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"With Friends and Former Foes": The Functional Roles of International Collaborative Partners and their Relationships with the United States in Inaugural Addresses of American Presidents since 1949

Abstract

In their inaugural addresses, newly inaugurated presidents of the United States rhetorically communicate visions of the world and of the nation's role in it for the first time to domestic and international audiences, and in doing so rhetorically construct and maintain relationships with other nations. This paper finds that in inaugural addresses the United States places itself as leading collaborative efforts, described as concrete actions and events, with like-minded allies. Established allies and friends are treated as supporters and beneficiaries, while peoples of poor or oppressed nations are assumed to share American values. Overtures of collaboration are also made to adversaries, but rhetorical shifts from enemy to friend are slow to follow international transformations. In the early years of the Cold War, international partners were prominent but have lost visibility over time. The end of the Cold War and beginning of the War on Terror have not significantly reversed this trend.

1. Introduction

The United States, as a nation, has throughout its history held a deep-seated belief in its exceptional role in the world and in its God-given duty to lead the world towards a future of democracy and freedom of commerce, sometimes placing itself as a detached beacon of freedom – the oft-quoted "city upon a hill" – and sometimes actively engaging in leadership in international affairs (Scott & Crothers 1998: 4–6). The many speeches and public communications of its presidents have reflected this universalist view, though the ways it has been put into practice have varied over time.

 The first opportunity the president of the United States has for presenting their vision of an international community is the inaugural

address. The focus of this study is on the ways in which international collaboration and international partners have been conceptualized in inaugural addresses after World War II. This study asks the following questions: What kind of an international partner is the United States presented as at different points in time? With whom does it collaborate and how; who else gets to participate, how often, and in what kind of roles? What actions do foreign partners get to take and in what kinds of events are they implicated? Are these partners presented as active partners in a mutual enterprise or simply as beneficiaries of American affluence and goodwill? In short: How does the United States see its friends or potential collaborative partners, and how does it wish to treat them?

The first part of this study brings together a coherent framework from the rich and varied body of research on presidential rhetoric. The second part is an analysis of a compiled set of data from the inaugural addresses of U.S. presidents since the end of World War II referring to present, past, or potential collaboration between the United States and a foreign entity. Using Systemic Functional Linguistics, this section investigates the various functional roles in which these foreign entities – ranging from ally nations to poor peoples and even current and former adversaries – are placed, and discusses the implications of these findings for the role that the United States assumes in its international partnerships.

For the most part, the analysis shows a heavy emphasis on American leadership, with international partners relegated to passive roles or even invisibility. Exceptions for this unilateral trend tend to follow major upheavals in the American foreign policy landscape, most notably the early decades of the Cold War, when collaborative partners were still often described as actively working alongside the United States, and to a lesser extent after the end of the Cold War and again after the beginning of the War on Terror. Overall, however, starting in the mid-1960's, particularly after the John F. Kennedy administration, international partners have increasingly lost their independent roles as fellow nations working alongside the United States and are placed instead as beneficiaries of American goodwill and resources, with American motives and intents dominating.

2. Presidential rhetoric and inaugural addresses in context

Political speeches are carefully crafted pieces of rhetoric that are rarely spontaneous, and never fully improvised (Reisigl 2008: 243). They are also

typically drafted by experts – "spin doctors" – rather than by the politician who ultimately performs the speech (Wodak 2011: 2), though the politician usually provides instructions and comments during the writing process (Reisigl 2008: 260–261). Within the study of classical rhetoric, political speeches typically fall into deliberative or epideictic genres, but

> "[s]ince the first rhetorical genre theory was outlined by Aristotle, political situations, systems, conditions and circumstances have changed and become increasingly complex, and, with those transformations, the forms, types, and functions of political speeches have also altered remarkably" (Reisigl 2008: 244–245).

In addition to public speeches, political discourse is now present throughout society, from televised press conferences and debates to political slogans and advertisements, found not only on the street but also on television, radio, and the Internet (Wodak 2011: 2–3). With citizens having access to politicians and their lives beyond the public forums of decision-making (ibid.), research into language used in both public and private forums of political life has also expanded, including strategies used by politicians in maintaining their image both in and out of the public eye (ibid.: 5–14).

The particular species of rhetoric analyzed in this study, inaugural addresses, can be placed into the epideictic genre (Reisigl 2008: 245), but Ryan, for example (1993a: xvii–xviii), argues that at least American inaugural addresses in the twentieth century are not very compatible with the epideictic characteristics of praise and blame, but rather contain elements of the deliberative genre, since an inaugural address aims to persuade the country to unite after a divisive election. The comparative importance of the inaugural address in the national political culture as well as its highly ritualized nature sets the United States apart from Europe, where inaugural addresses are "first and foremost located in the field of political administration" (Reisigl 2008: 252). Before addressing this peculiarity of the American system, however, it is important to place the inaugural address and its performer, the president, in context.

2.1 American exceptionalism and foreign policy rhetoric

The president of the United States is a central figure in the direction of U.S. foreign policy. "The president", as Rosati and Twing (1998: 29) put it, "is the most powerful political actor in the United States", with a constitutional

role as commander-in-chief, chief diplomat, and chief of state. However, power relations between the president and Congress have fluctuated over the years and decades. During the early decades of the Cold War, strong sentiments of anti-communism unified the country and allowed the president to shore up nation-wide support for his policies. However, beginning with the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal, the president's independent role in leading the nations' foreign policy began to erode, and the end of the Cold War increasingly fragmented national public opinion and strengthened other actors in national foreign policy decision-making. In short, the president's ability to lead has been constrained by an increasingly complex situation at home and abroad. (Rosati & Twing 1998: 31–37.)

American exceptionalism is a central concept in studying how the United States sees itself in relation to the rest of the world. McEvoy-Levy (2001: 23) describes American exceptionalism as a kind of "para-ideology" that has, throughout the history of the United States, manifested itself through various ideological forms of Americanism and has been used to legitimize both domestic and foreign policies. "Exceptionalism has been evoked to account for, or to enable, US leadership during every important period of geopolitical transition since the late nineteenth century", and thus it is ultimately "a crystallization of a set of related ideas which explain the world and the US role therein" (ibid.).

The study of official communication in public diplomacy is of central importance in investigating how the nation perceives its environment and national interests in the global arena, and how it wants to be perceived by others (McEvoy-Levy 2001: 5). The various manifestations of American exceptionalist thinking have also had a strong influence on American foreign policy thinking and the ways in which American political leaderships have sought to create "sympathetic public ecologies" (ibid.: 143). For American political leadership, the end of the Cold War has fragmented previously clear-cut ideological blocs and challenged established ways of viewing and engaging with a world of ever-increasing complexity and interdependency. This is also evidenced by academic literature on the subject (see, for example, Scott 1998, and McEvoy-Levy 2001). The events of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent War on Terror have inspired a new wave of literature on American national identity and presidential rhetoric (Beasley 2004; Coe et al. 2006; Kane 2003; Pease 2009; Roof 2009).

2.2   Presidential communication and the inaugural address

During the early half of the twentieth century, the role of the President of the United States has shifted towards leadership through public opinion – a development that Tulis (1987) has termed "rhetorical presidency". During that time, the president's role in American political life transformed into a representative of the American people, translating public opinion into policy by means of popular and mass rhetoric. In practice, Tulis found that presidential communication has shifted from written correspondence with other political bodies to spoken performances aimed at the public, and from traditional argumentative styles of address towards speeches in which the president either articulates a vision of the future or takes a stand on specific policy issues (ibid.).

Tulis' analysis was largely focused on the *act* of rhetoric rather than the content, and views have diverged between scholars from different fields on whether rhetorical presidency actually represents change or continuity (Lim 2002). In rhetorical terms, there have been changes in inaugural addresses in the shortening of sentence and paragraph length and the increased usage of "we" in presidential speeches, while the use of dividing "I" and "you" has conversely decreased (Kowal, O'Connell, Forbush, Higgins, Clarke & D'Anna 1997: 10–13). Lim (2002) found a rhetorical shift towards a more democratic, conversational, assertive, anecdotal, abstract and anti-intellectual style of rhetoric during the twentieth century.

The inaugural address is described by Campbell and Jamieson (2008) as a misunderstood genre; its function is not to demonstrate personal feats of argumentation, or to articulate a practical and detailed plan of action for the next four years. Rather, the inaugural address is a ritual of transition:

> "Inaugurals transcend the historical present by reconstituting an existing community, rehearsing the past, affirming traditional values, and articulating timely and timeless principles that will govern the administration of the incoming president" (Campbell & Jamieson 2008: 46).

Beasley's (2004) study of inaugural and state of the union addresses found remarkable uniformity across time in the rhetorical choices made by various presidents in promoting a unifying national identity in terms of various demographical groups, suggesting that presidents are constrained by these aspects of the transition ritual to a significant extent. The inaugural address is the focus of this analysis here because, as Beasley notes, not only is it performed at regular intervals, but it is also a carefully crafted piece of

rhetoric that provides information about the *ideal* community (Beasley 2004: 12). Presidents address the outside world in addition to national audiences, crafting messages for friend and foe alike. This study argues that the inaugural address can also provide a window into the way the United States and its new president wish to situate themselves in relation to the rest of the world.

Arguments have also been made that the president is attempting to construct an international identity alongside a national one (Neumann & Coe 2009; Coe & Neumann 2011). The newly inaugurated president is in fact in a unique position to attempt to rhetorically establish or maintain an international "imagined community" (Anderson 2006) in the minds of domestic and foreign observers. The underlying assumption in this study is that social identities both at the level of nation-states (and beyond) can be created, transformed and maintained discursively and can therefore be studied through linguistic sources (see, for example, De Cilia, Reisigl & Wodak 1999; Wodak, De Cilia, Reisigl & Liebhart 1999). While such identity-making discourses are not limited to the realm of political speeches, in this case the president can be viewed as a nexus point between national and international audiences.

3. Method and material

For the analysis of inaugural addresses, this study relies on tools of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a system of grammatical analysis built on the work of M.A.K. Halliday. SFL views language as a semiotic system, a resource based on which its users make meaningful choices and produce text – "bits of language", as Eggins (2004: 1) calls them. This study is focused particularly on investigating how the reality around a certain group of actors is rhetorically represented. Thus, the tools for the analysis itself come from a grammatical system called Transitivity, a linguistic representation of the world of actions, relations, participants and circumstances – a tool for sketching the linguistic "landscape of human experience" (Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks & Yallop 2000: 46). In addition, the categorization of functional Transitivity roles allows for a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis of extensive textual material.

At the center of Transitivity analysis is the Process, the finite verb in the text. Processes are categorized according to the types of actions or events that they depict: Material Processes for concrete actions that take place within the physical realm; Verbal Processes for representing communicative acts; Mental Processes for representations of cognitive and emotional

operations, and Behavioral Processes for the outer manifestations of those mental currents; Relational Processes for imbuing entities with attributes or characteristics, and Existential Processes representing entities as existing in the world (Butt et al. 2000: 52–63; Eggins 2004: 213–249). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 170) compare a Process-centered system of linguistic representation to a "schema or model for construing a particular domain of experience". Although the division of Process types appears simple enough, in practice the categories often shade into one another (ibid.: 172).

The Process type, in turn, determines the various Participant roles associated with that category. The person throwing a ball, the person catching the ball, and the ball being thrown are all Participants in a Material Process; however, emotions, reported utterances, or various attributes can also be placed in Participant roles that are implicated by specific Process types. A particularly noteworthy category of participants is called an Agent, which is most closely associated with active agency in Transitivity analysis (for a more detailed categorization of levels of agency in Transitivity, see Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 297–302). Eggins (2004: 224) summarily describes the Agent as "the one who initiates the action, the one who makes something happen". The Agent is the one who acts, thinks and behaves, and is most closely related to the grammatical subject.

There are also other Participants in addition to Agents. The Material Process, for example, implicates Goal and Range: the Goal is the Participant "at whom the [P]rocess is directed" or "extended" (Eggins 2004: 216), while the Range is a "restatement" or the "domain or extent" of the Process (ibid.: 218). Thus, players will throw a ball (Goal) but play a game (Range). However, Participants can also be non-concrete entities such as feelings or thoughts; Mental Processes, which describe a wide range of mental operations from perceptions to desires, designate these mental states as Phenomena (Eggins 2004: 225–233).

In addition to a Process and one or more Participants, clauses often contain one or more peripheral elements, called Circumstantial elements, which occur freely with all Process types and provide additional information on aspects such as location, cause, manner or timing (Butt et al. 2000: 63–65; Eggins 2004: 222–223). In English, these elements are typically expressed through adverbial or prepositional phrases.

To avoid confusion, the functional labels in this study are capitalized in order to differentiate them from general terms and other grammatical terminology (similar to a system of labeling used by Butt et al. 2000: 47). The analysis here revolves around international partners with which the

United States currently works with, has worked with in the past, or seeks to work with in the future, and the ways in which these partners are placed in relation to the functional categories of Participants, Process types, and Circumstantial elements. These distinctions offer a window into the various functional, and by extension, rhetorical, roles in which the international partners are placed: Are they treated as valid participants in their own right? Are these partners given agency of their own? What kind of changes can be observed in these categorizations over time?

The data for this study has been compiled by examining a set of inaugural addresses of U.S. presidents, starting with that of Harry S. Truman in 1949. The latest inaugural address to be included is the second inaugural address of Barack Obama in 2013. This amounts to a total of seventeen inaugural addresses delivered by eleven presidents, six of whom have given the address twice. All but one – the inaugural address of Lyndon B. Johnson – yielded analyzable instances. The addresses vary in length from 1,263 (John F. Kennedy) to 2,564 (Ronald Reagan's second inaugural address) words[1], with the number of sentences ranging from 53 (John F. Kennedy and Jimmy Carter) to 143 (George H. W. Bush), averaging approximately twenty words per sentence. President Gerald Ford is not included in this analysis, as he delivered only a short statement after his inauguration as the 38th president of the United States following the resignation of Richard Nixon.

These numbers are included to give the reader an overview of the variation within the material, as the many categories are displayed in a number of individual instances. Individual analyzed components can vary in length from a single word to a lengthy noun phrase.

Table 1. Analyzed inaugural addresses, abbreviations, and word and sentence length

President	Abbreviation	Words	Sentences	Avg. sentence length (words)
Harry S. Truman, 1949	HST	2273	112	20.29
Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953	DDE I	2545	122	20.86
Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1957	DDE II	1655	91	18.19
John F. Kennedy, 1961	JFK	1364	53	25.74
Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965	LBJ	1477	95	15.55
Richard M. Nixon, 1969	RMN I	2122	105	20.21
Richard M. Nixon, 1973	RMN II	1801	70	25.73

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[1] As Kowal et al. (1997: 13) note, varying transcriptions and different counting systems make it difficult to compare exact word counts between studies. The transcripts used in this study are from the archive of inaugural addresses collected by the Avalon Project.

President	Abbreviation	Words	Sentences	Avg. sentence length (words)
James E. Carter, 1977	JEC	1226	53	23.13
Ronald W. Reagan, 1981	RWR I	2437	127	19.19
Ronald W. Reagan, 1985	RWR II	2564	125	20.51
George H. W. Bush, 1989	GHWB	2316	143	16.20
William J. Clinton, 1993	WJC I	1584	94	16.85
William J. Clinton, 1997	WJC II	2159	113	19.11
George W. Bush, 2001	GWB I	1579	85	18.58
George W. Bush, 2005	GWB II	2073	99	20.94
Barack H. Obama, 2009	BHO I	2402	111	21.64
Barack H. Obama, 2013	BHO II	2106	90	23.40

The data for the analysis was compiled from the inaugural addresses by analyzing the content of each individual sentence. A sentence was included in the data if it referenced two components: a second non-American entity and a collaborative element between the entity and the United States. Highly generalized statements about the nature of the world and the people in it are not counted, but the presence of at least an implicit separation of the United States and an international "Other" together in past, current, or potential future collaboration meets these criteria, meaning that overtures made to adversaries are also included. Within selected sentences, the analysis focused on the functional element (Participant, Circumstance, or both) referencing the collaborative partner, as well as the related Process (for Participants). Examples of sentences fitting these criteria include (analyzed functional element underlined):

(1)   *Assessing*$^{\text{Process:Material}}$ *realistically the needs and capacities of proven friends of freedom*$^{\text{Range}}$*, we shall strive to help*$^{\text{Process:Material}}$ *them*$^{\text{Goal}}$ *to achieve their own security and well-being.* (DDE I)

(2)   *Together with our friends*$^{\text{Circumstance}}$ *and allies*$^{\text{Circumstance}}$*, we*$^{\text{Agent}}$ *will work*$^{\text{Process:Material}}$ *to shape change, lest it engulf us*$^{\text{Goal}}$*.* (WJC I)

(3)   *And all the allies of the United States*$^{\text{Agent}}$ *can know*$^{\text{Process:Mental}}$*: we honor*$^{\text{Process:Mental}}$ *your friendship*$^{\text{Phenomenon}}$*, we rely*$^{\text{Process:Material}}$ *on your counsel*$^{\text{Range}}$*, and we depend*$^{\text{Process:Material}}$ *on your help*$^{\text{Range}}$*.* (GWB II)

Applying these selection criteria was not always a clear-cut process. Typically, references to friends or allies were always included. However, there were also a number of cases that merited extensive consideration

before they were ultimately included or excluded from the material. Example of cases that were also included are:

(4) *In Europe, we ask that <u>enlightened and inspired leaders of the Western nations</u>*^{Agent} *strive*^{Process:Material} *with renewed vigor to make the unity of their peoples a reality.* (DDE I)

(5) *Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift*^{Process:Material} <u>*the fortunes and spirits of people the world over*</u>^{Goal}. (WJC II)

The analysis focuses on the kinds of roles that collaborative partners are given and considers the implications these roles have for international relationships. The aim is to investigate larger trends over time rather than any single example.

4. Analysis

The following analysis is divided into two major parts. The first part explores the kinds of scenes in which the United States and collaborative partners are rhetorically depicted by exploring the varying categories of Processes and functional roles to which these actors are connected. The second part focuses on who is cast in these roles, where and when specific actors appear, and their relationship to the United States. Figures with the exact numbers for each analyzed category are included so that the reader will be able to judge the validity of the conclusions drawn from the material.

4.1 International collaboration across the decades

The first inaugural addresses in the material took place at the beginning of the Cold War. Truman's inaugural speech was addressed to a nation that disagreed on divisive domestic issues but would unite on foreign policy, and to a war-torn (free) world facing the rising threat of communism (Ryan 1993b). Eisenhower, "a committed anticommunist" (Medhurst 1993a: 154), focused heavily on the dichotomy of a free, God-fearing, American-led free world and the looming danger of communism in both of his inaugural addresses (Medhurst 1993a, 1993b). Kennedy, breaking away from foreign policy rhetoric animated by bipolar visions of good and evil, dedicated his inaugural address to proposing a new course of pragmatic cooperation with the opposing side (Windt Jr. 1993). With new lines and connections being

drawn in the aftermath of World War II and the emerging Cold War, themes of international collaboration are also featured most heavily in these inaugural addresses.

As a starting point, Figure 1 shows the percentage of sentences in each inaugural address that contained one or more references to an international collaborative partner and were thus included in the analysis. While these percentages do not reflect the entirety of featured international themes, they do give some indication of the relative prominence of international partners at different points in time in comparison to other international themes (ongoing international conflicts or statements about the state of the globe, for example) or domestic issues, such as the economy or social issues.

Figure 1. Percentage of total sentences with collaborative elements
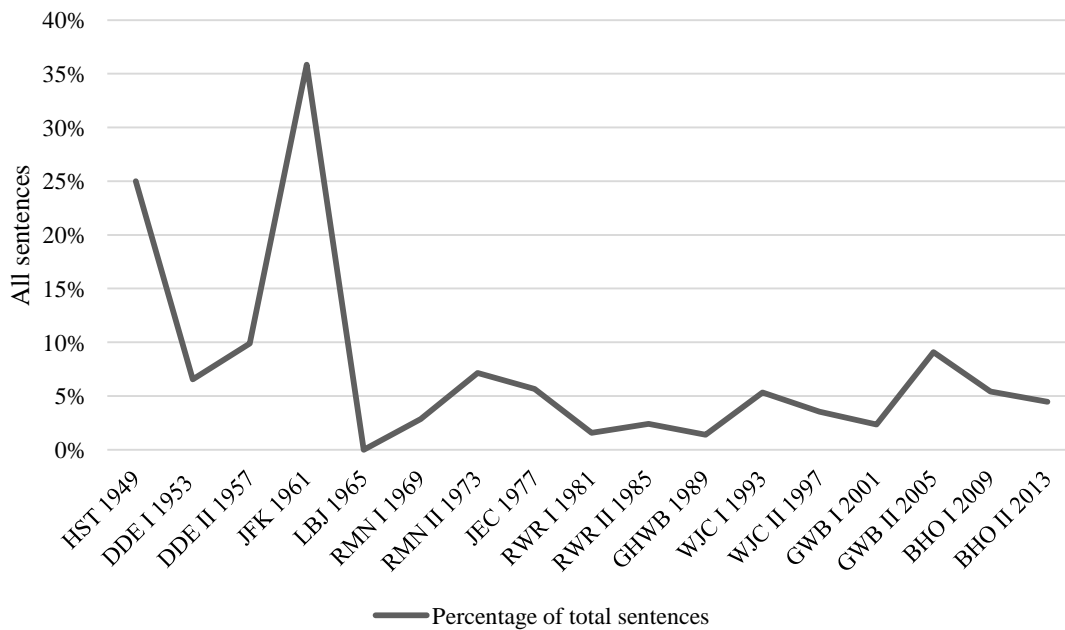
As Figure 1 shows, international partners are particularly prominent during the early decades of the Cold War. After the inaugural address of John F. Kennedy, however, there is a marked change, with collaborative partners subsequently maintaining a muted though steady presence. The singular exception is Lyndon B. Johnson's inaugural address as the only one not to include any analyzed instances at all[2]. However, since the 1990s, international partners have again somewhat risen in prominence.

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[2] In his study of Johnson's inaugural address, Kurt Ritter (1993: 201–202) notes that while international alliances and partnerships were considered for the address by the speech writers, these additions were ultimately dropped from the final version, as it was

Nearly three-fourths of all Participants are connected to Material Processes, with less than ten per cent per category of Relational, Verbal, and Mental Processes; Existential Processes are very rare, and Behavioral Processes nonexistent in the material. A large number of instances connected to Material Processes are linked to the United States providing aid, support, and goodwill to international partners; verbs related to defending, building, and helping are frequent in the material. The partners themselves are often placed as being affected by or benefiting from American actions, as demonstrated by a high frequency of Goal, Range, and Beneficiary roles (analyzed element underlined):

(6)   *This is not primarily the task of arms, though we will defend*^{Process:Material} *ourselves and our friends*^{Range} *by force of arms when necessary.* (GWB II)

The United States itself, however, is never placed as being subjected to or being the recipient of a Process. In the single instance in which the Unites States technically is placed as a recipient of another's support, it nonetheless assumes the functional role of an active Agent alongside the collaborative partner who is also categorized as an Agent:

(7)   *And all the allies of the United States*^{Agent} *can know*^{Process:Mental}: *we honor*^{Process:Mental} *your friendship*^{Phenomenon}, *we rely*^{Process:Material} *on your counsel*^{Range}, *and we depend*^{Process:Material} *on your help*^{Range}. (GWB II)

The presidents also direct messages to international parties directly, as evidenced by a high number of Recipient roles in connection with Verbal Processes. These messages are pledges of support, offers of cooperation, and declarations of U.S. intent directed at a wide variety of Recipients, from established allies and current adversaries to poor peoples of the world. Verbal Processes are concentrated mostly in the early half of the material and particularly in the inaugural address of John F. Kennedy, in which he addresses allies and adversaries (the Soviet Union), among others:

(8)   *To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share*^{Receiver}, *we pledge*^{Process:Verbal} *the loyalty of faithful friends.* (JFK)

(9)   *Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary*^{Receiver}, *we offer*^{Process:Verbal} *not a pledge but a request...* (JFK)

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felt that references to partnerships with other nations would have implied a shared responsibility for the "American mission" and thus undermined the message that the speech was meant to convey.

Barack Obama's first inaugural address temporarily resurrects this tradition with a notable number of Recipients, though sometimes the Verbal Process itself is omitted:

(10) *To the Muslim world*^{Receiver}*, we*^{Agent} *seek*^{Process:Material} *a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect.* (BHO I)

There are also a small number of Mental Processes, most of them scattered in the early half of the material. The Processes typically indicate cognitive or emotional appreciation for an existing bond between the United States and the collaborative partner, or existing or newly gained appreciation for the benefits of joining the U.S.-led world order:

(11) *We cherish*^{Process:Mental} *our friendship with all nations that are or would be free*^{Phenomenon}. (DDE II)

(12) *In due time, as our stability becomes manifest, as more and more nations*^{Agent} *come to know*^{Process:Mental} *the benefits of democracy and to participate in growing abundance…* (HST)

Only in a few instances is the Mental Process a negative feeling or sensation, and even then it is accompanied by a Circumstantial element ("never") that immediately cancels it:

(13) *Let us*^{Agent} *never negotiate*^{Process:Material} *out of fear, but let us*^{Agent} *never fear*^{Process:Mental} *to negotiate.* (JFK)

Circumstantial elements that refer to collaborative partners are rare in comparison to Participant elements. Most of them are phrases that set the stage for international cooperation: "among nations" (HST), "in company with 16 free nations of Europe" (HST), "on both sides" (JFK), "with the rest of the world" (RMN II), "with our friends and allies" (WJC I), and many more. Similarly, most Agents connect the international partners to the will and actions of the United States, either with or without an accompanying Circumstantial element:

(14) *Together with our friends*^{Circumstance} *and allies*^{Circumstance}*, we*^{Agent} *will work*^{Process:Material} *to shape change…* (WJC I)

In such cases, it is not often made explicitly clear whether the "we" Agent includes only the United States alone or also its friends, allies, and other partners; in these ambiguous cases, contextual clues are vital in determining whom exactly is referenced:

(15)   *We will meet <u>with the Soviets</u>*^{Goal}*, hoping that <u>we</u>*^{Agent} *can agree on a way to rid the*
   *world of the threat of nuclear destruction.* (RWR I)

In the example, the first "we" is analyzed as referring only to the U.S., while the second included also the Soviet Union. Similar cases with implicit inclusions of other parties are frequent. Thus, when international partners are placed as Agents, they are nonetheless often treated as an extension of U.S. will and actions rather than as independent entities with independent will and motivations. Exceptions to this general tendency are mostly located in the early half of the data, and particularly in the inaugural addresses of Truman and Kennedy. The next section will explore in more detail who is featured in these Participant roles and how their relationship to the United States is described.

4.2   Relationships in collaboration

The previous section explored the roles in which international partners are placed, but did not go into detail in investigating who these partners actually are – that is, who is significant enough to be addressed and acknowledged by the United States. The analysis in this section is centered on three categories of relationships that international partners can share with the United States. The first category includes foreign entities that are rhetorically identified as a part of some form of in-group – as either familial, friendly or as a member of the "free" nations of the world. The second category contains collaborative gestures to nations that are otherwise identified as current or former adversaries; in practice, most (though not all) of the partners in this material can be inferred as denoting either the Soviet Union or the former Soviet bloc. The third category contains references to collaboration between the United States and generic international partners such as the "international community" (WJC I) and "[m]y fellow citizens of the world" (JFK), as well as some references to more specified geopolitical entities that are not represented as having an established amicable or hostile relationship with the United States (peoples of poor nations, for example).

Overall, the category of familial or friendly relationships is most frequent, with 43% of all elements. The second most frequent is the generalized category of "Other" with 38% of elements. Finally, the category of adversarial relationships contains 19% of all elements. Figure 2 shows the categorization of all elements, both Circumstantial and Participant, according to their relationship with the United States in each speech.

Figure 2. All collaborative partners per relationship category
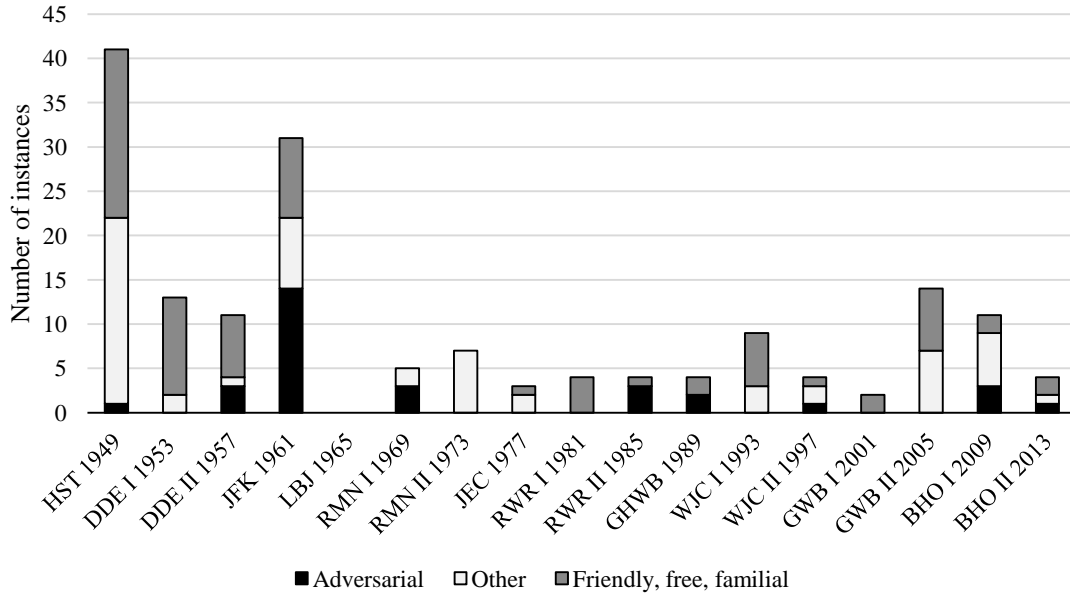
In Figure 2, the totals for each individual president reflect the numbers from the previous section. Before discussing the implications of each of these categories in more detail, a similar figure for a particular and important sub-set with a similar categorization is presented in Figure 3, which focuses specifically on the relationship category of all Agent elements.

Figure 3. All collaborative Agents per relationship category
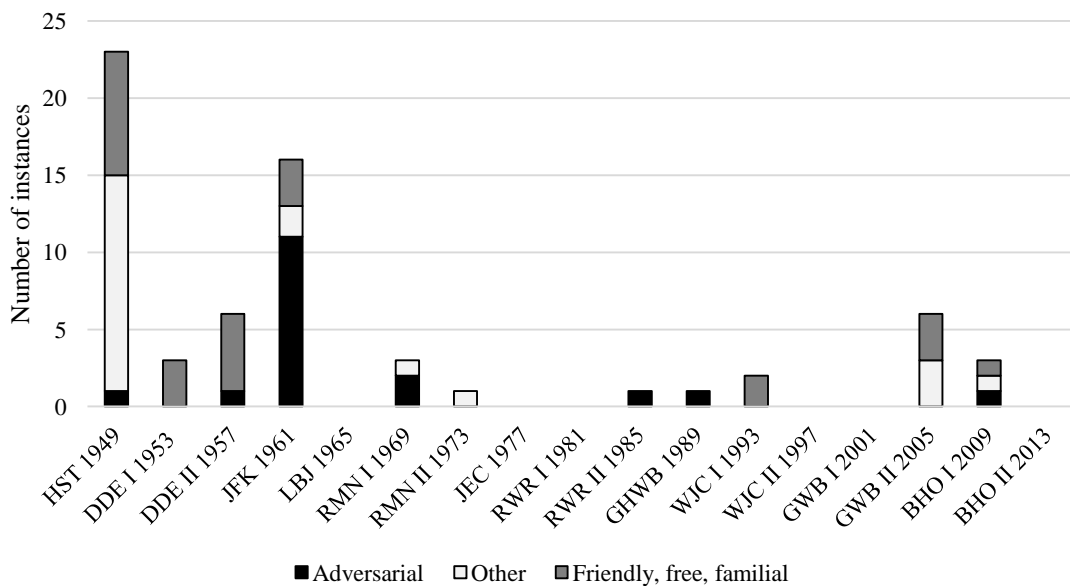
The three topics below will draw together observations from these figures and the previous section.

4.2.1 Free, friend, family

References to "friends", "allies", or supporters of freedom (either as societies or individual members of the human race) are scattered frequently throughout the analyzed material. Partiality to freedom in its various definitions has been regularly deployed as a means of distinguishing friend from foe in American political discourse (Coe 2007). As President Carter put it: "Our moral sense dictates a clearcut preference for these societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights" (JEC). Indeed, this criterion is very often invoked to distinguish those who stand with the United States, from "the United States and other like-minded nations" (HST) to "neighbors and allies who share our freedom" (RWR I) and "[t]he concerted effort of free nations to promote democracy" (GWB II), just to name a few.

Initially, friendly and familial Agents are frequent. The inaugural addresses of Truman and Eisenhower bestow a particularly prestigious status on European allies among this club of the free. Truman refers extensively to American commitment to the reconstruction and defense of the war-torn European continent and to plans which would allow Europeans to take back "their *rightful place* in the forefront of civilization" [emphasis added], while Eisenhower spoke of "enlightened and inspired leaders of the Western nations" and identified Europeans as "*proven friends* of freedom" [emphasis added]. In these instances, friends are often bestowed with Agency that is separate from the United States. However, geopolitical focus and independence are lost soon afterwards and replaced by more generic terms. John F. Kennedy is the first to make a reference to generic "old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share". Next, Nixon refers to "traditional friendships" (RMN II) and Reagan to "historic ties" (RWR I). However, references to traditional or historic bonds of friendship fade for some time until they re-emerge again with Barack Obama's reference to "old friends" (BHO I).

After the inaugural address of John F. Kennedy, the Agency of friends and allies disappears entirely for several decades until the 1990s, when Bill Clinton enters his first term as President with a plan to scale back American global interventionism in favor of engaging a coalition of like-minded nations; however, when subsequently such an international coalition failed

to emerge in response to conflicts in Bosnia and Somalia, these plans were quickly discarded (Sterling-Folker 1998). This also appears as a small and temporary spike in Agency for friends and allies. It disappears again until the advent of the War on Terror, which produces a higher spike in the inaugural addresses of George W. Bush (II) and Barack Obama (I), only to disappear again afterwards.

Another smaller group included in this category refers to nations identified as having a familial connection with the United States. References to this relationship include "our sister republics south of our border" (JFK), "a community of fraternal trust" (DDE I) and "neighbors… who share our freedom" (RWR I). In this familial metaphor, the United States assumes a paternal role as "the master of its own house" (JFK). Mentions of this hemispheric family disappear after Reagan's first inaugural address and do not appear afterwards.

4.2.2 Adversarial

Harry Truman calls it "the Communist philosophy". John F. Kennedy speaks of "those nations who would make themselves our adversary", a wording later echoed by Nixon (I). While the relationship between the United States and the Soviet bloc was at times strained close to the breaking point, the presidents have throughout the Cold War allowed at least the rhetorical possibility of the two sides joining their resources for the benefit of the (free) world. Reagan (II) is the first in the analyzed material to refer to the Soviets by name; this is echoed by George H. W. Bush in 1989, and then of course the Soviet Union is no more. This transformation not only marks a new phase in the relationship between these two nations but also rhetorical changes that reflect the progression of this new phase, though it takes nearly another decade before this change is acknowledged in an inaugural address: "[W]e are building bonds with nations that once were our adversaries" (WJC II). Obama first referred to working with "former foes" (BHO I) who just a few years later completed the transformation from "sworn enemies into the surest of friends" (BHO II).

John F. Kennedy's inaugural address in particular features a lengthy section in which the United States and the Soviet Union share Agency: the phrase "let us" in which he proposes various venues of cooperative enterprises with the Soviet Union is used frequently, with repeated usage of the dual Agent "we" and "both sides" in reference to the two superpowers.

Towards the end of the Cold War, this adversary is in fact the only participant given active Agency of its own. Soviet Agency appears again in the latter half of the 1980s when the relationship between the two superpowers begins to thaw (RWR II: "We will meet with the Soviets"; GHWB: "our new relationship").

In Barack Obama's two inaugural addresses, former adversaries finally complete their transformation from enemy to friend. At the same time, an appeal is made to new enemies, "those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, …, we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist" (BHO I). In this instance the appeal is made to leaders instead of monolithic entities, reflecting a re-emerging tendency to differentiate between leaders and citizens in presidential discourse (Coe & Neumann 2011). This appeal, it should be noted, is the only one found in this material since the beginning of the War on Terror.

4.2.3 Other

This category contains a fairly wide variety of actors. There are a sizable number of instances in this category that are generic references to working with other nations (HST: "with other nations"; DDE II: "the security of others"; WJC: "the fortunes and spirits of people the world over"). These types of instances appear sporadically throughout the material, and the Agency for these partners is particularly pronounced in Truman's inaugural address, which has a strong overarching theme of international economic and political cooperation (Ryan 1993b: 142–143). Additional instances then appear sporadically until the second inaugural address of Richard Nixon, after which they disappear and do not re-emerge. Recently, a new actor in the first inaugural address of Barack Obama, however, may offer a glimpse into emerging groupings of nations and peoples: "the Muslim world" and particularly "those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty".

In addition to these references to nations, there are a number of references to *people*: those who are trapped under oppressive regimes (HST: "all who desire self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs", "who desire freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom to live their own lives for useful end"; GWB II: "All who live in tyranny and hopelessness"; BHO II: "those who long for freedom") or those living in abject poverty (JFK: "those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery"; BHO I: "the people of poor nations"). It should also be noted that in Truman's inaugural address

there is a section in which the oppressed peoples of the world are placed as Agents, for example:

(16) *We are aided*$^{Process:Material}$ *by all who desire self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs*^{Agent}. (HST)

It should be noted, however, that in such instances the Agency of these peoples is usually connected with imbuing them with desires and motivations that align them with American interests. Additionally, it is important to note who is *not* there: Barack Obama's (I) reference to the Iraqi people is the first reference in this material to the people of a nation in which the United States is engaged militarily at the same time.

5.   Conclusion

The United States is consistently placed at the center of its collaborative sphere. It is involved in actions that are mostly grounded in real-world events and activities (the category of Material Processes). Following the end of World War II, foreign partners are initially portrayed more as active and independent partners. However, gradually this independence fades as Agent roles are increasingly replaced by other role categories in which collaborative partners are placed as recipients, beneficiaries, and objects of American power and resources. There has not been any considerable reversal of this trend, even following the beginning of the War on Terror and the multinational military operations that it has involved; the frequency of Agent roles and the frequency of analyzable instances have increased only temporarily, and even then only slightly. At the same time, in the latter half of the material the Material Processes have begun to dominate in contrast to the earlier half, in which other Process categories are also present. There is a marked decrease in the number of Mental and Verbal Processes in particular; since Mental Processes in the material usually refer to cognitive or emotional appreciation, and Verbal Processes are used to explicitly acknowledge and speak to foreign parties, it can be said that the scenes of international collaboration have become less deliberative and reflective and much more predominantly action-oriented, thus also reducing the emphasis on the need for mutual negotiation and understanding.

Within this general scenery, some participants have faded while new ones have emerged. References to the family of the Western hemisphere have disappeared, while an initially European-centric partnership has

transformed into occasionally invoked bonds with friends and allies that are usually referred to in terms vague enough to allow observers to draw their own boundaries in relation to the United States. However, the analysis does not show an active attempt by any president to redefine these boundaries, even at times when the international environment in which the nation operates is rapidly changing, such as at the end of the Cold War or at the beginning of the War on Terror. This could be due to the fact that, once established, these bonds need to be only occasionally referenced, or because such relationships are considered stable and therefore relatively unimportant.

Since the end of the Cold War, the scene on the world stage has become scattered and varied. New actors have emerged. The War on Terror has brought the Muslim world to the forefront. The people of Iraq are the first nation in which the United States is engaged militarily to be referenced as a cooperative entity. Barack Obama's first inaugural address also glimpses a new way of identifying with the rest of the world – a reference to the United States as an affluent nation as one of, instead of leading, other affluent nations, all of whom bear a collective responsibility for global inequality. Obama's second inaugural address returns to more traditional frames, with the United States portrayed as "the anchor of strong alliances" acting "on behalf of those who long for freedom". Whether this new concept of "nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty" (BHO I) remains a singular curiosity or an indication of emerging change remains to be seen.

While the analysis here has limited itself to a single genre of presidential rhetoric, a snapshot of a scene captured once every four years, studies in other genres such as the State of the Union address could reveal whether similar trends are present in them as well. Another venue of further research could be media discourse: are similar trends present, and if so, do they precede or follow changes in presidential rhetoric? As De Cilia et al. (1999: 152–153) point out, conceptualizations of national identity are not restricted to political speeches, but rather are disseminated, transformed and challenged through the media and other forms of popular discourse. Additionally, due to their ritualized nature, inaugural addresses do not allow for a rhetorical examination of individual countries and their shifting roles in terms of specific U.S. foreign policy issues; thus, other genres of political texts could enable a more detailed analysis of country-specific roles, contexts and changes. These other competing (and complementary) sources are not covered in this study, but they could represent a fruitful area for investigating whether changes found in the material here are also reflected in various forms of mass communication.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Categories of processes in analyzed instances per speech

Note: Analyzed instances do not include any instances of Behavioral Processes.

Speech	Material	Relational	Verbal	Mental	Existential	Total
HST	24	4	–	1	–	29
DDE I	8	–	2	–	–	10
DDE II	6	–	2	4	1	13
JFK	17	1	4	1	–	23
LBJ	–	–	–	–	–	–
RMN I	2	–	1	–	–	3
RMN II	5	–	–	1	–	6
JEC	–	2	1	–	–	3
RWR I	2	–	1	–	–	3
RWR II	2	–	–	–	–	2
GHWB	2	–	–	–	–	2
WJC I	2	2	–	–	–	4
WJC II	4	–	–	–	–	4
GWB I	1	1	–	–	–	2
GWB II	7	1	–	3	1	12
BHO I	6	–	–	–	–	6
BHO II	3	1	–	–	–	4
Total	91	12	11	10	2	126

Appendix 2: Categories of functional participant and circumstantial roles

President	Circum-stance	Agent	Goal/Range	Receiver	Beneficiary	Other	Total
HST	7	23	6	–	3	2	41
DDE I	2	3	6	2	–	–	13
DDE II	–	6	2	1	–	2	11
JFK	2	16	5	6	1	1	31
LBJ	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
RMN I	1	3	–	1	–	–	5
RMN II	1	1	4	–	–	1	7
JEC	–	–	–	1	–	2	3

President	Circum-stance	Agent	Goal/Range	Receiver	Beneficiary	Other	Total
RWR I	–	–	1	3	–	–	4
RWR II	2	1	1	–	–	–	4
GHWB	–	1	3	–	–	–	4
WJC I	3	2	3	–	–	1	9
WJC II	1	–	2	–	1	–	4
GWB I	–	–	1	–	–	1	2
GWB II	3	6	4	–	–	1	14
BHO I	3	3	–	4	1	–	11
BHO II	–	–	1	–	1	2	4
Total	25	65	39	18	7	13	167

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