

## ***AMERICAN SPEECHES: ET FORLØB OM RETORIK***

### **Three Types of Speeches**

#### **Informative Speeches**

An informative speech is essentially a lecture. It is intended simply to inform your audience on some topic. If you're a student, you hear informative speeches all day long in your classes, as your teachers and professors stand up front and lecture on various subjects. Your teachers are trying to inform you, and their lectures are essentially informative speeches.

An informative speech is different from a how-to speech or a persuasive speech because it is only intended to provide information. You will leave it up to your audience to decide for themselves what to do with the information; you are not trying to persuade them to think as you do, nor are you specifically teaching them *how* to do something. You are only concerned with providing information for your audience on a particular topic.

Informative speeches are useful as an introduction to some topic that is unfamiliar to your audience. This means that you will need to be acquainted with what your audience already knows. You will also want to know what topics will be of interest to your audience. Will your listeners care to learn about your favorite hobby, or will they be bored and distracted?

#### **Speeches for special occasions**

This second category of speechmaking is quite broad. You might be asked to "say a few words" at a special occasion, which could be as little as a one-minute toast or as lengthy as a 30-minute speech.

Here are some examples:

- Toasting the bride and groom at a wedding
- Introducing the main speaker at a conference
- Summarizing your project status at a business meeting
- Eulogizing a friend at a funeral
- Presenting or accepting an award at a banquet

If you're warned ahead of time that you'll be called upon to say a few words at some special occasion you'll want to think about your audience, considering who will be present when you speak and what they'll want to hear you say.

Your topic will be defined for you, to some extent. For example, if your boss wants you to summarize your projects, your topic will be the relevant projects on which you're currently working. If the bride and groom want you to open the wedding banquet with a toast or introductory remarks, your topic will be the happy couple. But what you say on those topics will still be up to you, and you will want to consider setting an appropriate tone.

The tone of a speech is defined as the mood you want to create. Humor is very appropriate at a wedding banquet, while sober thoughts on finances and marital hurdles might be out of place. The opposite is probably true at a business meeting with your boss and coworkers, where the audience is not expecting to be entertained with jokes but wants to hear about financial matters, project problems, expected completion dates, and so forth. Thus, tone will be as important as topic in most special occasion speeches.

### **Persuasive Speeches - Ethos, Logos, and Pathos**

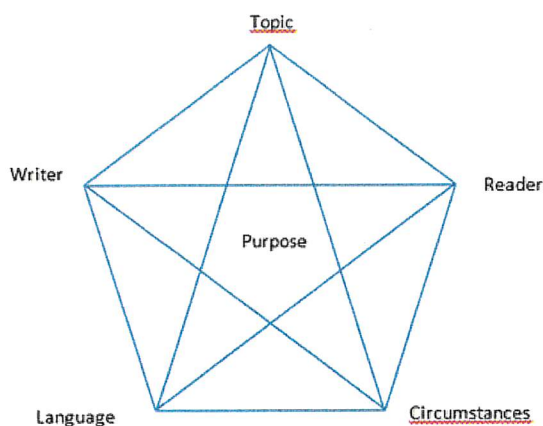
The persuasive speech is related to the informative speech, except that you are doing more than simply providing information on your topic—you are also providing your own opinion on that topic and attempting to persuade your audience that your opinion is correct. And this element of opinion and persuasion is what makes the persuasive speech the most challenging.

The key to writing a persuasive speech is to begin by having an opinion—preferably an opinion that you feel strongly about. If you have no opinion on a topic, you won't be able to persuade anyone else to hold an opinion. You must first know *what* you believe and *why* you believe it. So before you begin your speech, you must first ask yourself what you believe in strongly, and then ask yourself why you hold that belief. The reasons why you believe what you believe will become the major points in your speech with which you explain to your audience *why* they should share your beliefs.

Aristotle was a Greek philosopher who lived in the fourth century B.C. He outlined the three basic ways in which a speaker can persuade his audience to embrace his beliefs. He used Greek words to describe these methods, but we'll update them into modern concepts as we go. They are:

- **Ethos:** Credibility, image, public reputation, perceived expertise
- **Logos:** Words, concepts, logic
- **Pathos:** Emotions, feelings, gut reactions

## Rhetorical analysis



### The rhetorical situation:

The speech is influenced by a number of factors which are interrelated, and which should be considered in the analysis.

### The purpose of the analysis:

To find the intention of the writer

To find the function of the text

### The means:

By analysing the rhetorical situation

By analysing the text itself

## Retorikkens appelformer

Appelformerne logos, etos og patos er de tre veje til overbevisning. Hvor logos appellerer til forstanden, så appellerer både ethos og pathos til følelserne; ethos til de blide og vedvarende følelser der knytter sig til taleren og pathos til de heftige og kortvarige følelser hos publikum.

### Logos appellerer til fornuften

Logosappellen har en høj status i vores vestlige kultur. Det moderne samfund er formet af industrialiseringen og den naturvidenskabelige tankegang, og vi lytter gerne til eksperter, der kan oplyse vores diskussioner med tal og videnskab. Derfor er logosappellen meget udbredt og stærk.

Logos ligner logik, men er det ikke. I logikken fører man uimodsigelige beviser som for eksempel det klassiske: Sokrates er et menneske, mennesker er dødelige, derfor er Sokrates dødelig. I praktisk argumentation er logik imidlertid uinteressant, for hvorfor diskutere det uimodsigelige? Logos etablerer ikke sandhed, men *sandsynlighed*.

Selvom logos ikke skaber sikre beviser, så er det alligevel en stærk appelform. I det praktiske liv opstår der nemlig hele tiden situationer som kalder på beslutninger, og hvor der ikke kan gives nogen sikre beviser for, at den ene beslutning er bedre end den anden. Dette usikkerhedsmoment er for eksempel grundvilkåret i politisk retorik, hvor man drøfter fremtidige handlinger. Ingen kan spå, især ikke om fremtiden, men derfor kan man godt

forholde sig fornuftsmæssigt til den. Kvalificerede beslutninger om fremtidige handlinger bygger på en afvejning af gode grunde og sandsynlige konsekvenser af de forskellige beslutningsmuligheder.

Bagsiden af logosappellen er at den let keder tilhørerne. Det sker ganske ofte, især når taleren kun betjener sig af logos og glemmer appellen, det vil sige aflirer kendsgerninger uden at ville sige noget med dem. Et eksempel kan være revisoren som fremlægger et årsregnskab for en virksomhed tal for tal, uden nogen som helst form for stillingstagen.

Logos er derfor, på den ene side, en taknemmelig appelform, fordi der i næsten alle sager kan fremskaffes oceaner af fakta. På den anden side er logos en farlig appelform, fordi den har et ubetinget krav om ærlighed og redelighed.

Appelformen påvirker også talerens fremtoning. Karakteristisk for logosappellen er at den får taleren til at fremstå saglig, informerende og argumenterende. Ofte påvirker det selve fremtoningen ved et tilbageholdt og måske tilknappet kropssprog.

En tale bør altså ikke udelukkende indeholde logosappel, ligesom de andre appelformer naturligvis også skal blandes hensigtsmæssigt.

### **Etos – talerens troværdighed**

Til alle mennesker knytter der sig en grad af troværdighed, det vil sige den tillid eller tiltro tilhørerne har over for taleren.

Etos knytter sig ikke blot til personen, men også til det han repræsenterer, for eksempel hans stilling eller fag. Kongehuset er et udmærket eksempel. Uanset hvem der er regent, vil regenten altid have et særligt etos der er knyttet, ikke til den person der udfylder rollen, men til selve institutionen. Det samme gælder formænd for organisationer, virksomheders administrerende direktører og mange andre.

I den offentlige debat bruges ofte såkaldte eksperter der udtaler sig skråsikkert om et hav af spørgsmål. Disse eksperter har fået en del af deres etos gennem et langt studie afsluttet med en doktorgrad på et særlig område. Personen, der udfylder rollen, vil så have etos både i kraft af sine personlige egenskaber, men også i kraft af det særlige speciale han har kompetence i.

### En stor etos-konto

Alle mennesker, organisationer, virksomheder og lignende har en vis mængde etos. Lige fra vi bliver født, har vi en etos-konto, og for hver dag der går, stiger eller falder den mængde

etos, den enkelte har. Etos-kontoen ligger ikke hos personen, men hos tilhørerne. Det vil sige, at talerens etos beror på tilhørernes *opfattelse* af personen. Således er den administrerende direktørs etos ikke en egenskab ved ham selv eller hans stilling, selvom begge dele er med til at forme den; direktørens etos ligger udelukkende i medarbejdernes, kundernes og aktionærernes bevidsthed.

Jo større etos-konto, man råder over, jo nemmere er det at trænge igennem med sin argumentation. Det er derfor af helt afgørende betydning for gennemslagskraften, at man som taler får øget sin etos-konto. Der findes en række dyder, der øger etos-kontoen. Blandt de generelle dyder kan nævnes:

- Ærlighed
- Kompetence
- Velvilje over for tilhørerne
- Engagement
- Vedholdenhed

Tilhørernes tiltro til taleren stiger således, hvis taleren fremstår ærlig, og hvis det er tydeligt, at han er kompetent i forhold til det emne, der drøftes. Det er også helt afgørende, at han brænder for sagen og tør vise det.

En vigtig pointe er, at dyderne ikke er noget, man selv skal fremhæve og prale af. De skal derimod fremgå af talen og den måde, den bliver holdt. Det hjælper således ikke, at man i talen siger, at man har arbejdet med emnet i 20 år, og der herefter afsløres en række huller i ens viden. Så hellere indrømme mangler og demonstrere styrker på andre områder.

Opbygningen af en stor etos-konto er den vigtigste og mest frugtbare aktivitet for enhver taler. Har man en stor etos-konto, virker små fejl mindre graverende, fordi der er mere at tage af, end hvis ens troværdighed i forvejen er usikker. Talerens ethos-konto har et niveau inden talerstolen bestiges.

Mens talen holdes, påvirkes etos af det, taleren siger, og måden det bliver sagt på. Efter talen har taleren fået en ny saldo på etos-kontoen hos tilhørerne. Da man ikke får goodwill af at stå og fremhæve sine egne fortræffeligheder på talerstolen, er der også den mulighed, at man sørger for at blive præsenteret af mødelederen, den foregående taler eller på anden måde får etableret en god etos-konto, før munden bliver åbnet. I eksemplet med revisoren, der fremlægger årsregnskab, kan selskabets formand præsentere revisoren og sige:

”Jeg vil gerne byde velkommen til selskabets statsautoriserede revisor, Jørgen Hansen, der

igen i år vil fremlægge regnskaberne.” På denne måde dokumenteres revisors *kompetence*, *Ærlighed* og *velvilje* over for tilhørerne sikres ved ærlige svar – også på ubehagelige spørgsmål. *Engagement* og *vedholdenhed* demonstreres ved interesse for selskabets fremtid og ved tilsagn om ”at komme igen til næste år”.

### **Patos – de store følelser med den korte virkning**

I modsætning til etos, som er de blide og vedvarende følelser der knytter sig til personen, er patos de stærkere og mere umiddelbare følelser som en taler kan fremkalde hos sit publikum. De store følelser bruges desværre kun i begrænset form i forbindelse med taler i vores del af verden. Vi har så at sige en lav patos-tærskel; i det offentlige rum oplever vi hurtigt en glødende og engageret taler som svulstig og påtaget. Men den rette brug af patosappel i situationen kan skabe en god stemning og målrette et publikums engagement, så det ikke blot bliver overbevist, men også fører overbevisningen ud i handling.

Følelser er vel ikke det første, man forbinder med revision. Men følelser spiller en stor rolle i alle sammenhænge. Ved valg af revisor for det kommende år kan selskabets formand sige: ”En enig bestyrelse foreslår genvalg af vor trofaste revisor gennem mange år”. Efter valget kan revisor tilføje: ” Tak for valget. Det er en stor tillid forsamlingen har vist mig, en tillid jeg vil gøre alt for at leve op til”.

Dette er et eksempel på dæmpet patosappel uden de store falbelader, og appellen til voldsommere følelser vil da også i langt de fleste tilfælde være ganske umotiveret under årsregnskabsfremlæggelser.

Men hvad hvis nu regnskaberne viser et vidunder- eller katastroferegnskab? Så er situationen en anden.

Den store og voldsomme patosappel egner sig bedst til situationer, hvor der virkelig er noget på spil. Patos er således ofte anvendt i forbindelse med krig, kamp, katastrofer, nød, død, fødsel og overlevelse. For at vække den store patos må man skabe indre billeder hos sine tilhørere, hvor de kan føle nøden eller lykken på egen krop og identificere sig med ofrene eller sejrherrene. Når nogle ulandsorganisationer samler penge sammen og bringer et billede af et underernæret barn, er det således brug af patosappel. Det vækker medlidenhed i det øjeblik, man ser det, og det er afgørende for organisationens indsamling, at man straks efter giver sit bidrag – patosappellen virker som sagt kun kortvarigt – og derfor er billederne altid fulgt af et telefon- eller gironummer, så man kan give sit bidrag, mens man endnu er i affekt.

Patos nås ikke ved brug af mange tillægsord, men ved brug af gode konkrete eksempler og Beskrivelser, der bliver pakket ud for tilhørerne.

### **Summa summarum**

Dygtige og effektive talere bruger alle tre appelformer og blander dem efter det, som omstændighederne, emnet og tilskuerne fordrer. Den gode taler bruger således logos-appel ved at underbygge sine budskaber og holdninger med kendsgerninger, tal, fortilfælde, eksempler med mere. Han anvender tillige sin etos-konto og får den til at vokse forud for, under og efter ethvert indslag. Den gode taler anvender naturligvis også patosappel i passende omfang, således at følelserne kommer i spil, og gerne i afslutningen på en tale, hvor der opfordres til handling: Nu skal vi så stemme for dette forslag!

## The Art of Rhetoric:

**ETHOS:** appeal based on the character of the speaker. An ethos-driven document relies on the reputation of the author.

**LOGOS:** appeal based on logic or reason. Documents distributed by companies or corporations are logos-driven. Scholarly documents are also often logos-driven.

**PATHOS:** appeal based on emotion. Advertisements tend to be pathos-driven.

### The Three Modes of Appeal

Mode of appeal	Appeals to	Can be found in	Why is the appeal persuasive / successful?
<b>Logos</b>	The audience's common Sense	The speech itself. It could be sound arguments, valid data, statistics etc.	Argumentation, facts
<b>Ethos</b>	The audience's trust in the speaker.	The speaker. But the speaker may highlight something in the speech to strengthen or call attention to his or her ethos.	The credibility of the speaker
<b>Pathos</b>	The audience's emotions	The emotion can be found in the audience. But it is caused by the choice of words or stories of the speech. It is something in the speech that evokes an emotional response.	The mood created in the audience.

Type of speech	Dominant mode of appeal
The informative speech	Logos and ethos
The political or persuasive speech	Logos, ethos and pathos
Speech for a special occasion	Etos og patos

## Stylistic devices

**Alliteration:** the repetition of a consonant sound in a sequence of words which are close together.

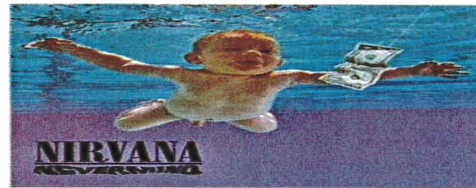
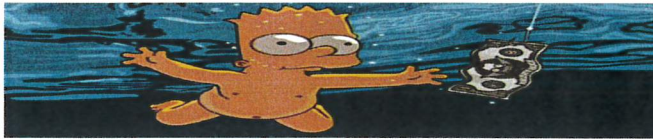
**Example:** Peter Piper Picked a Peck of Pickled Peppers

**Assonance:** the repetition of vowel sounds in a sequence of words which are close together.

**Example:** Men sell the wedding bells

**Intertextuality:** references in a text to other texts or elements in other texts both in the form of direct quotations or as indirect hints. You may even see characters or events from one text appearing in another.

**Example:**



**Irony:** saying the opposite of what is meant, giving a statement where the speaker's intended meaning is different from what he explicitly says. A special kind of irony is dramatic irony where the audience knows something which the characters do not know.

**Example:** *It is ironic that the name of Britain's biggest dog (until it died recently) was Tiny*

**Metaphor:** An implied/implicit comparison. You use a word or phrase which literally denotes one kind of object or idea, but apply it to another. This suggests a likeness or analogy between them, for example *she has a heart of stone; the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees* (Shakespeare: *Merchant of Venice*).

**Example:** You are a star

**Simile:** An explicit comparison (usually formed with "like" or "as") between two dissimilar things that have something in common.

**Example:** You are like a star

**Personification:** a kind of figurative language where an inanimate object or a concept is spoken of as if it had human life, thoughts or feelings.

**Example:** The sky weeps

**Rhetorical question:** a question to which there is no answer, posed by a speaker to involve the audience.

**Example:** Are you kidding me?

**Symbol:** something (object, person, situation, or action) that means more than what it actually is.

**Example:** The heart is often a symbol of love

**Euphemism** [ˈjuːfəˌmɪzəm]: the rephrasing of an unpleasant term in a nice or polite way: 'pass away' for 'die'.

**Example:** To soften up prisoners is a euphemism for torturing them

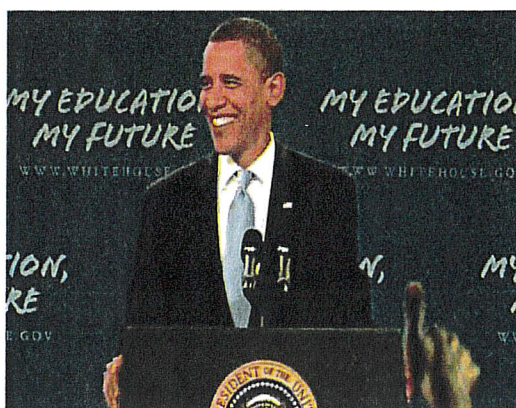
**Oxymoron:** a figure of speech in which incongruous or *seemingly* contradictory terms appear side by side: random order, alone together, criminal justice, old news, peace force, deafening silence etc.

**Example:** See above.

# Barack Obama

## *Back-to-School Speech at Wakefield High School*

delivered 8 September 2009, Arlington, Virginia



**AUTHENTICITY CERTIFIED:** Text version below transcribed directly from audio

Hello, everybody! Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, everybody. All right, everybody go ahead and have a seat. How is everybody doing today? How about Tim Spicer? I am here with students at Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia. And we've got students tuning in from all across America, from kindergarten through 12th grade. And I am just so glad that all could join us today. And I want to thank Wakefield for being such an outstanding host. Give yourselves a big round of applause.

I know that for many of you, today is the first day of school. And for those of you in kindergarten, or starting middle or high school, it's your first day in a new school, so it's understandable if you're a little nervous. I imagine there are some seniors out there who are feeling pretty good right now -- with just one more year to go. And no matter what grade you're in, some of you are probably wishing it were still summer and you could've stayed in bed just a little bit longer this morning.

I know that feeling. When I was young, my family lived overseas. I lived in Indonesia for a few years. And my mother, she didn't have the money to send me where all the American kids went to school, but she thought it was important for me to keep up with an American education. So she decided to teach me extra lessons herself, Monday through Friday. But because she had to go to work, the only time she could do it was at 4:30 in the morning.

Now, as you might imagine, I wasn't too happy about getting up that early. And a lot of times, I'd fall asleep right there at the kitchen table. But whenever I'd complain, my mother would just give me one of those looks and she'd say, "This is no picnic for me either, buster."

So I know that some of you are still adjusting to being back at school. But I'm here today because I have something important to discuss with you. I'm here because I want to talk with you about your education and what's expected of all of you in this new school year.

Now, I've given a lot of speeches about education. And I've talked about responsibility a lot.

I've talked about teachers' responsibility for inspiring students and pushing you to learn.

I've talked about your parents' responsibility for making sure you stay on track, and you get your homework done, and don't spend every waking hour in front of the TV or with the Xbox.

I've talked a lot about your government's responsibility for setting high standards, and supporting teachers and principals, and turning around schools that aren't working, where students aren't getting the opportunities that they deserve.

But at the end of the day, we can have the most dedicated teachers, the most supportive parents, the best schools in the world -- and none of it will make a difference, none of it will matter unless all of you fulfill your responsibilities, unless you show up to those schools, unless you pay attention to those teachers, unless you listen to your parents and grandparents and other adults and put in the hard work it takes to succeed. That's what I want to focus on today: the responsibility each of you has for your education.

I want to start with the responsibility you have to yourself. Every single one of you has something that you're good at. Every single one of you has something to offer. And you have a responsibility to yourself to discover what that is. That's the opportunity an education can provide.

Maybe you could be a great writer -- maybe even good enough to write a book or articles in a newspaper -- but you might not know it until you write that English paper -- that English class paper that's assigned to you. Maybe you could be an innovator or an inventor -- maybe even good enough to come up with the next iPhone or the new medicine or vaccine -- but you might not know it until you do your project for your science class. Maybe you could be a mayor or a senator or a Supreme Court justice -- but you might not know that until you join student government or the debate team.

And no matter what you want to do with your life, I guarantee that you'll need an education to do it. You want to be a doctor, or a teacher, or a police officer? You want to be a nurse or an architect, a lawyer or a member of our military? You're going to need a good education for every single one of those careers. You cannot drop out of school and just drop into a good job. You've got to train for it and work for it and learn for it.

And this isn't just important for your own life and your own future. What you make of your education will decide nothing less than the future of this country. The future of America depends on you. What you're learning in school today will determine whether we as a nation can meet our greatest challenges in the future.

You'll need the knowledge and problem-solving skills you learn in science and math to cure diseases like cancer and AIDS, and to develop new energy technologies and protect our environment. You'll need the insights and critical-thinking skills you gain in history and social studies to fight poverty and homelessness, crime and discrimination, and make our nation more fair and more free. You'll need the creativity and ingenuity you develop in all your classes to build new companies that will create new jobs and boost our economy.

We need every single one of you to develop your talents and your skills and your intellect so you can help us old folks solve our most difficult problems. If you don't do that -- if you quit on school -- you're not just quitting on yourself, you're quitting on your country.

Now, I know it's not always easy to do well in school. I know a lot of you have challenges in your lives right now that can make it hard to focus on your schoolwork.

I get it. I know what it's like. My father left my family when I was two years old, and I was raised by a single mom who had to work and who struggled at times to pay the bills and wasn't always able to give us the things that other kids had. There were times when I missed having a father in my life. There were times when I was lonely and I felt like I didn't fit in.

So I wasn't always as focused as I should have been on school, and I did some things I'm not proud of, and I got in more trouble than I should have. And my life could have easily taken a turn for the worse.

But I was -- I was lucky. I got a lot of second chances, and I had the opportunity to go to college and law school and follow my dreams. My wife, our First Lady Michelle Obama, she has a similar story. Neither of her parents had gone to college, and they didn't have a lot of money. But they worked hard, and she worked hard, so that she could go to the best schools in this country.

Some of you might not have those advantages. Maybe you don't have adults in your life who give you the support that you need. Maybe someone in your family has lost their job and there's not enough money to go around. Maybe you live in a neighborhood where you don't feel safe, or have friends who are pressuring you to do things you know aren't right.

But at the end of the day, the circumstances of your life -- what you look like, where you come from, how much money you have, what you've got going on at home -- none of that is an excuse for neglecting your homework or having a bad attitude in school. That's no excuse for talking back to your teacher, or cutting class, or dropping out of school. There is no excuse for not trying.

(...)

## Speech Transcript: I Have a Dream – Martin Luther King Jr.

[1] I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

[2] **Five score years ago**, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

[3] But **one hundred years later**, the Negro still is not free. **One hundred years later**, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. **One hundred years later**, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. **One hundred years later**, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

[4] In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

[5] But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

[6] We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. **Now is the time** to make real the promises of democracy. **Now is the time** to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. **Now is the time** to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. **Now is the time** to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

[7] It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. **Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning.** And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

[8] But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, **we must** not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. **We must** forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. **We must** not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, **we must** rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

[9] The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

[10] We cannot walk alone.

[11] And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

[12] We cannot turn back.

[13] There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" **We can never be satisfied** as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. **We can never be satisfied** as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. **We cannot be satisfied** as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. **We can never be satisfied** as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." **We cannot be satisfied** as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, **we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied** until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

[14] I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest — quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. **Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to** the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

[15] Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

[16] And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, **I still have a dream.** It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

[17] **I have a dream** that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

[18] **I have a dream** that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

[19] **I have a dream** that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

[20] **I have a dream** that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

[21] **I have a dream** today!

[22] **I have a dream** that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of “interposition” and “nullification” — one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

[23] **I have a dream** today!

[24] **I have a dream** that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; “and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.”

[25] This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

[26] **With this faith**, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. **With this faith**, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. **With this faith**, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

[27] And this will be the day — this will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning:

[28] My country ’tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.

[29] Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim’s pride,

[30] From every mountainside, **let freedom ring!**

[31] And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

[32] And so **let freedom ring** from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

[33] **Let freedom ring** from the mighty mountains of New York.

[34] **Let freedom ring** from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

[35] **Let freedom ring** from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

[36] **Let freedom ring** from the curvaceous slopes of California.



## Malcolm X: The Ballot or the Bullet (1964)

### ... means that something is left out of the speech

...friends and enemies: I just can't believe everyone in here is a friend, and I don't want to leave anybody out. The question tonight, as I understand it, is "The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?" or "What Next?" In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet.

...We're all in the same boat and we all are going to catch the same hell from the same man. He just happens to be a white man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us...

If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet. It's one or the other in 1964. It isn't that time is running out -- time has run out!

...I'm not a politician, not even a student of politics; in fact, I'm not a student of much of anything. I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican, and I don't even consider myself an American. If you and I were Americans, there'd be no problem. Those Honkies that just got off the boat, they're already Americans; Polacks are already Americans; the Italian refugees are already Americans. Everything that came out of Europe, every blue-eyed thing, is already an American. And as long as you and I have been over here, we aren't Americans yet.

Being born here in America doesn't make you an American. Why, if birth made you American ... you wouldn't be faced with civil-rights filibustering in Washington, D.C., right now. They don't have to pass civil-rights legislation to make a Polack an American.

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver -- no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open...

...This is not even a government that's based on democracy. It is not a government that is made up of representatives of the people. Half of the people in the South can't even vote...

...This government has failed the Negro. This so-called democracy has failed the Negro. And all these white liberals have definitely failed the Negro...

How can you thank a man for giving you what's already yours? How then can you thank him for giving you only part of what's already yours? You haven't even made progress, if what's being given to you, you should have had already. That's not progress...We're not even as far up as we were in 1954. We're behind where we were in 1954. There's more segregation now than there was in 1954...Where is the progress?

...Uncle Sam's hands are dripping with blood, dripping with the blood of the black man in this country. He's the earth's number-one hypocrite. He has the audacity -- yes, he has -- imagine him posing as the leader of the free world. The free world! And you over here singing "We Shall Overcome." ...

... We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it saying "We Shall Overcome." We've got to fight until we overcome.

... And at that time, if we see fit then to form a black nationalist party, we'll form a black nationalist party. If it's necessary to form a black nationalist army, we'll form a black nationalist army. It'll be the ballot or the bullet. It'll be liberty or it'll be death...The black nationalists aren't going to wait...In 1964, it's the ballot or the bullet.

## **Barack Obama: Yes, We Can (2008)**

### **... means that something is left out of the speech**

...But in record numbers, you came out and spoke up for change. And with your voices and your votes, you made it clear that at this moment - in this election - there is something happening in America.

...There is something happening when Americans who are young in age and in spirit - who have never before participated in politics - turn out in numbers we've never seen because they know in their hearts that this time must be different.

There is something happening when people vote not just for the party they belong to but the hopes they hold in common - that whether we are rich or poor; black or white; Latino or Asian; whether we hail from Iowa or New Hampshire, Nevada or South Carolina, we are ready to take this country in a fundamentally new direction. That is what's happening in America right now. Change is what's happening in America.

...And when I am President, we will end this war in Iraq and bring our troops home; we will finish the job against al Qaeda in Afghanistan; we will care for our veterans; we will restore our moral standing in the world; and we will never use 9/11 as a way to scare up votes, because it is not a tactic to win an election, it is a challenge that should unite America and the world against the common threats of the twenty-first century: terrorism and nuclear weapons; climate change and poverty; genocide and disease.

...We know the battle ahead will be long, but always remember that no matter what obstacles stand in our way, nothing can withstand the power of millions of voices calling for change.

We have been told we cannot do this by a chorus of cynics who will only grow louder and more dissonant in the weeks to come. We've been asked to pause for a reality check. We've been warned against offering the people of this nation false hope.

*But in the unlikely story that is America, there has never been anything false about hope. For when we have faced down impossible odds; when we've been told that we're not ready, or that we shouldn't try, or that we can't, generations of Americans have responded with a simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people. Yes we can.*

It was a creed written into the founding documents that declared the destiny of a nation. Yes we can.

It was whispered by slaves and abolitionists as they blazed a trail toward freedom through the darkest of nights...Yes we can.

It was the call of workers who organized; women who reached for the ballot; a President who chose the moon as our new frontier; and a King who took us to the mountaintop and pointed the way to the Promised Land.

Yes we can to justice and equality. Yes we can to opportunity and prosperity. Yes we can heal this nation. Yes we can repair this world. Yes we can.

...we will remember that there is something happening in America; that we are not as divided as our politics suggests; that we are one people; we are one nation; and together, we will begin the next great chapter in America's story with three words that will ring from coast to coast; from sea to shining sea - Yes. We. Can.

## **Donald J. Trump: *President-Elect Victory Speech***

### **. . . means that something is left out of the speech**

Thank you. Thank you very much, everybody. Sorry to keep you waiting. Complicated business. Complicated. Thank you very much.

I've just received a call from Secretary Clinton. She congratulated us -- It's about us -- on our victory, and I congratulated her and her family on a very, very hard-fought campaign. I mean, she -- she fought very hard. Hillary has worked very long and very hard over a long period of time, and we owe her a major debt of gratitude for her service to our country. I mean that very sincerely.

Now it's time for America to bind the wounds of division -- have to get together. To all Republicans and Democrats and Independents across this nation, I say it is time for us to come together as one united people. It's time.

I pledge to every citizen of our land that I will be President for all of Americans, and this is so important to me. For those who have chosen not to support me in the past, of which there were a few people, I'm reaching out to you for your guidance and your help so that we can work together and unify our great country.

(...)

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

We are going to fix our inner cities and rebuild our highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, schools, hospitals. We're going to rebuild our infrastructure, which will become, by the way, second to none. And we will put millions of our people to work as we rebuild it.

We will also finally take care of our great veterans who've been so loyal, and I've gotten to know so many over this 18-month journey. The time I've spent with them during this campaign has been among my greatest honors. Our veterans are incredible people.

We will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal. I will harness the creative talents of our people, and we will call upon the best and brightest to leverage their tremendous talent for the benefit of all. It's going to happen.

We have a great economic plan. We will double our growth and have the strongest economy anywhere in the world. At the same time, we will get along with all other nations willing to get along with us. We will be. We'll have great relationships. We expect to have great, great relationships.

No dream is too big; no challenge is too great; nothing we want for our future is beyond our reach. America will no longer settle for anything less than the best. We must reclaim our country's destiny and dream big and bold and daring. We have to do that. We're going to dream of things for our country, and beautiful things, and successful things, once again.

I want to tell the world community that while we will always put America's interests first, we will deal fairly with everyone, with everyone. All people and all other nations. We will seek common ground, not hostility; partnership, not conflict.

(...)