

**Analysis of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in
Jimmy Carter's Speeches**

تحليل المدح و القبح في خطابات الرئيس الأمريكي جيمي كارتر

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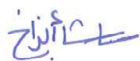
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to all the people without whom this thesis would have never been written, the ones who supported me ceaselessly during my journey,

To My father and mother who have always been here for me and support me through thick and thin,

To my family who have been a constant source of support and encouragement...

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The Analysis of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in Jimmy Carter's Speeches.

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Abstract

This study aimed at identifying the use of compliment and complaint speech act in Jimmy Carter's speeches, by analyzing some phrases from five different speeches during his presidency and elections. The researcher compared between the compliment speech acts in these speeches in order to know how Carter used this type of speech act to benefit from. On the other hand the complaint speech acts in these speeches had been analyzed and compared in these speeches. The sample of this study was the speeches so the study instrument was data analysis because the researcher did not have any test or interviews. The speeches had been analyzed according to checklist that had been approved by three specialized doctors. The results were shown in figures in the study, they showed that Jimmy Carter used a lot of compliments speech acts in his Nomination and Inaugural Speeches.

On the other hand the compliment speech acts scored only 12% in Carter's Farewell speech. The complaint speech acts were used highly in the last two speeches the farewell speech and the Crisis of Confidence Speech while the use of this speech act scored only 16.7% in the Inaugural Speech.

Key words: Compliment, complaint, speech act, speeches.

تحليل المدح و القدح في خطابات الرئيس الامريكي جيمي كارتر

اعداد

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اشراف

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الملخص

هدفت هذه الدراسة الى تحديد مدى استخدام المدح و القدح في خطابات الرئيس الامريكي الاسبق جيمي كارتر, عن طريق تحليل خمسة خطابات مختلفة بفترة الانتخابات و الرئاسة. حيث قام الباحث بتحليل الخطابات و معرفة نسبة استخدام المدح فيهم ثم المقارنة بين النسب. كما قام ايضاً بايجاد نسبة استخدام القدح في هذه الخطابات و المقارنة بينهم. كانت عينة هذه الدراسة ستة خطابات, أداة الدراسة كانت تحليل البيانات لذلك لم يستخدم الباحث أي من الاختبارات أو اجرائه لاي من المقابلات. قام الباحث بتحليل الخطابات الى عبارات تمت الموافقة عليها من قبل ثلاثة أشخاص مختصين باللغة. وقد ظهرت النتائج في الرسالة بشكل رسم بياني ليوضح و يقارن بين نسبة استخدام المدح و القدح في خطابات جيمي كارتر المختارة. توصلت الدراسة بأن نسبة استخدام المدح ظهرت بشكل كبير في أول خطابين للرئيس كارتر و هما خطاب الترشيح للرئاسة و خطاب الافتتاح, ولكن انخفضت هذه النسبة كثيراً باخر خطاب للرئيس وهو خطاب الوداع فقد سجلت نسبة استخدام الرئيس للمدح 12%.

أما بالنسبة الى استخدام القدح في الخطابات المختارة فقد توصلت الدراسة الى أن نسبة القدح كانت عالية في اخر خطابين للرئيس كارتر و قد سجلت اقل نسبة باستخدام القدح في الخطاب الافتتاحي بنسبة 16.7%.

الكلمات المفتاحية: القدح, الذم , تحليل الخطاب, الخطاب.

Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background of the study:

Speech is the expression of or the ability to express thoughts and feelings by articulating sounds. That's why it is the essential element that distinguishes human beings from other living creatures. Though other animals also use sounds to convey various forms of communication, human beings are able to speak and understand several sound codes and languages.

To understand interests and goals of a person, the listener or the reader must first be able to understand the goals of a particular speech (Jaszczolt, 2002). Politicians use speech as the most important tool to lobby for support to their ideas, enhance their interests and push for change. The theory of speech acts, which clarifies what people do when they speak, is not about individual words or sentences that form the basic elements of human communication, but rather about particular speech acts that are performed when uttering words. Many things can be done by speaking. Speech acts are studied under what is called speech act theory that belongs to the domain of pragmatics.

Speeches were and are used by politicians to influence people and build relationships with the people in a manner that can lead them into power. American politics is mainly defined by two opposing views i.e. conservatives and liberals. In order to attract the majority of support, conservatives and liberals tend to define their policies in a manner that they lean towards the middle at least in their speeches (Matic, 2012). When Jimmy Carter announced to run for President of United States in 1974, he was viewed as a Washington outsider who was better placed to drive the change agenda given the political dynamics of the Cold War era consequently it is interesting to know how Jimmy Carter used the speech acts in his speeches.

This study focuses on the difference of using the compliment and complaint speech acts in Jimmy Carter's speeches from 1977-1981: how he used them in the beginning of his presidency and how they were different at the end.

1.2 Statement of the problem

This study intends to examine changes in Carter's interests and his achievements by looking at the structure and meaning of words and phrases as used in Carter's set of speeches. In this case, the study analyzes compliment and complaint speech acts in Jimmy Carter's speeches before being elected Presidency, during his presidency in a way that covers all the four years.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main goal of this study is to find out the compliment, and complaint speech acts as used in Jimmy Carter speeches before, during his presidency. The study aims at deriving ideologies and interests of Jimmy Carter by studying various forms of language use, meanings of words and phrases and how his speeches are relevant to the reality on the ground. In this sense, the researcher aims to realize the following specific study objectives:

- i. To identify complaint speech acts found in Jimmy Carter's speeches
- ii. To determine compliment speech acts found in Jimmy Carter's speeches

1.4 Questions of the study

The purpose of this study serves to assess compliment and complaint acts in Jimmy Carter speeches. In studying Jimmy Carter speeches, the researcher aims at answering the following study questions:

- ✓ How is speech act of compliment identified and shown in Jimmy Carter speeches?
- ✓ How is speech act of complaint identified and shown in Jimmy Carter speeches?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Generally, this study intends to enhance the understanding of the researchers and readers in relation to the field of philosophy (speech act) of language in general and the discourse analysis in particular. The study analyzes meanings and attempts to provide an in-depth understanding of the speech act itself. In doing so, the researcher evaluates and understands the context and content of different speeches delivered by Jimmy Carter within a predetermined period of time. These speeches were delivered in a period where cold war was rife across the world. In this case, studying Jimmy Carter's speeches have historical significance in relation to American politics. Elsewhere, evaluation of composition, units, and parts of language used in speeches will help to understand the general approach

to communication adopted by Carter and the intended goal of using particular speech acts. Lastly, the study of speech will help the researcher to identify the gap between the meaning as intended by the speaker and the meaning as interpreted by the listener or reader.

1.6 Limits of the study

The study focuses on Jimmy Carter's speeches only. In this regard, opponent speeches or speeches of other leaders are not be relevant or included in this study. Concerning Jimmy Carter speeches, the researcher intends to derive meanings by studying specific work use, language styles and structure of the speech. In other words, this study is limited to the speech acts interpretation of the speeches.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The study analyzes the literature content of various Carter speeches. So, the researcher is limited to the qualitative approach of the study.

1.8 Definition of Terms

- Speech acts- Theoretically: is introduced by Oxford philosopher J.L. Austin (How to Do Things With Words, 1962) and further developed by American philosopher J.R. Searle, considers three levels or components of such utterances: Locutionary Acts, Illocutionary Acts

and Perlocutionary Acts. Operationally they are defined as utterances which show actions in relation to intention, purpose or effect.

- Complaint speech acts – Theoretically Trosborg (1995) defines it as “an illocutionary act in which the speaker (the complainer) expresses his/her disapproval and negative feeling towards the state of affairs described in the proposition and for which he/she holds the hearer (the complaine) responsible, either directly or indirectly”.

Operationally expressive speech acts used by an individual to express his/her dissatisfaction with a past or an ongoing event or process. It can also refer to expression of annoyance or anger towards something or an event that affects the individual in an unfavorable manner.

- Compliment speech acts – Theoretically compliment is defined as a structured speech act that reflects social values in the culture (Manes, 1983 as cited in Lorenzo-Dus, 2001). Operationally these types of speech acts refer to expressions that provide a positive evaluation of events or other occurrences.
- Jimmy Carter - Jimmy Carter is an American politician who served as the President of the United States between 1977 and 1981.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of related previous studies on speech acts. It shows what semantics and pragmatics insights related to the speech act and how they have been applied to study structure, meaning and intentions of various speeches. The first part of the chapter deals with theoretical reviews while the second part is concerned with examining empirical studies that have been conducted in relation to various speeches.

2.1 Review of Theoretical Literature:

There are several techniques that can be used by a speaker in order to connect with the audience. The main goal of the speaker is to ensure that the audience is able to relate to and understand what he/she is saying. Many researchers have been concerned with speech acts analysis in general and compliments and complaint speech acts in specific in their books such as Danielle (1982), Searle (1975) and Tanck (2003). Others have been concerned with the types of linguistic devices that presidents use in their speech to achieve their main aim or goal.

According to Searle (1975), complimenting speech acts can be used by anyone, every day and in different situations. In this case, compliment speech act explicitly or implicitly extends credit to another person other than the speaker. He describes the act complaint as a kind of an expressive speech act, and as the term suggests. This exhibits the psychological state of the person who is complaining (Searle, 1976)

Levinson (1983) argues that politicians' expressions undergo intense political and moral scrutiny, and thus the speech should mainly send positive messages to the audience. He also shows some other factors that affect the message from any speech like semantics and pragmatic: in the first place semantics explores the conventional meaning in a given language; pragmatics, on the other hand studies meaning attached to language based on the structural and linguistic knowledge of the speaker and listener while at the same time incorporating the context of the utterance, past knowledge and the audience among other factors.

Another book that touches on the same subject is Kathleen Jamieson's *Dirty Politics* (1992). In a chapter entitled "Tactics of Attack", she identifies two major approaches: identification (association) and apposition contrast in order to transform the opponent into an antonym of those treasured values. Each process is further divided into verbal and visual aspects. In most instances, speeches by the republic candidate during his

campaigns were quite judgmental from many people from the other side of politics. He says he wants to fight against terrorist but on the other side criticizes McCain on grounds of verbal identification that is subdivided into personal (image) and policy identification. Jamieson also offers an interesting discussion of the importance of television and highlights inherent difference-and communication perspectives.

According to Healy (1995), listeners, in most cases, believe or accept the ideas or opinions of the political speakers. Instead of using dramatic overtones and unrealistic promises, politicians can also position themselves as a champion of change and stronger society. In most of Carter's speeches, he uses the word 'we' to signify that all Americans are part of the social problems and must unite and rise above the differences to build a stronger country. For instance, Carter reiterated that "we take full advantage of our right to develop wide-ranging interests and responsibilities (Carter, 1979)"

As for Justine (1998), the ability of a person to be able to deliver a speech effectively without any challenges depending on age and the experience of an individual. The age and experience according to him refer to how long the individual had been involving himself with communicating with others as this is what gave an individual the courage to address others. Throughout, a person can be able to choose his words carefully depending on the type of audience the person was addressing. To explain this further,

he said that those people who had advanced more in age knew how to make their audiences interested with whatever they were delivering to them.

They did this by using gestures, symbolisms and other styles that kept the people want to continue listening to them. He further argued that this was the reason older politicians tended to be believed more than the young ones because they had enough experience in trying to win people's hearts.

On the other hand, Tanck (2003) highlighted that speech acts of complaints are used by the speaker to express annoyance or displeasure in relation to a certain issue. For example, Jimmy Carter used his announcement and state of confidence speeches to express his displeasure at the eroding integrity and reputation as a result of the Watergate scandal. In most cases, politicians use complaint speech acts to show that they are aware of the feelings and the problems that the rest of the public faces.

Faucher-King (2005) states that some of the political speeches were meant to attract compassion from the audiences so that they may bear with them. This is most seen in the politicians who often fail to uphold their promises and in the process they try to show.

Keith (2008) explains how politicians tend to give promising speeches to the citizens they serve so that they can see them as being able. This makes the citizens to entrust them with responsibilities as a result of being moved by the speeches. These speeches tend to majorly show their capabilities in leadership and are most often filled with their visions and goodwill for the development and growth of the people they represent. Speeches are also used as sources of information because it is from them that people learn on the current issues affecting them, for instance politically, economically and socially.

According to Saeed (2009), presidential candidates use speeches to sell their policies, entice and manipulate people to vote for them. After being elected, the tone and expressions of these individuals must change in line with the new demands of the new office.

Savoy (2010) argues that during presidential elections, candidates deliver speeches on several issues such as health care, education, infrastructure and foreign policy. The speakers are also expected to give their views in regard to rights and ethical issues such as death penalty, abortion, and homosexuality among others. Politicians use words and expressions in their speeches which are intended to sway public opinions towards their own.

In politics, there are also conservative and liberal ideologies. Listeners get to identify and determine the ideologies of their leaders from the speech. For example, in the United States, conservatives are characterized by policies that prioritize free trade, national security, and fewer regulations while liberal policies focus on rights of all individuals, liberties, and equality within the society. For this reason, politicians tend to use speeches or interviews with dramatic overtones and unrealistic promises in a bid to influence the intensity of the social conflict (Savoy, 2010).

The choice of words helps determine the intention of the speaker. Duan (2011) is of the opinion that the purpose of complimentary speech acts is to make sure conversations go smoothly and build relationships with people. Politicians use complimentary speech acts in most cases to maintain solidarity with the people.

Matic (2012) elucidates how most of the political speeches cover more than a single theme. For instance, the acceptance speech of Barack Obama in 2008 covered themes such as health care, small businesses; need to tackle the financial crisis among other areas. From Obama's acceptance speech, the reality and the immediate circumstances usually cover vast portions of the speech. That is, immediate and emerging issues are the issues that the voters will want to be solved immediately. For example, 2008's speeches of all presidential candidates were characterized mainly by

ideas on how to tackle the financial crisis and ensure economic growth in the United States.

Archer, Aijmer and Wichmann (2012), show that pragmatics refers to a study on how context contributes to the meaning of the text. Pragmatic approach to political speeches helps understand the interests and goals of the speaker based on the immediate environment and circumstances. Pragmatics, therefore, depends on the place that the political event is held and the targeted audience with the speech. The speaker must consider the nature or types of words he/she uses depending on the audience. For example, the term 'Negroes' is considered offensive, and politicians must avoid the use of these offensive terms in order for their message to reach the general population.

2.2 Review of Empirical Literature:

Many researchers addressed the speech act analysis in the presidents' speeches. Extracting words and phrases from a set of speeches by politicians can help the researcher to understand the main objectives of the person in his/her pursuit of power. These studies focus on the analysis of compliment and complaint speech acts in Jimmy Carter's speeches. Following are some of empirical studies that were conducted to deal with this topic:

Sameer (2017) conducted a study to highlight the speech acts patterns in two Egyptian inaugural speeches. In his study, two Egyptian inaugural speeches from El-Sadat and El-Sisi, belonging to different periods were analyzed to find out whether there were differences within this genre in the same culture or not. The study showed that there was a very small difference between these two speeches which were analyzed according to Searle's theory of speech acts. In El Sadat's speech, commissives came to occupy the first place. Meanwhile, in El-Sisi's speech, assertives occupied the first place. Within the speeches of one culture, one can find that the differences depended on the circumstances that surrounded the elections of the Presidents at the time. Speech acts were tools used to convey what they wanted and to obtain support from their audiences.

Another study conducted by Altikriti (2016) to study the persuasive speech acts in Barack Obama's Inaugural Speeches (2009,2013) and The Last State of the Union Address (2016). The sample of her study consisted of these three speeches only for Obama. Altikriti (2016) found that Obama has directly and indirectly influenced the audience via using various speech acts where in some cases more than one illocutionary act is found in one utterance. Although the time frame of the three selected presidential speeches of Obama differs (2009, 2013, 2016) they were all dominated by the constative and hence assertive speech act. In addition this study aimed at providing an understanding of persuasion in political speeches through the use of persuasive speech acts and emphasizing that they are not used in an arbitrary but as an effect way to achieve a special political purpose.

A study was conducted by Matic (2012) to evaluate the ideological positions of Prime Minister Trudeau (1968-72) in Canada and Begovoy (1992) in France based on lexical analysis of their speeches. The sample consisted of various speeches by the two leaders. Matic (2012) found that Prime Minister Trudeau (1968-72) of Canada and Begovoy (1992) of France showed that enhanced diversity of vocabulary could be attributed to a single event. In this regard, to understand and determine the reason for lexical richness associated with a particular speech, there is need to identify the actual speech writer behind every discourse. Furthermore, the use of

specific words helps to draw a political map showing similarities and characters of various political leaders (Matic, 2012).

Meanwhile Clater (2012) conducted an analysis to determine the intention of the speaker by looking at the quantity of words. Elsewhere, lexical analysis can be used to determine various speech acts associated with the speech. According to study on speeches of former Nigerian President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, the findings showed that the Overall Relative Frequency Percentages (ORFPS) for the selected speeches were assertive, directive, expressive, verdictive, commissive and declarative (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). Analyzing his victory and acceptance speeches using Speech Act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), 20 sentences were extracted from the speeches from which 40 speech acts (direct and indirect illocutionary acts) were obtained. In this analysis, the results of ORFPs showed that Yar'Adua used more sentences with assertive speech acts than any other form of speech acts. Nonetheless, Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) found that there were also vindictive and directive speech acts which were mainly used as a way of asserting authority and exercising power as President.

Duan (2011) conducted a study to highlight the lexical richness of Presidential campaign speeches. The researcher used a sample of 245 speeches by Presidential aspirants John McCain and Barack Obama between 2007 and 2008. Some of the complimentary speech acts were seen in the use of words 'we've' by Obama is to present him in a manner that says that 'all Americans' including himself have a common trait. The study showed that certain terms used by the politicians could help determine their interests and beliefs. On the other hand, the study of the general distribution of speeches showed that over the period Obama had given more speeches than McCain.

A study was conducted by Shabeeb (2008, cited in Alwan, & Nawajha, 2013) to highlight the speech act of compliment in a theoretical view. She found that explicitly or implicitly, 'compliments' are expressive speech acts used to express approval of the hearer for something good and the 'compliments' and other related speech acts which belong to convivial class take the form of positive positions. Also she added to the conclusion that compliments' have a set of syntactic and semantic formulas that distinguish their usage.

A research of silent and non-silent styles of giving speeches by Danielle Duez (1982) illustrates the difference between normal and political speeches. From this it is evident that political speeches tend to take a lot of

time than the normal speeches showing one of the many unique characteristics they have. The speech adapts this kind of style because they are mainly designed to ensure those they are addressed to get them without problems. They are also repetitive in some instances to show how serious some issues are in the society. This is different from the normal speeches many are used to which mainly require the listeners to be very attentive and are very fast because those delivering them work under short periods of time allocated to them. Most political speeches also need a lot of time because of the weight of the issues they address carry which need to be.

Apparently, all the above mentioned studies have dealt with the speech acts kinds in many aspects and none has put the compliments and complaint speech act together and compare between them in political speeches for one president. Therefore, this study will provide a comparison between both compliment and compliant speech acts in Jimmy Carter's speeches, the researcher will draw an unprecedented attention to the use of these two speech act.

2.3 Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter highlights various theories and findings of the past studies regarding the lexical analysis of political speeches. In the past studies, it has been found that speech is used as an instrument to persuade, manipulate or lobby people towards a general or single vision. Speech acts help in the evaluation of the hidden meaning behind words, and phrases used in different speeches with the aim of understanding the intention and ideologies of politicians. Lastly, lexical analysis of speech can assist in the determination of various speech acts as used by the speaker in order to present a certain message.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Procedures

3.0 Introduction

The following chapter deals with the methodological approach adopted in the study. It shows how the data are gathered via the study's instruments, and demonstrates how each instrument is constructed.

3.1 Method of the Study

The methodological approach adopted for the current study is a data analysis orientation in which percentages are highly employed. In other words, serves the analysis of data in the form of the complements and complaints words or phrases spoken by Jimmy Carter.

For the purpose of this study, the only tool the researcher has used is the Content Analysis for a number of Jimmy Carter's speeches. Content Analysis focuses on issues such as power asymmetries, manipulation, structural inequalities, and exploitation.

3.2 Population and Sample of the Study

The study is a set of Jimmy Carter's speeches. The researcher focuses on a sample of Jimmy Carter's political speeches. For instance, the study is

concerned with speeches from the announcement speech in 1974, campaign speeches, acceptance speech, victory speech and inaugural speech. Other speeches include selected speeches delivered by President Carter during the elections, while he has authority. In this regard, the sampled speeches cover a four-year period of between 1977 and 1981. In the case of complaint speech acts, Carter's 1979 speech on the state of confidence is very important while the inaugural speech can serve as a good source to determine compliment speech acts.

3.3 Instruments of the Study

The study framework draws from various critical discourses and speech acts theories. Therefore, the researcher does not conduct any test or interview but the researcher adopted the data analysis of the target speeches.

In this regard, theories by theoreticians such as Fairclough, Fairclough and Wodak, van Dijk, Chilton and Schäffner and Chilton will provide the platform for the analysis of the sampled speeches (Archer, Aijmer, & Wichmann, 2012). Given the word range of theories, in order for the researcher to realize the study goal of identifying compliment and complaint speech acts in Carter's speeches.

Percentage charts (pie charts) are provided so as to mirror how frequent complaint and compliment expressions are uttered. By Carter the charts and their percentage values represent the speech acts of compliment and complaint as they are used in three different periods any time: before Carte's pre-elected presidency, during his presidency. Both compliments and complaint are as usual, presented inform of phrases and these phrases are illustrated in a group of checklist. (see appendix)

3.4 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

Unlike other studies whose research instruments are mostly based on the tests, interviews or questionnaire, the present study as stated previously, adopted a research instrument of describing and then analysing the collected data. For this reason, the collected data (Carter's speeches) are given to a panel of experts to check up its validity and reliability.

3.5 Data Analysis

The classification of the data was based on:

1. The number of the words and phrases Carter used in his speeches that represent compliment or complaint speech acts in each speech and compare between them.
2. The time of the speeches: Is it during the elections or after? Is it in the last few months in his presidency period or before?
3. The types of the linguistic devices that Carter used in his speeches and the way they have been manipulated. So the researcher focuses on the linguistic devices that Carter used and the number of the uses compared with the time of each speech.

3.6 Procedures

The researcher used the following procedures:

1. Reviewing the theoretical literature and empirical studies related to issue under investigation.
2. Developing the instrument of the study: the content analysis of Carter speech acts of compliment and complaint.
3. Identifying the population and sample of the study.

4. Establishing the validity of the instrument.
5. Analyzing and interpreting data whose results are illustrated via charts and discussion.
6. Presenting these results.
7. Results are charts, discussed with references to some studies mentioned in chapter two.
8. Drawing conclusion and providing recommendations.
9. All references are listed according to APA style.
10. Useful appendices are added at the end of the study.

Chapter Four

Results of the Study

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides answers to the questions of the study which aimed at highlighting the compliment and complaint speech acts in Jimmy Carter's speeches during his presidency period. It tracks also the linguistic devices that Jimmy Carter used in his speeches. This chapter provides the answers of the following questions:

- 1- How is the compliment speech acts are shown and identified in Jimmy Carter's speeches?
- 2- How is the complaint speech acts are identified in Jimmy Carter's speeches?

4.1 Data Analysis:

The researcher classified Jimmy Carter's speeches according to the following categories: compliment and complaint speech acts.

Results related to Question One: How the compliment and complaint speech acts are shown and identified in Jimmy Carter's speeches?

To answer this question, all speeches have been analyzed separately to identify the differences between the way of using the compliment and complaint speech acts in different periods of his presidency depending on the circumstances and the speech aim. Then the researcher compared between them.

4.1.1 Nomination Speech (Acceptance Speech) (July 15, 1976):

On his nomination for the position of President on a Democratic Party ticket, President Carter made an important speech about how he would build America if elected president.

4.1.1.1 Compliment Speech Act

Jimmy Carter uses various complimentary words when addressing the nation after being nominated to run for presidency by his Democrat party. He begins by thanking the party for having nominated him to run for the presidency and accepting to be the flag bearer for his party in the elections. To capture the attention of the audience, he begins by saying, "*and now I've come here after seeing our great country to accept your nomination*" (Para 2). This means that he recognizes the responsibility his party has placed on him of running for the most powerful office in the world. He understands what this entails and he is ready to represent them in ensuring that matters of the nation progressed as they should. In his speech, Carter also says that, "*It's a pleasure to be here with all you Democrats and to see that our Bicentennial celebration and our Bicentennial convention has been one of decorum. With this kind of a united Democratic Party, we are ready, and eager, to take on the Republicans*" (Para 3). This means that with his representing the democrats the party is ready to push for the nation's development and ensure that it thrived.

Carter also compliments the party and its members for having nominated him by saying that, "*Nineteen seventy-six will not be a year of politics as usual. It can be a year of inspiration and hope, and it will be a year of concern, of quiet and sober reassessment of our nation's character and*

purpose” (Para 5). This means that he is ready to bring change to the way of governance in America and ensure that all the people of the nation benefited from this. He tries to show them why nominating him to run for presidency was the best idea because he was going to ensure the people were well represented. He also says that, “ *It has already been a year when voters have confounded the experts*” to show that indeed the people’s voice had been heard as a compliment to them for ensuring he was nominated and that he was going to deliver.

Carter compliments America for having come up with means or rather ways of ensuring that the challenges that the people faced were solved. He says that,” *although government has its limits and cannot solve all our problems, we Americans reject the view that we must be reconciled to failures and mediocrity or to an inferior quality of life*” (Para 7). By this, he is complimenting the nation for having surpassed all forms of issues that dragged the development behind. He further adds that, “*we have been disciplined, and we have been educated*” to show what had made the nation to develop. According to him, education and the discipline people had towards matters of development had helped push the nation forward and he is grateful to his people for that.

Jimmy Carter also compliments the goodwill of the people by saying that; *“Guided by lasting and simple moral values, we have emerged idealists without illusions, realists who still know the old dreams of justice and liberty, of country and of community”* (Para 8). By this he means that the people of America are focused to promote development of the country. He compliments them for having stood on fairness and insisting on good leadership as this had promoted the country’s growth. He also compliments the people’s positive attitude towards democracy because it had played an important role in ensuring the country achieved its dreams. He says, *“we have had thirty state primaries more than ever before making it possible to take our campaign directly to the people of America”* (Para 9). This means that the people had made it easier to choose leaders who represented them well to foster development in the nation.

Carter compliments the democrats for having stood on principles that allowed development in the nation. He compliments them for having chosen leaders who inspired and restore the nation in the darkest hour like Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, J.F Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and others. These leaders had stood to defend the nation and ensured it prospered through their various ideas and reasoning. He says, *“Our Party was built out of the sweatshops of the old Lower East Side, the dark mills of New Hampshire, the blazing hearths of Illinois, the coal mines of*

Pennsylvania, the hard-scrabble farms of the southern coastal plains, and the unlimited frontiers of America” (Para15). This shows how these democrat leaders had been chosen by the same people who nominated him and had made a great impact in the nation. They had made various sacrifices to push the country forward and he was also going to do the same. He adds that the party had also made mistakes but did not fall because it believed in achieving greater things. He says, “*Our party has not been perfect. We have made mistakes, and we have paid for them. But ours is a tradition of leadership and compassion and progress*” (Para 18). This shows that the party is determined to bring development to the nation and nothing could actually make it deviate from its main objective of giving quality services to the people.

4.1.1.2 Complaint Speech Act:

In his nomination to run for presidency, Jimmy Carter also complains how some of the leaders had failed in achieving greatness for the country. He says that, “*We have been shaken by a tragic war abroad and by scandals and broken promises at home: Our people are searching for new voices and new ideas and new leaders*” (Para 6). This means that despite making few changes to the way some issues were handled, the nation had also experienced sorts of problem as a result of leaders who condoned acts of corruption and incompetence in some offices. As a result, this brought

suffering to the common citizens and this made them elect new leaders. He also adds that, *“But in recent years our nation has seen a failure of leadership. We have been hurt, and we have been disillusioned: We have seen a wall go up that separates us from our own government”* (Para 20).

This shows how bad leadership had disadvantaged the nation from achieving some of its objectives. The leaders were not also representing the people properly as their issues were not addressed.

Carter also complains further about the people who had lost faith on the government because of the experience they had encountered with some leaders. The leaders had no goals or vision on the development of the country and it is, through them, that some systems of the government had failed because of there being no transparency. He says *“we feel that moral decay has weakened our country, that it is crippled by a lack of goals and values, and that our public officials have lost faith in us”* (Para 21). This illustrates how the country was in a bad state and new leaders with ideas on nation development were required.

He also complains about the government for abandoning the people, who had been left to suffer as a result of this. The country had survived this and he wants truth to be upheld in all systems to promote equality in the nation. He says, *“It is time for the people to run the government, and not the other way around”* (Para 24).

He tries to encourage the people to stand up for their rights because he feels they were being violated. He also wants all leaders to be accountable for their actions because it is through this they were going to advocate for development. The people had not been empowered to be productive and develop the nation and he wants this to be looked into. This is also caused by leaders who did not have the people's interests at heart. He says, "*It is time for America to move and to speak not with boasting and belligerence but with a quiet strength, to depend in world affairs not merely on the size of an arsenal and to govern at home not by confusion and crisis*" (Para 27). This shows that the leaders had developed more sectors that did not benefit the people and they needed to change on their ways of leadership because this oppressed the people.

Jimmy Carter also complains on other government activities and how they should be changed. For instance, he complains on the high unemployment levels, high taxes imposed on the citizens, poor education systems, and many secrets that the government kept. He says "*All of us must be careful not to cheat each other. It is time for us to take a new look at our own government, to strip away the secrecy, to expose the unwarranted pressure of lobbyists, to eliminate waste, to release our civil servants from bureaucratic chaos, to provide tough management*" (Paragraphs 30&32). Through this he advocates for change

because the American people deserve better than what they were being given. According to Carter, a change in the system would mean that the country prospered.

The following table and charts show the percentage representations of the compliment and complaint during the Nomination Speech 1976.

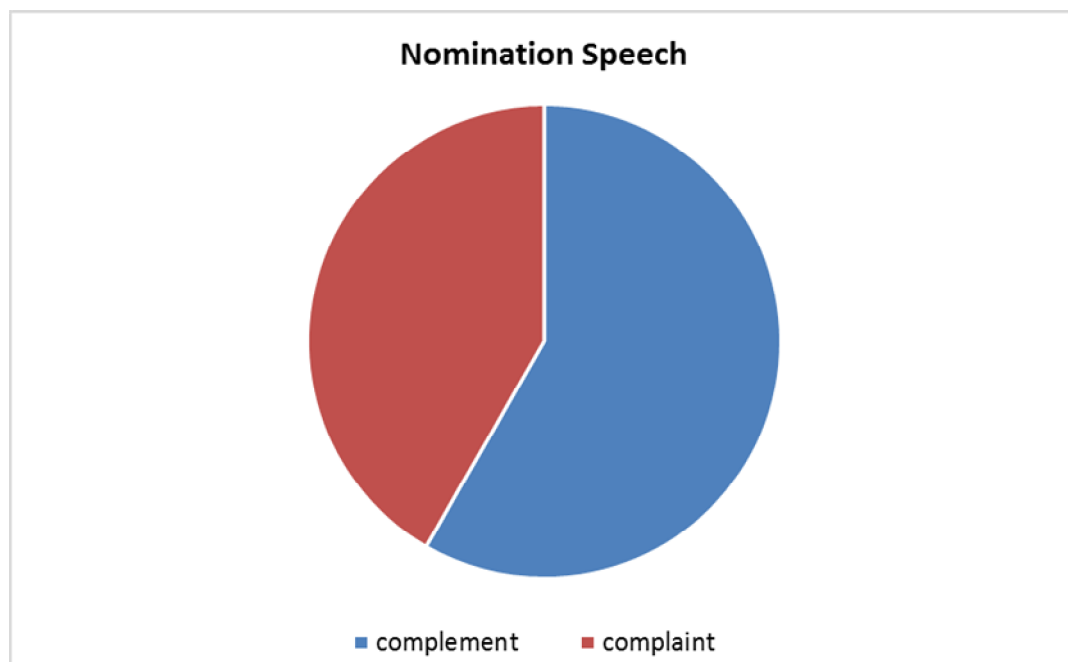
Table (1)

The percentage of Compliment and complaint speech act in the Nomination Speech.

Aspect	%
Compliment	58.3 %
Complaint	41.7%

This chart shows that the percentage of the compliment speech act is higher in the nomination speech compared with the percentage of the complaint speech act.

Figure 1
Compliments and Complaint Speech Act in the Nomination Speech



4.1.2 Inaugural Speech (January 20, 1977)

The Inauguration of Jimmy Carter as the 39th President of the United States was held on Thursday, January 20, 1977, on the East Portico of the United States Capitol in Washington D.C.

4.1.2.1 Compliment Speech Act:

In his opening remarks during his inauguration, Jimmy Carter appreciated the work done by the previous presidents, he appreciated the work they have done for the people of America. He says “*For myself and for our Nation, I want to thank my predecessor for all he has done to heal our land*” (Para 1) by his own phrase, he is so thankful to the presidents, whose achievements which have made America to be what it is now.

Jimmy Carter compliments the American people for giving him the opportunity to lead them, he makes the people believe much of the success is owed to him. He compliments the people by giving him power to serve them “*This inauguration ceremony marks a new beginning, a new dedication within our Government, and a new spirit among us all. A President may sense and proclaim that new spirit, but only a people can provide it*” (Para 4). The choice of words he uses in his introductory speech as the president is for the people to see change in their president by giving

him the opportunity to lead as the president of America. He further says how he needs the people to be governed well.

Jimmy Carter attests on social responsibility. He compliments his people by promising how he is going to work with them closely. He humbles himself before the American people to realize how committed he is going to be after given responsibility by the American people to be the president. He says *“You have given me a great responsibility--to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes”* (Para 7). He acknowledges that he is prone to make mistakes but with the help of the American people, those mistakes can be minimized. Therefore, he compliments them to have enough strength, a good sense of trust and cohesion among the people for them to realize the common American dream of the people.

In his speech about issues that affect the people of America, Jimmy Carter compliments the progress they have made on major issues like human rights, and justice for the American people *“We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and we are now struggling to enhance equality of opportunity. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute,*

our laws fair, our natural beauty preserved; the powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced” (Para 23).

Jimmy Carter on his speech compliments on the confidence given to him to achieve the hope of the American people for a better world. Therefore he also joins the journey that was started. As the people, president, he was going to focus on the movement of the people. He does not want to see that dreams die. He says “*Within us, the people of the United States, there is evident a serious and purposeful rekindling of confidence. And I join in the hope that when my time as your President has ended, people might say this about our Nation*” (Para 24). In his words, Jimmy Carter does not want to be criticized about how he will fail after his tenure in power has failed, but he talks about bringing that hope among the American people.

While Jimmy Carter concludes his inauguration ceremony speech, he identifies and compliments the people of America and outlines his hope for the American people, his dedication to their better the lives of the American people and outlines his plan for the Americans “*I would hope that the nations of the world might say that we had built a lasting peace, built not on weapons of war but on international policies which reflect our own most precious value. These are not just my goals ---and they will not be my accomplishments, but the affirmation of our Nation's continuing moral strength and our belief in an undiminished, ever-expanding*

American dream” (Paragraphs 32, 33). He further outlines his plan and asks the people to support him and believe in his governance.

4.1.2.2 Complaint Speech Act:

Jimmy Carter addresses the people by informing them about the need for a change for the welfare of the society. In his speech, he realizes the need for the people of America pray for their nation strength *“In this outward and physical ceremony, we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our Nation. As my high school teacher, Miss Julia Coleman, used to say, “We must adjust to changing times and still hold to unchanging principles”* (Para 2). His views of the people to realize and develop their willingness to continue with the same spirit as time goes.

He complains to American people, he asks them to rise over many challenges that face them. He calls for people to be stronger in their challenges. *“The American dream endures. We must once again have full faith in our country--and in one another- I believe America can be better. We can be even stronger than before”* (Para 9). By the choice of his words, Jimmy Carter realizes the need for people to work for a common course. He advises them to focus on the good of the nation and have continued hope in his government. He believes in the sense of the people of America

having unity by coming together regardless of Democrats or Republic in order to realize the goal of the American people.

Jimmy Carter stands straight and complains on what his governance was not going to do rather than he outlines his plans. He complains about the challenges and problems facing the American people. He outlines how his government will be dealing with issues that affect the common American person. He says *“We will be ever vigilant and never vulnerable, and we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, and injustice—for those are the enemies against which our forces can be honorably marshalled”* (Para 20). In his speech made against violence and poverty, he stands to complain about them showing how they have affected America. He outlines how his governance was committed to solve such problems that face the American people.

Jimmy Carter complains about the safety of the Americans. He further assures the people to believe in of security as being citizens of America. He says *“The world is still engaged in a massive armaments race designed to ensure continuing equivalent strength among potential adversaries- We pledge perseverance and wisdom in our efforts to limit the world's armaments to those necessary for each nation's own domestic safety- And we will move this year a step toward ultimate goal—the elimination of all*

nuclear weapons from this Earth-We urge all other people to join us, for success can mean life instead of death” (Para 23). On his assurance of security to American people, he calls for doing anything in his power to ensure that all of this is achieved. He pledges his full support by ensuring America is safe.

In conclusion, Jimmy Carter in his Inaugural Speech, he focuses on the compliments more than the complaints. As a matter of fact, 83.3 % is mainly about compliments that he directed towards the American people who believe in him and give him the power to overcome the world challenges. Moreover, he raised complaints on the past mistakes committed by the previous leadership that should have delivered desirable results. Complaints in this case score 17 %, even though as he focused on attacking his predecessor.

The following table and chart show the percentage representations of the compliments and complaints during the Inaugural Speech 1977.

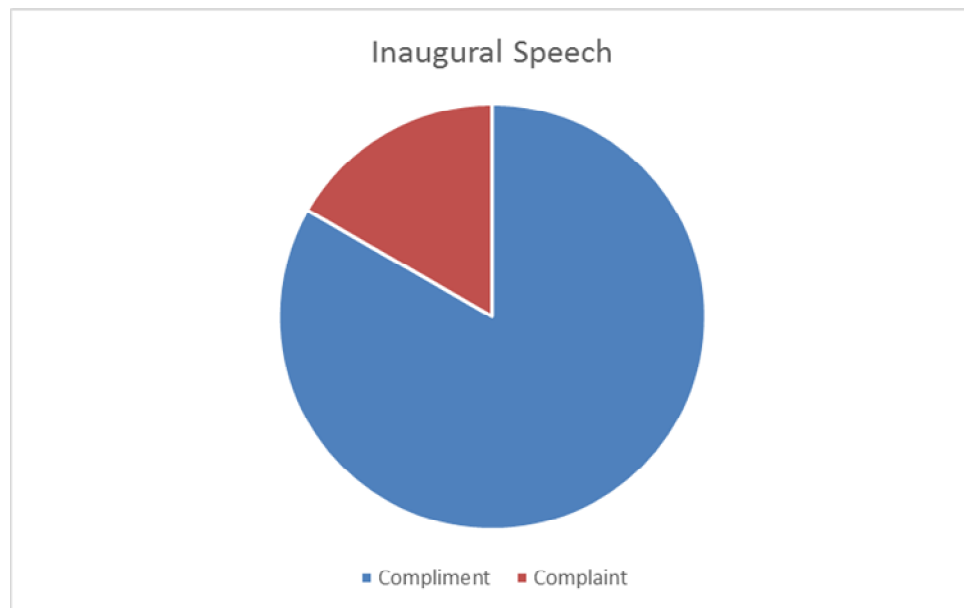
Table (2)

The percentage of Compliments and Complaint Speech Act in the Inaugural Speech.

Aspect	%
Compliment	83.3
Complaint	16.7

Figure 2

Percentage distribution of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in Carter's Inaugural Speech



4.1.3 State of the Union Address 1979 (January 23, 1979)

4.1.3.1 Compliment Speech Act:

Jimmy Carter starts to address the American people by appreciating the progress of the American people *“Tonight I want to examine in a broad sense the state of our American Union--how we are building a new foundation for a peaceful and a prosperous world”*(Para 1). He further brings a message of hope for the people. He brings out the sense of prosperity to the people *“Tonight, there is every sign that the state of our Union is sound”* (Para 3). Jimmy Carter assures the American people of how life depends on the union. He outlines the progress of the military works in protecting and safeguarding the American people *“Our liberties are secure. Our military defenses are strong and growing stronger; and more importantly, tonight, America--our beloved country--is at peace”* (Para 5). Jimmy Carter state of love to the American is seen.

Jimmy Carter calls for unity to build a strong American economy for the future of our kids *“The challenge to us is to build a new and firmer foundation for the future--for a sound economy, for a more effective government, for more political trust, and for a stable peace--so that the America our children inherit will be even stronger and even better than it is today”* (Para 7). His interests are aligned for the prosperity of the nation.

Jimmy Carter calls for introduction of many programs from which the American people would benefit.

His interest in business is noted as he tends to task the government to support business which has a positive impact on the growing economy of America *“Business and labor have been increasingly supportive”* (Para 14). He advocates the government to reduce the expenditure and promote business environment. In many issues such as inflation, Jimmy Carter compliments his abilities to bring down prices and cost of living *“This budget is a clear message that, with the help of you and the American people, I am determined, as President, to bring inflation under control; This budget is a clear message that, with the help of you and the American people, I am determined, as President, to bring inflation under control.”* (Para16).

Jimmy Carter attitudes towards humanity, justice and respect to rule of law are exhibited *“This demand for justice and human rights is a wave of the future; in such a world, the choice is not which super power will dominate the world; none can and none will; The choice instead is between a world of anarchy and destruction, or a world of cooperation and peace.”*(Para 39)

Jimmy Carter affirms his support for peace with other nations “*I am determined, as President, to use the full, beneficial influence of our country so that the precious opportunity for lasting peace between Israel and Egypt will not be lost*” (Para 50).

Jimmy Carter congratulates the Americans who have taken the risk to get their position “*To establish those values, two centuries ago a bold generation of Americans risked their property, their position, and life itself*” (Para 65). He calls for people to embrace values.

Finally he thanks the people of America for their supports, understanding of realizing their nation’s goal. He says “*It can help us build a nation and a world where all people are free to seek the truth and to add to human understanding, so that all of us may live our lives in peace; Tonight, I ask you, the Members of the Congress, to join me in building that new foundation, a better foundation, for our beloved country and our world*” (Paragraphs 68, 69). He finalizes the speech by appreciating and thanking the American people for their support “*Thank you very much*” (Para 70).

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4.1.3.2 Complaint Speech Act

Jimmy Carter calls for people to stand upright “*We cannot resort to simplistic or extreme solutions which substitute myths for common sense*” (Para 8). He complains on the effects of the economy and how this should be realized and solved “*In our economy, it is a myth that we must choose endlessly between inflation and recession.*”(Para 9). He asks the congress to consider amendments which help Americans. He complains the Congress to ensure that bills should be for the purpose of controlling inflation and economic growth “*There will be no clearer test of the commitment of this Congress to the anti-inflation fight than the legislation that I will submit again this year to hold down inflation in hospital care*” (Para 22). He complains about the hospital care that has made Americans pay more on healthcare services.

“*I call on Congress to take other anti-inflation action--to expand our exports to protect American jobs threatened by unfair trade, to conserve energy, to increase production and to speed development of solar power, and to reassess our Nation's technological superiority; American workers who enlist in the fight against inflation deserve not just our gratitude, but they deserve the protection of the real wage insurance proposal that I have already made to the Congress*” (Para 26).

He speaks about the attitude of the American people that should be changed into the best. *“To be successful, we must change our attitudes as well as our policies; we cannot afford to live beyond our means; we cannot afford to create programs that we can neither manage nor finance, or to waste our natural resources, and we cannot tolerate mismanagement and fraud”* (Para 27). He addresses challenges facing the American people.

Jimmy Carter also calls for commitment which gives a progressive push for the American people *“I’ve outlined some of the changes that have transformed the world and which are continuing as we meet here tonight; But we in America need not fear change; The values on which our Nation was founded: individual liberty, self-determination, the potential for human fulfillment in freedom, all of these endure; We find these democratic principles praised, even in books smuggled out of totalitarian nations and on wall posters in lands which we thought were closed to our influence; Our country has regained its special place of leadership in the worldwide struggle for human rights; And that is a commitment that we must keep at home, as well as abroad”* (Para 60).

The following represents the percentages of the compliments and complaints in the State of the Union Address 1979:

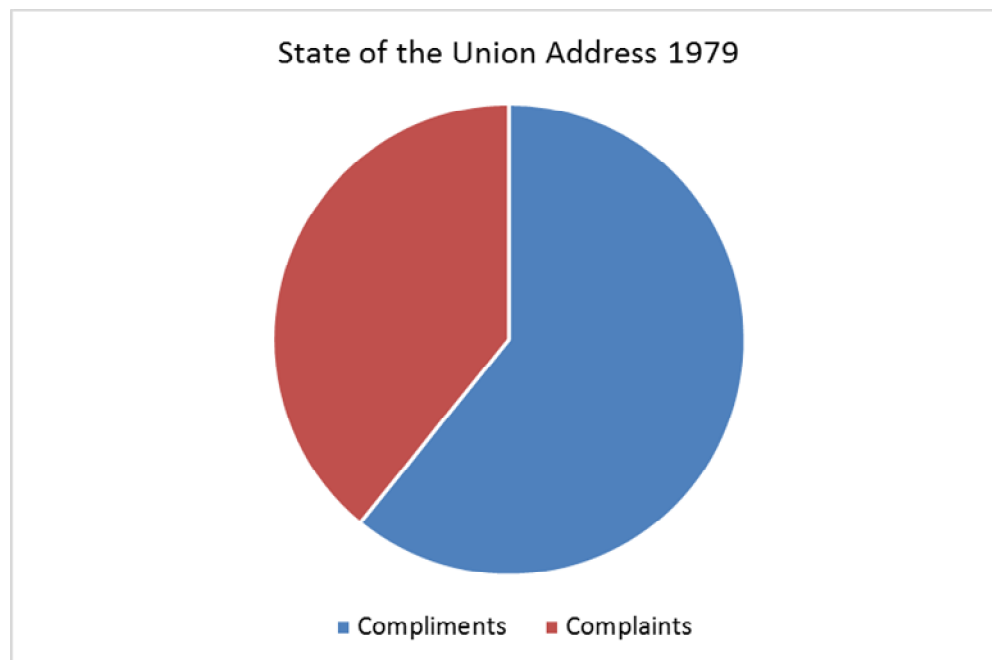
Table (3)

The percentage of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in the State of the Union Address 1979.

Aspect	%
Compliment	60.9
Complaint	39.1

Figure (3)

Percentage distribution of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in the State of the Union Address 1979.



4.1.4 Energy and National Goals: Address to the Nation - Crisis of Confidence (July 15, 1979).

4.1.4.1 Compliment Speech Act:

Jimmy Carter utilizes different complimentary words when addressing the nation in 1979. He discusses various aspects of gratitude and being thankful. As a matter of fact, Jimmy Carter begins by complimentary words in order to capture the attention of his audience – the American people. More specifically, after the greetings, he begins by saying “*This a special night for me; Exactly three years ago, on July 15, 1976, I accepted the nomination of my party to run for President of the United States; I promised you a President who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain, and who shares your dreams, and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you*” (Para 2). This phrase simply reflects a sense of gratitude to the party members and the Americans in general. It is important to mention that Carter does not say that he accepted the opportunity of being the President of the United States – of course his audience includes the Republicans and the Democrats and even those who neither support these two popular parties –but rather refers to the chance given by the party members with respect to nominations. This may either represent an idea of personalizing his party agenda to the Americans – Democrats have specific ideologies about governance that is different

from that of Republicans – or establish the notion that he could not have been chosen as president before being nominated by Democrats. In other words, Carter was actually paying homage to his concepts, his ideals and principles and appreciating the Americans for electing him according to what he stood for.

Apart from that, Carter also focuses on appreciating his audience for the faith they have had to him and also that of believing in achieving the best developmental projects – which is part of his dream. According to Carter, *“The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the Fourth of July; it is the idea which founded our nation and has guided our development as a people; confidence in the future has supported everything else - public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States; confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations; we’ve always believed in something called progress; we’ve always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own”* (Para35).

His argument is mainly based on the appreciation of Americans with regards to their confidence. Carter uses the term “*we*” and not “*you*”. He simply embraces the Americans and expresses his thoughts as how they have valued him and enabled him to take them to higher levels of economic growth, peace and stability. He boasts of the ideals of the founding process of the United States.

Jimmy Carter gives a message of hope to the people of America. He compliments them by saying “*I promised you a president who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain, and who shares your dreams, and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you*” (Para 2). These phrases are as a sign of believing that in his entire period as the president he has done his best. He believes that he has been there for his people both for the Republics and the Democrats. This is a sign of thanks giving for the American people’s support.

Jimmy Carter choice of words and phrases during the inauguration ceremony symbolizes the good people of America that are future oriented. His expression is concerned with the hope the American people have by saying “*The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the Fourth of July. It is the idea which founded our nation and has guided our development as a people. Confidence in the future has supported*

everything else -- public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States. Confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations. We've always believed in something called progress. We've always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own" (Para 32). This is a recommendation for them to believe that the American people had a bright future ahead of them. In his speech, he expresses his hope for the American children and wants to bring confidence to each American family.

President Jimmy Carter congratulates both the Republicans and Democrats by calling for peace and unity among them regardless to their conflicting opinions they should work together. He compliments them on the need for unity in the society *"We know the strength of America: We are strong, we can regain our unity: We can regain our confidence: We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now: Our fathers and mothers were strong men and women who shaped a new society during the Great Depression who fought world wars and who carved out a new charter of peace for the world."* (Para 50). He acknowledges that despite the challenges the American people have, in his speech he compliments the people of America on the strength that the American people have. He

further mentions the contribution of our parents who provided us with the modern way of living.

Jimmy Carter compliments on the numerous histories the American people have made. He also acknowledges the struggles which have been made in pursuit for human rights and equality. He says on his speech “*We ourselves are the same Americans who just ten years ago put a man on the moon: We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality: And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process, rebuild the unity and confidence of America.*” (Para 47). These words are said to compliment and appreciate the various milestones, the people of United States having been achieved, during his governance. Jimmy Carter also remembers the achievements the people have made with regards to issue of respect human rights among the American people.

In his final words, he appreciates the people of America, by giving thanks. He shows how he has been able to serve them and for the opportunity they gave him to serve as their president, he says “*Thank you and good bye*” (Para80). Based on his words and phrases he decided to appreciate them all despite facing opposition from the other side.

4.1.4.2 Complaint Speech Act

Jimmy Carter explains how his term in power has not been easy. He calls up the numerous struggles that he had to do much for the many purposes of the American people. He talks about the numerous effort his government did by complaining so much “ *During the past three years I’ve spoken to you on many occasions about national concerns, the energy crisis, reorganizing the government, our nation’s economy, and issues of war and especially peace: But over those years the subjects of the speeches, the talks, and the press conferences have become increasingly narrow, focused more and more on what the isolated world of Washington thinks is important: Gradually, you’ve heard more and more about what the government thinks or what the government should be doing and less and less about our nation’s hopes, our dreams, and our vision of the future*” (Para 3). In his sayings and the words that he used, Jimmy Carter tries to affect attention of what his focus has been as the president of the American people, the struggles that he has put up in order to make sure. In his readership, he has been opted not to attend much on press issues because his interest has been to improve the lives of the American people.

He talks about his plan for the American people that concern energy; he finds himself complaining about useful service like energy for the people to use. He fails to identify the main reasons which led to cancellation of this

for the 5th time. Therefore, he fails to explain important aspect of energy that is useful to the American people:

“Ten days ago, I had planned to speak to you again about a very important subject energy: For the fifth time I would have described the urgency of the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the Congress: But as I was preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you: Why have we not been able to get together as a nation to resolve our serious energy problem” (Para 4).

By the choice of his words, he tries to speak to people about energy which has not been fully operational since he lacks what to tell the people. He tries to ask himself critical self-questions by complaining on how they failed to provide energy for the people.

In his speech, Jimmy Carter expresses his dissatisfaction of problems the American people have. He complains on the numerous problems the American people had in realization of what he had promised to do to them. He says that he was unable to achieve much as the president. At many times he was forced to listen to the people who had requested him to make some decision. *“... it’s that the true problems of our nation are much deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession: And I realize more than ever that as President I need your*

help: So, I decided to reach out and to listen to the voices of America”

(Para 5). Choosing these phrases, it is so evident that Jimmy Carter realized to a point that he needed help from his people since leadership was hard for him. He further concludes that at one point he had to go back to them for taking a decision which brings up questions, where had been for that long time.

Jimmy Carter further expresses his continued complaints about other state leaders, who criticize him on how his governance is going on. He stands out to defend himself by clearly standing on what he should be standing as the president rather than allowing other states leaders to influence him *“This from a southern governor “Mr President, you are not leading this nation you’re just managing the government”* (Para 8).

This act, by quoting the phrase used by the said governors, depicts how they describe other leaders who oppose his leadership by referring him as a manager not a leader. This dissatisfaction of other governors is not pleasant with as he expresses it out broadly.

He complains on the actions of the Congress in their amendments of laws since they are powerful. He further criticizes that the notable problems are as a result of the corrupt Congress from powerful people in the society. This therefore, makes the government look non-functional since the Congress has been suppressed so he criticizes the it *“What you see too*

often in Washington and elsewhere around the country is a system of government that seems incapable of action: You see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests” (Para 45). The Congress is manipulated by powerfully people who have their own interest. Therefore this makes the congress adopted certain laws and regulations that benefit them and make the government look like it is not delivering.

Jimmy Carter complains on how inflation has resulted to the many causes of unemployment, which was due to continuous dependency on oil. He also expresses his complain on how this has affected millions of American residents while waiting for gasoline. In his speech, he further complains on the reasons why foreign dependence of oil by America is a threat to America which is attributed to many problem facing Americans. He says *“In little more than two decades we’ve gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people: This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline: It’s a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face: This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic*

independence and the very security of our nation” (Para 55).

These challenges that face America are a result of dependence of oil externally. Consequently, earlier he calls for a well energy system that can work better for the people. His dissatisfactions with unemployment is inflation on another perspective which can be used to describe his form of government that is not good on the eyes of the people who elected him.

In short, President Carter’s speech contained various linguistic aspects. The following table and chart show the various concepts derived from the speech.

Table (4)

The percentage of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in the State of the Union Address 1979.

Aspect	%
Compliment	14
Complaint	86

Figure 4:
Percentage distribution of Complement and Complaint Speech Acts in
Carter's Crisis of Confidence Speech



As indicated by the results, complaints are mainly seen in Carter's speech 86% is mainly about complaints directed towards him and about how he also raised complaints on how he has not been able to meet the goals of national development to the Americans. Compliments, in this case, score 14 %, even though he appreciated the American people for receiving the Presidential nomination of his party and also for electing him as the 39th president.

4.1.5 President Carter's Farewell Address (January 14, 1981):

4.1.5.1 Compliments Speech Act

Jimmy Carter begins his farewell speech by thanking his fellow countrymen to give him a chance to serve them. He also thanks them for having dedicated themselves towards achieving the goals of the country. He is proud of his country because of the wonderful experience he has encountered serving his people. He believes his country has what it takes to become more successful and be an example to other countries. He says that *“In a few days I will lay down my official responsibilities in this office, to take up once more the only title in our democracy superior to that of President, the title of citizen; I am now more convinced than ever that the United States; better than any other nation; can meet successfully whatever the future might bring; These last four years have made me more certain than ever of the inner strength of our country; the unchanging value of our principles and ideals, the stability of our political system, the ingenuity and the decency of our people”* (Para 1). This shows his willingness to the another leader the people had chosen out of respect he had for the well of the people. He is ready to become a common citizen once more and has a great vision for his country still. This also shows the kind of leader he is in

that who is able to recognize the same people who had not given him a chance to rule for the second term.

Jimmy Carter also believes that it is the duty of every citizen to work and ensure the country realizes its dreams. According to him, it is important for individuals to open question about the validity of various government organizations and the media in that instance as this would make them to be answerable and provide quality services to the country. The president encourages raising any concerns on any issue affecting them as this is what would make them to be treated as expected. This can be seen when he says that *“within our system of government every American has a right and duty to help shape the future course of the United States; Thoughtful criticism and close scrutiny of all government officials by the press and the public are an important part of our democratic society; now as in our past, only the understanding and involvement of the people through full and open debate can help to avoid serious mistakes and assure the continued dignity and safety of the nation”* (Para 2). Through this, it is clear that he believes that the American people have a great potential of achieving greater things. He also has the faith that the systems in the country would be able to improve once the people are awakened to look for better services. Encouraging positive criticism is a way of pushing for improvements in

services offered poorly to the people. This also ensures that they are active in matters concerning the development of the nation.

To show further, America was meant for greatness, Jimmy Carter firmly says how Americans could benefit greatly from working hard, and optimistic by doing so they will enjoy fruits of their labour, for instance, through high food production, forestry, mining and other activities. This is clearly illustrated when he says that “*we can meet the resource problems of the world, water, food, minerals, farmlands, forests, overpopulation, and pollution; if we tackle them with courage and foresight*” (Para 9). This complements the abilities of the American people and motivates them to work even harder because of the good results that they were assured of.

The president also compliments the America for being the nation that valued the rights of all the human beings. He says that “*America did not invent human rights, in a very real sense, it is the other way round; Human rights invented America*” (Para 11). This is to show how America had adopted respect for all life forms. This can be seen in instances where America is seen as one of the nations that discourage racism of any kind because according to its values all human beings are equal and should be treated fairly. The human rights hold any form of discrimination or racism illegal and those found committing the offence are subjected to punishment. The president further praises America because of embracing

democracy. This can be seen when he says that “ *...our social and political progress has been based on one fundamental principle, the value and importance of the individual, the fundamental force that unites us is not kinship or place of origin or religious preference*” (Para 12). This shows the civilization of America in all aspects including leadership. Leadership in America was granted by the people who had the absolute power and it was not inherited or given to certain religions. This is what motivated the people to choose leaders who were best for them and could serve them fairly.

On issues of freedom, the president compliments the nation for ensuring that the rights of the citizens were upheld and that they expressed themselves freely without intimidation. He urges the citizens to continue being proud with the nation because of the great impacts it had made. He is happy with the policies the nations had come up with, for instance, providing education to children, providing proper healthcare, fighting discrimination among others. This is illustrated when he says “ *... the love of liberty is a common blood that flows in our American veins; the battle for human rights at home and abroad is far from over; We should never be surprised nor discouraged because the impact of our efforts has had, and will always have, varied results; Rather, we should take pride that the ideals which gave birth to our nation still inspire the hopes of oppressed people around*

the world; We have no cause for self-righteousness or complacency; But we have every reason to persevere, both within our own country and beyond our borders; If we are to serve as a beacon for human rights, we must continue to perfect here at home the rights and values which we espouse around the world; A decent education for our children, adequate medical care for all Americans, an end to discrimination against minorities and women, a job for all those able to work, and freedom from injustice and religious intolerance” (Para 13). This also shows the progress the country has made over time and gives hope for improving the services even better.

The president recognizes the American values and praises them. This is to encourage the American people to remain on the same track of progress during times of change. He wants them to remain focused and work towards achieving the American dream no matter the challenges they are likely to encounter along the way. He says that *“we live in a time of transition, an uneasy era which is likely to endure for the rest of this century, During the period we may be tempted to abandon some of the time-honored principles and commitments which have been proven during the difficult times of past generations, We must never yield to this temptation, Our American values are not luxuries, but necessities, not the salt in our bread, but the bread itself” (Para 24).* The American people are

challenged to work for greatness and encouraged to be prepared for tough times because they are ones who will define and overcome them.

4.1.5.2 Complaint Speech Act

Despite complimenting America and its citizens, Jimmy Carter also has complaints about what he feels has not been done right and needs to be changed. For starters, he complains about the promises that had not been fulfilled over a long period and thinks that the government still needs to ensure that the people are well taken care of so that the country will prosper. He says that *“today we are asking our political system to do things of which the founding fathers never dreamed, The government they designed for a few hundred thousand people now serves a nation of almost 230 million people, Their small coastal republic now spans beyond a continent, and we now have the responsibility to help lead much of the world through difficult times to a secure and prosperous future”* (Para 6). The president wants a lot to be done to the American people because he feels they are not getting enough at the present. He further complains how people have lost faith with the government. This is because the government had failed them by not having their own interests at heart. He adds that *“today, as people have become ever more doubtful of the ability of the government to deal with our problems, we are increasingly drawn to single-issue groups and special interest organizations to ensure that*

whatever else happens our own personal views and our own private interests are protected; This is a disturbing factor in American political life; It tends to distort our purposes because the national interest is not always the sum of all our single or special interests; We are all Americans together, and we must not forget that the common good is our common interest and our individual responsibility” (Para 7). The government needs to ensure that it takes care of the people’s needs. He also challenges the politicians to deliver to the people they are supposed to represent, empowering the people would mean proper development for the nation because they will be challenged to work hard and improve themselves.

Jimmy Carter also complains about the state of security of the world. He feels that enough is not being done to ensure that all nations of the world are safe, but instead many keep ignoring threats associated with this. He says that *“National weakness; real or perceived; can tempt aggression and thus cause war; That's why the United States cannot neglect its military strength; We must and we will remain strong; But with equal determination, the United States and all countries must find ways to control and reduce the horrifying danger that is posed by the world's enormous stockpiles of nuclear arms; This has been a concern of every American president since the moment we first saw what these weapons could do; Our leaders will require our understanding and our support as they grapple*

with this difficult but crucial challenge; There is no disagreement on the goals or the basic approach to controlling this enormous destructive force; The answer lies not just in the attitudes or actions of world leaders, but in the concern and demands of all of us as we continue our struggle to preserve the peace” (Para 15). This clearly shows the effects which is not making security a first priority. The country therefore needs to regulate the use of dangerous weapons to mankind, for instance, the nuclear weapons. This would reduce the risks of civil wars and political unrests in the world hence promoting peace.

Jimmy Carter also complains about how technology is being used currently. For instance, he says “*nuclear weapons are an expression of one side of our human character; But there is another side; The same rocket technology that delivers nuclear warheads has also taken us peacefully into space; From that perspective, we see our Earth as it really is, a small and fragile and beautiful blue globe, the only home we have; We see no barriers of race or religion or country; We see the essential unity of our species and our planet; and with faith and common sense, that bright vision will ultimately prevail”* (Para 16).

He advocates for proper use of technology to promote peaceful coexistence in the world. Technology is supposed to bring people together and not divide them along ethnic and social lines. According to him, there

is need to live together because we all need each other, he further adds technology will help the country realize its dreams which are also based on supporting human life. It is important for human beings to embrace equality.

To recapitulate, this is the last significant speech made by Jimmy Carter. President Carter had lost the elections and therefore was focused on bidding farewell to the American people as they were ushered in a new president. The results of the study were as follows: Compliment score lower at 12 percent while complaints are at 88 percent. Because this is a farewell speech, Carter mainly focuses on expressing his regrets on losing the seat and also mentioning that most of his failures were caused by non-cooperative nature of different arms of Government.

The following table and chart illustrate the percentages of the compliments and complaints in Farewell Speech:

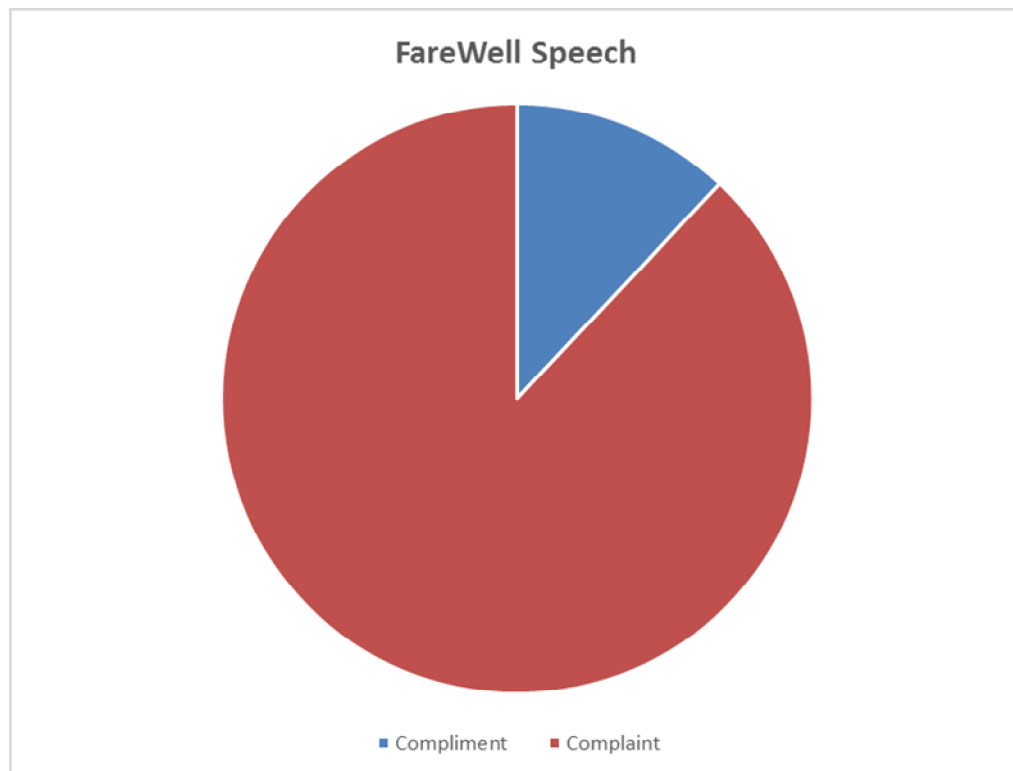
Table (5)

The percentage of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in the Farewell Speech.

Aspect	%
Compliment	12
Complaint	88

Figure 5

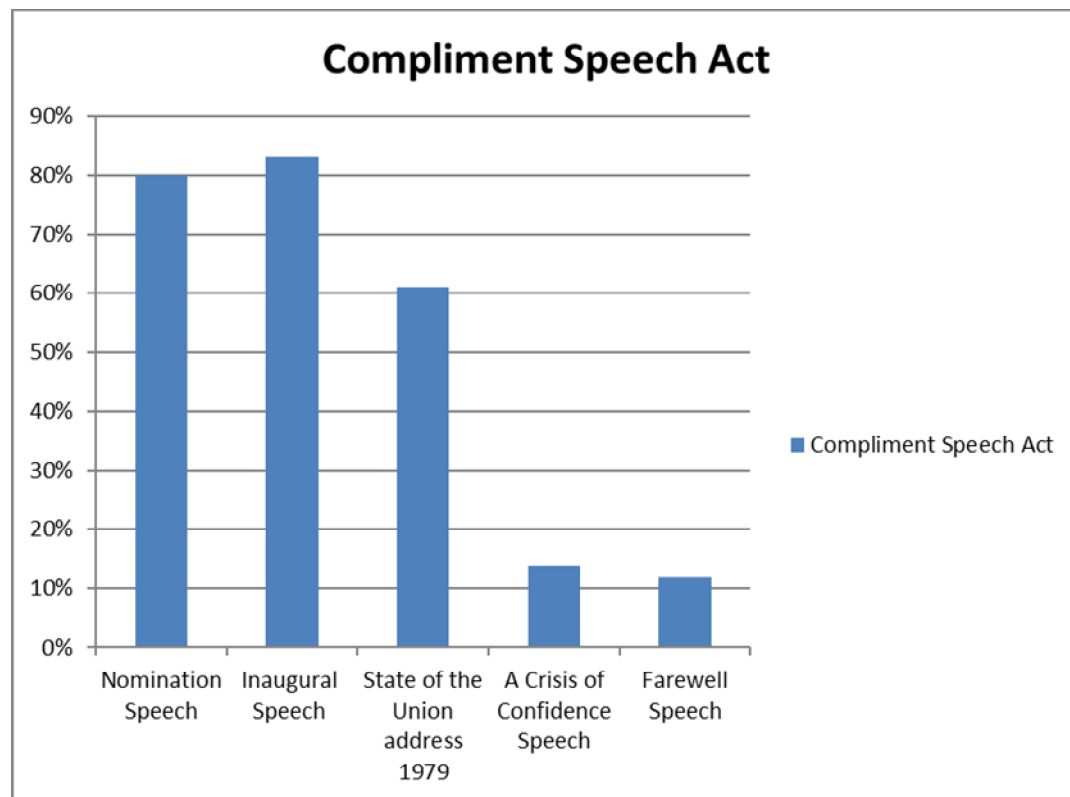
Percentage Distribution of and Complaint Speech Acts in Carter's Farewell Speech



4.2 Comparing the Compliments Speech Act in Jimmy Carter's speeches

Figure 6

Compliment Speech Ach in Jimmy Carter's Speeches.

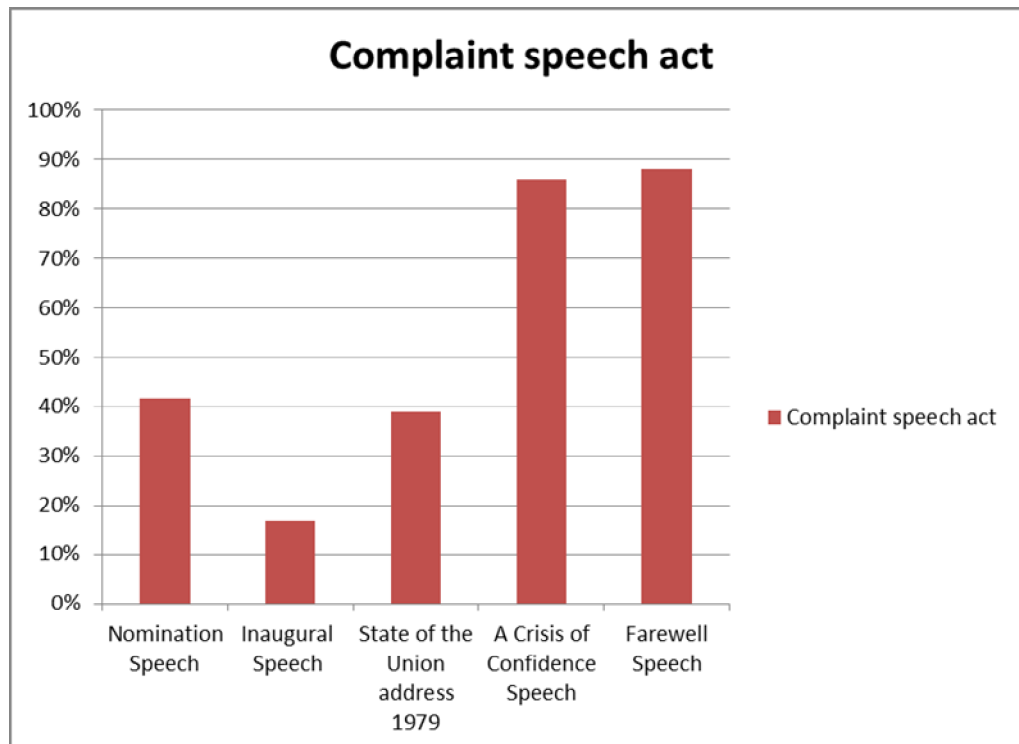


According to this chart the percentage of the compliment speech act that Jimmy Carter uses in these speeches is very high in the Inaugural speech and the Nomination speech because of the aim behind these speeches is almost the same while A Crisis of Confidence Speech and the Farewell speech are totally different that is why the reader see the percentage is very low. The State of the Union Speech comes between them both it is like the intermediate speech.

4.3 Comparing the complaints speech act in Jimmy Carter's Speeches.

Figure (7)

Complaint Speech Act in Jimmy Carter's Speeches.



According to this chart the reader see that Jimmy Carter uses the complaint speech act more in his last two speeches the Farewell speech and A Crisis of Confidence Speech. On the other hand, the percentage of the complaint speech acts is low in the Inaugural Speech.

Chapter Five

Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

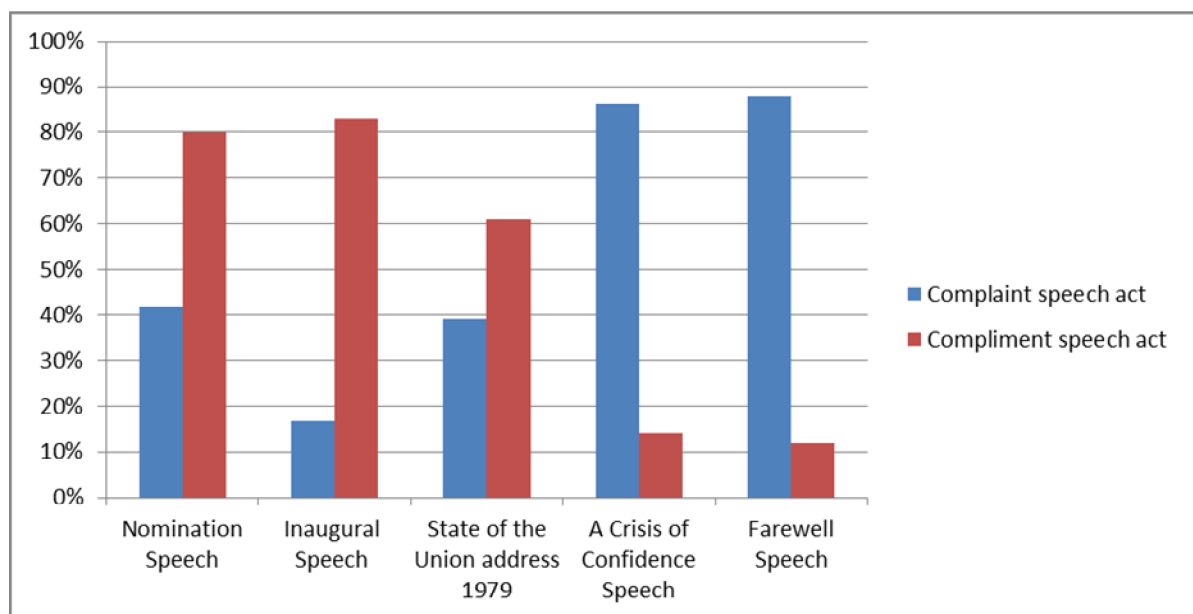
In the light of the results reported in Chapter Four and the reviewed literature, in this chapter the researcher presents a brief discussion of the study question and attempts to explain the results. The chapter ends with conclusion, recommendations, and suggestions for future research.

5.1 Discussion of the Study Results:

Based on the statistical analysis, the researcher discussed the differences between the use of compliments and complaint speech act in different speeches for Jimmy Carter. This chart explains and shows the difference in the percentage between the use of the compliments and complaint speech act in some of Jimmy Carter's speeches.

Figure (8)

Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in Jimmy Carter's speeches.



This figure shows that Jimmy Carter uses the two kinds of speech act in his speeches in order to achieve aim behind each speech; the compliment speech act is widely used in the first two speeches because of the topics that were mentioned in his speeches and the aim behind them. For example, while the complaint speech act is widely used in the last two speeches specially in the farewell speech in which Jimmy Carter spoke about his disappointments of not achieving the things he thought he would because of many reasons like the government and people.

This study goes side by side with Altikriti study (2016) who analysed the persuasive speech act in Barack Obama's Inaugural Speeches (2009, 2013) and The Last State of the Union Address (2016). Both studies have the same form, they focus on the speech act in political speeches of an American presidents in their presidency period. Throughout the charts the two studies show and explain the difference between the use of speech acts in the speeches.

A second study that goes side by side with this study is The Analysis of Speech Acts Patterns in Two Egyptian Inaugural Speeches by Imad Hayif Sameer. The common thing between the two studies is the analysis of the compliment speech act in the political speeches. On the other hand, Imad's study analyses the complement speech act for two Egyptian presidents: El-Sadat and El-Sisi, while this study focus only on Jimmy Carter. Imad's study analysis only the Inaugural Speeches for these two presidents which are belonging to different periods when this study analysis five of Jimmy Carter's speeches.

5.2 Conclusion

The linguistic analysis of speeches made by Jimmy Carter is critical in understanding the various speech acts that can be used particularly by presidents. Specifically, the use of compliments and complaints by President Carter in his speeches signifies his authority of the United States.

President Carter has been considered as a leader who takes the approach of negotiations, and therefore, this confirms his high use of complimentary words and words of complaints when addressing the Nation. There are concerns about his performance, as he focuses on discussing the major areas that the United States should dwell on – even requesting the Congress to pass some bills. This explains the idea that President Carter decentralized power during his regime which was not much influential. From this study therefore, compliments may be perceived to be a leader's weakness – especially when the compliments are many; much complaints also show that a leader has lost authority, the nation expects actions and not words. Therefore, the choice of words is significant in avoiding these perceptions as a leader as far as compliments and complaints are concerned.

5.3 Recommendations

On the basis of the results of this study, the researcher suggests the following recommendations:

- Conducting the same investigation into speech acts that have been used in the political speeches.
- Investigating speech acts in other fields or occasions such as social speeches.
- Conducting a comparative study between speech acts kinds in the Arabic political speeches.

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Appendix (A)

Nomination Speech

July 15, 1976

My name is Jimmy Carter, and I'm running for President.

It's been a long time since I said those words the first time, and now I've come here after seeing our great country to accept your nomination.

I accept it, in the words of John F. Kennedy, with a full and grateful heart and with only one obligation: to devote every effort of body, mind and spirit to lead our party back to victory and our nation back to greatness.

It's a pleasure to be here with all you Democrats and to see that our Bicentennial celebration and our Bicentennial convention has been one of decorum and order without any fights or free-for-alls. Among Democrats that can only happen once every two hundred years. With this kind of a united Democratic Party, we are ready, and eager, to take on the Republicans—whichever Republican Party they decide to send against us in November.

Nineteen seventy-six will not be a year of politics as usual. It can be a year of inspiration and hope, and it will be a year of concern, of quiet and sober reassessment of our nation's character and purpose. It has already been a year when voters have confounded the experts. And I guarantee you that it will be the year when we give the government of this country back to the people of this country.

There is a new mood in America. We have been shaken by a tragic war abroad and by scandals and broken promises at home. Our people are searching for new voices and new ideas and new leaders.

Although government has its limits and cannot solve all our problems, we Americans reject the view that we must be reconciled to failures and mediocrity, or to an inferior quality of life. For I believe that we can come through this time of trouble stronger than ever. Like troops who have been in combat, we have been tempered in the fire; we have been disciplined, and we have been educated.

Guided by lasting and simple moral values, we have emerged idealists without illusions, realists who still know the old dreams of justice and liberty, of country and of community.

This year we have had thirty state primaries--more than ever before—making it possible to take our campaign directly to the people of America: to homes and shopping centers, to factory shift lines and colleges, to beauty parlors and barbershops, to farmers, markets and union halls.

This has been a long and personal campaign—a humbling experience, reminding us that ultimate political influence rests not with the power brokers but with the people. This has been a time of tough debate on the important issues facing our country. This kind of debate is part of our tradition, and as Democrats we are heirs to a great tradition.

I have never met a Democratic President, but I have always been a Democrat.

Years ago, as a farm boy sitting outdoors with my family on the ground in the middle of the night, gathered close around a battery radio connected to the automobile battery and listening to the Democratic conventions in far-off cities, I was a long way from the selection process. I feel much closer to it tonight.

Ours is the party of the man who was nominated by those distant conventions and who inspired and restored this nation in its darkest hours—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Ours is the party of a fighting Democrat who showed us that a common man could be an uncommon leader—Harry S. Truman.

Ours is the party of a brave young President who called the young at heart, regardless of age, to seek a "New Frontier" of national greatness—John F. Kennedy.

And ours is also the party of a great-hearted Texan who took office in a tragic hour and who went on to do more than any other President in this century to advance the cause of human rights—Lyndon Johnson.

Our Party was built out of the sweatshops of the old Lower East Side, the dark mills of New Hampshire, the blazing hearths of Illinois, the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the hard-scrabble farms of the southern coastal plains, and the unlimited frontiers of America.

Ours is the party that welcomed generations of immigrants—the Jews, the

Irish, the Italians, the Poles, and all the others, enlisted them in its ranks and fought the political battles that helped bring them into the American mainstream.

And they have shaped the character of our party.

That is our heritage. Our party has not been perfect. We have made mistakes, and we have paid for them. But ours is a tradition of leadership and compassion and progress.

Our leaders have fought for every piece of progressive legislation, from RFD and REA to Social Security and civil rights. In times of need, the Democrats were there.

But in recent years our nation has seen a failure of leadership. We have been hurt, and we have been disillusioned. We have seen a wall go up that separates us from our own government.

We have lost some precious things that historically have bound our people and our government together. We feel that moral decay has weakened our country, that it is crippled by a lack of goals and values, and that our public officials have lost faith in us.

We have been a nation adrift too long. We have been without leadership too long. We have had divided and deadlocked government too long. We have been governed by veto too long. We have suffered enough at the hands of a tired and worn-out administration without new ideas, without youth or vitality, without vision and without the confidence of the American people. There is a fear that our best years are behind us. But I say to you that our nation's best is still ahead.

Our country has lived through a time of torment. It is now a time for healing. We want to have faith again. We want to be proud again. We just want the truth again.

It is time for the people to run the government, and not the other way around.

It is the time to honor and strengthen our families and our neighborhoods and our diverse cultures and customs.

We need a Democratic President and a Congress to work in harmony for a change, with mutual respect for a change. And next year we are going to have that new leadership. You can depend on it!

It is time for America to move and to speak not with boasting and belligerence but with a quiet strength, to depend in world affairs not merely on the size of an arsenal but on the nobility of ideas, and to govern at home not by confusion and crisis but with grace and imagination and common sense.

Too many have had to suffer at the hands of a political economic elite who have shaped decisions and never had to account for mistakes or to suffer from injustice. When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job.

When deprivation results from a confused and bewildering welfare system, they never do without food or clothing or a place to sleep. When the public schools are inferior or torn by strife, their children go to exclusive private schools. And when the bureaucracy is bloated and confused, the powerful always manage to discover and occupy niches of special influence and privilege. An unfair tax structure serves their needs. And tight secrecy always seems to prevent reform.

All of us must be careful not to cheat each other. Too often unholy, self-perpetuating alliances have been formed between money and politics, and the average citizen has been held at arm's length.

Each time our nation has made a serious mistake the American people have been excluded from the process. The tragedy of Vietnam and Cambodia, the disgrace of Watergate, and the embarrassment of the CIA revelations could have been avoided if our government had simply

reflected the sound judgement and good common sense and the high moral character of the American people.

It is time for us to take a new look at our own government, to strip away the secrecy, to expose the unwarranted pressure of lobbyists, to eliminate waste, to release our civil servants from bureaucratic chaos, to provide tough management, and always to remember that in any town or city the mayor, the governor, and the President represent exactly the same constituents.

As a governor, I had to deal each day with the complicated and confused and overlapping and wasteful federal government bureaucracy. As President, I want you to help me evolve an efficient, economical, purposeful, and manageable government for our nation. Now, I recognize the difficulty, but if I'm elected, it's going to be done. And you can depend on it!

We must strengthen the government closest to the people. Business, labor, agriculture, education, science, and government should not struggle in isolation from one another but should be able to strive toward mutual goals and shared opportunities. We should make major investments in people and not in buildings and weapons. The poor, the aged, the weak, the afflicted must be treated with respect and compassion and with love.

I have spoken a lot of times this year about love. But love must be aggressively translated into simple justice. The test of any government is not how popular it is with the powerful but how honestly and fairly it deals with those who must depend on it.

It is time for a complete overhaul of our income tax system. I still tell you: It is a disgrace to the human race. All my life I have heard promises about tax reform, but it never quite happens. With your help, we are finally going to make it happen. And you can depend on it.

Here is something that can really help our country: It is time for universal voter registration.

It is time for a nationwide comprehensive health program for all our people.

It is time to guarantee an end to discrimination because of race or sex by full involvement in the decision making process of government by those who know what it is to suffer from discrimination. And they'll be in the government if I am elected.

It is time for the law to be enforced. We cannot educate children, we cannot create harmony among our people, we cannot preserve basic human freedom unless we have an orderly society.

Crime and lack of justice are especially cruel to those who are least able to protect themselves. Swift arrest and trial, fair and uniform punishment, should be expected by anyone who would break our laws.

It is time for our government leaders to respect the law no less than the humblest citizen, so that we can end once and for all a double standard of justice.

I see no reason why big-shot crooks should go free and the poor ones go to jail.

A simple and a proper function of government is just to make it easy for us to do good and difficult for us to do wrong.

As an engineer, a planner, a businessman, I see clearly the value to our nation of a strong system of free enterprise based on increase productivity and adequate wages. We Democrats believe that competition is better than regulation, and we intend to combine strong safeguards for consumers with minimal intrusion of government in our free economic system.

I believe that anyone who is able to work ought to work--and ought to have a chance to work. We will never have an end to the inflationary spiral, we will never have a balanced budget—which I am determined to see--as long as we have eight or nine million Americans out of work who cannot find a job. Any system of economics is bankrupt if it sees either value or virtue in unemployment. We simply cannot check inflation by keeping people out of work.

The foremost responsibility of any President, above all else, is to guarantee the security of our nation—a guarantee of freedom from the threat of successful attack or blackmail, and the ability with our allies to maintain peace.

But peace is not the mere absence of war. Peace is action to stamp out international terrorism. Peace is the unceasing effort to preserve human rights.

Peace is a combined demonstration of strength and good will. We will pray for peace and we will work for peace, until we have removed from all nations for all time the threat of nuclear destruction.

America's birth opened a new chapter in mankind's history. Ours was the first nation to dedicate itself clearly to basic moral and philosophical principles: that all people are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the power of government is derived from the consent of the governed.

This national commitment was a singular act of wisdom and courage, and it brought the best and the bravest from other nations to our shores. It was a revolutionary development that captured the imagination of mankind. It created a basis for a unique role of America—that of a pioneer in shaping more decent and just relations among people and among societies.

Today, two hundred years later, we must address ourselves to that role, both in what we do at home and how we act abroad among people everywhere who have become politically more alert, socially more congested, and increasingly impatient with global inequities, and who are now organized, as you know, into some one hundred and fifty different nations. This calls for nothing less than a sustained architectural effort to shape an international framework of peace within which our own ideals gradually can become a global reality.

Our nation should always derive its character directly from the people and let this be the strength and the image to be presented to the world—the character of the American people.

To our friends and allies I say that what unites us through our common dedication to democracy is much more important than that which occasionally divides us on economics or politics. To

the nations that seek to lift themselves from poverty I say that America shares your aspirations and extends its hand to you. To those nation-states that wish to compete with us I say that we neither fear competition nor see it as an obstacle to wider cooperation. To all people I say that after two hundred years America still remains confident and youthful in its commitment to freedom and equality, and we always will be.

During this election year we candidates will ask you for your votes, and from us will be demanded our vision.

My vision of this nation and its future has been deepened and matured during the nineteen months that I have campaigned among you for President. I have never had more faith in America than I do today. We have an America that, in Bob Dylan's phrase, is busy being born, not busy dying.

We can have an America that has reconciled its economic needs with its desire for an environment that we can pass on with pride to the next generation.

We can have an America that provides excellence in education to my child and your child and every child.

We can have an America that encourages and takes pride in our ethnic diversity, our religious diversity, our cultural diversity—knowing that out of this pluralistic heritage has come the strength and the vitality and the creativity that has made us great and will keep us great.

We can have an American government that does not oppress or spy on its own people but respects our dignity and our privacy and our right to be let alone.

We can have an America where freedom, on the one hand, and equality, on the other hand, are mutually supportive and not in conflict, and where the dreams of our nation's first leaders are fully realized in our own day and age.

And we can have an America which harnesses the idealism of the student, the compassion of a nurse or the social worker, the determination of a farmer, the wisdom of a teacher, the practicality of the business leader, the experience of the senior citizen, and the hope of a laborer to build a better life for us all. And we can have it, and we're going to have it!

As I've said many times before, we can have an American President who does not govern with negativism and fear of the future, but with vigor and vision and aggressive leadership—a President who's not isolated from the people, but who feels your pain and shares your dreams and takes his strength and his wisdom and his courage from you.

I see an America on the move again, united, a diverse and vital and tolerant nation, entering our third century with pride and confidence, an America that lives up to the majesty of our Constitution and the simple decency of our people.

This is the America we want. This is the America that we will have.

We will go forward from this convention with some differences of opinion perhaps, but nevertheless united in a calm determination to make our country large and driving and generous in spirit once again, ready to embark on great national deeds. And once again, as brothers and sisters, our hearts will swell with pride to call ourselves Americans.

Appendix (B)

Inaugural Address

January 20, 1977

For myself and for our Nation, I want to thank my predecessor for all he has done to heal our land.

In this outward and physical ceremony, we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our Nation. As my high school teacher, Miss Julia Coleman, used to say, "We must adjust to changing times and still hold to unchanging principles."

Here before me is the Bible used in the inauguration of our first President, in 1789, and I have just taken the oath of office on the Bible my mother gave me just a few years ago, opened to a timeless admonition from the ancient prophet Micah: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

This inauguration ceremony marks a new beginning, a new dedication within our Government, and a new spirit among us all. A President may sense and proclaim that new spirit, but only a people can provide it.

Two centuries ago, our Nation's birth was a milestone in the long quest for freedom. But the bold and brilliant dream which excited the founders of this Nation still awaits its consummation. I have no new dream to set forth today, but rather urge a fresh faith in the old dream.

Ours was the first society openly to define itself in terms of both spirituality and human liberty. It is that unique self-definition which has given us an exceptional appeal, but it also imposes on us a special obligation to take on those moral duties which, when assumed, seem invariably to be in our own best interests.

You have given me a great responsibility--to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes.

Let us learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together, confident that in the end we will triumph together in the right.

The American dream endures. We must once again have full faith in our country--and in one another. I believe America can be better. We can be even stronger than before.

Let our recent mistakes bring a resurgent commitment to the basic principles of our Nation, for we know that if we despise our own government, we have no future. We recall in special times when we have stood briefly, but magnificently, united. In those times no prize was beyond our grasp.

But we cannot dwell upon remembered glory. We cannot afford to drift. We reject the prospect of failure or mediocrity or an inferior quality of life for any person. Our Government must at the same time be both competent and compassionate.

We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and we are now struggling to enhance equality of opportunity. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute, our laws fair, our national beauty preserved; the powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced.

We have learned that more is not necessarily better, that even our great Nation has its recognized limits, and that we can neither answer all questions nor solve all problems. We cannot afford to do everything, nor can we afford to lack boldness as we meet the future. So, together, in a spirit of individual sacrifice for the common good, we must simply do our best.

Our Nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home. And we know that the best way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is worthy of emulation.

To be true to ourselves, we must be true to others. We will not behave in foreign places so as to violate our rules and standards here at home, for we know that the trust which our Nation earns is essential to our strength.

The world itself is now dominated by a new spirit. Peoples more numerous and more politically aware are craving, and now demanding, their place in the sun--not just for the benefit of their own physical condition, but for basic human rights.

The passion for freedom is on the rise. Tapping this new spirit, there can be no nobler nor more ambitious task for America to undertake on this day of a new beginning than to help shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane.

We are a strong nation, and we will maintain strength so sufficient that it need not be proven in combat--a quiet strength based not merely on the size of an arsenal but on the nobility of ideas.

We will be ever vigilant and never vulnerable, and we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, and injustice, for those are the enemies against which our forces can be honorably marshaled.

We are a proudly idealistic nation, but let no one confuse our idealism with weakness.

Because we are free, we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. Our moral sense dictates a clear-cut preference for those societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights. We do not seek to intimidate, but it is clear that a world which others can dominate with impunity would be inhospitable to decency and a threat to the well-being of all people.

The world is still engaged in a massive armaments race designed to ensure continuing equivalent strength among potential adversaries. We pledge perseverance and wisdom in our efforts to limit the world's armaments to those necessary for each nation's own domestic safety. And we will move this year a step toward our ultimate goal--the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this Earth. We urge all other people to join us, for success can mean life instead of death.

Within us, the people of the United States, there is evident a serious and purposeful rekindling of confidence. And I join in the hope that when my time as your President has ended, people might say this about our Nation:

--that we had remembered the words of Micah and renewed our search for humility, mercy, and justice;

--that we had torn down the barriers that separated those of different race and region and religion, and where there had been mistrust, built unity, with a respect for diversity;

--that we had found productive work for those able to perform it;

--that we had strengthened the American family, which is the basis of our society;

--that we had ensured respect for the law and equal treatment under the law, for the weak and the powerful, for the rich and the poor; and

--that we had enabled our people to be proud of their own Government once again.

I would hope that the nations of the world might say that we had built a lasting peace, based not on weapons of war but on international policies which reflect our own most precious values.

These are not just my goals---and they will not be my accomplishments---but the affirmation of our Nation's continuing moral strength and our belief in an undiminished, ever-expanding American dream.

Thank you very much.

Appendix (C)

The State of the Union 1979

January 23, 1979

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the 96th Congress, and my fellow citizens:

Tonight I want to examine in a broad sense the state of our American Union-how we are building a new foundation for a peaceful and a prosperous world.

Our children who will be born this year will come of age in the 21st century. What kind of society, what kind of world are we building for them? Will we ourselves be at peace? Will our children enjoy a better quality of life? Will a strong and united America still be a force for freedom and prosperity around the world?

Tonight, there is every sign that the state of our Union is sound.

Our economy offers greater prosperity for more of our people than ever before. Real per capita income and real business profits have risen substantially in the last 2 years. Farm exports are setting an all-time record each year, and farm income last year, net farm income, was up more than 25 percent.

Our liberties are secure. Our military defenses are strong and growing stronger. And more importantly, tonight, America-our beloved country—is at peace.

Our earliest national commitments, modified and reshaped by succeeding generations, have served us well. But the problems that we face today are different from those that confronted earlier generations of Americans. They are more subtle, more complex, and more interrelated. At home, we are recognizing ever more clearly that government alone cannot solve these problems. And abroad, few of them can be solved by the United States alone. But Americans as a united people, working with our allies and friends, have never been afraid to face problems and to solve problems, either here or abroad.

The challenge to us is to build a new and firmer foundation for the future—for a sound economy, for a more effective government, for more political trust, and for a stable peace—so that the America our children inherit will be even stronger and even better than it is today.

We cannot resort to simplistic or extreme solutions which substitute myths for common sense.

In our economy, it is a myth that we must choose endlessly between inflation and recession. Together, we build the foundation for a strong economy, with lower inflation, without contriving either a recession with its high unemployment or unworkable, mandatory government controls.

In our government, it is a myth that we must choose between compassion and competence. Together, we build the foundation for a government that works—and works for people.

In our relations with our potential adversaries, it is a myth that we must choose between confrontation and capitulation. Together, we build the foundation for a stable world of both diversity and peace.

Together, we've already begun to build the foundation for confidence in our economic system. During the last 2 years, in bringing our economy out of the deepest recession since the 1930's, we've created 7,100,000 new jobs. The unemployment rate has gone down 25 percent. And now we must redouble our fight against the persistent inflation that has wracked our country for more than a decade. That's our important domestic issue, and we must do it together.

We know that inflation is a burden for all Americans, but it's a disaster for the poor, the sick, and the old. No American family should be forced to choose among food, warmth, health care, or decent housing because the cost of any of these basic necessities has climbed out of reach.

Three months ago, I outlined to the Nation a balanced anti-inflation program that couples responsible government restraint with responsible wage and price restraint. It's based upon my knowledge that there is a more powerful force than government compulsion—the force created by the cooperative efforts of millions of Americans working toward a common goal.

Business and labor have been increasingly supportive. It's imperative that we in government do our part. We must stop excessive government growth, and we must control government spending habits.

I've sent to this Congress a stringent but a fair budget, one that, since I ran for President in 1976, will have cut the Federal deficit in half. And as a percentage of our gross national product, the deficit will have dropped by almost 75 percent.

This Congress had a good record last year, and I now ask the 96th Congress to continue this partnership in holding the line on excess Federal spending. It will not be easy. But we must be strong, and we must be persistent.

This budget is a clear message that, with the help of you and the American people, I am determined, as President, to bring inflation under control.

The 1980 budget provides enough spending restraint to begin unwinding inflation, but enough support for our country to keep American workers productive and to encourage the investments that provide new jobs. We will continue to mobilize our Nation's resources to reduce our trade deficit substantially this year and to maintain the strength of the American dollar.

We've demonstrated in this restrained budget that we can build on the gains of the past 2 years to provide additional support to educate disadvantaged children, to care for the elderly, to provide nutrition and legal services for the poor, and to strengthen the economic base of our urban communities and, also, our rural areas.

This year, we will take our first steps to develop a national health plan.

We must never accept a permanent group of unemployed Americans, with no hope and no stake in building our society. For those left out of the economy because of discrimination, a lack of skills, or poverty, we must maintain high levels of training, and we must continue to provide jobs.

A responsible budget is not our only weapon to control inflation. We must act now to protect all Americans from health care costs that are rising \$1 million per hour, 24 hours a day, doubling every 5 years. We must take control of the largest contributor to that inflation—skyrocketing hospital costs.

There will be no clearer test of the commitment of this Congress to the anti-inflation fight than the legislation that I will submit again this year to hold down inflation in hospital care.

Over the next 5 years, my proposals will save Americans a total of \$60 billion, of which \$25 billion will be savings to the American taxpayer in the Federal budget itself. The American people have waited long enough. This year we must act on hospital cost containment.

We must also fight inflation by improvements and better enforcement of our antitrust laws and by reducing government obstacles to competition in the private sector.

We must begin to scrutinize the overall effect of regulation in our economy. Through deregulation of the airline industry we've increased profits, cut prices for all Americans, and begun—for one of the few times in the history of our Nation—to actually dismantle a major Federal bureaucracy. This year, we must begin the effort to reform our regulatory processes for the railroad, bus, and the trucking industries.

America has the greatest economic system in the world. Let's reduce government interference and give it a chance to work.

I call on Congress to take other anti-inflation action—to expand our exports to protect American jobs threatened by unfair trade, to conserve energy, to increase production and to speed development of solar power, and to reassess our Nation's technological superiority. American workers who enlist in the fight against inflation deserve not just our gratitude, but they deserve the protection of the real wage insurance proposal that I have already made to the Congress.

To be successful, we must change our attitudes as well as our policies. We cannot afford to live beyond our means. We cannot afford to create programs that we can neither manage nor finance, or to waste our natural resources, and we cannot tolerate mismanagement and fraud. Above all, we must meet the challenges of inflation as a united people.

With the support of the American people, government in recent decades has helped to dismantle racial barriers, has provided assistance for the jobless and the retired, has fed the hungry, has protected the safety, health, and bargaining rights of American workers, and has helped to preserve our natural heritage.

But it's not enough to have created a lot of government programs. Now we must make the good programs more effective and improve or weed out those which are wasteful or unnecessary.

With the support of the Congress, we've begun to reorganize and to get control of the bureaucracy. We are reforming the civil service system, so that we can recognize and reward those who do a good job and correct or remove those who do not.

This year, we must extend major reorganization efforts to education, to economic development, and to the management of our natural resources. We need to enact a sunshine [sunset] law that when government programs have outlived their value, they will automatically be terminated.

There's no such thing as an effective and a noncontroversial reorganization and reform. But we know that honest, effective government is essential to restore public faith in our public action.

None of us can be satisfied when twothirds of the American citizens chose not to vote last year in a national election. Too many Americans feel powerless against the influence of private lobbying groups and the unbelievable flood of private campaign money which threatens our electoral process.

This year, we must regain the public's faith by requiring limited financial funds from public funds for congressional election campaigns. House bill 1 provides for this public financing of campaigns. And I look forward with a great deal of anticipation to signing it at an early date.

A strong economy and an effective government will restore confidence in America. But the path of the future must be charted in peace. We must continue to build a new and a firm foundation for a stable world community.

We are building that new foundation from a position of national strength—the strength of our own defenses, the strength of our friendships with other nations, and of our oldest American ideals.

America's military power is a major force for security and stability in the world. We must maintain our strategic capability and continue the progress of the last 2 years with our NATO Allies, with whom we have increased our readiness, modernized our equipment, and strengthened our defense forces in Europe. I urge you to support the strong defense budget which I have proposed to the Congress.

But our national security in this complicated age requires more than just military might. In less than a lifetime, world population has more than doubled, colonial empires have disappeared, and a hundred new nations have been born. Mass communications, literacy, and migration to the world's cities have all awakened new yearnings for economic justice and human rights among people everywhere.

This demand for justice and human rights is a wave of the future. In such a world, the choice is not which super power will dominate the world. None can and none will. The choice instead is between a world of anarchy and destruction, or a world of cooperation and peace.

In such a world, we seek not to stifle inevitable change, but to influence its course in helpful and constructive ways that enhance our values, our national interests, and the cause of peace.

Towering over this volatile, changing world, like a thundercloud on a summer day, looms the awesome power of nuclear weapons.

We will continue to help shape the forces of change, to anticipate emerging problems of nuclear proliferation and conventional arms sales, and to use our great strength and influence to settle international conflicts in other parts of the world before they erupt and spread.

We have no desire to be the world's policeman. But America does want to be the world's peacemaker.

We are building the foundation for truly global cooperation, not only with Western and industrialized nations but with the developing countries as well. Our ties with Japan and our European allies are stronger than ever, and so are our friendly relations with the people of Latin America, Africa, and the Western Pacific and Asia.

We've won new respect in this hemisphere with the Panama Canal treaties. We've gained new trust with the developing world through our opposition to racism, our commitment to human rights, and our support for majority rule in Africa.

The multilateral trade negotiations are now reaching a successful conclusion, and congressional approval is essential to the economic well-being of our own country and of the world. This will be one of our top priorities in 1979.

We are entering a hopeful era in our relations with one-fourth of the world's people who live in China. The presence of Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping next week will help to inaugurate that new era. And with prompt congressional action on authorizing legislation, we will continue our commitment to a prosperous, peaceful, and secure life for the people of Taiwan.

I'm grateful that in the past year, as in the year before, no American has died in combat anywhere in the world. And in Iran, Nicaragua, Cyprus, Namibia, and Rhodesia, our country is working for peaceful solutions to dangerous conflicts.

In the Middle East, under the most difficult circumstances, we have sought to help ancient enemies lay aside deep-seated differences that have produced four bitter wars in our lifetime.

Our firm commitment to Israel's survival and security is rooted in our deepest convictions and in our knowledge of the strategic importance to our own Nation of a stable Middle East. To promote peace and reconciliation in the region, we must retain the trust and the confidence both of Israel and also of the Arab nations that are sincerely searching for peace.

I am determined, as President, to use the full, beneficial influence of our country so that the precious opportunity for lasting peace between Israel and Egypt will not be lost. The new foundation of international cooperation that we seek excludes no nation. Cooperation with the Soviet Union serves the cause of peace, for in this nuclear age, world peace must include peace between the super powers—and it must mean the control of nuclear arms.

Ten years ago, the United States and the Soviet Union made the historic decision to open the strategic arms limitations talks, or SALT. The purpose of SALT, then as now, is not to gain a unilateral advantage for either nation, but to protect the security of both nations, to reverse the costly and dangerous momentum of the nuclear arms race, to preserve a stable balance of nuclear forces, and to demonstrate to a concerned world that we are determined to help preserve the peace.

The first SALT agreement was concluded in 1972. And since then, during 6 years of negotiation by both Republican and Democratic leaders, nearly all issues of SALT II have been resolved. If the Soviet Union continues to negotiate in good faith, a responsible SALT agreement will be reached.

It's important that the American people understand the nature of the SALT process.

SALT II is not based on sentiment; it's based on self-interest—of the United States and of the Soviet Union. Both nations share a powerful common interest in reducing the threat of a nuclear war. I will sign no agreement which does not enhance our national security.

SALT II does not rely on trust; it will be verifiable. We have very sophisticated, proven means, including our satellites, to determine for ourselves whether or not the Soviet Union is meeting its treaty obligations. I will sign no agreement which cannot be verified.

The American nuclear deterrent will remain strong after SALT II. For example, just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines—comprising less than 2 percent of our total nuclear force of submarines, aircraft, and landbased missiles—carries enough warheads to destroy every large- and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union. Our deterrent is overwhelming, and I will sign no agreement unless our deterrent force will remain overwhelming.

A SALT agreement, of course, cannot substitute for wise diplomacy or a strong defense, nor will it end the danger of nuclear war. But it will certainly reduce that danger. It will strengthen our efforts to ban nuclear tests and to stop the spread of atomic weapons to other nations. And it can begin the process of negotiating new agreements which will further limit nuclear arms.

The path of arms control, backed by a strong defense—the path our Nation and every President has walked for 30 years—can lead to a world of law and of international negotiation and consultation in which all peoples might live in peace. In this year 1979, nothing is more important than that the Congress and the people of the United States resolve to continue with me on that path of nuclear arms control and world peace. This is paramount.

I've outlined some of the changes that have transformed the world and which are continuing as we meet here tonight. But we in America need not fear change. The values on which our Nation was founded—individual liberty, self-determination, the potential for human fulfillment in freedom—all of these endure. We find these democratic principles praised, even in books smuggled out of totalitarian nations and on wallposters in lands which we thought were closed to our influence. Our country has regained its special place of leadership in the worldwide struggle for human rights. And that is a commitment that we must keep at home, as well as abroad.

The civil rights revolution freed all Americans, black and white, but its full promise still remains unrealized. I will continue to work with all my strength for equal opportunity for all Americans—and for affirmative action for those who carry the extra burden of past denial of equal opportunity.

We remain committed to improving our labor laws to better protect the rights of American workers. And our Nation must make it clear that the legal rights of women as citizens are guaranteed under the laws of our land by ratifying the equal rights amendment.

As long as I'm President, at home and around the world America's examples and America's influence will be marshaled to advance the cause of human rights.

To establish those values, two centuries ago a bold generation of Americans risked their property, their position, and life itself. We are their heirs, and they are sending us a message across the centuries. The words they made so vivid are now growing faintly indistinct, because they are not heard often enough. They are words like "justice," "equality," "unity," "truth," "sacrifice," "liberty," "faith," and "love."

These words remind us that the duty of our generation of Americans is to renew our Nation's faith—not focused just against foreign threats but against the threats of selfishness, cynicism, and apathy.

The new foundation I've discussed tonight can help us build a nation and a world where every child is nurtured and can look to the future with hope, where the resources now wasted on war can be turned towards meeting human needs, where all people have enough to eat, a decent home, and protection against disease.

It can help us build a nation and a world where all people are free to seek the truth and to add to human understanding, so that all of us may live our lives in peace.

Tonight, I ask you, the Members of the Congress, to join me in building that new foundation—a better foundation—for our beloved country and our world.

Thank you very much.

Appendix (D)

Crisis of Confidence Speech

July 15, 1979

Good evening.

This is a special night for me. Exactly 3 years ago, on July 15, 1976, I accepted the nomination of my party to run for President of the United States. I promised you a President who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain, and who shares your dreams and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you.

During the past 3 years I've spoken to you on many occasions about national concerns, the energy crisis, reorganizing the Government, our Nation's economy, and issues of war and especially peace. But over those years the subjects of the speeches, the talks, and the press conferences have become increasingly narrow, focused more and more on what the isolated world of Washington thinks is important. Gradually, you've heard more and more about what the Government thinks or what the Government should be doing and less and less about our Nation's hopes, our dreams, and our vision of the future.

Ten days ago I had planned to speak to you again about a very important subject--energy. For the fifth time I would have described the urgency of the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the Congress. But as I was preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you. Why have we not been able to get together as a nation to resolve our serious energy problem?

It's clear that the true problems of our Nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession. And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help. So, I decided to reach out and listen to the voices of America.

I invited to Camp David people from almost every segment of our society--business and labor, teachers and preachers, Governors, mayors, and private citizens. And then I left Camp David to listen to other Americans, men and women like you. It has been an extraordinary 10 days, and I want to share with you what I've heard.

First of all, I got a lot of personal advice. Let me quote a few of the typical comments that I wrote down.

This from a southern Governor: "Mr. President, you are not leading this Nation—you're just managing the Government."

"You don't see the people enough any more."

"Some of your Cabinet members don't seem loyal. There is not enough discipline among your disciples."

"Don't talk to us about politics or the mechanics of government, but about an understanding of our common good."

"Mr. President, we're in trouble. Talk to us about blood and sweat and tears."

"If you lead, Mr. President, we will follow."

Many people talked about themselves and about the condition of our Nation. This from a young woman in Pennsylvania: "I feel so far from government. I feel like ordinary people are excluded from political power."

And this from a young Chicano: "Some of us have suffered from recession all our lives."

"Some people have wasted energy, but others haven't had anything to waste."

And this from a religious leader: "No material shortage can touch the important things like God's love for us or our love for one another."

And I like this one particularly from a black woman who happens to be the mayor of a small Mississippi town: "The big-shots are not the only ones who are important. Remember, you can't sell anything on Wall Street unless someone digs it up somewhere else first."

This kind of summarized a lot of other statements: "Mr. President, we are confronted with a moral and a spiritual crisis."

Several of our discussions were on energy, and I have a notebook full of comments and advice. I'll read just a few.

"We can't go on consuming 40 percent more energy than we produce. When we import oil we are also importing inflation plus unemployment."

"We've got to use what we have. The Middle East has only 5 percent of the world's energy, but the United States has 24 percent."

And this is one of the most vivid statements: "Our neck is stretched over the fence and OPEC has a knife."

"There will be other cartels and other shortages. American wisdom and courage right now can set a path to follow in the future."

This was a good one: "Be bold, Mr. President. We may make mistakes, but we are ready to experiment."

And this one from a labor leader got to the heart of it: "The real issue is freedom. We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing."

And the last that I'll read: "When we enter the moral equivalent of war, Mr. President, don't issue us BB guns."

These 10 days confirmed my belief in the decency and the strength and the wisdom of the American people, but it also bore out some of my longstanding concerns about our Nation's underlying problems.

I know, of course, being President, that government actions and legislation can be very important. That's why I've worked hard to put my campaign promises into law--and I have to admit, with just mixed success. But after listening to the American people I have been reminded again that all the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America. So, I want to speak to you first tonight about a subject even more serious than energy or inflation. I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy.

I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They will endure. And I do not refer to the outward strength of America, a nation that is at peace tonight everywhere in the world, with unmatched economic power and military might.

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our Nation.

The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America.

The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the Fourth of July. It is the idea which founded our Nation and has guided our development as a people. Confidence in the future has supported everything else--public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States. Confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations. We've always believed in something called progress. We've always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own.

Our people are losing that faith, not only in government itself but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy. As a people we know our past and we are proud of it. Our progress has been part of the living history of America, even the world. We always believed that we were part of a great movement of humanity itself called democracy, involved in the search for freedom, and that belief has always strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we are losing our confidence in the future, we are also beginning to close the door on our past.

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. But we've discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next 5 years will be worse than the past 5 years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping, and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world.

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning.

These changes did not happen overnight. They've come upon us gradually over the last generation, years that were filled with shocks and tragedy.

We were sure that ours was a nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam. We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

We remember when the phrase "sound as a dollar" was an expression of absolute dependability, until 10 years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. We believed that our Nation's resources were limitless until 1973, when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are still very deep. They have never been healed.

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have turned to the Federal Government and found it isolated from the mainstream of our Nation's life. Washington, D.C., has become an island. The gap between our citizens and our Government has never been so wide. The people are looking for honest answers, not easy answers; clear leadership, not false claims and evasiveness and politics as usual.

What you see too often in Washington and elsewhere around the country is a system of government that seems incapable of action. You see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests. You see every extreme position defended to the last vote, almost to the last breath by one unyielding group or another. You often see a balanced and a fair approach that demands sacrifice, a little sacrifice from everyone, abandoned like an orphan without support and without friends.

Often you see paralysis and stagnation and drift. You don't like it, and neither do I. What can we do?

First of all, we must face the truth, and then we can change our course. We simply must have faith in each other, faith in our ability to govern ourselves, and faith in the future of this Nation. Restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we face. It is a true challenge of this generation of Americans.

One of the visitors to Camp David last week put it this way: "We've got to stop crying and start sweating, stop talking and start walking, stop cursing and start praying. The strength we need will not come from the White House, but from every house in America."

We know the strength of America. We are strong. We can regain our unity. We can regain our confidence. We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now. Our fathers and mothers were strong men and women who shaped a new society during the Great Depression, who fought world wars, and who carved out a new charter of peace for the world.

We ourselves are the same Americans who just 10 years ago put a man on the Moon. We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality. And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process rebuild the unity and confidence of America.

We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is a path I've warned about tonight, the path that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

All the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our Nation and ourselves. We can take the first steps down that path as we begin to solve our energy problem.

Energy will be the immediate test of our ability to unite this Nation, and it can also be the standard around which we rally. On the battlefield of energy we can win for our Nation a new confidence, and we can seize control again of our common destiny.

In little more than two decades we've gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people. This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline. It's a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face. This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the very security of our Nation.

The energy crisis is real. It is worldwide. It is a clear and present danger to our Nation. These are facts and we simply must face them:

What I have to say to you now about energy is simple and vitally important.

Point one: I am tonight setting a clear goal for the energy policy of the United States. Beginning this moment, this Nation will never use more foreign oil than we did in 1977--never. From now on, every new addition to our demand for energy will be met from our own production and our own conservation. The generation-long growth in our dependence on foreign oil will be stopped dead in its tracks right now and then reversed as we move through the 1980's, for I am tonight setting the further goal of cutting our dependence on foreign oil by one-half by the end of the next decade--a saving of over 4 1/2 million barrels of imported oil per day.

Point two: To ensure that we meet these targets, I will use my Presidential authority to set import quotas. I'm announcing tonight that for 1979 and 1980, I will forbid the entry into this country of one drop of foreign oil more than these goals allow. These quotas will ensure a reduction in imports even below the ambitious levels we set at the recent Tokyo summit.

Point three: To give us energy security, I am asking for the most massive peacetime commitment of funds and resources in our Nation's history to develop America's own alternative sources of fuel--from coal, from oil shale, from plant products for gasohol, from unconventional gas, from the Sun.

I propose the creation of an energy security corporation to lead this effort to replace 2 1/2 million barrels of imported oil per day by 1990. The corporation will issue up to \$5 billion in energy bonds, and I especially want them to be in small denominations so that average Americans can invest directly in America's energy security.

Just as a similar synthetic rubber corporation helped us win World War II, so will we mobilize American determination and ability to win the energy war. Moreover, I will soon submit legislation to Congress calling for the creation of this Nation's first solar bank, which will help us achieve the crucial goal of 20 percent of our energy coming from solar power by the year 2000.

These efforts will cost money, a lot of money, and that is why Congress must enact the windfall profits tax without delay. It will be money well spent. Unlike the billions of dollars that we ship

to foreign countries to pay for foreign oil, these funds will be paid by Americans to Americans. These funds will go to fight, not to increase, inflation and unemployment.

Point four: I'm asking Congress to mandate, to require as a matter of law, that our Nation's utility companies cut their massive use of oil by 50 percent within the next decade and switch to other fuels, especially coal, our most abundant energy source.

Point five: To make absolutely certain that nothing stands in the way of achieving these goals, I will urge Congress to create an energy mobilization board which, like the War Production Board in World War II, will have the responsibility and authority to cut through the red tape, the delays, and the endless roadblocks to completing key energy projects.

We will protect our environment. But when this Nation critically needs a refinery or a pipeline, we will build it.

Point six: I'm proposing a bold conservation program to involve every State, county, and city and every average American in our energy battle. This effort will permit you to build conservation into your homes and your lives at a cost you can afford.

I ask Congress to give me authority for mandatory conservation and for standby gasoline rationing. To further conserve energy, I'm proposing tonight an extra \$10 billion over the next decade to strengthen our public transportation systems. And I'm asking you for your good and for your Nation's security to take no unnecessary trips, to use carpools or public transportation whenever you can, to park your car one extra day per week, to obey the speed limit, and to set your thermostats to save fuel. Every act of energy conservation like this is more than just common sense--I tell you it is an act of patriotism.

Our Nation must be fair to the poorest among us, so we will increase aid to needy Americans to cope with rising energy prices. We often think of conservation only in terms of sacrifice. In fact, it is the most painless and immediate way of rebuilding our Nation's strength. Every gallon of oil each one of us saves is a new form of production. It gives us more freedom, more confidence, that much more control over our own lives.

So, the solution of our energy crisis can also help us to conquer the crisis of the spirit in our country. It can rekindle our sense of unity, our confidence in the future, and give our Nation and all of us individually a new sense of purpose.

You know we can do it. We have the natural resources. We have more oil in our shale alone than several Saudi Arabias. We have more coal than any nation on Earth. We have the world's highest level of technology. We have the most skilled work force, with innovative genius, and I firmly believe that we have the national will to win this war.

I do not promise you that this struggle for freedom will be easy. I do not promise a quick way out of our Nation's problems, when the truth is that the only way out is an all-out effort. What I do promise you is that I will lead our fight, and I will enforce fairness in our struggle, and I will ensure honesty. And above all, I will act.

We can manage the short-term shortages more effectively and we will, but there are no short-term solutions to our long-range problems. There is simply no way to avoid sacrifice.

Twelve hours from now I will speak again in Kansas City, to expand and to explain further our energy program. Just as the search for solutions to our energy shortages has now led us to a new

awareness of our Nation's deeper problems, so our willingness to work for those solutions in energy can strengthen us to attack those deeper problems.

I will continue to travel this country, to hear the people of America. You can help me to develop a national agenda for the 1980's. I will listen and I will act. We will act together. These were the promises I made 3 years ago, and I intend to keep them.

Little by little we can and we must rebuild our confidence. We can spend until we empty our treasuries, and we may summon all the wonders of science. But we can succeed only if we tap our greatest resources--America's people, America's values, and America's confidence.

I have seen the strength of America in the inexhaustible resources of our people. In the days to come, let us renew that strength in the struggle for an energy secure nation.

In closing, let me say this: I will do my best, but I will not do it alone. Let your voice be heard. Whenever you have a chance, say something good about our country. With God's help and for the sake of our Nation, it is time for us to join hands in America. Let us commit ourselves together to a rebirth of the American spirit. Working together with our common faith we cannot fail.

Thank you and good night.

Appendix (E)

Farewell Speech

January 14, 1981

Good evening.

In a few days I will lay down my official responsibilities in this office, to take up once more the only title in our democracy superior to that of President, the title of citizen.

Of Vice President Mondale, my Cabinet, and the hundreds of others who have served with me during the last 4 years, I wish to say now publicly what I have said in private: I thank them for the dedication and competence they've brought to the service of our country. But I owe my deepest thanks to you, to the American people, because you gave me this extraordinary opportunity to serve.

We've faced great challenges together, and we know that future problems will also be difficult. But I'm now more convinced than ever that the United States, better than any other country, can meet successfully whatever the future might bring. These last 4 years have made me more certain than ever of the inner strength of our country, the unchanging value of our principles and ideals, the stability of our political system, the ingenuity and the decency of our people.

Tonight I would like first to say a few words about this most special office, the Presidency of the United States. This is at once the most powerful office in the world and among the most severely constrained by law and custom. The President is given a broad responsibility to lead but cannot do so without the support and consent of the people, expressed formally through the Congress and informally in many ways through a whole range of public and private institutions. This is as it should be.

Within our system of government every American has a right and a duty to help shape the future course of the United States. Thoughtful criticism and close scrutiny of all government officials by the press and the public are an important part of our democratic society. Now, as in the past, only the understanding and involvement of the people through full and open debate can help to avoid serious mistakes and assure the continued dignity and safety of the Nation.

Today we are asking our political system to do things of which the Founding Fathers never dreamed. The government they designed for a few hundred thousand people now serves a nation of almost 230 million people. Their small coastal republic now spans beyond a continent, and we also now have the responsibility to help lead much of the world through difficult times to a secure and prosperous future.

Today, as people have become ever more doubtful of the ability of the Government to deal with our problems, we are increasingly drawn to single-issue groups and special interest organizations to ensure that whatever else happens, our own personal views and our own private interests are protected. This is a disturbing factor in American political life. It tends to distort our purposes, because the national interest is not always the sum of all our single or special interests. We are all Americans together, and we must not forget that the common good is our common interest and our individual responsibility.

Because of the fragmented pressures of these special interests, it's very important that the office of the President be a strong one and that its constitutional authority be preserved. The President is the only elected official charged with the primary responsibility of representing all the people. In the moments of decision, after the different and conflicting views have all been aired, it's the President who then must speak to the Nation and for the Nation.

I understand after 4 years in this office, as few others can, how formidable is the task the new President-elect is about to undertake, and to the very limits of conscience and conviction, I pledge to support him in that task. I wish him success, and Godspeed.

I know from experience that Presidents have to face major issues that are controversial, broad in scope, and which do not arouse the natural support of a political majority. For a few minutes now, I want to lay aside my role as leader of one nation, and speak to you as a fellow citizen of the world about three issues, three difficult issues: the threat of nuclear destruction, our stewardship of the physical resources of our planet, and the preeminence of the basic rights of human beings.

It's now been 35 years since the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima. The great majority of the world's people cannot remember a time when the nuclear shadow did not hang over the Earth. Our minds have adjusted to it, as after a time our eyes adjust to the dark. Yet the risk of a nuclear conflagration has not lessened. It has not happened yet, thank God, but that can give us little comfort, for it only has to happen once.

The danger is becoming greater. As the arsenals of the superpowers grow in size and sophistication and as other governments, perhaps even in the future dozens of governments, acquire these weapons, it may only be a matter of time before madness, desperation, greed, or miscalculation lets loose this terrible force.

In an all-out nuclear war, more destructive power than in all of World War II would be unleashed every second during the long afternoon it would take for all the missiles and bombs to fall. A World War II every second—more people killed in the first few hours than in all the wars of history put together. The survivors, if any, would live in despair amid the poisoned ruins of a civilization that had committed suicide.

National weakness, real or perceived, can tempt aggression and thus cause war. That's why the United States can never neglect its military strength. We must and we will remain strong. But with equal determination, the United States and all countries must find ways to control and to reduce the horrifying danger that is posed by the enormous world stockpiles of nuclear arms.

This has been a concern of every American President since the moment we first saw what these weapons could do. Our leaders will require our understanding and our support as they grapple with this difficult but crucial challenge. There is no disagreement on the goals or the basic approach to controlling this enormous destructive force. The answer lies not just in the attitudes or the actions of world leaders but in the concern and the demands of all of us as we continue our struggle to preserve the peace.

Nuclear weapons are an expression of one side of our human character. But there's another side. The same rocket technology that delivers nuclear warheads has also taken us peacefully into space. From that perspective, we see our Earth as it really is—a small and fragile and beautiful blue globe, the only home we have. We see no barriers of race or religion or country. We see the essential unity of our species and our planet. And with faith and common sense, that bright vision will ultimately prevail.

Another major challenge, therefore, is to protect the quality of this world within which we live. The shadows that fall across the future are cast not only by the kinds of weapons we've built, but by the kind of world we will either nourish or neglect. There are real and growing dangers to our simple and our most precious possessions: the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the land which sustains us. The rapid depletion of irreplaceable minerals, the erosion of topsoil, the destruction of beauty, the blight of pollution, the demands of increasing billions of people, all combine to create problems which are easy to observe and predict, but difficult to resolve. If we do not act, the world of the year 2000 will be much less able to sustain life than it is now.

But there is no reason for despair. Acknowledging the physical realities of our planet does not mean a dismal future of endless sacrifice. In fact, acknowledging these realities is the first step in dealing with them. We can meet the resource problems of the world—water, food, minerals, farmlands, forests, overpopulation, pollution if we tackle them with courage and foresight.

I've just been talking about forces of potential destruction that mankind has developed and how we might control them. It's equally important that we remember the beneficial forces that we have evolved over the ages and how to hold fast to them. One of those constructive forces is the enhancement of individual human freedoms through the strengthening of democracy and the fight against deprivation, torture, terrorism, and the persecution of people throughout the world. The struggle for human rights overrides all differences of color or nation or language. Those who hunger for freedom, who thirst for human dignity, and who suffer for the sake of justice, they are the patriots of this cause.

I believe with all my heart that America must always stand for these basic human rights at home and abroad. That is both our history and our destiny.

America did not invent human rights. In a very real sense, it's the other way around. Human rights invented America. Ours was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded explicitly on such an idea. Our social and political progress has been based on one fundamental principle: the value and importance of the individual. The fundamental force that unites us is not kinship or place of origin or religious preference. The love of liberty is the common blood that flows in our American veins.

The battle for human rights, at home and abroad, is far from over. We should never be surprised nor discouraged, because the impact of our efforts has had and will always have varied results. Rather, we should take pride that the ideals which gave birth to our Nation still inspire the hopes of oppressed people around the world. We have no cause for self-righteousness or complacency, but we have every reason to persevere, both within our own country and beyond our borders.

If we are to serve as a beacon for human rights, we must continue to perfect here at home the rights and the values which we espouse around the world: a decent education for our children, adequate medical care for all Americans, an end to discrimination against minorities and women, a job for all those able to work, and freedom from injustice and religious intolerance.

We live in a time of transition, an uneasy era which is likely to endure for the rest of this century. It will be a period of tensions, both within nations and between nations, of competition for scarce resources, of social, political, and economic stresses and strains. During this period we may be tempted to abandon some of the time-honored principles and commitments which have been proven during the difficult times of past generations. We must never yield to this temptation. Our American values are not luxuries, but necessities—not the salt in our bread, but the bread itself. Our common vision of a free and just society is our greatest source of cohesion at home and strength abroad, greater even than the bounty of our material blessings.

Remember these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

This vision still grips the imagination of the world. But we know that democracy is always an unfinished creation. Each generation must renew its foundations. Each generation must rediscover the meaning of this hallowed vision in the light of its own modern challenges. For this generation, ours, life is nuclear survival; liberty is human rights; the pursuit of happiness is a planet whose resources are devoted to the physical and spiritual nourishment of its inhabitants.

During the next few days I will work hard to make sure that the transition from myself to the next President is a good one, that the American people are served well. And I will continue, as I have the last 14 months, to work hard and to pray for the lives and the well-being of the American hostages held in Iran. I can't predict yet what will happen, but I hope you will join me in my constant prayer for their freedom.

As I return home to the South, where I was born and raised, I look forward to the opportunity to reflect and further to assess, I hope with accuracy, the circumstances of our times. I intend to give our new President my support, and I intend to work as a citizen, as I've worked here in this office as President, for the values this Nation was founded to secure.

Again, from the bottom of my heart, I want to express to you the gratitude I feel. Thank you, fellow citizens, and farewell.

Appendix (F)

The Checklist of Compliments and Complaint Speech Acts

Phrases

Check List Number (1) Nomination Speech	
Compliments:	
Number	Phrase
1.	" and now I've come here after seeing our great country to accept your nomination"
	"It's a pleasure to be here with all you Democrats and to see that our Bicentennial celebration and our Bicentennial convention has been one of decorum. With this kind of a united Democratic Party, we are ready, and eager, to take on the Republicans"
	" Nineteen seventy-six will not be a year of politics as usual. It can be a year of inspiration and hope, and it will be a year of concern, of quiet and sober reassessment of our nation's character and purpose"
2.	" Although government has its limits and cannot solve all our problems, we Americans reject the view that we must be reconciled to failures and mediocrity or to an inferior quality of life"
3.	"Guided by lasting and simple moral values, we have emerged idealists without illusions, realists who still know the old dreams of justice and liberty, of country and of community"
4.	"we have had thirty state primaries more than ever before making it possible to take our campaign directly to the people of America"
5.	"Our Party was built out of the sweatshops of the old Lower East Side, the dark mills of New Hampshire, the blazing hearths of Illinois, the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the hard-scrabble farms of the southern coastal plains, and the unlimited frontiers of America"
6.	"Our party has not been perfect. We have made mistakes, and we have paid for them. But ours is a tradition of leadership and compassion and progress"
Complaint:	
1.	"We have been shaken by a tragic war abroad and by scandals and broken promises at home: Our people are searching for new voices and new ideas and new leaders"
	"But in recent years our nation has seen a failure of leadership. We have been hurt, and we have been disillusioned: We have seen a wall go up that separates us from our own government"
	"we feel that moral decay has weakened our country, that it is crippled by a lack of goals and values, and that our public officials have lost faith in us"
2.	"It is time for the people to run the government, and not the other way around"
3.	"It is time for America to move and to speak not with boasting and belligerence but with a quiet strength, to depend in world affairs not merely on the size of an arsenal and to govern at home not by confusion and crisis"

4.	“All of us must be careful not to cheat each other. It is time for us to take a new look at our own government, to strip away the secrecy, to expose the unwarranted pressure of lobbyists, to eliminate waste, to release our civil servants from bureaucratic chaos, to provide tough management”
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Check List Number (2) Inaugural Speech	
Compliments:	
Number	Phrase
1.	“For myself and for our Nation, I want to thank my predecessor for all he has done to heal our land”
2.	“This inauguration ceremony marks a new beginning, a new dedication within our Government, and a new spirit among us all. A President may sense and proclaim that new spirit, but only a people can provide it “
3.	“You have given me a great responsibility--to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes”
4.	“We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and we are now struggling to enhance equality of opportunity. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute, our laws fair, our natural beauty preserved; the powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced”
5.	“Within us, the people of the United States, there is evident a serious and purposeful rekindling of confidence. And I join in the hope that when my time as your President has ended, people might say this about our Nation”
6.	“ I would hope that the nations of the world might say that we had built a lasting peace, built not on weapons of war but on international policies which reflect our own most precious value-These are not just my goals, and they will not be my accomplishments, but the affirmation of our Nation's continuing moral strength and our belief in an undiminished, ever-expanding American dream”
Complaint:	
1.	“In this outward and physical ceremony, we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our Nation. As my high school teacher, Miss Julia Coleman, used to say, "We must adjust to changing times and still hold to unchanging principles "
2.	“The American dream endures. We must once again have full faith in our country--and in one another- I believe America can be better. We can be even stronger than before”
3.	“We will be ever vigilant and never vulnerable, and we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, and injustice—for those are the enemies against which our forces can be honorably marshalled”
4.	“The world is still engaged in a massive armaments race designed to ensure continuing equivalent strength among potential adversaries- We pledge perseverance and wisdom in our efforts to limit the world's armaments to those necessary for each nation's own domestic safety- And we will move this year a step toward ultimate goal—the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this Earth-We urge all other people to join us, for success can mean life instead of death”

Check List Number (3) State of the Union Address

Compliments:	
Number	Phrase
1.	"Tonight I want to examine in a broad sense the state of our American Union--how we are building a new foundation for a peaceful and a prosperous world"
2.	"Tonight, there is every sign that the state of our Union is sound"
3.	"Our liberties are secure. Our military defenses are strong and growing stronger; and more importantly, tonight, America--our beloved country--is at peace"
4.	"The challenge to us is to build a new and firmer foundation for the future--for a sound economy, for a more effective government, for more political trust, and for a stable peace--so that the America our children inherit will be even stronger and even better than it is today"
5.	"Business and labor have been increasingly supportive"
6.	"This budget is a clear message that, with the help of you and the American people, I am determined, as President, to bring inflation under control; This budget is a clear message that, with the help of you and the American people, I am determined, as President, to bring inflation under control".
7.	"This demand for justice and human rights is a wave of the future; in such a world, the choice is not which super power will dominate the world; none can and none will; The choice instead is between a world of anarchy and destruction, or a world of cooperation and peace."
8.	"I am determined, as President, to use the full, beneficial influence of our country so that the precious opportunity for lasting peace between Israel and Egypt will not be lost"
9.	"To establish those values, two centuries ago a bold generation of Americans risked their property, their position, and life itself"
10.	"It can help us build a nation and a world where all people are free to seek the truth and to add to human understanding, so that all of us may live our lives in peace; Tonight, I ask you, the Members of the Congress, to join me in building that new foundation, a better foundation, for our beloved country and our world"
Complaint:	
1.	"We cannot resort to simplistic or extreme solutions which substitute myths for common sense"
2.	There will be no clearer test of the commitment of this Congress to the anti-inflation fight than the legislation that I will submit again this year to hold down inflation in hospital care"
3.	"I call on Congress to take other anti-inflation action--to expand our exports to protect American jobs threatened by unfair trade, to conserve energy, to increase production and to speed development of solar power, and to reassess our Nation's technological superiority; American workers who enlist in the fight against inflation deserve not just our gratitude, but they deserve the protection of the real wage insurance proposal that I have already made to the Congress"
4.	"To be successful, we must change our attitudes as well as our policies; we cannot afford to live beyond our means; we cannot afford to create programs that we can neither manage nor finance, or to waste our natural resources, and we cannot tolerate mismanagement and fraud"
5.	"I've outlined some of the changes that have transformed the world and which are continuing as we meet here tonight; But we in America need not fear change; The

	values on which our Nation was founded: individual liberty, self-determination, the potential for human fulfillment in freedom, all of these endure; We find these democratic principles praised, even in books smuggled out of totalitarian nations and on wall posters in lands which we thought were closed to our influence; Our country has regained its special place of leadership in the worldwide struggle for human rights; And that is a commitment that we must keep at home, as well as abroad”
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Check List Number (4) Crisis of Confidence	
Compliments:	
Number	Phrase
1.	"This a special night for me; Exactly three years ago, on July 15, 1976, I accepted the nomination of my party to run for President of the United States; I promised you a President who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain, and who shares your dreams, and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you"
2.	"The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the Fourth of July; it is the idea which founded our nation and has guided our development as a people; confidence in the future has supported everything else - public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States; confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations; we've always believed in something called progress; we've always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own"
3.	"I promised you a president who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain, and who shares your dreams, and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you"
4.	"The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the Fourth of July. It is the idea which founded our nation and has guided our development as a people. Confidence in the future has supported everything else -- public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States. Confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations. We've always believed in something called progress. We've always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own"
5.	"We know the strength of America: We are strong, we can regain our unity: We can regain our confidence: We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now: Our fathers and mothers were strong men and women who shaped a new society during the Great Depression who fought world wars and who carved out a new charter of peace for the world".
6.	"We ourselves are the same Americans who just ten years ago put a man on the moon: We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality: And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process, rebuild the unity and confidence of America."
Complaint:	
1.	" During the past three years I've spoken to you on many occasions about national concerns, the energy crisis, reorganizing the government, our nation's economy, and issues of war and especially peace: But over those years the subjects of the speeches, the talks, and the press conferences have become increasingly narrow, focused more and more on what the isolated world of Washington thinks is important: Gradually, you've heard more and more about what the government thinks or what the government should be doing and less and less about our nation's hopes, our dreams, and our vision of the future"
2.	"Ten days ago, I had planned to speak to you again about a very important subject energy: For the fifth time I would have described the urgency of the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the Congress: But as I was preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you: Why have we not been able to get together as a nation to resolve our serious energy problem"

3.	“it’s that the true problems of our nation are much deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession: And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help: So, I decided to reach out and to listen to the voices of America”
4.	“This from a southern governor “Mr President, you are not leading this nation you’re just managing the government”
5.	“What you see too often in Washington and elsewhere around the country is a system of government that seems incapable of action: You see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests”
6.	“In little more than two decades we’ve gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people: This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline: It’s a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face: This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the very security of our nation”

Check List Number (5) Farewell Speech	
Compliments:	
Number	Phrase
1.	“within our system of government every American has a right and duty to help shape the future course of the United States; Thoughtful criticism and close scrutiny of all government officials by the press and the public are an important part of our democratic society; now as in our past, only the understanding and involvement of the people through full and open debate can help to avoid serious mistakes and assure the continued dignity and safety of the nation”
2.	“we can meet the resource problems of the world, water, food, minerals, farmlands, forests, overpopulation, and pollution; if we tackle them with courage and foresight”
3.	“America did not invent human rights, in a very real sense, it is the other way round; Human rights invented America”
4.	“our social and political progress has been based on one fundamental principle, the value and importance of the individual, the fundamental force that unites us is not kinship or place of origin or religious preference”
5.	“the love of liberty is a common blood that flows in our American veins; the battle for human rights at home and abroad is far from over; We should never be surprised nor discouraged because the impact of our efforts has had, and will always have, varied results; Rather, we should take pride that the ideals which gave birth to our nation still inspire the hopes of oppressed people around the world; We have no cause for self-righteousness or complacency; But we have every reason to persevere, both within our own country and beyond our borders; If we are to serve as a beacon for human rights, we must continue to perfect here at home the rights and values which we espouse around the world; A decent education for our children, adequate medical care for all Americans, an end to discrimination against minorities and women, a job for all those able to work, and freedom from injustice and religious intolerance”
6.	“we live in a time of transition, an uneasy era which is likely to endure for the rest of this century, During the period we may be tempted to abandon some of the time-honored principles and commitments which have been proven during the difficult times of past generations, We must never yield to this temptation, Our American values are not luxuries, but necessities, not the salt in our bread, but the bread itself”
Complaint:	
1.	“today we are asking our political system to do things of which the founding fathers never dreamed, The government they designed for a few hundred thousand people now serves a nation of almost 230 million people, Their small coastal republic now spans beyond a continent, and we now have the responsibility to help lead much of the world through difficult times to a secure and prosperous future”

2.	<p>“today, as people have become ever more doubtful of the ability of the government to deal with our problems, we are increasingly drawn to single-issue groups and special interest organizations to ensure that whatever else happens our own personal views and our own private interests are protected; This is a disturbing factor in American political life; It tends to distort our purposes because the national interest is not always the sum of all our single or special interests; We are all Americans together, and we must not forget that the common good is our common interest and our individual responsibility”</p>
3.	<p>“National weakness; real or perceived; can tempt aggression and thus cause war; That's why the United States cannot neglect its military strength; We must and we will remain strong; But with equal determination, the United States and all countries must find ways to control and reduce the horrifying danger that is posed by the world's enormous stockpiles of nuclear arms; This has been a concern of every American president since the moment we first saw what these weapons could do; Our leaders will require our understanding and our support as they grapple with this difficult but crucial challenge; There is no disagreement on the goals or the basic approach to controlling this enormous destructive force; The answer lies not just in the attitudes or actions of world leaders, but in the concern and demands of all of us as we continue our struggle to preserve the peace”</p>
4.	<p>“nuclear weapons are an expression of one side of our human character; But there is another side; The same rocket technology that delivers nuclear warheads has also taken us peacefully into space; From that perspective, we see our Earth as it really is, a small and fragile and beautiful blue globe, the only home we have; We see no barriers of race or religion or country; We see the essential unity of our species and our planet; and with faith and common sense, that bright vision will ultimately prevail”</p>

Appendix (G)

Validation Committee

Name	Special field	Affiliation
Dr. Saleh Muqlalah	Linguistics	Al-Israa University
Dr. Basil Hussain	Linguistics	Al-Zaytouneh University
Dr. Deema Ammari	Literature	University of Jordan.

Appendix (H)

Tables of the Study

Table (1)

The percentage of Compliment and complaint speech act in the Nomination Speech.

Aspect	%
Compliment	58.3 %
Complaint	41.7%

Table (2)

The percentage of Compliments and Complaint Speech Act in the Inaugural Speech.

Aspect	%
Compliment	83.3
Complaint	16.7

Table (3)

The percentage of Compliments and Complaint Speech Act in the State of the Union Address 1979.

Aspect	%
Compliments	60.9
Complaints	39.1

Table (4)

**The percentage of Compliments and Complaint Speech Act in the
State of the Union Address 1979.**

Aspect	%
Compliment	14
Complaint	86

Table (5)

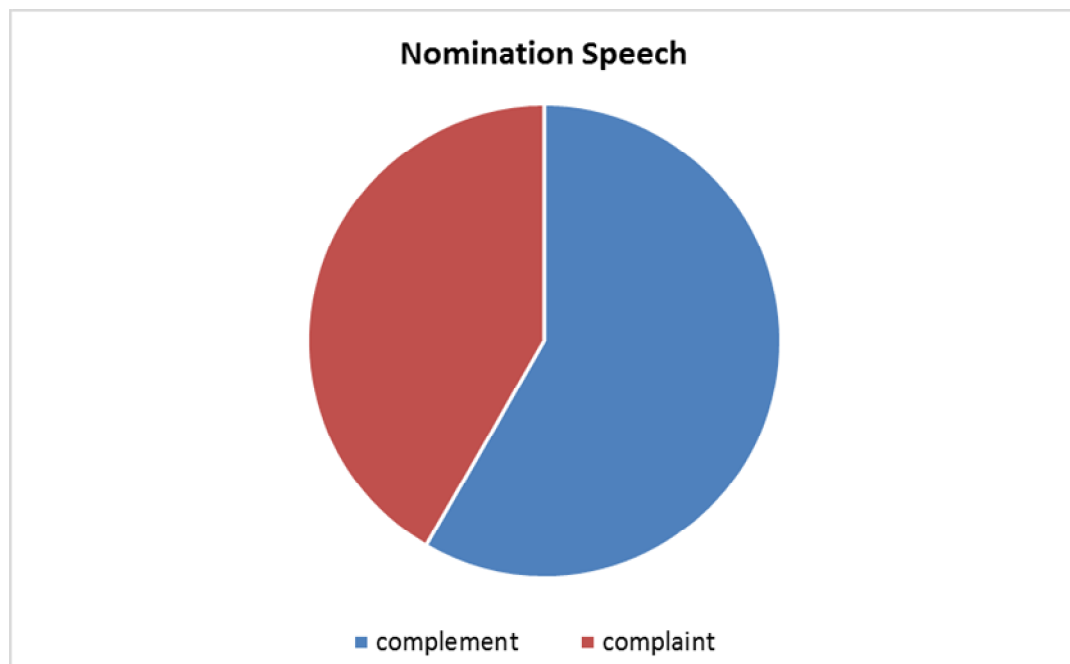
**The percentage of Compliments and Complaint Speech Act in the
Farewell Speech.**

Aspect	%
Compliment	12
Complaint	88

Appendix (I)

Figures of the Study

Figure 1



Compliments and Complaint Speech Act in the Nomination Speech

Figure (2)
Percentage distribution of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in Carter's Inaugural Speech

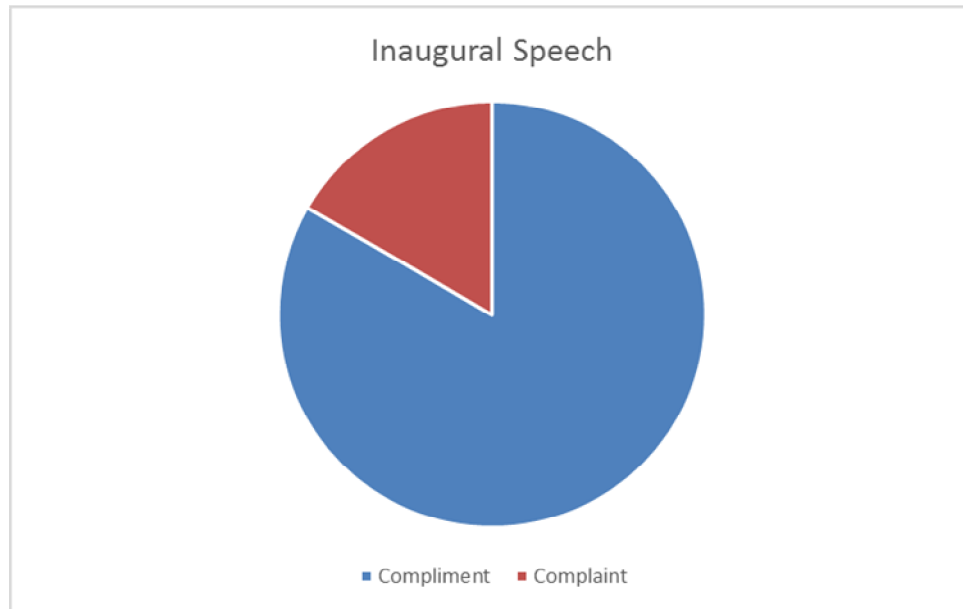


Figure (3)
Percentage distribution of Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in the State of the Union Address 1979.

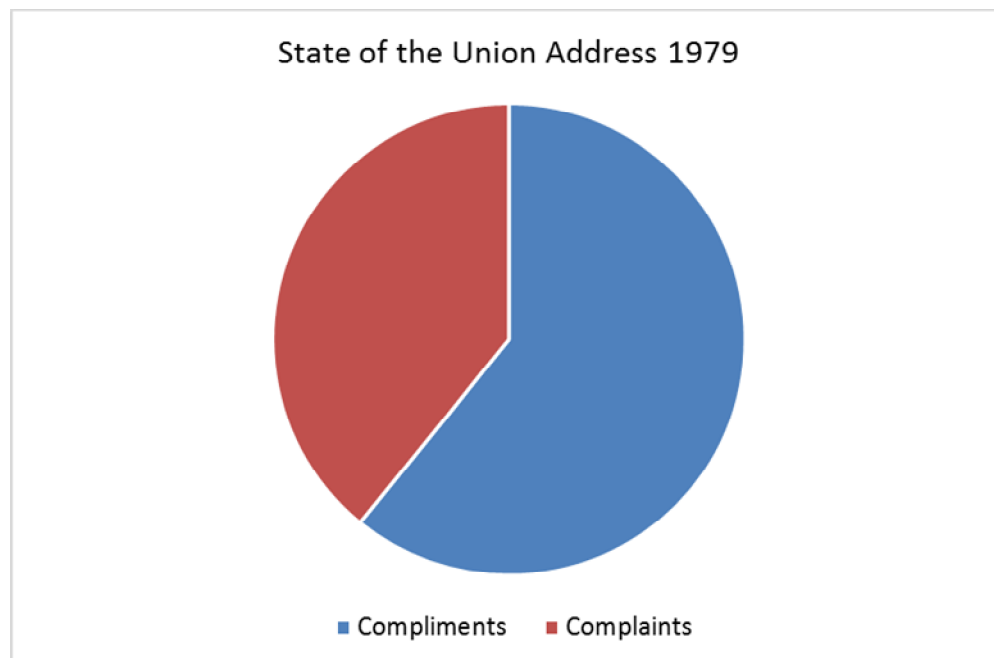


Figure (4)

**Percentage distribution of Complement and Complaint Speech Acts in
Carter's Crisis of Confidence Speech**

**Figure 5**

**Percentage Distribution of and Complaint Speech Acts in Carter's
Farewell Speech**

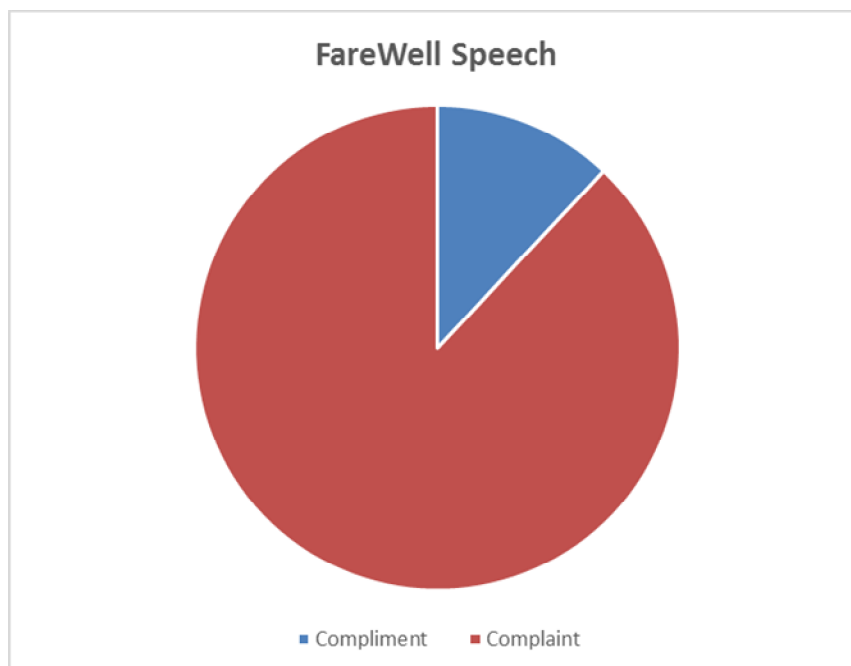


Figure 6

Compliment Speech Ach in Jimmy Carter's Speeches.

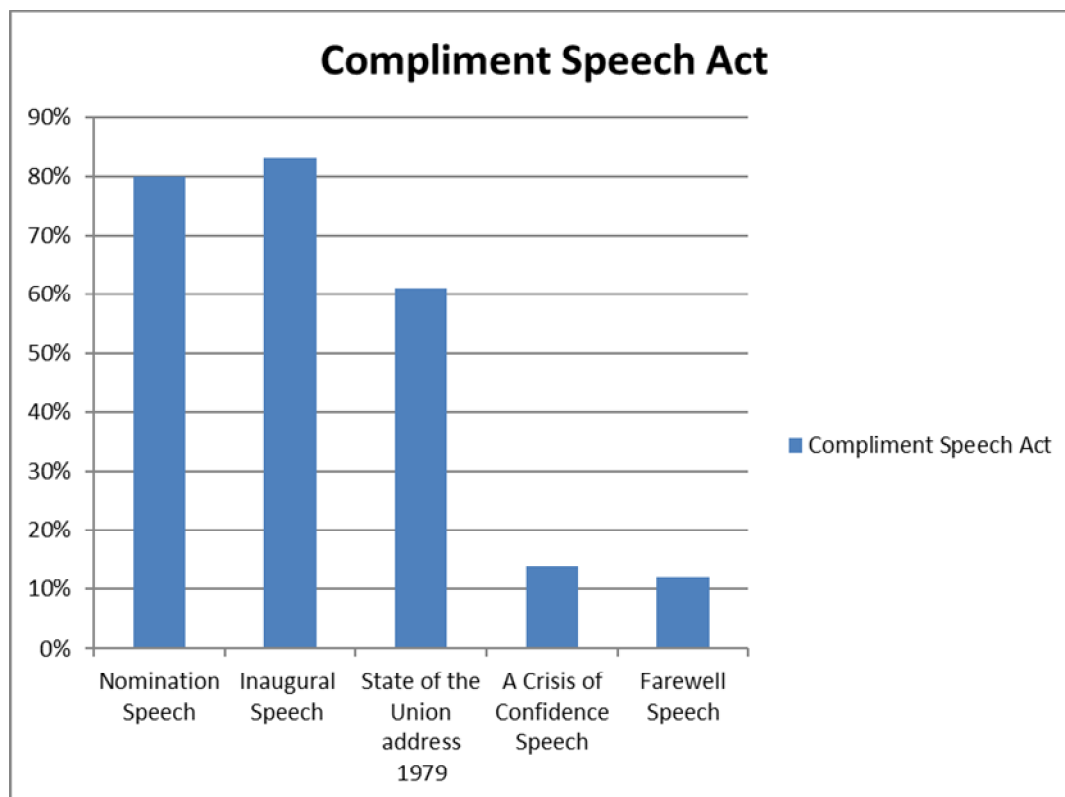
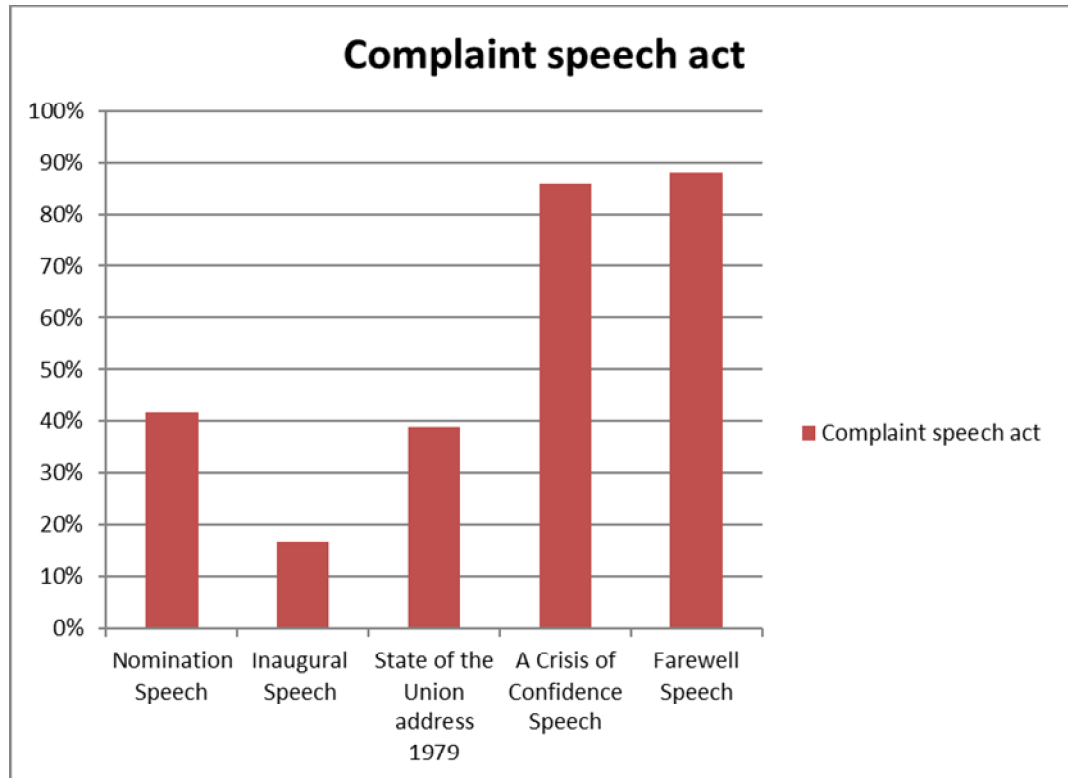


Figure (7)**Complaint Speech Act in Jimmy Carter's Speeches.**

Figure(8)

Compliment and Complaint Speech Act in Jimmy Carter's speeches.

