

Ideological Positioning in Presidential Inaugural Addresses: A Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of President Agyekum Kufour and President John Evans Atta Mills

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have become interested in analysing the language used in the inaugural speeches of African presidents, likely because of the rise of multi-party democracy in a number of African countries. But there have not been many studies done on the ideological analysis of Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIA), especially for African heads of state. Studies that have already been conducted did not focus on minor indications of ideological orientations and stances presented by these political figures in their political speeches. In this paper, we examined two Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs) delivered by John Agyekum Kufour and John Evans Atta Mills who were Presidents of the Republic of Ghana. The objective is to outline the covertly expressed ideological positions used in the selected PIAs and to ascertain possible areas of ideological divergence and convergence between the two opposing political leaders. We used a CDA approach to discourse analysis, which is predicated on Fairclough's assumption that discourse analysis aims to investigate the causal relationships between discursive practices and broader social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. More precisely, this study sought to uncover covert ideology that is 'hidden' inside the texts. The study discovered that Kufour was more direct in his language, promoting his capitalist ideology, criticizing the previous administration, and also having the least self-criticism, whereas Mills was less direct, espoused an ideology of socialism, was less critical of others, and sounded more conciliatory.

Keywords- Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIAs), John Evans Atta Mills, John Agyekum Kufour, Political Speeches.

I. INTRODUCTION

Political speeches are among the world's most influential and sought-after speeches. Because of the level of political leaders who give such talks and the impact of their policies on the lives of citizens in general, they draw such large crowds. According to Burns (1978), leadership over human beings is exercised when "people with specific motives and goals deploy institutional, political, psychological, and other resources in competition or conflict with others in order to stimulate, engage, and satisfy the desires of followers" (p.18). Political leaders and heads of states play a key role in national growth and international politics in all types of political systems;

democratic, fascist, monarchic, autocratic, aristocratic, and so on. They frequently rely on the spoken word to influence and organize their followers, as well as persuade them of the benefits that their leadership may provide.

These politicians' socio-economic policies, strategies, and initiatives are based on the political ideology of the political actor's side of the divide. For the most part, CDA is interested in the connections between discourse and socially significant features or topics like power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so on and on. This research, based on the CDA theory and championed by authors like Fairclough, Wodak, and Van Dijk, examines the ideological underpinnings of political speeches and the ways in which the Presidents-

elect seek to promote their political ideologies, as posited by writers like Dentin and Hahn (1986) and Teittinen (2000), who claim that such speeches are motivated by the desire to persuade and convince the nation or society. For this reason, emerging countries like Ghana must start analyzing political speeches, particularly presidential inaugural addresses, for their ability to persuade and persuade others to adopt their political ideologies. This has necessitated an ideological study of John Agyekum Kufuor's (NPP) and John Evans Atta Mills' (NDC) inaugural speeches.

Discourse analysis of African presidents' inaugural speeches has piqued scholarly attention, presumably as a result of the emergence of multi-party democracy in numerous regions of the continent. Even among them, there have been few studies on ideological analysis enacted in Presidential Inaugural Addresses (PIA), particularly among African heads of state, such as Ghana's. Studies that have already been conducted do not focus on minor indications of ideological orientations and stances presented by these political figures in their political speeches. Studies on how linguistic study might be used to assist design a course for improving linguistic encoding and decoding signals correctly to stimulate socioeconomic growth in Ghana and Africa in general are woefully lacking, if not non-existent. In a similar vein, if a politician is unable to effectively explain the government's ideology as expressed via its policies, the citizenry and the rest of the world will be uninterested in supporting and committing to its programs. Wilson (2001) claims that "we not only use language to build reality, but we also use it to defend it against anyone whose alternative values threaten ours" (p.34). Language use is ideological in nature since it involves the careful selection of linguistic forms that express the user's desired message. It is clear, then, that study is conducted into how the linguistic choices they make in their PIAs express and reaffirm their political ideological stances to the people who have given them a mandate.

In the light of the problem statement above, this paper primarily seeks to indicate the extent to which political speeches are employed as tools for espousing ideologies to garner citizens' confidence in support for government. In summary, the specific aims of the study are to identify the ideological positions of Kufuor of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and Mills of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) expressed covertly and to determine the possible areas of divergence and convergence in ideological standpoints of the two political heads.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a cross-disciplinary topic of study that has evolved in practically all humanities and social science disciplines, particularly since the mid-1960s. It was first conceived in linguistics and literary

studies, but it quickly expanded to sociology, psychology, communication research, and other fields (Van Dijk, 2004). Discourse analysis can be summarized as the study of language in action. Discourse analysis is defined as the study of language in the context of society, culture, history, institutions, identity formation, politics, power, and everything else that language helps us create and that, in turn, renders language meaningful in certain ways and capable of accomplishing certain goals (Gee & Handford, 2012).

As a result, discourse analyzers are concerned and preoccupied with the use of language, because the context in which language is used influences the interpretation or meaning of discourse. Language, in turn, is used to define or create this situation. As the two are interconnected, this brings the interaction between language and context to the forefront of discourse analysts' work. This is accomplished by discourse analyzers focused on systematic, detailed, and theory-based studies of actual text and spoken structures. As a result, paraphrasing or summarizing the 'content' of speech is commonly done based on their expertise of discourse (Van Dijk, 2014). Discourse analysts, once again, concentrate on the broad social and cultural roles, circumstances, and repercussions of text and speech, particularly the role of discourse in the study of ideology, which is the primary emphasis of this research.

According to Van Dijk, the subject of discourse studies/analysis naturally follows the study of text and speaking in numerous fields in the humanities and social sciences, and now also encompasses social psychology, communication research, political science, and history. He goes on to say that, in an ideal world, an integrated research would combine discourse structure analysis with an examination of their cognitive, social, political, historical, and cultural functions and contexts. This approach situates PIAs into a social context in an attempt to extract meaning based on both the structure of the text and the ideological qualities of the presidents who delivered those addresses.

There are two types of discourse analysis approaches: descriptive and critical. The descriptive approach aims to describe how language works in order to comprehend it, with the goal of providing detailed explanations of how language or the world functions and why they do so. Despite the fact that their work has real-world applications, these discourse analysts are not driven by them.

This study, on the other hand, takes a critical approach to discourse analysis. The purpose of this approach is to talk to and possibly intervene in social or political concerns, crises, and disputes in Ghana, not only to describe how language works or even to offer comprehensive answers. Unlike the descriptive method, this one is driven by political leaders' desire to use their work to make a difference in the world in some way. In specific terms the paper explores the inaugural addresses of two politically opposed former presidents of Ghana,

President John Agyekum Kufuor and President John Evans Atta Mills.

Politics and Political Discourse Analysis

Harold Laswell (1958) coined the phrase "politics is who gets what, when and how" as a renowned and maybe catchy way to describe it. Politics, he says, is the study of how the distribution of value patterns in society changes when there is authority to do so. Values to him refer to desired outcomes, power to the ability to engage in decision-making, and political power, to him, refer to the ability to have intended impacts on others. Easton (1965), a well-known political scientist, also offered a succinct but comprehensive definition of politics as "authoritative distribution of values for society." (p.96). Politics includes allocating scarce societal resources to individuals within a society, and the authority or power used to make such allocations defines politics, according to them and political scientists. As a result, politics affects every facet and level of society, from the individual to the family to the community to the state to the regional to the continental to the global. This paper however is interested in state politics, precisely Ghana.

The phrase "political speech" refers to communication that deals with broad problems like as power, conflict, control, or dominance (see Fairclough, 1992; 1995; van Dijk, 1993; Chilton, 1997), as any of these notions can be applied to nearly any type of discourse. However, in this sense, one risks overgeneralizing the concept of political discourse. Political discourse analysis, like other areas of discourse analysis, spans a broad range of subject matter and employs a variety of analytical techniques. Wilson (2001: 398) defines political speech as language employed in formal and informal political contexts by political actors such as politicians, political institutions, government, political media, and political supporters in order to accomplish political aims (Moreno, 2008:34). A speech can be classified as political based on its subject matter as it relates to formal or informal political contexts and actors, such as politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to accomplish political goals (Moreno & Barley, 2008). They are, in essence, uttered and written by and for major political actors.

Campaigns, legislative debates, interviews, speeches, writing, and so on are all examples of political discourse. Wilson (2001), referenced in Al-Faki (2014), defines political speech as language used in formal and informal political contexts by political players such as politicians, political institutions, government, political media, and political supporters (Moreno, 2008). For the purposes of this debate, power, control, dominance, and resistance (Chilton and Schaffner, 1999) are enacted. For many years, researchers have been drawn to the study of political discourse. In part, this is because political discourse is a complicated human activity that requires critical analysis. According to Faki, political discourse is

the written or spoken language used in politics to influence the emotions of the audience to influence their opinions and attitudes (Al-Faki, 2014). To classify a conversation as political, its players must be political, and the utterances under consideration must be produced in a political environment. These may include legislative procedures and briefings, government/opposition press conferences, cabinet meetings, inaugurations and swearing-ins, campaign gatherings and electoral activities as is the focus in this paper.

Empirical Studies on Political Discourse

Several studies of language analysis of political speeches have been conducted, particularly outside Africa. Many people have looked at the discourse for communicative tactics used in those speeches, as well as analyzing the ideologies of the political individuals that delivered them. Even with these, a large portion of the data consists of non-African leaders' remarks.

Rachman and Yunianti (2017) examine Donald Trump's address at the Knoxville Convention Center on November 16, 2015 during his presidential campaign. Skoniecki and College (2004) looked at President Ronald Reagan of the United States of America's speech to the people of West Berlin and the globe, in which he called for action against communism. Rudyk (2007) investigates power relations in Bush's union speech in a linked paper. In a parallel study, the public discourses of previous US presidents Barack Obama and George W. Bush are examined using Critical Discourse Analysis from a post-colonial viewpoint (Viberg, 2011). These are only a few examples of investigations conducted outside Africa.

Studies into political discourse and, specifically, PIAs on the African continent have been ongoing, albeit in a limited capacity. This field of research has sparked renewed interest in recent years, presumably as a result of the continent's current multi-party system. Even among these, studies on the ideological underpinnings of presidential inaugurations, particularly those of African heads of state, have been pathetically limited, if not non-existent, to our knowledge. Much of the research on various types of political speeches has been on the linguistic choices made to describe events in ways consistent with the politicians' ideology (Alo, 2012; Al-Faki, 2014) and to demonstrate power. Among the few studies on speech acts in African presidential speeches are those by Olaniyi (2010) and Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) on President Umaru Yar Adua of Nigeria's 2007 inaugural address, Adetunji's (2006) study of speech acts and rhetoric in President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President George W. Bush of America's Second Inaugural Address, and Josiah & Johnson's (2012) study of President Goodluck Jonathan.

Adu (2015) also examined the epistemic modality in two selected State of the Nation Addresses delivered by Ghana's former President John Agyekum Kufuor on 16th February 2001 and 14th February 2008. However, his study did not examine PIAs or ideologies as is the focus of this paper.

Selected political speeches delivered by John Evans Atta Mills have been examined, spanning nearly every facet of his political career, including campaign speeches. Anderson (2014) examined the aesthetically significant qualities of his speeches that won him the nickname 'man of peace'. His study was not a comparative one as is the case in this study, focusing more on the ideological characteristics of the two successive presidents.

III. METHODOLOGY

The qualitative method of analysis was used in this research. On Presidential Inaugural Addresses in the 4th Republic of Ghana, we used an exploratory research design and survey method. The main goal is to make contributions to the field of linguistic theory. The qualitative design, as defined by Priest (1996), is any social science research method that relies on general observation, depth, and verbal description instead of numerical measurement. You could say that understanding the context in which behaviour occurs is central to qualitative research. In this study, the method is used to look into a few presidential inaugural speeches from Ghana's fourth republic. Because it is a social science research project, it necessitates a greater emphasis on qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. As a result of qualitative research strength, a broader perspective can be taken and the research approach is more adaptable.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Data was analysed in three (3) stages in line with Fairclough's (1989) CDA model. The description stage is where the text's formal qualities are discussed. This section provides an overview of the two speeches. The interpretation presented is one that looks at the connection between the text and the encounter. They meticulously bring out and interpret the hidden/opaque meanings that normally do not come out to readers or listeners as clearly on the current political, social, economic or cultural circumstances that exist at the time of text production and delivery. Finally, a comparison of the ideologies of the two presidents is made based on the important subjects they addressed in their addresses, with an explanation of their ideologies supplied.

1) This study's goal is to analyze John Agyekum Kufuor and John Evans Atta Mills' inaugural addresses in order to uncover relevant ideologically positions prominent in the speeches. It also attempts to connect the inaugural discourse with social processes and discern covert ideology in these texts. Thus, the ideological factors, socio-cultural and political backdrop, and political past of these politicians will all be critical components of the study's conclusions and recommendations. The analysis is divided into two sections to help achieve this purpose. To begin, a general outline of each speech is supplied in the description. To get at different ideological viewpoints, the

second phase of the research compares the interpretations of the speeches' discursive features with the ideological themes present in each president's addresses. To make referencing to specific passages in the speeches as easy as possible, all quotations in the speeches include the paragraph number from which the quotation is taken. For easy analysis, Kufuor's name is coded with JAK and Mills' name is coded with JAM respectively. The inaugural addresses of the two presidents were downloaded at:

<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/prez-inug-adr.php> for President John Agyekum Kufuor and <https://www.ashigbey.com/2014/12/12/1384/> for President John Evans Atta Mills respectively (see appendix).

V. DESCRIPTION OF INAUGURAL ADDRESSES (IAs)

Description of IAs – John Agyekum Kufuor

First and foremost, Kufuor thanks God and Ghanaians in his vocative and introduction, which sets the tone for the rest of his address. It also includes personal kudos for Ghanaians' successful election and following peaceful transition of administration as a democratic triumph (*JAK I*). Ghanaians are tasked with implementing this democratic achievement in all aspects of life, particularly economic development, as he conveys his faith in the state's potentials. He acknowledges and commends the contributions of the international community to the country's political and economic progress. He calls on the international community once more, this time calling for further commitments like debt reliefs. By cutting down on corruption and waste, he promises the donor community, his government is committed to responsible procedures that increase economic relief while decreasing costs.

Ghana's youth, NPP supporters, expats, and women are all specifically thanked for their sacrifices and dedication to the country's success. By explaining their new duties and obligations in the new state they helped create, he also charges them with responsibility for their actions. While discussing economic development, Kufuor assures Ghanaians that his government is committed to instilling institutional trust, particularly among the legal profession, to help foster entrepreneurship. Some of the virtues that the incoming administration should uphold in order to achieve economic success are private enterprises, the free market, individual empowerment, competition, hard effort and discipline, and innovativeness.

While he reiterates his personal interest in advocating this course as the state's chief executive, all three branches of government are urged to remain committed to their constitutional responsibilities in order to free the state from its bonds. The political leaders of the continent who are in attendance are individually greeted

and appreciated, and he offers assurances that he is devoted to continental and sub-regional integration and collaboration. Finally, Kufuor thanks the Ghanaian people for their support and assures them of his dedication to delivering on his promises, a concept has stated multiple times throughout his address.

Description of IAs – John Evans Atta Mills

Mills officially pays homage to his predecessors, with a focus on their role in getting the state to where it is today. He makes it clear that he intends to make use of their collective wisdom while in office. Finally, he expresses his gratitude and appreciation to the foreign dignitaries in attendance. Mills thanks God and the people of Ghana for their support during this difficult time (*JAM 1*).

At the event, President Mills spoke about the importance of promoting unity among the Ghanaian people, including opposition members, because he believes that building consensus is the only way to move forward in creating a prosperous nation. As a way to guard against endangering human liberties, he says, his government prioritizes ensuring the safety of its citizens. For Mills, political, economic, and legal equality for all citizens is a top priority, regardless of their background or preferences. Even when he states the country's economic goal, President Mills shows his commitment to ensuring economic progress for all Ghanaians, not just a select few. The progress of small local businesses is of paramount importance to him, and he will stop at nothing to ensure that happens. Keeping diplomatic commitments at the global, continental, and sub-regional levels is an important foreign policy goal for his government, according to him.

He ends his speech by subtly revealing the state's precarious position, which motivates the citizens to work hard, but not before expressing faith in the state's ability to meet upcoming challenges.

VI. INTERPRETATION OF INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

Comparative Ideological Interpretation

The two presidents' PIAs are ideologically interpreted at the same time and compared. Foreign policy goals like committing to world, continental, and regional peace and security have significant ideological overlap. Their warm affectionate ways to address Ghanaians include "fellow citizens," "dear," (*JAK 1*) "friends," and "brothers and sisters," (*JAM 4*) among other forms of addressing. Critical discourse analysis examines the speeches' treatment of major ideological divergences, such as thematic areas.

a) Impression of Previous Opposing Administration

Kufuor bastardizes the previous government throughout his speech, although he does so subtly. His speech gives the impression of Rawlings's unjust NDC administration. He accuses the previous administration of committing major human rights violations. "*Tumultuous*

times', 'wrongs experienced' 'we dare not forget but... endeavour to forgive'; freed from poverty, starvation, and disease;economic and political refuge', and 'there has been enough suffering...'" are all references from his speech. The use of the cohesive method of reiteration in recalling different instances of misery with the statement '*there has been enough*' conveys his perception of the immensity of the miseries caused by the previous regime in the state. This can also be concluded from the speech, which states, "*Ours is not a poor country, and even though we are now poor people, ours is not a poor country*" (*JAK*). The usage of the temporal deixis 'now' here is to represent his predecessor's current economic situation.

"We have work to do and that starts today. Our greatest enemy is poverty. And the battle against poverty starts with reconciling our people and forging ahead in unity. We have gone through turbulent times and we should not in any way down play or brush aside the wrongs that have been suffered. I do not ask that we forget, indeed we dare not forget, but I do plead that we try to forgive" (*Kufuor, 2001*).

His savage view of the previous NDC government is revealed further in his use of the personification device in the clause '*fear must be banished*' to create a more comprehensive reality of the conditions of fear to which Ghanaians were subjected in the past. He refers to the period as '*the struggle of the past 20 years*', knowing very well that his predecessor ruled for 20 years. Due to the dread, Kufuor claims that many Ghanaians were forced to seek economic and political sanctuary and make 'homes' abroad from the country's frontiers (*JAK*). By issuing an invitation to these Ghanaian expatriates to return '*home*,' he argues that simply changing the government has made Ghanaian conditions favourable enough to return home. He considers the successful democratic transition of power to be a "*historic*" achievement since it involved battle, implying that the previous administration did everything in its ability to cement itself in power, which is as undemocratic, therefore making it monumental. '*Our people have been very patient*,' he says, referring to Ghanaians' long-suffering endurance throughout the NDC rule (*JAK*). Kufuor stated that by replacing the Rawlings' government, Ghanaians had found reason to rejoice, a term he qualifies with the adjective 'spontaneous' to describe the natural outburst or flow of momentary impulsive emotion that can only come from years of frustration under the previous administration.

"Never again should Ghanaians have to resort to dubious means to get to or live in foreign lands simply to make a living. And certainly never again should Ghanaians have to seek political asylum anywhere in the world. To those of our compatriots who have made homes beyond our shores, I make a special plea for your

help;we need your capital. To those who left and have stayed out only because of the military revolution or political differences, I say come back, come back home where you belong and let us join in building a new Ghana” (Kufuor, 2001).

He backs up this claim by saying in sentence 84 that Ghanaians "must learn to smile again," implying that the borne frustration has created a sad habit in Ghanaians, and that in order for Ghanaians to smile again, they must learn, which is a process that cannot be spontaneous under the circumstances.

Mills, on the other hand, does not generally accuse the Kufuor government of human rights violations, though one can infer insinuations and accusations of selectiveness and government of the privileged few as depicted in '... Ghana's prosperity will reach all, not just a few' (JAM), as well as '*honesty, fairness, compassion, and sincerity will be the hallmarks of my administration*', '*I have no wish to carry out political vendetta*' (JAM). During the 2008 general election campaign, the NDC stuck to its mantra of criticizing the then-NPP government of conspicuous prosperity. Mills' worldview is confirmed by more subtle techniques, such as the use of the comparison reference device in '*our politics will not focus on power and privilege... readiness to set personal gain aside*'

“I have always said that I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from. It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenching peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the constitution to do” (Mills, 2009).

President Mills attempts to promote his persona by revealing his mental disposition as president to his audience in the excerpt above. He reaffirms his commitment to welcoming, supporting, and advocating for all Americans, regardless of political affiliation, ethnicity, or religious beliefs. His willingness to use all available methods to bring the nation together after a bitterly disputed election (which almost tore the country apart) and his desire to see the country united are made clear to the audience. The result of this marketing strategy is that he attracts people who are interested in his personality and makes them think about the kind of president they want. (The italicized words in bold prints serve to substantiate this claim).

The narrowness of the election outcome, which saw the speaker ascend to the presidency, divided the country politically, with the NDC emerging as the winners and the NPP emerging as the losers. Because of this, the speaker felt it was even more critical to unite the country, hence his choice of words. When speaking up for national unity, the speaker took a step backwards from

being a politician associated with a certain political party to accomplish this goal. As a result, he did not enable his party to take possession of his new position; instead, he became the tie that connects the two sides. Mills was well-aware of the country's political topography when he advocated for this route. There's no denying that the Ashanti and Volta regions have been dubbed the "world banks" of the NPP and the NDC, respectively. It's imperative that these facts be brought to light in order to dispel any erroneous perceptions, especially following a hotly contested election. In yet another instance, Mills tries to portray the kind of personality he wants his audience to see him as, seen in:

“Our politics will not focus on power and privilege. On the contrary we will not forget the concerns of the Ghanaian people who want to see an improvement in their living conditions. Willingness to put personal advantage aside will therefore be one of the key demands on those who will serve in the Atta Mills government. Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration. I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind” (Mills,2009).

Instead of striving to distance himself from the politics that shields leaders from the rule of law and provides them disproportionate access to public resources, the speaker here attempts to separate himself from that type of politics. His goal is to pave the way for a fresh approach to politics in the country. In order to get things started, one of the criteria for choosing members of his cabinet will be their commitment to avoiding actions that prioritize their own interests over those of the general public. The connection between the speaker's name and the imagined identity is critical because it motivates him to work harder to attain his goal. Since it makes his aims obvious, his method of revealing the pillars that will drive his administration is worth considering. To ensure that the audience is well-informed, he employs the approach of enumeration rather than concealing or implying their existence. It is important for him to emphasize his wish to stop using public resources to attack political opponents, which is seen as a typical practice in the country.

This exposes the speaker's worldview and political stance as president to his audience. As a result, the audience's political cognition is shaped by this imagined identity, which affects the nature of their future relationship. In this sense, the speaker takes the initiative by using language to create the connection. A situation where the election victor replaces all state officials in their positions with members of his party was looming as a result of the change from one government to another. It is because of this political culture that the losing party's officials, no matter how competent or national they are, are frightened and helpless when it comes to resigning. Consequently, they are disadvantaged by the political change and appear as defeated Ghanaians who have little

interest in their own country. The speaker's choice of words, on the other hand, inspires optimism and calls for a new era in the way politics is conducted in the country. He will provide equal opportunities for all Ghanaians as the head of the ruling party. According to this tradition, new governments take revenge on previous ones by unleashing their wrath on them in order to atone for the supposed mistreatment they received. This influenced the speaker's choice of words.

VII. DISCUSSION OF INAUGURAL ADDRESSES (IAS)

Comparative Ideological Discussion

Affectionate modes of addressing Ghanaians with interpersonal modes such as "fellow citizens," "dear," "friends," and "brothers and sisters" are highlighted as areas of ideological agreement in foreign policy, such as committing to global, continental, and subregional peace and security. The speeches critically analyze the following thematic areas, which contain the following ideological divergence themes:

Comparison of Impressions on Previous Government

Kufuor paints a dreadful picture of the previous Rawlings-led NDC government. He accuses the previous government of human rights violations. *'Tumultuous times,' 'wrongs suffered,' 'we dare not forget but... try to forgive, 'freed from poverty, hunger, and disease,' 'economic and political asylum,' 'there has been enough suffering..., 'ours is not a poor country and even though we are now poor people,'* as well as expressions like *'fear must be banished,' 'the struggle of the past 20 years'*. Kufuor claims that by replacing the Rawlings government, Ghanaians have found reason to experience "spontaneous delight" and "learn to smile anew," implying that the former government had only brought untold suffering to the country.

For Mills, however, there are statements such as "... Ghana's prosperity will reach everybody, not just a few" that seem to support the Kufuor administration even though Mills is neutral on the issue. *"Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmarks of my administration. I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind," "we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others," "our politics will not focus on power and privilege...willingness to put personal advantage aside"* (26-28), all expose Mills' ideology of the previous government's selectiveness, even though it was done covertly.

Comparison of Acknowledgement of Predecessor

Kufuor's outspoken condemnation of the previous administration is further evidenced by his refusal to acknowledge his predecessor. This corresponds to Teo's (2000) belief that 'meaning can be derived not only from what is stated, but also from what is left unsaid' (p.24). Meanwhile, Mills places a high value on thanking

his predecessors, beginning his full address by doing so and treating both of them with the same reverence.

Comparative Thematic Discussion of both Inaugural Addresses

When Kufuor begins his address, he gives thanks to God and his countrymen before mentioning his predecessors or opponents (JAK-1-7). In contrast, when Mills begins his speech, he mentions Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor openly (JAM- 1-5). When it comes to economic reform, Kufuor calls on the entire Ghanaian population to join and be involved (JAK 8-17), but when it does, Mills urges all Ghanaians to come together as one (JAM 14-23), dropping hints about the country's economic problems and expressing hope about overcoming them (JAM54-60). It is safe to assume that both presidents are very concerned about the state of the economy and the well-being of the general public.

President Mills also addresses global, continental, and sub-regional challenges in his presentation to the international community, particularly the donor community, by appreciating their efforts and further urging for greater support conditioned on his government's assurance of smart management (JAM50-53). While President Kufuor divides Ghanaians into NPP followers, expatriates, and party loyalists (JAK35-63), President Mills not only expresses gratitude to all Ghanaians and commends them for their efforts (JAM- 6-13), but also strives to promote Ghanaian equality and equity (JAM26-42).

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Presidents-elect, on the day of their inauguration, give speeches that appear to have a more accommodative tone. An examination of such speeches, however, reveals various ideological positions articulated in more subtle and covert ways through the deliberate selection of linguistic choices that suit the joyous mood of presidential inaugurations. While Kufuor is outright in his condemnation of the former Rawlings-led NDC government, Mills is less harsh in his assessment of his predecessors' performance. Other areas such as; the impression and esteem for the predecessors; politico-economic theory; fresh starts and a sense of urgency; numerous political groups; security and a source of confidence are indicators of divergence. There is however convergence in foreign policy philosophy in both addresses.

Recommendations

It has become not only necessary but crucial because of the complexity of African communities and cultures to have a deeper understanding of political speeches for critical discourse analysis since the creation of democratic cultures in Africa. Because of this, more researchers should be encouraged to focus on presidential political discourse production in order to meet the communication needs of modern democratic governance in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa. Additional replication

in other political discourse genres, such as campaign messages and State of the Nation Addresses should be carried out to help citizens understand the ideological perspectives underpinning political leaders' utterances so they can fully comprehend the significance of their messages. This should also be done in other parts of Africa.

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APPENDICES

Raw Data of Presidential Inaugural Addresses

- 1) *President¹ John Agyekum Kufuor* downloaded at: ¹<https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/republic/prez-inug-adr.php>
- 2) *President² John Evans Atta Mills* downloaded at: ²<https://www.ashigbey.com/2014/12/12/1384/>

The Presidential Address

Inaugural speech by President John Agyekum Kufuor, Fourth President of the Republic of Ghana at Independence Square Accra January 7th 2001 Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker of Parliament, My Lord Chief Justice, Your Excellencies brother Presidents and Vice President, Nananom, Your Excellencies Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Distinguished guests, fellow citizens and friends.

One hour ago, I took a solemn oath before Parliament to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of Ghana. I swore that I now dedicate myself to the services and well-being of the people of Ghana and to do right to all.

Please join me in giving thanks to the Almighty for bringing us to this new beginning for our country. We demonstrate today our maturity and our cohesion as a nation by the smooth transfer of power from a democratically elected government to another.

This is the first time this has happened in our 43 years of existence. It is an achievement of which we can all be justifiably proud, and which we can happily celebrate. But we cannot rest there. What we can, and must do is to try and utilize the advantages that come from this historic achievement. The spontaneous joy and feeling of goodwill that is in the country since 28th December 2000 should not be allowed to disappear without translating it to tangible improvements in the lives of the mass of our people.

We have work to do and that starts today. Our greatest enemy is poverty. And the battle against poverty starts with reconciling our people and forging ahead in unity. We have gone through turbulent times and we should not in any way down play or brush aside the wrongs that have been suffered. I do not ask that we forget, indeed we dare not forget, but I do plead that we try to forgive.

That way, we can concentrate our energies on the big battle of bringing prosperity to our nation. It is not beyond our capabilities. We have all the ingredients here, a fertile and beautiful land endowed with goodness and richness and blessed with a dynamic and entrepreneurial people. As we strive to realise our potential, I must acknowledge the help and encouragement that our foreign friends have extended to us. I acknowledge their role in the electoral process and the deepening of our democracy. I am grateful for the many messages of congratulations and the universal praise that we have received for the conduct of the elections and the transition.

Having helped us so far to get where we are, our international friends should keep faith with us. They must remember that we face grave challenges with our economy, challenges that are likely to put severe strains on our people's belief and enthusiasm for the democratic process and its slow and painstaking methods. We have been down this road before, in the second and third republics, when adventurers were able to exploit temporary difficulties by promising instant solutions and overthrowing constitutionally elected governments.

We need the continued support and help of our foreign friends and I urge them to consider seriously the appeals that are being made for the relief of debts. This will enable us build our economy. We are currently spending a fourth of all our revenue annually on simply servicing our debts. Such a burden is not sustainable and is likely to dampen the enthusiasm of our people when they do not see any democratic dividends.

It is imperative that our people see concrete evidence that democracy is more than just sweet words. They should see that there is a difference in their lives, they need to be freed from poverty, hunger and disease and this should be done in conditions of freedom.

We on our part in the new administration, accept that we need to sacrifice and work hard. We pledge to cut waste and corruption from public life. There will be, under this administration, **ZERO TOLERANCE** of corruption and I make a solemn pledge to you my compatriots, and fellow citizens that I shall set a personal example.

HELP

We shall also cut our coat according to our size of our cloth and utilize whatever help we get in the most appropriate manner.

Ours is not a poor country and even though we are now a poor people, there should be no room for the despondency that has settled on large sections of the population.

In this regard, I want to make a special appeal to our young people. We need your energy, we need your dynamism, we need your creativity and above all, we need your dreams to rebuild Mother Ghana.

This, is where it is happening, this is where you should be and this is where you should be helping to translate your dreams into reality.

I must at this stage, pay tribute to the many members and supporters of my party, the New Patriotic Party, who have worked so hard to bring about this victory. Many of you have toiled for long years without any thought of reward, spurred on only by our common belief in democratic freedoms and the certainty in our ultimate victory. To you I say, "Ayekoo", and remember the more difficult fight for the betterment of our people has only now begun.

I must also acknowledge the contributions made by our compatriots who live outside the country. Currently you contribute a third of the capital inflow into the country. Many of you do more than just send money home, many of you have kept up keen interest in the affairs at home, and some of you have even been part of the struggle of the past twenty years.

I salute your efforts and your hard work and I extend a warm invitation to you to come home and let us rebuild our country.

Never again should Ghanaians have to resort to dubious means to get to or live in foreign lands simply to make a living. And certainly never again should Ghanaians have to seek political asylum anywhere in the world.

To those of our compatriots who have made homes beyond our shores, I make a special plea for your help; we need your newly acquired skills and contacts, we need your perspective and we need your capital.

To those who left and have stayed out only because of the military revolution or political differences, I say come back, come back home where you belong and let us join in building a new Ghana.

ROLES

I pledge that it will not be a case of one set of Ghanaians coming back from exile to be replaced by another set of Ghanaians going into exile. Multi-party democracy is here to stay in our country, and there is room for differences of opinion, our political opponents have their honoured roles to play and I urge all of us to extend the same tolerance to each other that we want for ourselves.

During the campaign, the amount of enthusiastic support that came from our women for the cause of change was remarkable. I believe this is because our women are at the sharp edge of the economic realities in the country. You go to the market; you have to make sure there is food on the table and children are fed and dressed well. I believe that is why you have been in the forefront of this democratic revolution.

I salute you, the women of Ghana; I salute your hard work and your dedication. You deserve to be treated

with respect, and the burden you carry on all our behalf must be lightened. I salute you for the uncomplaining way you look after all of us. What reputation we have as Ghanaians comes from the love and attention given us by our mothers, sisters and wives and you must be safe on our streets.

I therefore condemn in the strongest possible terms the murders of women that have plagued us and have thus far not been solved. I shall do my best to ensure that the police give the highest priority to solving the murders and bringing the perpetrators to book. Nothing should stand in the way, and I promise that my administration will give all the help needed to enable the police get to the bottom of these gruesome murders. With God's help and guidance, we shall soon see the end of this most unpleasant chapter in our history.

And to make sure that you take your rightful place by your men- folk, my government will establish a Ministry of Women Affairs, of Cabinet rank to ensure all policy is pervaded with due consideration for your interest.

The potentials of our nation have always been known, and I take the fresh mandate given us so enthusiastically, as a mandate to renew our pride and self-esteem in ourselves.

As we continue to take pride in the historic struggle for democratic freedom in our country, it is appropriate that we also salute with pride those who led the struggle for a return to constitutional rule in the past 20 years.

Our pride will be even more justified when we have put our economy on a sound footing. My government will do its part in creating the right atmosphere of safety and security and assurance that there will be rule of law. Every citizen will have protection under the law and nobody will be victimized because of tribe, religion or political affiliations.

When disputes arise, as they will, because we are human beings, we expect the judiciary to resolve them by the rule of law and with fairness. We urge them to renew and restore the faith of our people in the administration of justice so that it will be manifest that our country is a safe place to invest in.

Whilst we set about creating the enabling atmosphere, we shall give all the help and encouragement we can to our entrepreneurs so that business flourishes. We have pledged to create wealth and we know that the main agency for the creation of wealth in all its manifestations in the private sector.

ECONOMY

My government will therefore support every feasible venture. We will encourage, in particular, small and medium scale ventures in all sectors of the economy. We believe an added gain will be the strengthening of democracy through the many individuals who will be empowered through this wealth creation. The message to the business community both here and abroad therefore is, "Ghana is open for business" come in and let's do business.

Our business people have the responsibility to lead the economic transformation of our country. The challenge that faces them is to recognize the implications of the global economy and the fact that a nation's prosperity depends on its business being competitive. My resolution is to launch a golden age of business and enterprise in our country that will transform the lives of our people within the next decade.

To get to this golden age, our farmers and workers must join the crusade through their hard work and discipline. They must accept a new work ethic, embrace new methods of working and constantly update their skills to make us an integral part of the global economy. I intend to make dialogue and co-operation with the TUC and all workers a central feature of the fight to bring economic prosperity to our people.

There has been enough suffering in our country, there has been enough of children whose dreams die before they have a chance to grow and there has been enough of our elders who, having served their nation, are forced into indignity in their old age.

From today we must learn to smile again, we must learn to appreciate the good in each other and we must feel pride in being Ghanaians. Fear must be banished from our public and political life. We should reward excellence and recognize hard work. We are a blessed people and with God's guidance our smiles might even become laughter in the not too distant future.

I make a special plea to all branches of government, the Legislature, the Judiciary and all the institutions of state to join in the building of our nation.

As the duly elected Chief Executive of the Nation and the Commander in Chief of its Armed Forces, I expect, indeed, I demand loyalty from the public and civil services and the Security Services. We cannot afford to waste time and energy. Our people have been very patient but they will not forgive us if we do not start work immediately.

Today we have been joined in our celebrations by many of our neighbours. I wish to thank all of them, His Excellency the President of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade, The President of Cote d'Ivoire, Laurent Compaore, and President of Togo, Gnassingbe Eyadema, The President of Mali, ...Alpha Omar Konare, our special guest of honour the President of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo, and Vice President Jacob Zuma of South Africa. Thank you all for the honour done to Ghana and me personally by your presence here with us.

HOPE

We cannot hope to build a vibrant and prosperous Ghana unless we are at peace with our neighbours. I pray that our sub region which has been in such turmoil for so long will have peace so that we can bring some happiness to our people. I pledge that Ghana will do her part in helping to maintain peace in the region. We shall also play our part in helping to continental institutions and their reform to make them relevant to the needs of the peoples of Africa in the 21st century.

Thank you brother Presidents for joining us. Africa has good reason to be proud of what has happened in Ghana today.

We in Ghana have good cause to be proud. Today, let us smile and take that smile with us into tomorrow as the hard work starts.

Thank you for your confidence. I pray that with God's guidance and blessing, and the support of you the good people of Ghana, I shall lead you to a prosperous, progressive and peaceful Ghana.

Thank you and God bless us all.

***The inaugural speech by President Professor John Evans Atta Mills on Wednesday, 7th January 2009
My fellow Ghanaians,***

I wish to begin by acknowledging the presence of my two predecessors: former President Jerry John Rawlings and former President John Agyekum Kufuor.

On behalf of our nation I salute you, Your Excellencies. I recognize your invaluable experience and deep insight into matters of state and you will be important reference points during my tenure of office as President. I wish to extend a special welcome to our distinguished guests who have travelled from far and near to witness this momentous occasion.

Madam Speaker,

A short while ago I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic. With a grateful heart, I want to thank all Ghanaians for giving me the mandate to serve as President. You have changed the face of the Presidency, Parliament and the political process itself. The least I can do is to work to your satisfaction and deliver on our promise for a better Ghana.

We have emerged from one of the most keenly-contested elections in the history of our country. Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit. Thanks to the steadfastness of the good people of Ghana, sovereign will has prevailed. We give thanks and praise to the Almighty. At this moment of joyful celebration, I hear a call to duty and I make a pledge to you, my brothers and sisters that I will strive to make a difference in the politics of our nation.

This is the dawn of a new era of change for the better Ghana. It is not change for change sake. It is a change in a new direction to enable us move forward with unity of purpose. Ours will be a consensus-driven agenda, and in building that consensus, we will recognize the contribution of our compatriots in other political parties. I have always said that I will be President for all Ghanaians whether they voted for me or not, and without consideration for which part of the country they come from.

It will be my duty as President to heal wounds and unite our dear nation. I intend to pursue relentlessly all avenues for entrenching peace and unity in all parts of the country as I am enjoined by the Constitution to do. We will not let the fear of crime rob law-abiding citizens of their freedom. Improving the internal security situation

will, therefore, be a top priority of the new Government so that Ghanaians can begin to feel safer in their homes and communities.

Madam Speaker,

Our politics will not focus on power and privilege. On the contrary, we will not forget the concerns of the Ghanaian people who want to see an improvement in their living conditions. Willingness to put personal advantage aside will, therefore, be one of the key demands on those who will serve in the Atta Mills government. Honesty, fairness, compassion and sincerity will be the hallmark of my administration. I have no wish to carry out political vendetta of any kind.

The principles of accountability will be upheld, and the law will be allowed to take its course. We have a duty to ensure that our laws are administered without fear or favour, and to this end we must avoid the syndrome of one set of laws for one group and another for the others.

We have a challenge to ensure that our laws work in a system that is blind to one's place in society or one's political persuasion. We will do all in our power to ensure social justice, equity and equality under the laws of Ghana. There is only one Ghana, and that Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian.

I extend a hand of cooperation to members of the Judiciary, security services and public service. I remind them of their obligations to the state and urge them to be loyal and committed to the larger interest of the Ghanaian people.

I also want to reassure the business community that the Government which I lead means well. Our goal is to facilitate creation of a business environment that balances the resuscitation and growth of local industries and enterprises with operations of foreign business considered essential to the creation of a robust national economy.

We will not pursue a policy that sees Ghanaian industries suffering from unfair competition. Our local businesses will be encouraged to create jobs and play their role in growing the Ghanaian economy. And we will strive to balance the efficiency of the market with the compassion of the state. We made promises to Ghanaians on the strength of which they have reposed trust in me and elected me and the National Democratic Congress to lead our nation over the next four years and hopefully beyond. The core of our campaign message and our agenda for change was:

- Investing in people
- Job creation
- Infrastructure development and expansion
- Open, transparent and accountable Government

Our success in accomplishing the agenda for change will be measured by the extent to which we realize the vision of a better Ghana where opportunities are available to all our people and where Ghana's prosperity will reach all, not just a few.

Madam Speaker,

We will strengthen our relations with our neighbours and help accelerate the processes toward economic integration in the sub-region. We will continue to be active in the African Union and in efforts to resolve conflicts on the continent. We will collaborate with the United Nations and other international and global institutions to make the world a better and safer place.

Madam Speaker,

When the political transition is completed, I will address the people of Ghana on the state of the economy which we have inherited, but I know we have to face hard truths and take bold, strong measures. I believe that as a nation, we will find the strength of character, love of

country, and hope for our shared future as a nation, to accomplish even the most difficult of tasks.

Though our task ahead presents many challenges, I am confident that working together we will prevail, and Ghana will be the ultimate winner. I want to tell you, my brothers and sisters across our nation, from Gambaga to Accra, from Wiawso to Keto, from every village, nook and cranny to every city centre and in-between; let us join in this great challenge that the Almighty has laid before us, to so transform our country in the years to come that we may be the ultimate beneficiaries of a prosperous nation under God.

I thank you.

God bless our homeland Ghana and make her great and strong.