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ANÁLISIS COMPARATIVO DE LAS RETÓRICAS PRESIDENCIALES EN LOS DISCURSOS INAUGURALES EN ESTADOS UNIDOS DESDE 1988

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1. Introducción

La retórica política está presente en nuestras vidas, aunque no lo pretendamos. Cada día, periódicos y cadenas de televisión se hacen eco de las últimas declaraciones de los políticos. Las palabras de los mandatarios pueden tanto llevarles a lo más alto como destruir su carrera política de la noche al día. En política, la retórica desempeña un papel fundamental en todo el mundo, pero el presente estudio se centrará en la retórica de Estados Unidos.

Los presidentes estadounidenses son percibidos casi como actores de teatro y, en ocasiones, han estado relacionados con el mundo del espectáculo, como en el caso de Ronald Reagan. Sus discursos mueven masas y llegan a los corazones de la gente. En cuanto a sus acciones políticas, parecen verse eclipsadas en ocasiones por sus declaraciones y sus lemas presidenciales. Al pensar en Barack Obama, siempre nos vendrá a la mente su famoso *Yes we can*. En el caso de Trump, jamás conseguiremos olvidar el lema *Make America great again*. Los presidentes hacen historia con sus discursos, cada palabra que pronuncian es estudiada minuciosamente y sus declaraciones provocan multitud de repercusiones tanto directas como indirectas.

1.1 Motivaciones del trabajo.

Hoy en día, las palabras de Donald Trump no dejan a nadie indiferente. Muchos cuestionan las razones que permitieron a un candidato tan controvertido convertirse en presidente en las elecciones de noviembre de 2016. Resulta probable que la respuesta resida, en parte, en sus palabras.

Los discursos de la campaña electoral del actual presidente estadounidense llegaron a los corazones de sus votantes, garantizándole así la victoria. Cada semana desde su llegada al cargo, Trump revoluciona el mundo entero: solo le hace falta un *tweet* y un sujeto a quien ridiculizar. Kim Jong-Un, Obama, Meryl Streep... nadie se libra de sus polémicos juicios de valor. Su retórica resulta especialmente relevante en el ámbito de la política exterior. En un contexto de guerra comercial con China, conflictos nucleares con Corea del Norte y armas químicas en Siria, cualquier declaración desata una polémica y, en algunos casos, represalias por parte de los aludidos.

Este trabajo constituye una extensión de un trabajo anterior realizado para la asignatura de Interpretación II. Como apasionados de la comunicación oral y en especial

de Trump, decidimos el año pasado que realizaríamos un trabajo sobre la retórica del actual presidente estadounidense y la compararíamos con la de Obama.

Cuando nos vimos en la tesitura de elegir el tema para el Trabajo de Final de Grado, no pudimos evitar decantarnos por este tema otra vez, pero desde una perspectiva distinta. Nos pareció que comparar la retórica de Trump con varios de sus predecesores, y no solo con Obama, resultaría más útil para así investigar si el actual presidente estadounidense difiere de estos en su retórica presidencial tanto como se cree.

Tras comentarlo con nuestra directora del Trabajo de Fin de Grado, convinimos que un estudio de las retóricas presidenciales de los mandatarios estadounidenses desde 1988 (año después de la publicación de *The Rhetorical Presidency*, libro que sirve, en parte, como base del análisis del presente trabajo) constituiría una aportación más significativa al ámbito de la retórica presidencial, al intentar continuar, en parte, el análisis realizado por Jeffrey K. Tulis en el mencionado libro.

Por lo tanto, aunque en un primer momento nos planteamos realizar el estudio de la retórica de Trump de forma más aislada, concluimos que la comparación de distintas retóricas presidenciales podría alcanzar mayor magnitud al aportar una visión mucho más amplia en el ámbito de la retórica y así dar más cabida a futuras investigaciones.

2. Estado de la cuestión.

Antes de proceder con el análisis del presente trabajo, conviene realizar un breve recorrido por varias de las teorías más relevantes en relación con la retórica y el ámbito del análisis del discurso. En este caso, nos centraremos en cinco teorías: la presidencia retórica, las metáforas de Lakoff y Johnson, la retórica aristotélica, los *Critical Discourse Studies* y la teoría del cerebro triuno.

2.1 La teoría de la presidencia retórica de Jeffrey K. Tulis.

Desde las administraciones de Roosevelt y Wilson, la retórica se ha convertido en una herramienta esencial para los presidentes de Estados Unidos. Sin embargo, fue hace solo unos cuarenta años cuando surgió una de las teorías más extendidas sobre la retórica presidencial estadounidense que se conocería con el término «*rhetorical*

presidency». En 1981, James Ceaser, Glenn Thurow, Jeffrey Tulis y Joseph Bessette acuñaron dicho término en su artículo *The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency* (Stuckey, 2010) y luego Tulis (1987) enunciaría la teoría completa en una obra posterior.

Tulis estudió cómo la comunicación ha cambiado tanto la presidencia en sí como el sistema político. Sin embargo, el concepto «*rhetorical presidency*» no alude solo a la retórica presidencial. La traducción exacta sería «presidencia retórica», por lo que posee muchas más implicaciones. Por lo tanto, este término coloca a la retórica en el centro de la figura presidencial. La retórica es inherente a la figura presidencial. La presidencia retórica no consiste en una evolución de la institución, sino en una transformación profunda de la misma debido a varios factores, como la nueva doctrina del poder presidencial, los nuevos medios de comunicación y varios cambios en el sistema de selección del presidente.

Tulis comienza por analizar lo que denomina como *Old Way*: la retórica de los presidentes de Estados Unidos del siglo XIX. Para comprender esta corriente es preciso analizar los problemas y preocupaciones de los padres fundadores de Estados Unidos: la demagogia, la representación, la independencia del ejecutivo y la separación de poderes. La demagogia, combinada con la tiranía, se entendía como el vicio de la democracia (p. 28). La representación constituía un problema debido a la dificultad para distinguir una ley justa de una ley injusta. En cuanto a la independencia del ejecutivo, se creía esencial para combatir las desilusiones temporales de la opinión pública. Por último, la separación de poderes tal como la conocemos ahora era un requisito para el correcto funcionamiento del gobierno y para controlar el comportamiento de los políticos.

Theodore Roosevelt marcó la transición que Tulis denominaría como *Middle Way* (p. 95). Roosevelt abogó por la moderación: moderación en el uso de la retórica popular, propuestas moderadas de reforma. Roosevelt se posicionó como un refundador, comparándose con Washington y Lincoln. La demagogia también preocupó a Roosevelt. Durante la campaña presidencial de 1896, acusó a William Jennings Bryans de demagogia. No obstante, su discurso inaugural resultó alarmista y exagerado (p. 112). Para Roosevelt, los demagogos apelaban a las pasiones de la envidia o el miedo. No obstante, el mismo Roosevelt también defendió la importancia del discurso popular tanto para conseguir los objetivos del gobierno como para ejercer el liderazgo negativo. Por lo tanto, la lógica de Roosevelt justifica la demagogia a la vez que la condena.

El *New Way* abarca los presidentes del siglo XX. Woodrow Wilson se encargó de redefinir los principios fundamentales de los padres fundadores. La separación de poderes se encontraría ahora en el centro de la política de Estados Unidos, mientras que la representación también cobraría más importancia en el nuevo contexto político. En cuanto a la independencia del ejecutivo, Wilson opinaba que el presidente no recibía su autoridad de la Constitución, sino del pueblo (p. 128). Por último, la demagogia continuó siendo una preocupación para Wilson, que consideraba que el demagogo apelaba a las pasiones pasajeras del pueblo, mientras que el líder apelaba a un sentimiento verdadero y mayoritario. Nuevos cambios se introdujeron en dicha retórica: la política pública, tradicionalmente en formato escrito y expuesta ante el Congreso, ahora sería oral y presentada ante el público general.

2.2 Las metáforas de Lakoff y Johnson.

Otra teoría relevante en el ámbito del análisis discursivo consiste en el estudio de las metáforas. Sobre dicho tema, Lakoff y Johnson (1998) consideran que las metáforas no solo constituyen un aspecto formal del lenguaje, sino que permiten articular conceptos en base a otros conceptos. Para dichos autores, existen tres tipos distintos de estructuras conceptuales metafóricas: metáforas estructurales, metáforas de orientación y ontológicas.

En primer lugar, las metáforas estructurales definen una actividad a partir de otra. Como ejemplo destaca la metáfora UNA DISCUSIÓN ES UNA GUERRA. Muchas de las expresiones que utilizamos al hablar se refieren al concepto de la guerra. No existe una batalla física en el caso de una discusión, pero la estructura del discurso puede ser definida en términos bélicos: ataque, defensa, contraataque, etc. (p. 41). Es más, son numerosas las expresiones que se utilizan para referirse a la discusión en estos términos: atacar una posición, ganar terreno, estrategia, vencer... No obstante, muchas veces no se es consciente de este hecho.

La metáfora no solo pertenece al ámbito del lenguaje, sino que los procesos mentales del ser humano se articulan en torno a las metáforas de forma instintiva. De hecho, es esta conceptualización de la metáfora en la mente del ser humano es la que permite construir metáforas en el plano del lenguaje. Dentro de este tipo de metáforas estructurales encontramos otras como EL TIEMPO ES DINERO (p. 44). Nuestra cultura considera el tiempo como algo valioso. En Occidente, el salario del trabajo se

encuentra estrechamente ligado al tiempo que se trabaja. Asimismo, esta metáfora se aplica a otros ámbitos: los precios de los hoteles, las deudas, los presupuestos anuales, los intereses en los préstamos... todo gira en torno al tiempo. Entendemos el tiempo como un objeto que gastar, desperdiciar, invertir, ahorrar, etc. En ambos casos, tanto en la guerra como en el caso del tiempo, se define el objeto (el tiempo en el caso del dinero y la discusión en el de la guerra) a partir del otro concepto.

Por otro lado, encontramos las metáforas de orientación, que se caracterizan por organizar un sistema global de conceptos en relación con otro. El nombre de dichas metáforas se debe a que en su mayoría se relacionan con la orientación espacial. Como ejemplos podemos encontrar arriba-abajo, dentro-fuera, delante-detrás, etc. (p. 50). Dentro de estas metáforas podemos nombrar FELIZ ES ARRIBA. Por el contrario, infeliz estaría abajo. De esta forma, encontramos expresiones como «Hoy estoy alto de moral» o, por el contrario «Hoy estoy hundido». La orientación espacial en términos de arriba y abajo da juego para todo un abanico de metáforas distintas: SALUD Y VIDA SON ARRIBA, TENER CONTROL O FUERZA ES ARRIBA, LO BUENO ES ARRIBA, LA VIRTUD ES ARRIBA. De forma consiguiente, se pueden observar sus contrarios: ENFERMEDAD Y MUERTE ES ABAJO, ESTAR SUJETO A CONTROL ES ABAJO, LO MALO ES ABAJO, EL VICIO ES ABAJO.

Por último, Lakoff y Johnson distinguen una tercera categoría para las metáforas: las metáforas ontológicas, a las que también se puede aludir como metáforas de sustancia y entidad. De la misma forma en que las experiencias espaciales de los humanos dan lugar a las metáforas de orientación, las experiencias con objetos tangibles (en especial, nuestros propios cuerpos) tienen como fruto las metáforas ontológicas (pg. 64). Un ejemplo de este tipo de metáforas es la que alude a la subida de precio: LA INFLACIÓN ES UNA ENTIDAD. De esta manera, resulta posible referirse a la inflación, cuantificarla, y creer entenderla. Aunque la mayoría de estas metáforas no suelen ser reconocidas como tales, dichas metáforas nos permiten especificar distintos tipos de objetos. Un ejemplo de ello: LA MENTE ES UNA MÁQUINA. De esta forma, se concibe que la mente pueda funcionar o no, posee un mecanismo interno y un nivel de eficiencia variable.

2.3 La retórica de Aristóteles.

Desde la antigüedad, varios filósofos como Sócrates, Platón o Aristóteles y rétores como Cicerón o Quintiliano expresaron su interés por estudiar la lengua al servicio de la persuasión (Centro Virtual Cervantes, 2019). Cicerón dividió la retórica en cinco partes, también conocidas como los cánones de la retórica (Leith, 2015, p. 59). Dichos cánones llevan el nombre de invención, disposición, elocución, memoria y acción. En el presente trabajo, nos centraremos en el primer canon, estudiado por Aristóteles en una época anterior a Cicerón y que servirá de teoría alrededor de nuestro posterior análisis.

La invención hace alusión a descubrir los mejores medios de persuasión. El término latino *inventio* significa literalmente descubrir o encontrar, y en este contexto hace alusión a decidir qué se va a decir y de qué forma. Dentro de este primer canon, Aristóteles distingue entre tres enfoques persuasivos: ethos, logos y pathos.

El ethos guarda relación con cómo el orador se presenta a su audiencia. Asimismo, no constituye un ente aislado, sino que influye a su vez en el pathos y logos y condiciona su éxito. Kenneth Burke (1969, p. 55) destacó la importancia del decoro, es decir, cumplir las expectativas del público, para que el ethos tuviera éxito. Como ejemplo se puede observar a George W. Bush, que, a pesar de nacer en Connecticut en un entorno acomodado, cultivó su acento tejano para asegurarse de que sus votantes olvidaran su pasado de licenciado en Yale (Leith, 2015, p. 68) y así posicionarse más cerca de su audiencia.

Por otro lado, encontramos el logos, que aboga por que los argumentos propios suenen razonables a la vez que se intenta que los del contrario suenen a disparate (p. 74). Además, Aristóteles sostenía que los argumentos tenían más impacto en la audiencia cuando se conseguía que los oyentes pensaran que dichos argumentos se les habían ocurrido a ellos mismos. En palabras de Aristóteles (1990), «los oyentes se sienten muy gratificados consigo mismos por haberse dado cuenta de antemano».

Tras haber estudiado el ethos y el logos, resulta imprescindible explicar el pathos. El pathos consiste en generar emociones y sentimientos en el público (2015, p. 83). La demagogia citada por Tulis en el apartado 2.1 se encuentra relacionada con el pathos aristotélico debido a que ambos tienen por objeto hacer sentir a la audiencia. El

pathos es la estrategia persuasiva utilizada, por ejemplo, por las organizaciones benéficas: intentan llegarnos al corazón para que colaboremos con ellos. No obstante, utilizar el pathos como arma persuasiva no resultaría un engaño de por sí (p. 85). Al fin y al cabo, los sentimientos son la base de la vida del ser humano.

2.4 Critical Discourse Studies

Otra teoría de gran relevancia en el ámbito del presente trabajo es la teoría de los *Critical Discourse Studies*. Los CDS se basan en la retórica, la lingüística textual, la antropología, la filosofía, la psicología social, la ciencia cognitiva, los estudios literarios y la sociolingüística, así como la lingüística aplicada y la pragmática (Wodak y Meyer, 2016, p. 2). Según Teun van Dijk (2008), la década de los años sesenta y el principio de los setenta vieron surgir nuevas disciplinas en el ámbito de las humanidades y ciencias sociales. En este contexto aparecieron los CDS, que difieren de los *discourse studies* en que los primeros adoptan un enfoque centrado en el problema e interdisciplinar. Los CDS se centran en el análisis, la comprensión y explicación de fenómenos sociales complejos que requieren un enfoque multimetódico y multidisciplinar (Wodak 2012; van Dijk, 2013). A menudo se confunde el término «*critical*», ya que se asocia con lo negativo. No obstante, *critical* hace alusión a un estado mental y una actitud que no necesariamente debe ser negativa (van Dijk, 2013).

Existen múltiples enfoques en el ámbito de los CDS. Se puede distinguir entre enfoques deductivos e inductivos. Asimismo, el objeto de estudio también afecta a los distintos enfoques: resulta más probable que aquellos más deductivos ilustren sus premisas con ejemplos que respalden sus afirmaciones; mientras que los enfoques más inductivos tienden a estudiar el caso de forma profunda para descubrir nuevos puntos de vista (p. 18). Entre los enfoques más deductivos se pueden encontrar el enfoque dialéctico-relacional y el socio-cognitivo. Por otro lado, los enfoques inductivos abarcan el histórico-discursivo (DHA), el de los actores sociales, el de la lingüística corpus y el análisis dispositivo.

2.4.1 El análisis histórico-discursivo (DHA)

El DHA surgió en el contexto del análisis de las imágenes antisemíticas en los discursos de la campaña presidencial austríaca de Kurt Waldheim (antiguo secretario de Naciones Unidas) en 1986. Desde entonces, varios principios han evolucionado para constituir el enfoque actual de DHA. En primer lugar, dicho enfoque es interdisciplinar, por lo que abarca teoría, métodos, metodología, aplicación práctica. Asimismo, el DHA está enfocado hacia los problemas. Se estudian varios espacios públicos y géneros, así como relaciones intertextuales e interdiscursivas. El contexto histórico se tiene en cuenta a la hora de interpretar textos y discursos. Por último, la aplicación práctica de los resultados es uno de los principales objetivos del DHA. Los resultados deberían ser públicos y comunicados al público.

El DHA posee tres dimensiones: una vez se identifica el contenido o tema de un discurso, se investigan las estrategias discursivas, para luego examinar los medios lingüísticos y realizaciones lingüísticas.

En función a las siguientes preguntas, se pueden distinguir distintas estrategias discursivas (Wodak y Meyer, 2016, p. 32).

1. ¿Cómo se refiere el orador a las personas, los objetos, los fenómenos y acciones?
2. ¿Qué características y cualidades se atribuyen a los actores sociales, objetos, fenómenos y procesos?
3. ¿Qué argumentos se emplean en el discurso en cuestión?
4. ¿Desde qué perspectiva se expresan estos argumentos?
5. ¿De qué forma se articula el discurso: intensificado o mitigado?

A continuación, podemos ver un resumen de las estrategias discursivas del DHA, de las cuales se elegirán dos (la estrategia de perspectivización y de intensificación/mitigación) para el posterior análisis, como podremos ver en el apartado 3.

Tabla 1: Estrategias del análisis histórico-discursivo, adaptada de Wodak y Meyer, 2016, p. 33.

Estrategia	Objetivos	Herramientas
Nominación	Construcción discursiva de actores sociales, objetos, fenómenos, acciones, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Antropónimos. • Verbos que aluden a acciones y procesos.
Predicación	Cualificación discursiva de personas, objetos, fenómenos, acciones, etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparaciones. • Alusiones, evocaciones.
Argumentación	Justificación de las afirmaciones	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Falacias. • Topos.
Perspectivización	Posicionamiento del punto de vista del orador, expresando distancia o cercanía	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deixis. • Discurso directo o indirecto.
Intensificación o mitigación	Modificar la fuerza ilocutiva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diminutivos o aumentativos. • Hipérboles • Verbos de decir, sentir, pensar.

2.5 La teoría de los tres cerebros.

Las contribuciones de Paul MacLean han influenciado tanto el ámbito de la neurología como el de las ciencias sociales, por lo que se convierten en relevantes para el presente trabajo. Asimismo, guardan relación con el pathos de Aristóteles (apartado 2.3) ya que explica dónde se generan las emociones como el miedo, y, por tanto, también se encuentran conectadas con la demagogia expuesta por Tulis en el apartado 2.1.

McLean intentó descubrir el lugar del cerebro donde residen las experiencias emocionales subjetivas (Newman y Harris, 2009), lo que guarda relación con la idea de

demagogia explicada en el apartado anterior. MacLean se basó en los estudios de Broca (1878) sobre el lóbulo límbico, que rodea el tronco encefálico y se puede encontrar en todos los mamíferos. Asimismo, se interesó por los estudios de James Papez (1937), que sugerían que las emociones se basan en las conexiones entre el hipotálamo y el lóbulo límbico. MacLean continuó dichos estudios y enunció que el lóbulo límbico, el hipotálamo, la amígdala y el septo formaban el cerebro visceral (MacLean, 1949), y posteriormente introduciría el término sistema límbico (MacLean, 1952). Sostuvo que los orígenes de las emociones yacen en las estructuras primitivas y, por tanto, eluden el alcance del intelecto (1949, p. 348).

MacLean llevó a cabo una serie de experimentos en lagartos (Geenberg et al., 1979), monos ardilla (MacLean, 1978) y hámsters (Murphy et al., 1981). Como resultado de dichos estudios, MacLean enunció su teoría de los tres cerebros en 1969 (MacLean, 1973). En primer lugar, se encontraría el cerebro reptiliano, caracterizado por grandes ganglios basales y que se asemejaría al núcleo estriado de los mamíferos. Más tarde, describió las estructuras del cerebro en un contexto evolutivo y acuñó el término «formación protoreptiliana», para describir el núcleo estriado, ubicándolo en la base del cerebro anterior en reptiles, pájaros y mamíferos. En el modelo de los tres cerebros, renombró el sistema límbico como el «cerebro paleomamífero» y nombró al tercer cerebro como neocórtex.

Para MacLean, el cerebro reptiliano se encarga de las conductas simples e impulsivas (Triglia, s.f.) y dependen de él procesos fisiológicos del organismo, entre los que destacan el miedo, el hambre y el enfado, entre otros. Es decir, el cerebro reptiliano representa una parte del sistema nervioso que ejecuta códigos programados genéticamente.

Por otro lado, el segundo cerebro (paleomamífero) sería el responsable de las emociones, mediante un sistema de evasión y atracción que comprende sensaciones desagradables como el dolor y agradables como el placer (Alonso, 2017). Asimismo, dicho cerebro se encarga de la motivación y emoción que se siente al alimentarse, reproducirse y también tendría el control sobre el comportamiento parental. Por último, el neocórtex, es decir, el cerebro más avanzado, es donde reside la razón, el habla, la planificación, la abstracción, la percepción, es decir, lo conocido como funciones superiores.

3. Marco teórico

Tras haber mencionado algunas de las teorías relevantes en el marco del análisis del discurso y la retórica presidencial, conviene especificar aquellas teorías que han servido como base de nuestro análisis y en las que nos centraremos de aquí en adelante.

Nuestras dos primeras variables de estudio han sido extraídas de la teoría de Jeffrey K. Tulis expuesta en el apartado 2.1, en concreto de la retórica del *Old Way*. En primer lugar, cabe destacar que la mayoría de los discursos inaugurales contenían materia de política pública. Un ejemplo característico es James Polk, que enumeró una lista extensiva de objetivos en materia de política pública al final de su discurso (1987, p. 50). Tras la Guerra Civil, los presidentes tendieron a enumerar las políticas primero para luego enumerar los principios que les guiarían en su administración. Debido a la importancia de la presencia de políticas públicas en el *Old Way*, la primera variable se ha centrado en su estudio.

Por otro lado, el discurso inaugural, tema del presente trabajo, se creó con el fin de instruir a los ciudadanos sobre la Constitución. Asimismo, cabe destacar que todos los presidentes del siglo XIX, con la excepción de Zachary Taylor, mencionaron la Constitución, y la mayoría de dichos discursos inaugurales contenían reflexiones sobre el significado de los textos fundadores. Por lo tanto, nuestra segunda variable consistirá en las alusiones a los padres fundadores y a la Constitución en los discursos inaugurales estudiados.

Nuestra tercera variable de estudio se ha extraído de la misma teoría (apartado 2.1), pero en este caso del *New Way*, es decir, la retórica presidencial de los presidentes del siglo XX. Según Jeffrey K. Tulis (1987, p. 131), los discursos inaugurales adoptaron en el *New Way* un carácter visionario orientado hacia el futuro en vez de al pasado como en el *Old Way*. Por lo tanto, nuestra tercera variable consiste en el análisis de dicho énfasis puesto en el futuro en los discursos objetos de estudio.

En cuarto lugar, cabe mencionar la teoría del análisis histórico-discursivo como base de cuatro de las variables de nuestro análisis. En la tabla 1 se pueden observar varias estrategias para dicho análisis, pero nos centraremos en las dos últimas. La estrategia de perspectivización consiste en cómo se posiciona el orador con respecto al público, lo que expresa o cercanía o distancia. Existen varias herramientas dentro de

dicha estrategia, como la deixis y el discurso directo e indirecto. Según el Diccionario de la Real Academia¹, la deixis consistiría en el «señalamiento a una persona, un lugar o a un tiempo, o a una expresión lingüística mediante ciertos elementos gramaticales». En este trabajo nos centraremos en la deixis personal, es decir, el uso de pronombres personales con el objetivo de acercarse o alejarse del público. Asimismo, a la misma estrategia responde la siguiente variable, es decir, al uso del estilo directo para mostrar cercanía con el público o el uso del indirecto con el objetivo contrario.

La sexta y séptima variable proceden de la estrategia de intensificación y mitigación expuesta en la tabla 1, que pretenden modificar la fuerza ilocutiva, es decir, la intención del hablante. En este contexto, encontramos varias herramientas como el uso de aumentativos y diminutivos o de verbos de decir, sentir y pensar. Estas dos herramientas se convertirán en nuestras últimas variables de estudio.

Por último, cabe destacar que se ha decidido finalmente no analizar las metáforas estructurales expuestas en el apartado 2.2 debido a la falta de presencia de las mismas en los discursos estudiados. Asimismo, el ethos de Aristóteles (apartado 2.3) tampoco ha sido estudiado debido a la complejidad que implica determinar si los presidentes aluden a emociones en sus discursos inaugurales.

4. Objetivo del trabajo y pregunta de investigación.

El objetivo del presente trabajo consiste en encontrar las similitudes y diferencias de las retóricas presidenciales estadounidenses de los últimos años. En consecuencia, se procederá a realizar una comparación de los discursos inaugurales desde 1988 hasta hoy de los últimos cinco presidentes de Estados Unidos: George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama y Donald Trump. El número de discursos es de ocho, ya que tanto Bill Clinton como George W. Bush y Barack Obama fueron reelegidos para el cargo y así, pudieron pronunciar su segundo discurso de inauguración.

En cuanto a las preguntas de investigación, podemos encontrar las siguientes: ¿Hay una gran presencia de políticas públicas en los discursos inaugurales estudiados?, ¿aluden los presidentes estudiados en muchas ocasiones a

¹ Se puede encontrar en el siguiente enlace: <https://dle.rae.es/?id=C5EQPe1>

los padres fundadores y la Constitución?, ¿utilizan los presidentes muchas alusiones al futuro y oraciones en tiempo futuro?, ¿los presidentes utilizan un lenguaje más inclusivo o exclusivo?, ¿tienden los presidentes a utilizar más el estilo directo o el indirecto?, ¿hacen uso de muchos aumentativos y diminutivos?, y, por último, ¿en qué medida pronuncian verbos de decir, sentir y pensar?.

Para cumplir el objetivo del trabajo se realizará un análisis de la retórica presidencial de los cinco presidentes. No obstante, al ser el ámbito de la retórica tan amplio resulta esencial acotar las variables de estudio que aplicaremos a los mencionados discursos.

5. Metodología del trabajo.

Tras explicar los enfoques teóricos en los que se basa el presente trabajo, resulta pertinente explicar la metodología adoptada y los componentes del análisis que realizaremos a continuación.

En primer lugar, se han compilado los discursos inaugurales de los presidentes estadounidenses desde 1988, un total de ocho discursos y cinco presidentes. Se ha extraído la transcripción de todos los discursos inaugurales de los cinco presidentes objeto de estudio de una página web llamada, de la Universidad de Santa Bárbara². Dicha web ha resultado extremadamente útil, ya que también facilita todos los enlaces a Youtube de los discursos.

En cuanto a la metodología del análisis, se han realizado dos análisis distintos, uno conceptual y otro basado en el ámbito lingüístico y sintáctico. Dentro del análisis conceptual, se ha estudiado a fondo la teoría de la presidencia retórica de Tulis (1987) para extraer las variables más significativas que aplicar a los discursos y se han extraído tres variables para luego analizar su presencia en los discursos. Del *Old Way* se han extraído las variables 1 y 2, presencia de políticas públicas y alusiones a los textos fundacionales, mientras que las alusiones al futuro se han extraído del *New Way*.

² La página web mencionada se llama *The American Presidency Project* y se puede encontrar en en siguiente enlace: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/app-categories/spoken-addresses-and-remarks/inaugural-addresses>

Posteriormente, se ha realizado un análisis sintáctico con base a dos enfoques de la teoría expuesta en el apartado 2.4.1., de la que se han extraído 4 variables (variables 4, 5, 6 y 7). En concreto, proceden de las estrategias del DHA, de perspectivización y la de intensificación/mitigación. Dichas variables son: deixis (pronombres inclusivos/exclusivos), discurso directo/indirecto, uso de diminutivos/aumentativos y, por último, presencia de verbos de decir, sentir y pensar.

A cada variable se le ha asignado un color y se ha subrayado en las transcripciones de los discursos, como se puede encontrar en los anexos del trabajo (apartado 8). Tanto las variables como los colores de cada una se pueden encontrar a continuación, en la tabla 2.

Los resultados obtenidos se han expuesto en distintas tablas (tablas 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 y 9) para finalmente extraer las conclusiones pertinentes. Dichas tablas se podrán encontrar en el apartado 5 y en el anexo.

Tabla 2: variables de estudio

Tipo de análisis	Base teórica	Variable de estudio
Conceptual	<i>Old Way (Presidencia Retórica)/ Rétorica de Aristóteles</i>	Presencia de política pública
		Alusiones a los textos fundacionales
	<i>New Way (Presidencia Retórica)</i>	Alusiones al futuro
Sintáctico	Aristóteles DHA (Estrategia de Perspectivización)	Pronombres personales inclusivos vs. Exclusivos (deixis)
		Discurso indirecto/directo
	DHA (Estrategia de Intensificación/Mitigación)	Diminutivos/Aumentativos
		Verbos de decir, sentir, pensar

6. Análisis

6.1 Variable 1

Nuestra primera variable de estudio consiste en la presencia de política pública en el discurso. Debido a que el concepto política pública podría considerarse abstracto, se ha estudiado el número de frases en las que se enuncia una propuesta de algo que se va a hacer en el futuro. Se han excluido las oraciones expresadas en términos muy vagos o abstractos para así acotar el estudio de la variable.

En el caso de esta variable no se ha tenido en cuenta el número de palabras de los discursos (como en las variables 4,6 y 7), sino que se ha trabajado con cifras absolutas. Obama (discursos 6 y 7) ocupa el primer y segundo puesto del análisis con 11 y 12 alusiones a política pública. Los resultados obtenidos no arrojan diferencias sustanciales entre presidentes que repitieron mandatos con la excepción de Clinton.

Clinton (discurso 2) pronunció tan solo dos frasees que contenían elementos de política pública en su primer discurso inaugural, la cifra más baja de todos los discursos estudiados, mientras que en su segundo discurso (discurso 3) dicho número subió a diez frases, el tercer discurso con más presencia de política pública de los ocho estudiados. Por otro lado, George H. W. Bush (discurso 1) y Trump (discurso 8) comparten cuarto y quinto puesto con 7 oraciones en alusión a política pública. Tras ellos, George W. Bush (discursos 4 y 5) pronuncia 4 oraciones con presencia de política pública y se encuentra en el penúltimo puesto de nuestro análisis.

Asimismo, conviene destacar la media del número de frases con elementos de política pública atendiendo al partido político de los presidentes (véase tabla 3). En el caso de los Republicanos, la media es de 5,5 frases, mientras que en el caso de los Demócratas dicha media asciende a 8,75. La diferencia es sustancial, ya que, sin llegar a ser el doble, la media de los Demócratas resulta significativamente superior.

Tabla 3: Media Republicanos/Demócratas, variables 1-7

Variables	Media Republicanos	Media Demócratas
1. Presencia de política pública	5,5 frases	8,75 frases
2. Alusiones a los textos fundacionales	2,25 frases	4,75 frases
3. Alusiones al futuro	26 frases	20,5 frases
4. Pronombres personales inclusivos vs. Excluyentes	103,5/41	143,5/29
5. Discurso indirecto/directo	2,25/4,5 frases	3,75/1,75 frases
6. Diminutivos/Aumentativos	15,75 palabras	17 palabras
7. Verbos de decir, sentir, pensar	17,25 palabras	20,25 palabras
Número de palabras	1846,75 palabras	2062,75 palabras

6.2 Variable 2

Nuestra segunda variable de estudio consiste en la presencia de alusiones a los textos fundadores o a los padres fundadores.

Como en la variable anterior, se ha contabilizado el número de oraciones con alusiones directas a la Declaración de Independencia o los Padres Fundadores de Estados Unidos. Asimismo, se ha comparado de forma absoluta, es decir, sin tener en cuenta la longitud del discurso.

Sin duda, lo más destacable del análisis de esta variable consiste en el hecho de que Donald Trump es el único presidente que no alude ni una sola vez a los padres fundadores. Por otro lado, Barack Obama es el presidente que más alude a este tema, con un total de 9 alusiones en su segundo discurso inaugural.

En cuanto a la media de oraciones en función del grupo político (véase tabla 3), los Republicanos arrojan una media de 2,25 frases por discurso, siendo George H. W. Bush el presidente republicano con más alusiones, 5 en total en su segundo discurso inaugural. Por otro lado, los Demócratas arrojan una media de 4,75 frases

por discurso. Por lo tanto, se puede concluir que, de media, los Demócratas aluden más del doble de veces a los padres fundadores que los Demócratas.

La forma en la que los presidentes aluden a los padres y textos fundadores no es la misma en todos los casos. El tema más recurrente es el de los padres fundadores, nombrado en 7 ocasiones. En segundo lugar, se encuentra George Washington, nombrado 4 veces de las cuales 1 de manera implícita por Barack Obama, que lo describe como «padre de nuestra nación» pero no pronuncia su nombre. En tercer lugar, con 3 alusiones cada una, se encuentran la fundación de Estados Unidos y la Declaración de Independencia. Con dos alusiones se encuentra Thomas Jefferson, la Constitución, los documentos fundacionales y los principios fundacionales, los últimos solo mencionados por Barack Obama. En último lugar se encontrarían Abraham Lincoln, los patriotas de 1776 y el *hall* de Filadelfia.

6.3 Variable 3

Nuestra tercera variable consiste en las alusiones al futuro, elemento destacado del *New Way* de Tulis que forma parte de nuestro análisis conceptual.

Del mismo modo que en las dos variables anteriores, se ha sumado el número de frases con alusiones al futuro y se han comparado sin tener en cuenta el número de palabras del discurso. Por alusiones al futuro se han tenido en cuenta las frases en tiempo verbal futuro y aquellas con la palabra futuro, sin tener en cuenta en este último caso el tiempo verbal.

En el caso de la presente variable (véase tabla 9), el discurso con más frases que aluden al futuro es el 8, el discurso inaugural de Donald Trump, con un total de 40 frases. A este le sigue en segundo lugar Bill Clinton con su segundo discurso inaugural (Discurso 3). Tras este se encuentra Bush (discurso 4) y Obama (discurso 6), con 23 alusiones, y los mismos presidentes en sus segundos discursos inaugurales (5 y 7), con 22. George H. W. Bush les seguiría con 19 alusiones (discurso 1) y en último lugar se encontraría Clinton (discurso 2), con tan solo 7. Cabe destacar que Clinton representa el presidente con más diferencia entre sus dos discursos, concretamente una diferencia de 23 frases entre el segundo y el primero.

En cuanto a la media en función del partido político (véase tabla 3), los Republicanos obtienen una media de 26 frases por discurso, mientras que los

Demócratas arrojan un promedio de 20,5 frases por discurso. Por lo tanto, se puede concluir que los Republicanos tienden a pronunciar aproximadamente 5 frases más en tiempo verbal futuro o aludiendo directamente al futuro que los Demócratas.

6.4 Variable 4

La cuarta variable comenzará nuestro análisis sintáctico y concluye el conceptual. El estudio de esta variable resulta más complejo debido a la cantidad de operaciones necesarias para el análisis.

Se han realizado cuatro cálculos distintos para el estudio de la variable. En primer lugar, se ha contabilizado el número de pronombres personales aludiendo a nosotros (*We, us, our, ourselves*), así como el aludiendo al yo (*I, my*). En el segundo caso, se han incluido también los pronombres *you, your, they, their, them* cuando alude a colectivos de estadounidenses. No se ha tenido en cuenta la alusión a personas concretas o a personas ya fallecidas por no responder al objetivo de inclusividad/exclusividad. Como excepción a los pronombres, se ha incluido el sustantivo *Americans* por considerarse que el ponente se distancia del público al aludir a ellos como *Americans* y no como *we*.

Atendiendo a este primer cálculo (véase tabla 9), el presidente que pronuncia un mayor número de pronombres inclusivos en términos absolutos es Obama (discurso 7), con 163 pronombres en su segundo discurso inaugural, seguido del mismo presidente (discurso 6) en su primer discurso inaugural, con 156. En segundo y tercer lugar se encuentra Clinton (discurso 3 y 2), con 133 y 122, respectivamente. En quinto lugar, encontramos a George H. W. Bush (discurso 1) con 114 y el sexto puesto lo ocupa George W. Bush con 110 (discurso 4). Los presidentes con menos presencia de pronombres inclusivos son Trump (discurso 8) con 100 y George W. Bush (discurso 5) con 90.

En cuanto al mismo cálculo aplicado a los pronombres exclusivos (véase tabla 9), el primer puesto lo ocupa George H. W. Bush (discurso 1), con un total de 54; seguido de Obama (discurso 6), con 46; y George W. Bush (discurso 5) junto con Trump (discurso 8), con 42. Los presidentes que menos pronombres exclusivos pronuncian son Clinton (discurso 2) con 36, George W. Bush (discurso 4) con 26, Obama (discurso 7) con 20 y, por último, Clinton otra vez (discurso 3) con solo 14.

El segundo cálculo consiste en la densidad de los pronombres en relación al número de palabras del discurso para conseguir una cifra relativa (véase tabla 4). Para ello, se ha dividido en número de pronombres inclusivos/exclusivos entre el número de palabras y se ha multiplicado por 100 para conseguir un porcentaje. El presidente que más densidad de pronombres inclusivos es otra vez Obama (discurso 7) con un 7,75 %, seguido de Clinton (discurso 2) que sube del puesto cuarto al segundo con un 7,63 %. George W. Bush (discurso 4) también asciende del puesto sexto al tercero con un 6,9 %. Trump (discurso 8) sube del séptimo lugar al cuarto con un 6,85 %. En el penúltimo puesto con un 4,91 % se encuentra George H. W. Bush (discurso 1), que antes se encontraba en el puesto quinto; por último, encontramos a su hijo (discurso 5), con tan solo un 4,46 %.

Tabla 4: Variable 4, cálculo de porcentajes (1)

	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8
Pronombres inclusivos porcentaje del total de palabras	4,91 %	7,63 %	6,17 %	6,9 %	4,46 %	6,51 %	7,75 %	6,85 %
Pronombres exclusivos porcentaje del total de palabras	2,32 %	2,25 %	0,65 %	1,63 %	2,08 %	1,92 %	0,95 %	2,88 %

En cuanto al porcentaje de pronombres exclusivos, sorprende encontrar a Donald Trump (discurso 8) en el primer puesto con un 2,88 %, ya que en el cálculo en valores absolutos se encontraba en el tercer puesto. George H. W. Bush (discurso 1) pasa del primer al segundo puesto con un 2,32 %. En el tercer puesto encontramos a Clinton (discurso 2) con un 2,25 %, que anteriormente ocupaba el quinto puesto. En cuanto al presidente con menos presencia de pronombres exclusivos, Clinton (discurso 3) tan solo pronuncia un 0,65 % de pronombres exclusivos en relación al número total de palabras del discurso.

El tercer cálculo consiste en la media de pronombres inclusivos/exclusivos en relación con los partidos políticos (Demócratas y Republicanos) (véase tabla 3). El grupo Republicano arroja una media de 103,5 pronombres inclusivos por discurso, mientras que los Demócratas pronuncian de media 143,5 pronombres

inclusivos por discurso. En cuanto a los pronombres exclusivos, la media de los Republicanos alcanza los 41 pronombres, mientras que los Demócratas obtienen 29 pronombres exclusivos de media. Por lo tanto, se puede observar que los Demócratas tienden a pronunciar 40 pronombres inclusivos más de media en sus discursos mientras que los Republicanos tienden a pronunciar 12 pronombres exclusivos de media más.

Por último, se ha calculado el porcentaje de los pronombres inclusivos y exclusivos dentro del número de pronombres total para arrojar una idea más exacta de la proporción de ambos (véase tabla 5). Con respecto a los pronombres inclusivos, Clinton (discurso 3) se encuentra ahora en el primer lugar con un 90,48 % de los pronombres totales, mientras que en el primer cálculo ocupaba el puesto tercero y en el segundo cálculo bajaba hasta el quinto. En segundo lugar, encontramos a Obama (discurso 7) con un 89,07 % que alcanzaba el primer puesto en ambos cálculos anteriores. En el puesto tercero se encuentra George W. Bush (discurso 4) con un 80,88 %, sexto y tercer puesto en los cálculos previos. El cuarto y quinto puesto lo ocupan Obama (discurso 6) y Clinton (discurso 2), con un 77,23 y un 77,22 % respectivamente. En la cola encontramos a Donald Trump (discurso 8), con un 70,42 %; a George H. W. Bush (discurso 1), con un 67,86 %; y, por último, a George W. Bush (discurso 5) con un 60,18 %, coincidiendo con el último puesto de los dos primeros cálculos.

Tabla 5: Variable 4, cálculo de porcentajes (2)

	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8
Pronombres inclusivos , porcentaje del total de pronombres	67,86 %	77,22 %	90,48 %	80,88 %	60,18 %	77,23 %	89,07 %	70,42 %
Pronombres exclusivos , porcentaje del total de pronombres	32,14 %	22,78 %	9,52 %	19,12 %	39,82 %	22,77 %	10,93 %	29,58 %

Lógicamente, el orden de porcentaje de pronombres exclusivos con respecto al número total de pronombres sería el opuesto al expuesto anteriormente. Conviene destacar que George W. Bush (discurso 5), el presidente con más porcentaje de

pronombres exclusivos dentro del total (39,82 %) ocupaba el quinto puesto en cuanto al porcentaje de pronombres exclusivos con respecto al número de palabras totales, lo que representa una diferencia considerable.

6.5 Variable 5

Nuestra quinta variable consistirá en el uso del estilo directo e indirecto (véase nuevamente la tabla 9). Por estilo directo entendemos el uso de citas textuales, mientras que el uso indirecto consiste en el uso de verbos de decir (*say*, *tell*, *ask*, etc) más *that* y una oración subordinada.

En lo que al discurso indirecto se refiere, se puede observar que el presidente que más lo utiliza es Obama (discurso 6), con 8 oraciones en estilo directo y a mucha distancia del segundo, que en este caso es George W. Bush (discurso 4) con 4 oraciones. En tercer lugar, encontramos tanto a George H. W. Bush (discurso 1), Clinton (discurso 2) y Obama nuevamente (discurso 7), con 3 oraciones en estilo directo. El cuarto lugar lo ocupa George W. Bush con dos oraciones (discurso 5), seguido de Clinton (discurso 3), con 1. Resulta destacable mencionar que Donald Trump es el único presidente analizado que no pronuncia ni una oración en estilo directo.

Pasaremos ahora a comentar los resultados con respecto al estilo directo. En este caso, el primer puesto lo ocupa George H. W. Bush (discurso 1), con 8 oraciones. Su hijo George W. Bush (discurso 5) le sigue con 6 oraciones, mientras que Clinton (discurso 3) ocupa el tercer puesto con 4 oraciones. Con dos oraciones en estilo directo encontramos a Clinton (discurso 2), George W. Bush (discurso 4) y Donald Trump (discurso 8). Por último, Obama ocupa los dos últimos puestos con sus dos discursos (6 y 7), con 1 y 0 oraciones respectivamente.

Asimismo, conviene analizar la media por grupo político (véase tabla 3). Los Republicanos arrojan de media 2,25 frases en estilo indirecto, mientras que los Demócratas pronuncian de media 3,75 oraciones en estilo indirecto. Por otro lado, los Republicanos obtienen una media de 4,5 oraciones en estilo directo, mientras que los Demócratas obtienen una media de 1,75. Por lo tanto, se puede observar que los Republicanos tienden a pronunciar casi 2 oraciones menos en estilo indirecto y aproximadamente 3 más en estilo directo de media por discurso que los Demócratas.

6.6 Variable 6

Como sexta variable de nuestro análisis encontramos la presencia de aumentativos y diminutivos. En este caso, solo se han tenido en cuenta los adjetivos y adverbios que afectan al sustantivo o adjetivo en cuanto a la dimensión de este. Dentro de este grupo encontramos *great* (cuando alude a la dimensión y no a una cualidad), *big*, *little*, *more*, *less*, *high*, *so*, *wholly*, *large*, *small*, *deep* (en el caso de *deep divisions*, por considerarse aumentativo), *very*, *most*, *too*, *increasing*, *long* (en el caso de *long way*, por ser aumentativo), etc.

El presidente que más hace uso de dichos aumentativos/diminutivos es Obama (discurso 6), con un total de 28 (véase tabla 9). En segundo lugar, se encuentra George H. W. Bush, con 25, seguido de George W. Bush (discurso 4), con 18. En la cola se encuentran George W. Bush (discurso 5) y Donald Trump (discurso 8), con 10. Dicho dato podría considerarse sorprendente en el caso de Donald Trump, conocido por su tendencia al lenguaje exagerado.

En cuanto al promedio de grupos políticos (véase tabla 3), los Republicanos obtienen una media de 15,75 aumentativos/diminutivos por discurso, mientras que los Demócratas arrojan un promedio de 17. Por lo tanto, los datos muestran de que los Demócratas tienden a pronunciar un diminutivo/aumentativo más que los Republicanos, si bien la diferencia no resulta significativa.

Por otro lado, resulta conveniente analizar los adjetivos/adverbios que más se repiten en los discursos analizados (véase tabla 6). El primer puesto se lo lleva *great*, pronunciado un total de 34 veces y presente en todos los discursos. Con 15 repeticiones se encuentra *more*, *so* con 12, *less* le seguiría con 11 y tras éstos aparece *most*, pronunciado 10 veces. Entre los que menos se repiten destacan *grand*, *broad*, *full*, *little* y *growing*, entre otros.

Asimismo, la proporción de aumentativos frente a diminutivos también arroja datos interesantes. De las 23 palabras que entran en nuestra lista, 19 se podrían considerar aumentativos frente a 4 diminutivos, lo que en porcentaje se traduce en un 82,61 % de aumentativos frente a un 17,39 % de diminutivos

Por último, conviene analizar el porcentaje de aumentativos y diminutivos con respecto al número total de palabras (véase tabla 7). El presidente que arroja un

porcentaje superior es Obama (discurso 6) con un 1,16 %, coincidiendo con el primer cálculo de aumentativos/diminutivos totales. En segundo lugar, se encuentra George H. W. Bush (discurso 1) con un 1,07 %, seguido de cerca por su hijo George W. Bush (discurso 4) con un 1,06 %. Los presidentes que muestran un menor porcentaje de aumentativos/diminutivos son Donald Trump (discurso 8), con un 0,58 %; Obama (discurso 7), con un 0,53 %; y, por último, George W. Bush (discurso 5), con un 0,49 %.

Tabla 6: Variable 6, desglose de adjetivos/adverbios

Diminutivo/Aumentativo	Número de repeticiones
Great	34
More	15
Too	15
So	12
Less	11
Most	10
Big	7
Small	7
Very	6
High	3
Wholly	2
Few	2
Much	2
Large	2
Long	2
Far	1
Increasing	1
Deep	1
Grand	1
Broad	1
Full	1
Growing	1
Little	1

Tabla 7: Variable 6, porcentaje del total de palabras

	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8
Porcentaje de diminutivos/aumentativos con respecto al total de palabras	1,07 %	0,81 %	0,74 %	1,06 %	0,49 %	1,16 %	0,53 %	0,58 %

6.7 Variable 7

Nuestra última variable consiste en analizar la presencia de verbos de decir, sentir y pensar. Dentro del mencionado grupo de verbos se han incluido aquellos relacionados como *understand, mean, celebrate, wish, hope, want, trust, fear, ask, call, imagine, declare, love, etc.*

El presidente con más presencia de dichos verbos es Obama en su segundo discurso (discurso 7), con un total de 31 verbos. En segundo lugar, se encuentra George H. W. Bush (discurso 1), con 29 verbos en total. En tercer lugar, encontramos a George W. Bush (discurso 5), con 20, seguido de Clinton (discurso 2), con 19. El presidente con menos presencia de dicho grupo de verbos es Donald Trump (discurso 8), con tan solo 8 verbos.

Para esta variable se ha utilizado el cálculo de densidad en proporción al número de palabras del discurso (véase tabla 8). La mayor densidad corresponde a Obama (discurso 7), con un 1,47 % del número de palabras total, coincidiendo con el discurso que más número de verbos contiene. En segundo lugar, se encuentra nuevamente George H. W. Bush (discurso 1), con un 1,25 % que corresponde también al segundo puesto en la jerarquía del párrafo anterior. En el tercer lugar sí que apreciamos un cambio en el orden anterior, ya que Clinton (discurso 2) posee un 1,18 % frente al 0,99 % de Bush (discurso 5), que cae al cuarto lugar. Asimismo, el orden anterior también se ve alterado en el caso de George W. Bush (discurso 4), que le roba al puesto 5 con un 0,75% a Obama (discurso 6), que cae al sexto lugar con un 0,71%. En el último lugar se encuentra nuevamente Donald Trump (discurso 8), con tan solo un 0,55%.

En cuanto a la media en función del grupo político (véase tabla 3), los Republicanos arrojan una media de 17,25 verbos por discurso, mientras que los Demócratas tienen un promedio de 20,25 verbos por discurso. Por lo tanto, se podría afirmar que los Demócratas tienden a usar 3 verbos más de decir, sentir y pensar en sus discursos de media.

Tabla 8: Variable 7, porcentaje del total de palabras

	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8
Porcentaje de verbos de decir, sentir y pensar con respecto al total de palabras	1,25 %	1,18 %	0,64 %	0,75 %	0,99 %	0,71 %	1,47 %	0,55 %

7. Conclusiones

Tras haber analizado las siete variables, se expondrán a continuación los resultados obtenidos de nuestro estudio. Para ello, nos centraremos en grupos políticos más que en presidentes aislados para obtener una visión de conjunto. Todas las medias de grupos políticos hacen alusión a las cifras expuestas en la tabla 3.

En cuanto a la primera variable, se puede concluir que los Demócratas pronuncian 3 frases con presencia de política pública más que los Republicanos de media por discurso (8,75 frente a 5,5). En este aspecto, Obama destaca entre el resto de presidente por ser sus dos discursos (6 y 7) los que más presencia de política pública tienen. Por otro lado, Clinton (discurso 2) obtiene la puntuación más pobre en relación con esta variable, con solo 2 frases con política pública.

La segunda variable arroja resultados en sintonía con la anterior, ya que los Demócratas vuelven a destacar pronunciando 2 frases y media más que los Republicanos con alusiones a los padres fundadores y la Constitución. Nuevamente destaca Obama como el presidente con más inclusión de estos temas en el discurso 7, con 9 alusiones en total. Asimismo, Donald Trump (discurso 8) destaca como el único presidente analizado que no alude ni una sola vez a los padres fundadores.

En cuanto a las alusiones al futuro, son los Republicanos los que pronuncian de media 6 frases más, lo que les convierte en el mejor ejemplo de la retórica del

New Way mencionada en el apartado 2.1. Asimismo, conviene destacar que en este caso Donald Trump es el presidente con más alusiones al futuro, un total de 40, y que esto es significativo porque en ninguna otra variable Trump obtiene la cifra más alta.

Atendiendo a las variables 4 y 5, pertenecientes a la estrategia de perspectivización, encontramos resultados contrarios. Por un lado, los Demócratas tienden a utilizar 40 pronombres inclusivos más de media por discurso, mientras que los Republicanos, además de utilizar menos pronombres inclusivos hacen uso de más pronombres exclusivos, en concreto 12 más que los Demócratas de media por discurso. Por lo tanto, si atendemos solo a la variable 4 se podría concluir que los Demócratas tienden a usar un lenguaje más inclusivo, hablando en términos de nosotros frente al yo, mientras que los Republicanos optan más por hablar de tú y yo. No obstante, la variable 5 nos dice lo contrario, ya que son los Republicanos los que pronuncian unas tres frases más de media en estilo directo que los Demócratas, mientras que los últimos dedican una frase y media más en estilo indirecto. Por lo tanto, esta variable nos indica que son los Republicanos los que utilizan un lenguaje más cercano al público en este caso, mientras que los Demócratas se alejan más con su discurso indirecto.

La sexta variable nos muestra que los Demócratas tienden a usar 1 aumentativo/diminutivo más de media por discurso que los Republicanos, lo que no representa una diferencia muy significativa. Lo que sí resulta destacable es el hecho de que la mayoría de adjetivos y adverbios encontrados en este análisis son aumentativos (el 82,61 %), lo que muestra una tendencia por parte tanto de los Demócratas como Republicanos por intensificar el discurso en cierta manera. En este contexto, destacan por encima de los demás Obama (discurso 6) y George H. W. Bush (discurso 1).

La última variable nos muestra que los Demócratas tienden a utilizar 3 verbos de decir, sentir y pensar más de media en sus discursos, lo que podría mostrar una tendencia a intensificar la fuerza ilocutiva por parte de dicho grupo político. No obstante, la diferencia no es muy significativa en relación con los Republicanos (20,25 frente a 17,25), por lo que dicha tendencia de intensificación podría aplicarse a ambos grupos políticos.

En conjunto, se puede decir que los Demócratas obtienen, en general, cifras más altas en las variables estudiadas, en concreto en las variables 1, 2, 4 (pronombres inclusivos), 5 (discurso indirecto), 6 y 7. Por otro lado, los Republicanos destacan en las variables 3, 4 (pronombres exclusivos) y 5 (discurso directo).

Ahora conviene analizar si existe alguna relación entre las variables o alguna tendencia que destacar. Como se ha mencionado en párrafos anteriores, Donald Trump no alude ni una sola vez a los padres fundadores y la Constitución y, a su vez, es el presidente que más alusiones al futuro muestra en su discurso. Por lo tanto, podríamos ver una tendencia a mirar al futuro y no al pasado por parte de dicho presidente.

En cuanto al resto de variables, no parece existir una correlación entre ninguna de las variables estudiadas ni tampoco una tendencia positiva o negativa temporal, sino que las tendencias parecen responder a los grupos políticos como se ha mencionado en párrafos anteriores.

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9. Anexos

9.1 Tabla 9: Variables 1-7, números absolutos

Variables	D1 (Bush)	D2 (Clinton)	D3 (Clinton)	D4 (Bush)	D5 (Bush)	D6 (Obama)	D7 (Obama)	D8 (Trump)
1. Presencia de política pública	7	2	10	4	4	11	12	7
2. Alusiones a los textos fundacionales	2	4	3	2	5	3	9	0
3. Alusiones al futuro	19	7	30	23	22	23	22	40
4. Pronombres personales inclusivos vs. Excluyentes (Deixis)	114/54	122/36	133/14	110/ 26	90/42	156/46	163/20	100/42
5. Discurso indirecto/directo	3/8	3/2	1/4	4/2	2/6	8/1	3/0	0/2
6. Diminutivos/Aumentativos	25	13	16	18	10	28	11	10
7. Verbos de decir, sentir, pensar	29	19	14	12	20	17	31	8
Número de palabras	2320	1598	2155	1592	2017	2395	2103	1458

9.2 Discurso 1:

Autor: George H. W. Bush

Fecha: 20 de enero de 1989

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

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

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

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

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

I come before **you** and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. **We** live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but **we** can make it better. For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn. For in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation

refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken and new action to be taken. There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow.

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

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

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

America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil, a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good. But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

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

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

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

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need. We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety. And then we will do the wisest thing of all. We will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people.

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

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

they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in.

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

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other. It's been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago, and surely the statute of limitation has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory. A new breeze is blowing, and the old bipartisanship must be made new again.

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

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

and will be long remembered. Good will begets good will. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

Great nations like great men must keep their word. When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty or an agreement or a vow made on marble steps. We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment; but subtlety, too, is good and has its place. While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good, and so is strength and vigilance.

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

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

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

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

And so, there is **much** to do. And tomorrow the work begins. And **I** do not **mistrust** the future. **I** do not **fear** what is ahead. For **our** problems are **large**, but **our** heart is **larger**. **Our** challenges are **great**, but **our** will is **greater**. And if **our** flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless.

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

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

9.3 Discurso 2

Autor: Bill Clinton

Fecha: 20 de enero de 1993

My fellow citizens, today **we** celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words **we** **speak** and the faces **we** show the world, **we** force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. When **our** **Founders** **boldly** **declared** **America's independence to the world** and **our** purposes to the Almighty, they **knew** that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though **we** marched to the music of **our** time, **our** mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it **means** to be an American.

On behalf of **our** Nation, **I** **salute** **my** predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And **I** **thank** the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism.

Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the cold war assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. Raised in unrivaled prosperity, **we** inherit an economy

that is still the world's strongest but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our own people.

When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world. Communications and commerce are global. Investment is mobile. Technology is almost magical. And ambition for a better life is now universal.

We earn our livelihood in America today in peaceful competition with people all across the Earth. Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world. And the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend.

We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps, but we have not done so; instead, we have drifted. And that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.

Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. And so today we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun.

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

at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children.

Our Founders saw themselves in the light of posterity. We can do no less. Anyone who has ever watched a child's eyes wander into sleep knows what posterity is. Posterity is the world to come: the world for whom we hold our ideals, from whom we have borrowed our planet, and to whom we bear sacred responsibility. We must do what America does best: offer more opportunity to all and demand more responsibility from all. It is time to break the bad habit of expecting something for nothing from our Government or from each other. Let us all take more responsibility not only for ourselves and our families but for our communities and our country.

To renew America, we must revitalize our democracy. This beautiful Capital, like every capital since the dawn of civilization, is often a place of intrigue and calculation. Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down, forgetting those people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way. Americans deserve better. And in this city today there are people who want to do better. And so I say to all of you here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. Let us resolve to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.

To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home. There is no longer a clear division between what is foreign and what is domestic. The world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race: they affect us all. Today, as an older order passes, the new world is more free but less stable. Communism's collapse has called forth old animosities and new dangers. Clearly, America must continue to lead the world we did so much to make.

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

the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary. The brave Americans serving our Nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve. But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause.

The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the Presidency, and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring. Now we must do the work the season demands. To that work I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone.

My fellow Americans, you, too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service: to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. There is so much to be done; enough, indeed, for millions of others who are still young in spirit to give of themselves in service, too. In serving, we recognize a simple but powerful truth: We need each other, and we must care for one another.

Today we do more than celebrate America. We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution and renewed through two centuries of challenge; an idea tempered by the knowledge that, but for fate, we, the fortunate, and the unfortunate might have been each other; an idea ennobled by the faith that our Nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity; an idea infused with the conviction that America's long, heroic journey must go forever upward.

And so, my fellow Americans, as we stand at the edge of the 21st century, let us begin anew with energy and hope, with faith and discipline. And let us work until our work is done. The Scripture says, "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." From this joyful mountaintop of celebration we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our own way and with God's help, we must answer the call.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

9.4 Discurso 3

Autor: Bill Clinton

Fecha: 20 de enero de 1997

My fellow citizens, at this last Presidential Inauguration of the 20th century, let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century. It is our great good fortune that time and chance have put us not only at the edge of a new century, in a new millennium, but on the edge of a bright new prospect in human affairs, a moment that will define our course and our character for decades to come. We must keep our old democracy forever young. Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, let us set our sights upon a land of new promise.

The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our Nation spread across the continent, saved the Union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery.

Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the world stage to make this the American Century. And what a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power, saved the world from tyranny in two World Wars and a long cold war, and time and again reached out across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty.

Along the way, Americans produced a great middle class and security in old age, built unrivaled centers of learning and opened public schools to all, split the atom and explored the heavens, invented the computer and the microchip, and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and all minorities and extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity to women.

Now, for the third time, a new century is upon us and another time to choose. We began the 19th century with a choice: to spread our Nation from coast to coast. We began the 20th century with a choice: to harness the industrial revolution to our values

of free enterprise, conservation, and human decency. Those choices made all the difference. At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the information age and the global society, to unleash the limitless potential of all **our** people, and yes, to form a more perfect Union.

When last **we** gathered, **our** march to this new future seemed **less** certain than it does today. **We** vowed then to set a clear course to renew **our** Nation. In these 4 years, **we** have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, **our** economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, **we** are building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment. Problems that once seemed destined to deepen, now bend to **our** efforts. **Our** streets are safer, and record numbers of **our** fellow citizens have moved from welfare to work. And once again, **we** have resolved for **our** time a great debate over the role of Government. Today **we** can **declare**: Government is not the problem, and Government is not the solution. **We**—the American people—**we** are the solution. **Our Founders understood that well** and gave **us** a democracy strong enough to endure for centuries, flexible enough to face **our** common challenges and advance **our** common dreams in each new day.

As times change, so Government must change. **We need a new Government for a new century, humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves,** a Government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for **our** values and interests around the world, and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, Government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of **our** new Government is to give all Americans an opportunity, not a guarantee but a real opportunity, to build better lives.

Beyond that, **my** fellow citizens, **the future is up to us.** **Our Founders taught us that the preservation of our liberty and our Union depends upon responsible citizenship.** And **we** need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do, work that Government alone cannot do: **teaching children to read, hiring people off welfare rolls,** coming out from behind locked doors and shuttered windows to help reclaim **our streets from drugs and gangs and crime,** taking time out of **our** own lives to serve others.

Each and every one of **us**, in **our** own way, must assume personal responsibility not only for **ourselves** and **our** families but for **our** neighbors and **our** Nation. **Our greatest** responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. For any one of **us** to succeed, **we** must succeed as one America. **The challenge of our past remains the challenge of our future: Will we be one Nation, one people, with one common destiny, or not? Will we all come together, or come apart?**

The divide of race has been America's constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction are no different. These forces have nearly destroyed **our** Nation in the past. They plague **us** still. They fuel the fanaticism of terror. And they torment the lives of millions in fractured nations all around the world.

These obsessions cripple both those who **hate** and of course those who **are hated**, robbing both of what they might become. **We cannot, we will not, succumb to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. We shall overcome them. And we shall replace them with the generous spirit of a people who feel at home with one another. Our rich texture of racial, religious, and political diversity will be a godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new ties that bind together.**

As this new era approaches, **we** can already see its broad outlines. Ten years ago, the Internet was the mystical province of physicists; today, it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists now are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for **our most** feared illnesses seem close at hand. The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps. Instead, now **we** are building bonds with nations that once were **our** adversaries. Growing connections of commerce and culture give **us** a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people the world over. And for the **very** first time in all of history, **more** people on this planet live under democracy than dictatorship.

My fellow Americans, as **we** look back at this remarkable century, **we** may **ask**, **can we hope not just to follow but even to surpass the achievements of the 20th century in America and to avoid the awful bloodshed that stained its legacy?** To that question, every American here and every American in **our** land today must **answer** a resounding, "Yes!" This is the heart of **our** task. With a new vision of Government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, **we will sustain** America's journey.

The promise **we** sought in a new land, **we** will find again in a land of new promise. In this new land, education will be every citizen's **most** prized possession. **Our** schools will have the **highest standards in the world**, igniting the spark of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy. **And the doors of higher education will be open to all. The knowledge and power of the information age will be within reach not just of the few but of every classroom, every library, every child. Parents and children will have time not only to work but to read and play together. And the plans they make at their kitchen table will be those of a better home, a better job, the certain chance to go to college.**

Our streets will echo again with the laughter of **our** children, because no one will try to shoot **them** or sell **them** drugs anymore. **Everyone who can work, will work, with today's permanent under class part of tomorrow's growing middle class. New miracles of medicine at last will reach not only those who can claim care now but the children and hard-working families too long denied.**

We will stand mighty for peace and freedom and maintain a **strong defense against terror and destruction. Our** children will sleep free from the threat of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. **Ports and airports, farms and factories will thrive with trade and innovation and ideas. And the world's greatest democracy will lead a whole world of democracies.**

Our land of new promise will be a nation that meets its obligations, **a nation that balances its budget but never loses the balance of its values, a nation where our grandparents have secure retirement and health care and their grandchildren know we have made the reforms necessary to sustain those benefits for their time, a nation that fortifies the world's most productive economy even as it protects the great natural bounty of our water, air, and majestic land. And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests, regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.**

Fellow citizens, let **us** build that America, a nation ever moving forward toward realizing the full potential of all its citizens. Prosperity and power, yes, they are important, and **we** must maintain them. But let **us** never forget, the **greatest** progress **we** have made and the **greatest** progress **we** have yet to make is in the human heart. In the

end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit.

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose life **we** celebrate today spoke to **us** down there, at the other end of this Mall, in words that moved the conscience of a nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the heart. Martin Luther King's dream was the American dream. His quest is **our** quest: the ceaseless striving to live out **our** true creed. **Our** history has been built on such dreams and labors. And by **our** dreams and labors, **we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st century.**

To that effort **I** pledge all my strength and every power of **my** office. **I ask the Members of Congress here to join in that pledge.** The **American people** returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely **they** did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship **they** plainly deplore. No, **they** call on **us** instead to be repairers of the breach and to move on with America's mission. America **demands** and deserves **big** things from **us**, and nothing **big** ever came from being **small**. Let **us** remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernardin, when facing the end of his own life. He **said**, "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time on **acrimony and division.**"

Fellow citizens, **we** must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of **us** are on that same journey of **our** lives, and **our** journey, too, **will come to an end.** But the journey of **our** America must go on.

And so, **my** fellow Americans, **we** must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of **our** time are great, and they are different. Let **us** meet them with faith and courage, with patience and a grateful, happy heart. Let **us** shape the hope of this day into the noblest chapter in **our** history. Yes, let **us** build **our** bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise.

May those generations whose faces **we** cannot yet see, whose names **we** may never **know**, **say** of **us** here that **we** led **our** beloved land into a new century with the American dream alive for all her children, with the American promise of a **more** perfect Union a reality for all her people, with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us go forth. May God strengthen our hands for the good work ahead, and always, always bless our America.

9.5 Discurso 4

Autor: George W. Bush

Fecha: 20 de enero de 2001

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

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

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

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

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

Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations. Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our

humanity, an ideal **we** carry but do not own, a trust **we** bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, **we** have a **long** way yet to travel.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless you all, and God bless America.

9.6 Discurso 5

Autor: George W. Bush

20 de enero de 2005

Vice President Cheney, Mr. Chief Justice, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, Members of the United States Congress, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, fellow citizens:

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

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

We have seen our vulnerability, and we have seen its deepest source. For as long as whole regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny, prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder, violence will gather and multiply in destructive

power and cross the most defended borders and raise a mortal threat. There is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment and expose the pretensions of tyrants and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of human freedom.

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

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

So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. This is not primarily the task of arms, though we will defend ourselves and our friends by force of arms when necessary. Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen and defended by citizens and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. And when the soul of a nation finally speaks, the institutions that arise may reflect customs and traditions very different from our own. America will not impose our own style of government on the unwilling. Our goal instead is to help others find their own voice, attain their own freedom, and make their own way.

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

My most solemn duty is to protect this Nation and its people from further attacks and emerging threats. Some have unwisely chosen to test America's resolve and have found it firm. We will persistently clarify the choice before every ruler and every nation,

the moral choice between oppression, which is always wrong, and freedom, which is eternally right.

America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains or that women welcome humiliation and servitude or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies. We will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people. America's belief in human dignity will guide our policies. Yet rights must be more than the grudging concessions of dictators. They are secured by free dissent and the participation of the governed. In the long run, there is no justice without freedom and there can be no human rights without human liberty.

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

Today, America speaks anew to the peoples of the world. All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: The United States will not ignore your oppression or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In America's ideal of freedom, citizens find the dignity and security of economic independence instead of laboring on the edge of subsistence. This is the broader definition of liberty that motivated the Homestead Act, the Social Security Act, and the GI bill of rights. And now we will extend this vision by reforming great institutions to serve the needs of our time. To give every American a stake in the promise and future of our country, we will bring the highest standards to our schools and build an ownership society. We will widen the ownership of homes and businesses, retirement savings, and health insurance, preparing our people for the challenges of life in a free society. By making every citizen an agent of his or her own destiny, we will give our fellow

Americans greater freedom from want and fear and make our society more prosperous and just and equal.

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

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

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

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

We go forward with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom, not because history runs on the wheels of inevitability—it is human choices that move events; not because we consider ourselves a chosen nation—God moves and chooses as

He will. We have confidence because freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul. When our Founders declared a new order of the ages, when soldiers died in wave upon wave for a union based on liberty, when citizens marched in peaceful outrage under the banner "Freedom Now," they were acting on an ancient hope that is meant to be fulfilled. History has an ebb and flow of justice, but history also has a visible direction, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty.

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

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

9.7 Discurso 6

Autor: Barack Obama

Fecha: 20 de enero de 2009

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In **reaffirming** the greatness of **our** Nation, **we** **understand** that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. **Our** journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the fainthearted, for **those** who prefer leisure over work or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things--some celebrated, but **more** often men and women obscure in **their** labor--who have carried **us** up the **long**, rugged path toward prosperity and freedom.

For **us**, **they** packed up **their** **few** worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For **us**, **they** toiled in sweatshops and settled the West, endured

the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard Earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sanh.

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

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

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

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

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

business in the light of day, because only then can **we** restore the vital trust between a people and **their** government.

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

As for **our** common defense, **we** reject as false the choice between **our** safety and **our** ideals. **Our** Founding Fathers, faced with perils that **we** can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and **we** will not give them up for expedience's sake. And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the **small** village where **my** father was born, know that **America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more.**

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

We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, **we** can meet those new threats that demand even **greater** effort, even **greater** cooperation and understanding between nations. **We** will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, **we** will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat and roll back the specter of a warming planet. **We** will not apologize for **our** way of life, nor **will we waver** in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, **we** say to you now that **our** spirit is stronger and cannot be broken. **You** cannot outlast **us**, and **we** will defeat **you**.

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

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow, to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect, for the world has changed, and we must change with it.

As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us today, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service, a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.

For as much as Government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this Nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job, which sees us through our darkest

hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides **our** fate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

9.8 Discurso 7

Autor: Barack Obama

Fecha: 21 de enero de 2013

Thank you. Thank you so much.

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

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

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

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

And for more than 200 years, we have.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God, but also in **our** own.

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

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

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

We, the people, still **believe** that **our** obligations as Americans are not just to **ourselves,** but to all posterity. **We** **will respond** to the threat of climate change, **knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations.** Some may still deny the overwhelming judgment of science, but none can avoid the devastating impact of raging fires and crippling drought and **more** powerful storms.

The path towards sustainable energy sources **will be long and sometimes difficult.** **But America cannot resist this transition, we must lead it. We** cannot cede to other nations the **technology that will power new jobs and new industries, we** must **claim** its promise. That's **how we will maintain our economic vitality and our national treasure—our** forests and waterways, **our** crop lands and snow-capped peaks. That is

how we will preserve our planet, commanded to our care by God. That's what will lend meaning to the creed our fathers once declared.

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

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

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

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

It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law—for if we are truly created equal, then surely the

love **we** commit to one another must be equal as well. **Our** journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for hours to exercise the right to vote. **Our** journey is not complete until **we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as a land of opportunity**—until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in **our** workforce rather than expelled from **our** country. **Our** journey is not complete until all **our** children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.

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

For now decisions are upon **us** and **we** cannot afford delay. **We** cannot mistake absolutism for principle or substitute spectacle for politics or treat name-calling as reasoned debate. **We** must act, **knowing** that **our** work **will be imperfect**. **We** must act, **we** must act **knowing** that today's victories **will be only partial** and that **it will be up to those** who stand here in 4 years and 40 years and 400 years hence to advance the timeless spirit once conferred to **us in a spare Philadelphia hall**.

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

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

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

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

9.9 Discurso 8

Autor: Donald Trump

Fecha: 20 de enero de 2017

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But for **too** many of **our** citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in **our** inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of **our** Nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves **our** young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have stolen **too** many lives and robbed **our** country of **so much** unrealized potential.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice. The Bible tells us, "How good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity." We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear: We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement, and most importantly, we will be protected by God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words: You will never be ignored again.

Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

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

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