbors, and convince your friends; if you will stand with me, and fight with me, and give me your vote, then I promise you this – we will not just win Ohio, we will not just win this election, but together, we will change this country and we will change the world.

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless America.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 15.**

#### **Barack's Obama's pre-election speech "A More Perfect Union" delivered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

"We the people, in order to form a more perfect union."

Two hundred and twenty one years ago, in a hall that still stands across the street, a group of men gathered and, with these simple words, launched America's improbable experiment in democracy. Farmers and scholars; statesmen and patriots who had traveled across an ocean to escape tyranny and persecution finally made real their declaration of independence at a Philadelphia convention that lasted through the spring of 1787.

The document they produced was eventually signed but ultimately unfinished. It was stained by this nation's original sin of slavery, a question that divided the colonies and brought the convention to a stalemate until the founders chose to allow the slave trade to continue for at least twenty more years, and to leave any final resolution to future generations.

Of course, the answer to the slavery question was already embedded within our Constitution - a Constitution that had at its very core the ideal of equal citizenship under the law; a Constitution that promised its people liberty, and justice, and a union that could be and should be perfected over time.

And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide men and women of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States. What would be needed were Americans in successive generations who were willing to do their part - through protests and struggle, on the streets and in the courts, through a civil war and civil disobedience and always at great risk - to narrow that gap between the promise of our ideals and the reality of their time.

This was one of the tasks we set forth at the beginning of this campaign - to continue the long march of those who came before us, a march for a more just, more equal, more free, more caring and more prosperous America. I chose to run for the presidency at this moment in history because I believe deeply that we cannot solve the challenges of our time unless we solve them together - unless we perfect our union by understanding that we may have different stories, but we hold common hopes; that we may not look the same and we may not have come from the same place, but we all want to move in the same direction - towards a better future for our children and our grandchildren.

This belief comes from my unyielding faith in the decency and generosity of the American people. But it also comes from my own American story.

I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slaveowners - an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins, of every race

and every hue, scattered across three continents, and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.

It's a story that hasn't made me the most conventional candidate. But it is a story that has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts - that out of many, we are truly one.

Throughout the first year of this campaign, against all predictions to the contrary, we saw how hungry the American people were for this message of unity. Despite the temptation to view my candidacy through a purely racial lens, we won commanding victories in states with some of the whitest populations in the country. In South Carolina, where the Confederate Flag still flies, we built a powerful coalition of African Americans and white Americans.

This is not to say that race has not been an issue in the campaign. At various stages in the campaign, some commentators have deemed me either "too black" or "not black enough." We saw racial tensions bubble to the surface during the week before the South Carolina primary. The press has scoured every exit poll for the latest evidence of racial polarization, not just in terms of white and black, but black and brown as well.

And yet, it has only been in the last couple of weeks that the discussion of race in this campaign has taken a particularly divisive turn.

On one end of the spectrum, we've heard the implication that my candidacy is somehow an exercise in affirmative action; that it's based solely on the desire of wide-eyed liberals to purchase racial reconciliation on the cheap. On the other end, we've heard my former pastor, Reverend Jeremiah Wright, use incendiary language to express views that have the potential not only to widen the racial divide, but views that denigrate both the greatness and the goodness of our nation; that rightly offend white and black alike.

I have already condemned, in unequivocal terms, the statements of Reverend Wright that have caused such controversy. For some, nagging questions remain. Did I know him to be an occasionally fierce critic of American domestic and foreign policy? Of course. Did I ever hear him make remarks that could be considered controversial while I sat in church? Yes. Did I strongly disagree with many of his political views? Absolutely - just as I'm sure many of you have heard remarks from your pastors, priests, or rabbis with which you strongly disagreed.

But the remarks that have caused this recent firestorm weren't simply controversial. They weren't simply a religious leader's effort to speak out against perceived injustice. Instead, they expressed a profoundly distorted view of this country - a view that sees white racism as endemic, and that elevates what is wrong with America above all that we know is right with America; a view that sees the conflicts in the Middle East as rooted primarily in the actions of stalwart allies like Israel, instead of emanating from the perverse and hateful ideologies of radical Islam.

As such, Reverend Wright's comments were not only wrong but divisive, divisive at a time when we need unity; racially charged at a time when we need to come together to solve a set of monumental problems - two wars, a terrorist threat, a falling economy, a chronic health care crisis and potentially devastating climate change; problems that are neither black or white or Latino or Asian, but rather problems that confront us all.

Given my background, my politics, and my professed values and ideals, there will no doubt be those for whom my statements of condemnation are not enough. Why associate myself

with Reverend Wright in the first place, they may ask? Why not join another church? And I confess that if all that I knew of Reverend Wright were the snippets of those sermons that have run in an endless loop on the television and You Tube, or if Trinity United Church of Christ conformed to the caricatures being peddled by some commentators, there is no doubt that I would react in much the same way

But the truth is, that isn't all that I know of the man. The man I met more than twenty years ago is a man who helped introduce me to my Christian faith, a man who spoke to me about our obligations to love one another; to care for the sick and lift up the poor. He is a man who served his country as a U.S. Marine; who has studied and lectured at some of the finest universities and seminaries in the country, and who for over thirty years led a church that serves the community by doing God's work here on Earth - by housing the homeless, ministering to the needy, providing day care services and scholarships and prison ministries, and reaching out to those suffering from HIV/AIDS.

In my first book, *Dreams From My Father*, I described the experience of my first service at Trinity:

"People began to shout, to rise from their seats and clap and cry out, a forceful wind carrying the reverend's voice up into the rafters....And in that single note - hope! - I heard something else; at the foot of that cross, inside the thousands of churches across the city, I imagined the stories of ordinary black people merging with the stories of David and Goliath, Moses and Pharaoh, the Christians in the lion's den, Ezekiel's field of dry bones. Those stories - of survival, and freedom, and hope - became our story, my story; the blood that had spilled was our blood, the tears our tears; until this black church, on this bright day, seemed once more a vessel carrying the story of a people into future generations and into a larger world. Our trials and triumphs became at once unique and universal, black and more than black; in chronicling our journey, the stories and songs gave us a means to reclaim memories that we didn't need to feel shame about...memories that all people might study and cherish - and with which we could start to rebuild."

That has been my experience at Trinity. Like other predominantly black churches across the country, Trinity embodies the black community in its entirety - the doctor and the welfare mom, the model student and the former gang-banger. Like other black churches, Trinity's services are full of raucous laughter and sometimes bawdy humor. They are full of dancing, clapping, screaming and shouting that may seem jarring to the untrained ear. The church contains in full the kindness and cruelty, the fierce intelligence and the shocking ignorance, the struggles and successes, the love and yes, the bitterness and bias that make up the black experience in America.

And this helps explain, perhaps, my relationship with Reverend Wright. As imperfect as he may be, he has been like family to me. He strengthened my faith, officiated my wedding, and baptized my children. Not once in my conversations with him have I heard him talk about any ethnic group in derogatory terms, or treat whites with whom he interacted with anything but courtesy and respect. He contains within him the contradictions - the good and the bad - of the community that he has served diligently for so many years.

I can no more disown him than I can disown the black community. I can no more disown him than I can my white grandmother - a woman who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me, a woman who loves me as much as she loves anything in this world, but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe.

These people are a part of me. And they are a part of America, this country that I love.

Some will see this as an attempt to justify or excuse comments that are simply inexcusable. I can assure you it is not. I suppose the politically safe thing would be to move on from this episode and just hope that it fades into the woodwork. We can dismiss Reverend Wright as a crank or a demagogue, just as some have dismissed Geraldine Ferraro, in the aftermath of her recent statements, as harboring some deep-seated racial bias.

But race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now. We would be making the same mistake that Reverend Wright made in his offending sermons about America - to simplify and stereotype and amplify the negative to the point that it distorts reality.

The fact is that the comments that have been made and the issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through - a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American.

Understanding this reality requires a reminder of how we arrived at this point. As William Faulkner once wrote, "The past isn't dead and buried. In fact, it isn't even past." We do not need to recite here the history of racial injustice in this country. But we do need to remind ourselves that so many of the disparities that exist in the African-American community today can be directly traced to inequalities passed on from an earlier generation that suffered under the brutal legacy of slavery and Jim Crow.

Segregated schools were, and are, inferior schools; we still haven't fixed them, fifty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the inferior education they provided, then and now, helps explain the pervasive achievement gap between today's black and white students.

Legalized discrimination - where blacks were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, or loans were not granted to African-American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments - meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities.

A lack of economic opportunity among black men, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families - a problem that welfare policies for many years may have worsened. And the lack of basic services in so many urban black neighborhoods - parks for kids to play in, police walking the beat, regular garbage pick-up and building code enforcement - all helped create a cycle of violence, blight and neglect that continue to haunt us.

This is the reality in which Reverend Wright and other African-Americans of his generation grew up. They came of age in the late fifties and early sixties, a time when segregation was still the law of the land and opportunity was systematically constricted. What's remarkable is not how many failed in the face of discrimination, but rather how many men and women overcame the odds; how many were able to make a way out of no way for those like me who would come after them.

But for all those who scratched and clawed their way to get a piece of the American Dream, there were many who didn't make it - those who were ultimately defeated, in one way or another, by discrimination. That legacy of defeat was passed on to future generations - those young men and increasingly young women who we see standing on street corners or languishing in our prisons, without hope or prospects for the future. Even for those blacks who did make it, questions of race, and racism, continue to define their worldview in fundamental ways. For the men and women of Reverend Wright's generation, the memories of humiliation and doubt and fear have not gone away; nor has the anger and the bitterness of those years. That anger may not get expressed in public, in front of white co-workers or white friends. But it does find voice in the barbershop or around the kitchen table. At times, that anger is exploited by politicians, to gin up votes along racial lines, or to make up for a politician's own failings.

And occasionally it finds voice in the church on Sunday morning, in the pulpit and in the pews. The fact that so many people are surprised to hear that anger in some of Reverend Wright's sermons simply reminds us of the old truism that the most segregated hour in American life occurs on Sunday morning. That anger is not always productive; indeed, all too often it distracts attention from solving real problems; it keeps us from squarely facing our own complicity in our condition, and prevents the African-American community from forging the alliances it needs to bring about real change. But the anger is real; it is powerful; and to simply wish it away, to condemn it without understanding its roots, only serves to widen the chasm of misunderstanding that exists between the races.

In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community. Most working- and middle-class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. Their experience is the immigrant experience - as far as they're concerned, no one's handed them anything, they've built it from scratch. They've worked hard all their lives, many times only to see their jobs shipped overseas or their pension dumped after a lifetime of labor. They are anxious about their futures, and feel their dreams slipping away; in an era of stagnant wages and global competition, opportunity comes to be seen as a zero sum game, in which your dreams come at my expense. So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time.

Like the anger within the black community, these resentments aren't always expressed in polite company. But they have helped shape the political landscape for at least a generation. Anger over welfare and affirmative action helped forge the Reagan Coalition. Politicians routinely exploited fears of crime for their own electoral ends. Talk show hosts and conservative commentators built entire careers unmasking bogus claims of racism while dismissing legitimate discussions of racial injustice and inequality as mere political correctness or reverse racism.

Just as black anger often proved counterproductive, so have these white resentments distracted attention from the real culprits of the middle class squeeze - a corporate culture rife with inside dealing, questionable accounting practices, and short-term greed; a Washington dominated by lobbyists and special interests; economic policies that favor the few over the many. And yet, to wish away the resentments of white Americans, to label them as misguided or even racist, without recognizing they are grounded in legitimate concerns - this too widens the racial divide, and blocks the path to understanding.

This is where we are right now. It's a racial stalemate we've been stuck in for years. Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that we can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy - particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own.

But I have asserted a firm conviction - a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people - that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds, and that in fact we have no choice is we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.

For the African-American community, that path means embracing the burdens of our past without becoming victims of our past. It means continuing to insist on a full measure of justice in every aspect of American life. But it also means binding our particular grievances - for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs - to the larger aspirations of all Americans -- the white woman struggling to break the glass ceiling, the white man whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family. And it means taking full responsibility for own lives - by demanding more from our fathers, and spending more time with our children, and reading to them, and teaching them that while they may face challenges and discrimination in their own lives, they must never succumb to despair or cynicism; they must always believe that they can write their own destiny.

Ironically, this quintessentially American - and yes, conservative - notion of self-help found frequent expression in Reverend Wright's sermons. But what my former pastor too often failed to understand is that embarking on a program of self-help also requires a belief that society can change.

The profound mistake of Reverend Wright's sermons is not that he spoke about racism in our society. It's that he spoke as if our society was static; as if no progress has been made; as if this country - a country that has made it possible for one of his own members to run for the highest office in the land and build a coalition of white and black; Latino and Asian, rich and poor, young and old -- is still irrevocably bound to a tragic past. But what we know -- what we have seen - is that America can change. That is true genius of this nation. What we have already achieved gives us hope - the audacity to hope - for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.

In the white community, the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African-American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination - and current incidents of discrimination, while less overt than in the past - are real and must be addressed. Not just with words, but with deeds - by investing in our schools and our communities; by enforcing our civil rights laws and ensuring fairness in our criminal justice system; by providing this generation with ladders of opportunity that were unavailable for previous generations. It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of black and brown and white children will ultimately help all of America prosper.

In the end, then, what is called for is nothing more, and nothing less, than what all the world's great religions demand - that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Let us be our brother's keeper, Scripture tells us. Let us be our sister's keeper. Let us find that common stake we all have in one another, and let our politics reflect that spirit as well.

For we have a choice in this country. We can accept a politics that breeds division, and conflict, and cynicism. We can tackle race only as spectacle - as we did in the OJ trial - or in

the wake of tragedy, as we did in the aftermath of Katrina - or as fodder for the nightly news. We can play Reverend Wright's sermons on every channel, every day and talk about them from now until the election, and make the only question in this campaign whether or not the American people think that I somehow believe or sympathize with his most offensive words. We can pounce on some gaffe by a Hillary supporter as evidence that she's playing the race card, or we can speculate on whether white men will all flock to John McCain in the general election regardless of his policies.

We can do that.

But if we do, I can tell you that in the next election, we'll be talking about some other distraction. And then another one. And then another one. And nothing will change.

That is one option. Or, at this moment, in this election, we can come together and say, "Not this time." This time we want to talk about the crumbling schools that are stealing the future of black children and white children and Asian children and Hispanic children and Native American children. This time we want to reject the cynicism that tells us that these kids can't learn; that those kids who don't look like us are somebody else's problem. The children of America are not those kids, they are our kids, and we will not let them fall behind in a 21st century economy. Not this time.

This time we want to talk about how the lines in the Emergency Room are filled with whites and blacks and Hispanics who do not have health care; who don't have the power on their own to overcome the special interests in Washington, but who can take them on if we do it together.

This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life. This time we want to talk about the fact that the real problem is not that someone who doesn't look like you might take your job; it's that the corporation you work for will ship it overseas for nothing more than a profit.

This time we want to talk about the men and women of every color and creed who serve together, and fight together, and bleed together under the same proud flag. We want to talk about how to bring them home from a war that never should've been authorized and never should've been waged, and we want to talk about how we'll show our patriotism by caring for them, and their families, and giving them the benefits they have earned.

I would not be running for President if I didn't believe with all my heart that this is what the vast majority of Americans want for this country. This union may never be perfect, but generation after generation has shown that it can always be perfected. And today, whenever I find myself feeling doubtful or cynical about this possibility, what gives me the most hope is the next generation - the young people whose attitudes and beliefs and openness to change have already made history in this election.

There is one story in particular that I'd like to leave you with today - a story I told when I had the great honor of speaking on Dr. King's birthday at his home church, Ebenezer Baptist, in Atlanta.

There is a young, twenty-three year old white woman named Ashley Baia who organized for our campaign in Florence, South Carolina. She had been working to organize a mostly African-American community since the beginning of this campaign, and one day she was at a

roundtable discussion where everyone went around telling their story and why they were there.

And Ashley said that when she was nine years old, her mother got cancer. And because she had to miss days of work, she was let go and lost her health care. They had to file for bankruptcy, and that's when Ashley decided that she had to do something to help her mom.

She knew that food was one of their most expensive costs, and so Ashley convinced her mother that what she really liked and really wanted to eat more than anything else was mustard and relish sandwiches. Because that was the cheapest way to eat.

She did this for a year until her mom got better, and she told everyone at the roundtable that the reason she joined our campaign was so that she could help the millions of other children in the country who want and need to help their parents too.

Now Ashley might have made a different choice. Perhaps somebody told her along the way that the source of her mother's problems were blacks who were on welfare and too lazy to work, or Hispanics who were coming into the country illegally. But she didn't. She sought out allies in her fight against injustice.

Anyway, Ashley finishes her story and then goes around the room and asks everyone else why they're supporting the campaign. They all have different stories and reasons. Many bring up a specific issue. And finally they come to this elderly black man who's been sitting there quietly the entire time. And Ashley asks him why he's there. And he does not bring up a specific issue. He does not say health care or the economy. He does not say education or the war. He does not say that he was there because of Barack Obama. He simply says to everyone in the room, "I am here because of Ashley."

"I'm here because of Ashley." By itself, that single moment of recognition between that young white girl and that old black man is not enough. It is not enough to give health care to the sick, or jobs to the jobless, or education to our children.

But it is where we start. It is where our union grows stronger. And as so many generations have come to realize over the course of the two-hundred and twenty one years since a band of patriots signed that document in Philadelphia, that is where the perfection begins.

## *Appendices*

### **Appendix 16.**

#### **Barack's Obama's pre-election speech from presidential campaign held in Richmond, Virginia, on October 22, 2008**

Hello, Richmond! It's great to be back in Virginia. And in just 13 days, we can finally bring the change we need to Washington. That's the good news. But we're going to have to work, and struggle, and fight for every single one of those 13 days to move our country in a new direction.

I am hopeful about the outcome. We were thrilled this weekend when a great American statesman, General Colin Powell, joined our cause. But we cannot let up. And we won't.

Because one thing we know is that change never comes without a fight. In the final days of campaigns, the say-anything, do-anything politics too often takes over. We've seen it before. And we're seeing it again today. The ugly phone calls. The misleading mail and TV ads. The careless, outrageous comments. All aimed at keeping us from working together, all aimed at stopping change.

Well, what we need now is not misleading charges and divisive attacks. What we need is honest leadership and real change, and that's why I'm running for President of the United States.

Now, more than ever, this campaign has to be about the problems facing the American people - because this is a moment of great uncertainty for America. The economic crisis we face is the worst since the Great Depression. Businesses large and small are finding it impossible to get loans, which means they can't buy new equipment, or hire new workers, or even make payroll for the workers they have.

We've lost more than 750,000 jobs this year. Wages are lower than they've been in a decade, at a time when the cost of health care and college have never been higher. It's getting harder and harder to make the mortgage, or fill up your gas tank, or even keep the electricity on at the end of the month. At this rate, the question isn't just "are you better off than you were four years ago?", it's "are you better off than you were four weeks ago?"

So I know these are difficult times. I know folks are worried. But I believe that we can steer ourselves out of this crisis because I believe in this country. Because I believe in you. I believe in the American people.

We are the United States of America. We are a nation that's faced down war and depression; great challenges and great threats. And at each and every moment, we have risen to meet these challenges - not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as Americans. With resolve. With confidence. With that fundamental belief that here in America, our destiny is not written for us, but by us. That's who we are, and that's the country we need to be right now.

But Virginia, I know this. It will take a new direction. It will take new leadership in Washington. It will take a real change in the policies and politics of the last eight years. And that's what this election is all about.

Now my opponent is doing his best to change the subject and try to distract attention from the economy. Senator McCain's campaign actually said a couple of weeks ago that they were going to launch a series of attacks on my character because, they said, "if we keep talking about the economy, we're going to lose." And that's a promise my opponent has kept. He's been on the attack. That's what you do when you are out of ideas, out of touch, and running out of time.

Well, Virginia, here's what my opponent doesn't seem to understand. With the economy in turmoil and the American Dream at risk, the American people don't want to hear politicians attack each other - you want to hear about how we're going to attack the challenges facing middle class families each and every day. That's what I'm talking about in this campaign. That's what I'll do as President. Because I can take two more weeks of John McCain's attacks, but the American people can't take four more years of the same failed policies and the same failed politics.

It's time to turn the page on eight years of economic policies that put Wall Street before Main Street but ended up hurting both. We need policies that grow our economy from the bottom-up, so that every American, everywhere, has the chance to get ahead. Not just the person who owns the factory, but the men and women who work on its floor. Because if we've learned anything from this economic crisis, it's that we're all connected; we're all in this together; and we will rise or fall as one nation - as one people.

The rescue plan that passed the Congress was a necessary first step to easing this credit crisis, but if we're going to rebuild this economy from the bottom up, we need an immediate rescue plan for the middle-class - and that's what I will do as President of the United States.

Nine months ago, I called for a stimulus plan to provide immediate relief for states, along with tax rebates to get money directly to middle class families and a foreclosure prevention fund to help people keep their homes. Senator McCain's advisors openly mocked the stimulus plan before Congress - one referred to it, and I quote, as "borrowing money from the Chinese and dropping it from helicopters." Another dismissed it as "junk."

Yesterday, after nine straight months of job losses, with our Federal Reserve Chairman supporting another stimulus to get our economy moving, Senator McCain failed to get behind a bipartisan plan for a stimulus. Well, the hard working families who've been hard hit by this economic crisis - folks who can't pay their mortgages or their medical bills or send their kids to college - they can't afford to go to the back of the line behind CEOs and Wall Street banks. They need help right here, right now - and that's why I'm running for President of the United States.

I've proposed a new American jobs tax credit for each new employee that companies hire here in the United States over the next two years. And I'll stop giving tax breaks to companies that ship jobs overseas and invest in companies that create good jobs right here in Virginia

These are the steps that we must take - right now - to start getting our economy back on track. But we also need a new set of priorities to grow our economy and create jobs over the long-term.

It starts with tax relief. There's been a lot of talk about taxes in this campaign. And the truth is, my opponent and I are both proposing tax cuts. The difference is, he wants to give a \$700,000 tax cut to the average Fortune 500 CEO. I want to put a middle class tax cut in the

pockets of 95% of workers and their families. My opponent doesn't want you to know this, but under my plan, tax rates will actually be less than they were under Ronald Reagan.

It's true that I want to roll back the Bush tax cuts on the wealthiest Americans and go back to the rate they paid under Bill Clinton. John McCain calls that socialism. What he forgets is that just a few years ago, he himself said those Bush tax cuts were irresponsible. He said he couldn't "in good conscience" support a tax cut where the benefits went to the wealthy at the expense of "middle class Americans who most need tax relief." Well, he was right then, and I am right now.

And let me be crystal clear: If you make less than a quarter of a million dollars a year - which includes 98% of small business owners - you won't see your taxes increase one single dime. Not your payroll taxes, not your income taxes, not your capital gains taxes - nothing. That is my commitment to you.

For the last eight years, we have tried it John McCain's way. We have tried it George Bush's way. We've given more and more to those with the most and hoped that prosperity would trickle down to everyone else. And guess what? It didn't. So it's time try something new. It's time to grow this economy from the bottom-up. It's time to invest in the middle-class again.

If I am President, I will invest \$15 billion a year in renewable sources of energy to create five million new, green jobs over the next decade - jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced; jobs building solar panels and wind turbines and fuel-efficient cars; jobs that will help us end our dependence on oil from Middle East dictators.

I'll also put two million more Americans to work rebuilding our crumbling roads, schools, and bridges - because it is time to build an American infrastructure for the 21st century. And if people ask how we're going to pay for this, you tell them that if we can spend \$10 billion a month in Iraq, we can spend some money to rebuild America.

If I am President, I will finally fix the problems in our health care system that we've been talking about for too long. This issue is personal for me. My mother died of ovarian cancer at the age of 53, and I'll never forget how she spent the final months of her life lying in a hospital bed, fighting with her insurance company because they claimed that her cancer was a pre-existing condition and didn't want to pay for treatment. If I am President, I will make sure those insurance companies can never do that again.

My health care plan will make sure insurance companies can't discriminate against those who are sick and need care most. If you have health insurance, the only thing that will change under my plan is that we will lower premiums. If you don't have health insurance, you'll be able to get the same kind of health insurance that Members of Congress get for themselves. And we'll invest in preventative care and new technology to finally lower the cost of health care for families, businesses, and the entire economy. That's the change we need.

And if I'm President, we'll give every child, everywhere the skills and the knowledge they need to compete with any worker, anywhere in the world. I will not allow countries to out-teach us today so they can out-compete us tomorrow. It is time to provide every American with a world-class education. That means investing in early childhood education. That means recruiting an army of new teachers, and paying them better, and giving them more support in exchange for higher standards and more accountability.

And it means making a deal with every American who has the drive and the will but not the money to go to college. My opponent's top economic advisor actually said that they have no plan to invest in college affordability because we can't have a giveaway to every special interest. Well I don't think the young people of America are a special interest - they are the future of this country. That's why I'll make this deal with you: if you commit to serving your community or your country, we will make sure you can afford your tuition. No ifs, ands or buts. You invest in America, America will invest in you, and together, we will move this country forward.

Now, make no mistake: the change we need won't come easy or without cost. We will all need to tighten our belts, we will all need to sacrifice and we will all need to pull our weight because now more than ever, we are all in this together.

At a defining moment like this, we don't have the luxury of relying on the same political games and the same political tactics that are used every election to divide us from one another and make us afraid of one another. With the challenges and crises we face right now, we cannot afford to divide this country by class or region; by who we are or what policies we support.

There are no real or fake parts of this country. We are not separated by the pro-America and anti-America parts of this nation - we all love this country, no matter where we live or where we come from. There are patriots who supported this war in Iraq and patriots who opposed it; patriots who believe in Democratic policies and those who believe in Republican policies. The men and women from Virginia and all across America who serve on our battlefields may be Democrats and Republicans and Independents, but they have fought together and bled together and some died together under the same proud flag. They have not served a Red America or a Blue America - they have served the United States of America.

We have always been at our best when we've had leadership that called us to look past our differences and come together as one nation, as one people; leadership that rallied this entire country to a common purpose - to a higher purpose. And I am running for President of the United States of America because that is the country we need to be right now.

This country and the dream it represents are being tested in a way that we haven't seen in nearly a century. And future generations will judge ours by how we respond to this test. Will they say that this was a time when America lost its way and its purpose? When we allowed the same divisions and fear tactics and our own petty differences to plunge this country into a dark and painful recession?

Or will they say that this was another one of those moments when America overcame? When we battled back from adversity by recognizing that common stake that we have in each other's success?

This is one of those moments. I realize you're cynical and fed up with politics. I understand that you're disappointed and even angry with your leaders. You have every right to be. But despite all of this, I ask of you what's been asked of the American people in times of trial and turmoil throughout our history. I ask you to believe - to believe in yourselves, in each other, and in the future we can build together.

Together, we cannot fail. Not now. Not when we have a crisis to solve and an economy to save. Not when there are so many Americans without jobs and without homes. Not when there are families who can't afford to see a doctor, or send their child to college, or pay their

bills at the end of the month. Not when there is a generation that is counting on us to give them the same opportunities and the same chances that we had for ourselves.

We can do this. Americans have done this before. Some of us had grandparents or parents who said maybe I can't go to college but my child can; maybe I can't have my own business but my child can. I may have to rent, but maybe my children will have a home they can call their own. I may not have a lot of money but maybe my child will run for Senate. I might live in a small village but maybe someday my son can be president of the United States of America.

Now it falls to us. Together, we cannot fail. And I need you to make it happen. If you want the next four years looking like the last eight, then I am not your candidate. But if you want real change - if you want an economy that rewards work, and that works for Main Street and Wall Street; if you want tax relief for the middle class and millions of new jobs; if you want health care you can afford and education that helps your kids compete; then I ask you to knock on some doors, make some calls, talk to your neighbors, and give me your vote. And if you stand with me in thirteen days, I promise you - we will win Virginia, we will win this election, and then you and I - together - will change this country and change this world. Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless America.

*Appendices*

**Appendix 17.**

**Sample output of data computer-processing with FREQUENCY**

Input file was: C:\Documents and Settings\Tatjana\My Documents\Studies\Studies2\MA  
Paper\Speeches\All speeches corpus\corpora of all speeches in one file\corpora of all speeches  
in 1 file.txt

Outfile file was: C:\Documents and Settings\Tatjana\My Documents\Studies\Studies2\MA  
Paper\Speeches\All speeches corpus\corpora of all speeches in one file\frequency.txt

Total tokens: 61544

Total types: 4956

... in frequency order ...

Word Type	Rank	Frequency	Cumulative Percent
THE	1	2947	4.79
AND	2	2242	8.43
TO	3	2017	11.71
OF	4	1536	14.20
WE	5	1297	16.31
A	6	1243	18.33
IN	7	1209	20.30
I	8	1119	22.11
THAT	9	1116	23.93
FOR	10	822	25.26
OUR	11	701	26.40
S	12	631	27.43
IS	13	563	28.34
YOU	14	547	29.23
IT	15	544	30.12
THIS	16	505	30.94
WILL	17	504	31.75
HAVE	18	394	32.39
ON	19	346	32.96
NOT	20	345	33.52
ARE	21	330	34.05
T	22	328	34.59
AMERICA	23	322	35.11
CAN	24	306	35.61
MY	25	303	36.10
WITH	26	301	36.59
AS	27	288	37.06
HE	28	287	37.52
WHO	29	285	37.99
BUT	30	274	38.43
BE	31	273	38.87
THEY	32	271	39.31
ALL	33	263	39.74
THEIR	34	263	40.17

PEOPLE	35	257	40.59
MORE	36	256	41.00
WHEN	37	249	41.41
WHAT	38	219	41.76
WAS	39	218	42.12
FROM	40	216	42.47
YOUR	41	213	42.81
DO	42	203	43.14
AT	43	199	43.47
RE	44	198	43.79
COUNTRY	45	195	44.11
US	46	190	44.42
SO	47	186	44.72
OR	48	183	45.01
BY	49	178	45.30
WORLD	50	178	45.59
ABOUT	51	176	45.88
AMERICAN	52	175	46.16
ONE	53	170	46.44
HAS	54	168	46.71
MAKE	55	168	46.99
ME	56	168	47.26
VE	57	167	47.53
PRESIDENT	58	166	47.80
NEW	59	164	48.07
IF	60	158	48.32
YEARS	61	155	48.58
HEALTH	62	147	48.81
WANT	63	147	49.05
AN	64	143	49.29
BECAUSE	65	142	49.52
EVERY	66	142	49.75
HIS	67	142	49.98
NEED	68	142	50.21
HERE	69	141	50.44
UP	70	141	50.67
CARE	71	139	50.89
TIME	72	135	51.11
JOBS	73	132	51.33
THEM	74	132	51.54
THERE	75	128	51.75
GET	76	126	51.95
THOSE	77	124	52.15
KNOW	78	123	52.35
WORK	79	116	52.54
THAN	80	113	52.73
GOING	81	112	52.91
BELIEVE	82	109	53.09
AMERICANS	83	108	53.26
CHANGE	84	107	53.43
NOW	85	107	53.61
M	86	105	53.78

BEEN	87	104	53.95
HELP	88	102	54.11
THANK	89	102	54.28
GOVERNMENT	90	100	54.44
ECONOMY	91	99	54.60
OUT	92	99	54.76
SECURITY	93	99	54.92
TOGETHER	94	98	55.08
WERE	95	97	55.24
NO	96	95	55.40
HAD	97	94	55.55
BETTER	98	92	55.70
LL	99	91	55.85
SENATOR	100	90	55.99
WAR	101	90	56.14
FAMILIES	102	89	56.28