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Civil Religion in the United States of America (1967-2017).

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Declaration

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Abstract

Civil Religion has turned out to be a debatable topic since sociologist Robert N Bellah coined this word in his famous article "Civil Religion in America." Before Bellah, Jean Jacques Rousseau described a civic faith composed of ideas, symbols, and texts required to any society but without mentioning the term "Civil Religion." Besides Rousseau, other philosophers also recently tackled the topic, like Hobbes Durkheim, Machiavelli, and Philip Gorski. This thesis inspects the presence of civil Religion in American daily life in general and in politics in particular. It deals with sacred objects, documents, texts, and days, which represent the pillars of American civilization and society. This dissertation's central question is the function of Civil Religion in the community and the government, particularly the nation's part in policymaking. Numerous political addresses were analyzed, focusing on both "God-talk" and "Faith-talk." The phenomenon of Civil Religion is still alive, contrary to what some scholars claim.

Additionally, it reveals that the USA has a "sacred" mission to protect other nations and spread the American civilization and values as if it wished to construct a "world-like America." Using a civic faith to govern America, make domestic or international policies, and spread its civilization and beliefs, is sometimes done via violence. America is waging wars "to fight terrorism" or "make peace," which shows that Civil Religion is playing a dangerous role since it is changing from its noble aims to destructive ones.

Keywords: mission, sacred, crusade, civic, foreign policy, rhetoric, war on terror

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father, who taught me that knowledge has no end. It is also dedicated to my mother, who taught me that there is no gain without pain.

To my husband

To my sister, brother, and their families

To Ahmed Mokatio and Youness Apipakto

To little Meriem, my sweet niece

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List of Acronyms

ACR the American Civil Religion

CR Civil Religion

G. W. B George Walker Bush

GCR Global Civil Religion

IMF The International Monetary Fund

ISIL The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

U. N The United Nations

U.S.A; The United States of America

U.S.S.R The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

W. W. I The First World War

W.W. II The Second World War

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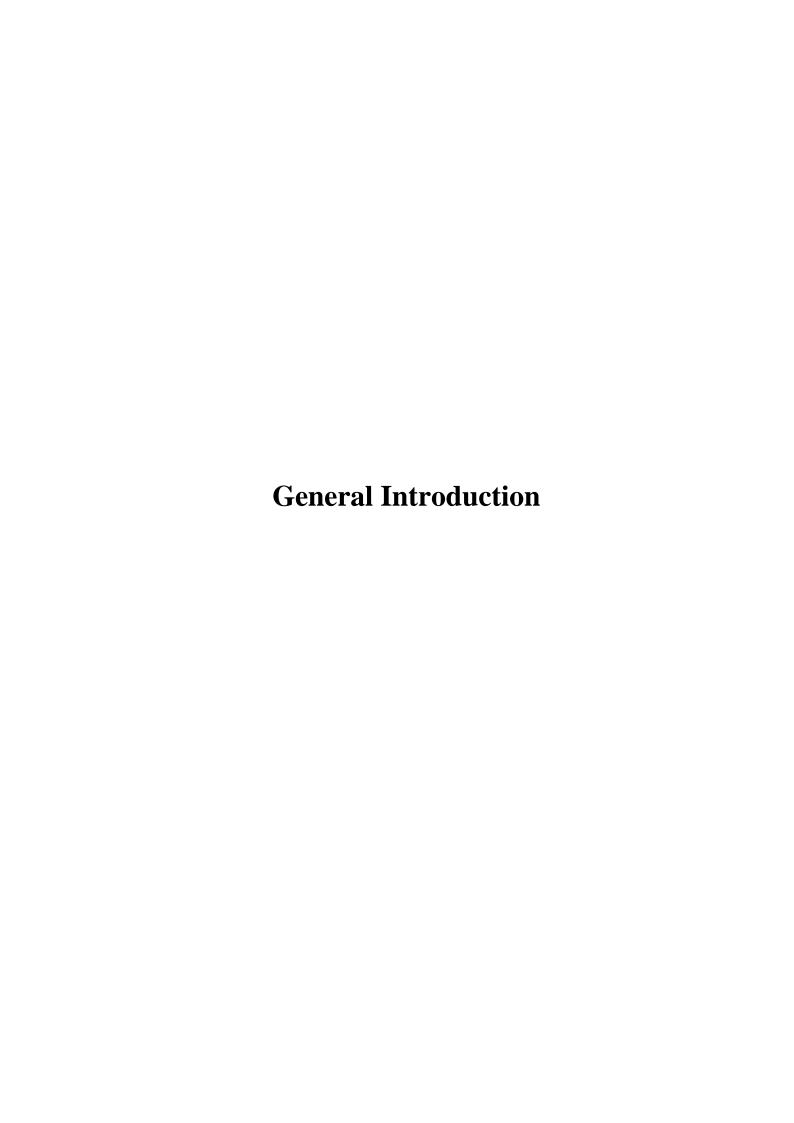
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General Introduction

Civil Religion is a word introduced by the French thinker Jean Jacques Rousseau to describe a faith, which is part of US daily life and politics. "Civil Religion in America" has been of interest to many philosophers like Durkheim, Hobbes, Machiavelli, and others. Nevertheless, it has become well known after a controversial article entitled "Civil Religion in America," published by Robert Neely Bellah in 1967. The controversy regards the exact definition of civil Religion, whether it is a reality or a myth, and its function(s) in society and politics.

Civil Religion in America is different from that of Russia, Britain, or elsewhere. It is what relates Religion to politics. Americans admit that civil Religion keeps them linked with God through many principles and morals. Among these values, we mention liberty, unity, loyalty, devotion, democracy, and finally, "a war on terror" or the battle to make peace. American people think they are 'God-chosen people' to accomplish a specific mission, broaden American culture, and protect the world. In this way, America is a "sacred nation" that would spread American ideas to all other countries around the globe.

Civil Religion is not merely "patriotism," but a sum of ideals such as morality, freedom, peace, unity, power, self-reliance, exploration, and honesty in America. It is positive when its social or political goals are significant, mainly those related to peacemaking. Nevertheless, sometimes, it appears as very negative, like achieving peace via violence, which is described as the "war on terror" or when it is used to gather the support of people's opinion. In this way, civil Religion becomes extremely dangerous.

The appearance of civil Religion goes back to the foundation age when the first Puritans of the newfound land established a "Divine Nation" or the "Promised Land." They transformed many religious beliefs into political ones. For example, prophets obeyed God, who in return gave them protection. Similarly, in politics, they established a covenant like a contract between God and Abraham, the people

follow their leaders, and the government gives them security and protection. Another agreement is when; "Adam and Eve" committed the original sin and ate the apple from the banned tree. Americans believe that when Adam committed the original sin, all humans became sinners.

Consequently, humans are created sinners by nature, and hence the task of government cannot be in the hands of one man. From here comes the system of the Division of Powers (French Version). In politics, the partition of powers into the Executive, judicial, and lawmaking Bodies is known as "Checks and Balances." This system of government is considered as the initial steps of an independent system of government in America.

The earliest settlers were highly religious and were even called "Pilgrims." They enjoyed pilgrimages, religious ceremonies, and holy days which are part of the ACR or the American Civil Religion. Thomas Jefferson and several leaders were viewed as priests and even as prophets. Their speeches are still quoted, for example, Winthrop's most famous description of the New World as a "City on a Hill" or the most helpful phrase "God bless America," which was first used by Thomas Jefferson.

US Presidents have quoted these phrases of the Founders for years. Americans prove admiration and allegiance once they listen to or sing the American anthem. Moreover, the US flag is present in schools, administrations, and streets. Also, the US currency that carries the slogan "In God we trust." All these symbols are evidence of the reality of the ACR.

July 04 is a "sacred day" when people gather to remember a date of freedom and democracy. They generally carry flags, do some rituals, say poems, sing and depict the USA as a holy land, which holds on its shoulder a divine job to do on both the national and the international levels. Those symbols bind Americans together, whether in periods of emergency or in feasts and celebrations.

Some Americans state their awareness about "civil Religion" while others reject it or deny its existence. This interest in civic faith has led to many definitions that serve as a source for academic research.

The present work is entitled Civil Religion in the United States of America (1967-2017). The topic selected for its novelty and controversy appears as a controversial subject nowadays. Countless people are unaware of it, although it exists in many nations such as Russia, Germany, France...etc. However, the ACR is different for Americans assume that God chose them to fulfill a "sacred mission" of saving the world from terrorism regardless of the means used to attain this mission.

The selection of the topic goes back to my years of graduation at Oran University. Our teacher introduced us to "civil religion," which raised many questions in my mind. I learned some definitions of this oxymoron by Bellah and Hammond, which were both ambiguous and incomplete. Then, the exam question was, "America is a nation with the soul of the church, comment on!" Frankly, I could answer that question and predict that what happened in Iraq would also happen in Syria. This took place in 2005.

Although the issue of Civil Religion is a very arguable theme, yet it is very interesting. I started focusing on presidential speeches, ceremonies, and elections campaigns and how US political leaders have always invoked God in crises or rituals.

This dissertation attempts to trace back the start of Civil Religion in the United States and its roles in society and politics, especially after Bellah's outstanding article on this topic in 1967. It also investigates further the nature and the reality or the death of this term. In addition, it attempts to highlight the role it (should) do in society and politics and, finally, whether it is leading the nation towards triumph or destruction.

The method employed in the current work is discourse analysis, which plans to study Presidential speeches to reveal the authenticity of "civil religion" throughout history. Moreover, inaugural addresses, tables, and figures are provided. Mostly the approaches followed are quantitative and qualitative.

The present research questions are posed to start probing this research:

- 1. What is Civil Religion?
- 2. Does civil religion exist in America? If yes, is it still alive?
- 3- What role(s) does it play domestically and internationally?
- 4. Is it leading the country towards glory or destruction?

The following hypotheses are suggested for the above questions:

- 1-Yes, Civil Religion exists in the USA and elsewhere, which has existed and is not dead.
- 2-Civil Religion is a sum of values, rituals, symbols, and principles that attach Americans as 'God-chosen' people who carry a "sacred mission" to achieve.
- 3-On a national level, Civil Religion keeps Americans united, especially during hard times. On the international level, America acts as "the policeman of the world," trying to spread US culture and values.
- 4-Civil Religion in the USA is leading the nation towards destruction.

This thesis contains four chapters. Chapter 1 tackles the origins of civil Religion in the USA. Many scholars were concerned with the topic, but this part's focal point is on five visions only. It goes deep and insight throughout the thoughts of Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emile Durkheim, Thomas Hobbes, Machiavelli, and in the contemporary age Robert Bellah.

Chapter two, sacred objects, texts, documents, and monuments, investigates the practical side, i. e., civil Religion in the US daily life and politics. It portrays its

presence in ceremonies, national days, documents, monuments, sites, and symbols, all of which appear as "sacred" and "divine."

The third chapter deals with Presidential rhetoric. It seeks to show the function of religious words in either using "God-talk" or "Faith-talk." The analyses of Presidential speeches will help the researcher understand the intentions of political leaders. The fourth chapter depicts the purpose of civil Religion in policymaking.

Finally, the last chapter investigates the effects of civil Religion on US foreign policy. It deals with a "religiously-oriented" foreign policy rather than an "interest-oriented" one. It also illustrates the implication of this ideology, showing the mission of this civic faith on the domestic and the international level.

Chapt	ter One: The	Origins o	f Civil Reli	gion

1.1. Introduction

Civil Religion is a constituent of the U.S. culture and politics. It is part of the spell of God in presidential speeches, and the reference of religious passages on civic occasions, the consideration of past political leaders to the Creator, and the employ of spiritual codes on public buildings, let alone the occurrence of the word "God" in currency on the one-dollar bill. All these examples show that this civic faith has been part of the U.S. civilization.

Since the American independence in 1776, many countries have followed the American model to claim their freedom. America has tried to transfer American civilization and values to other nations. Americans believe that the notion of Manifest Destiny is fundamental; the Almighty selected them to represent Him on earth, who ordered them to defend the world and turn it into a peaceful place for everyone. All these beliefs and others raise crucial queries about the truth of the ACR.

People in the USA are themselves unaware of the term "civil religion." It only became known when Robert N. Bellah wrote his article "Civil Religion in America" in 1967. As a result, many articles appeared on the topic with critics. Many sociologists asked about the reality of ACR and if other civic faiths exist, and if it is similar to nationalism or not. The other questions that arise are, is it time to end using Religion in the community and politics? And, more importantly, is the chief function of this Religion deviating from giving protection and balance to destruction?

This chapter tackles the roots of the civil religion concept in-depth and primarily stresses the existing theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Durkheim. It also emphasizes other scholars' views like Hobbes, Machiavelli, and in modern times Robert Bellah.

The notion of Civil Religion, as defined by Hammond (1976:169), has been

tackled by many scholars throughout the past of western political thoughts for "in a broad sense, it is a problem of legitimacy or for "good citizenship." The first who employed the word was a thinker and philosopher from France, Jean Jacques Rousseau in the *Social Contract* (Rousseau, 1762- 1973). He wrote about a civic faith to be made compulsory by the regime to promote public merits and political unity. "Now that there is and can be no longer an exclusive national religion, tolerance should be given to all religions that tolerate others so as their dogmas contain nothing contrary to the duties of citizenship" (Rousseau,1762/1973: 277)

1.2. Rousseau's Vision of Civil Religion

Civil Religion is a concept first mentioned in the French political thoughts and has become a central theme since the scholar Bellah wrote his article in 1967. It is related to sacred principles and attitudes that are transformed into public practices and feasts. Civil Religion is expressed through holy places and symbols like the U.S. flag. This point will be detailed in chapter two.

For Rousseau, Civil Religion is described as a collection of religious ideas that he considers universal and whose task is to unite the nation by giving it a religious authority. He argued in The *Social Contract*, "a state has never been founded without religion serving as its basis." (Jamais état ne fut fondé que la religion ne lui servit de base)^[1]. This statement describes the vital link between Religion and government. But how far should Religion be included in politics? Rousseau talked about a type of politics without civil Religion. He argues that Christianity is politically useless since it does not represent the Civic faith that he stated as the most suitable. He added, "One cannot speak of a Christian Republic because those two words are mutually exclusive" ^[2].

Rousseau declared that Prophet Muhammad had principal ideals. Still, then he

rejected the idea since, according to him, intolerance in theocracies (governments in which God is the supreme authority) is something, which should be dismissed. He refuses the suggestion of Machiavelli as opposition to Christian Politics. For Rousseau, the single feature that is left is the spirit of Christianity. He added, "There is no longer and can never again be. "Il ne peut plus y avoir" a limited national religion" The result is a religion that is not dedicated to politics and that is both bold and extraordinary.

Then, if this civic Religion is unattractive at the wrong historical and chronological time, what is the real ACR, and does it serve politics at all? If Religion is right, politics is wrong. Therefore, Christianity is not "the real religion" [2]

Rousseau deals with a religion that would make people better future citizens who participate in building their nation. Such a religion tolerates new faiths, but wrong deeds prevail over right ones cannot be the faith of "civil religion." In this respect, Karl Löwith writes: "Christianity reduced to morality and deprived of its supernatural and doctoral foundations is no longer a religion... such Christianity cannot appeal to the secular world as an inspiring religion" Consequently, there is no comprehensible indication to what Religion Rousseau referred to as "the real religion of civil religion."

1.2.1. Rousseau's Failure to define the "Real Religion"

The general opinion about Rousseau was that he was more a philosopher who was unaware of spiritual matters to be very spiritual and too loyal to faith to have much philosophy. Rousseau admits that ancient religions were valid but false. On the contrary, Christianity is correct but cannot be used in society. In the *Geneva Manuscript*, he declares that "the advantages of the Religion of man and the citizen

will be combined. The state will have its religious groups and will be the enemy of anyone else." [5] which is different from the *Social Contract*.

In "paganism," he confirms that faith and politics were the same things. Each government had its "own cult and its Gods and made no distinction between its gods and its laws." Political wars had religious purposes- the "provinces of the Gods were... fixed by the boundaries of the nations." (Rousseau, 1762/1973: 269- 270). He thinks that Christianity separates between government and faith, which made the state "no longer had one" and "thought about the international divisions which have never ceased to trouble Christian peoples (Rousseau 1762/1972: 270).

Hobbes could understand this issue. He affirms that the quality of Christianity introduced not only "the most violent earthly despotisms but also a conflict of jurisdiction and a division of power which have made all good polity impossible in Christian states." Ever since, the sacred cult and the government have become independent systems. He states, "Men had never succeeded in finding out whether they were bound to obey the master or the priest (Rousseau, 1762/1973: 270. Rousseau believes that Hobbes could see the pessimistic part of the "reunion of church and state," but was mistaken when he attempted to make Christianity an element of his system because, with its "domineering spirit, Christianity would never consent to be subordinate to the state (Rousseau, 1979: 150).

Rousseau, Durkheim, and Hobbes dealt with authority and faith and the relation that should be, if any, between them. Rousseau justified his case on two suppositions: One is that politics needs creed and that the "law of Christianity" is harmful and weakens the law of the land (Rousseau, 1762/1973: 272). He depicted three kinds of Religion, "the religion of the citizen," "the religion of the priest," and "the religion of man." The Religion of the citizen" codified in a single country, has its customs and dogmas designed by law. It has its "own tutelary patrons and Gods. Duties and rights are circumscribed to a particular nation". Rousseau, who borrowed from Machiavelli, confirms that the faith of the civilian "is useful for it

teaches them that service done to the state is service done to its tutelary god." [6]

Therefore, this type of Religion encourages citizens to love their countries and obey the laws. Nevertheless, it relies on oppression and constraint and may lead to intolerance and national prejudice. The nation is thus endangering its safety and is also waging wars. He adds: it is dangerous when it "breathes fire," makes people "bloodthirsty," and regards as sacred the "act of killing" people who do not have faith in its gods (Rousseau, 1762/1973:273).

The second type of creed is "the religion of the priest," which divides man into two loyalties. It gives him "two codes of legislation, two rulers and two Countries." Rousseau thinks about Christianity and "the religion of the Lamas and of the Japanese.", all of which lead to a class of "mixed and antisocial" frame of mind. "Man is divided into two parts and cannot decide whether to be loyal to the church or the state. He can be faithful both to religion and citizenship" [7] (Rousseau 1762, 1973: 272). He assures that this faith is complicated, and it is useless to prove it because it destroys social harmony. In this way, it is "worthless." Moreover, it confuses and agitates "man" because it contains many contradictions. For him, it is unacceptable because any social body that "sets man at odds with himself" is also "insignificant." Consequently, the pastor's faith obliges the populace to obey if they want salvation (Rousseau 1762/1973: 272, 275). Likewise, this sort of Religion is harmful and objectionable. The faith of the pastor is politically subversive, for the religious interests would always be more substantial than that of the sate" (Rousseau, 1762/1973:271). In fact, power must be shared between politics and the church. In practice, it says, "priests are tempted to usurp temporal authority for themselves, and to this extent undercut the established authority of the state" (Beiner, 1993, 618).

The third kind of Religion is "the religion of man," a Christianity very different from today. According to Rousseau, this faith is universal, joining all people as children of deities and, thus, brothers. It is the genuine "natural" creed of the Gospel "pure and simple." It has "no altars, temples, rites," and it is exclusively devoted to the sect of the supernatural being. Nevertheless, though this form of Religion is good, it fails to bind all men together under the government. Still, it instead isolates them from the various procedures of the world as "the country of the Christian is not of this world" (Rousseau, 1762, 1973: 273-274). It is the "pure real religion," but politically, it is a failure.

The most significant point of Rousseau's Civil Religion in the Social Contract is to show that the "reconciliation of Christianity with the requirement of politics is a hopeless one" (Beiner, 1993: 619). For him, the terms "Christian" and "republic" cannot be together since they are contradictory^[10]. To advocate loyalty and dependence, the "spirit" of Christianity is "sympathetic to tyranny," for the Christians are "made to be slaves, and they know it and do not much mind" (Rousseau 1762/1973: 275).

He is convinced that faith is crucial to the country, but he confesses that no creed leads to a "good polity" (Casanova, 1994: 59). None of the above religions is perfect. Besides, he is conscious that "enlightenment" would push people towards a more secular world. Although illumination thinkers argued that Religion would end with the collapse of ancient regimes, no proof was found of the end of Religion. By contrast, he even dreads politics without the endurance of the creed (Demerath and Williams, 1985: 155, Casanova, 1994: 32). He agrees with Machiavelli that favors the presence of faith in politics and assures that the "Age of Reason" creed was vital to body politics^[11].

Rousseau argues that faith is vital to political stability; "as soon as men live in society, they require a religion to maintain them there. Never have a people continued nor will they ever continue without religion." (Cited in Vaughan 19/5: 87) He declares that faith is vital since it is the base that the state legally uses to stabilize and become secure. It provides values and morals, and hence the nation is considered as if God predestined it. Consequently, civil duties become moral

necessities.

He wrote that the latest faith had just started, and Christianity became without power because reason replaced it. Machiavelli then began to imagine a novel belief that best serves politics.

Therefore, he initiated a category of civic faith that is viewed as something vital to the government. Both Rousseau and Machiavelli share the same idea that "new religions are due to men rather than due to heaven that innovations and transformations of religious beliefs and practice are legitimate objects of statecraft." (Beiner, 1993: 630)

Rousseau adds that faith is an issue of personal freedom which means that every citizen can choose their faith when it constitutes no danger to others' life, liberty, or/and Religion. For him, citizens have thoughts and attitudes that "matter to the community.... It matters to the community that each citizen should have a religion..... That will make him love his duty....." (Rousseau 1762/1973: 275-276) Consequently, the rituals of any religion "concern the state and its members only when they refer to the duties that bound each citizen to all others." (Rousseau, 1762/1973 276)

It is argued that creed has been used in politics throughout history. Rousseau, hence declared that a new doctrine should be created, "a purely civil profession of faith." The articles of "such a religion should be dictated by the sovereign not exactly as religious dogmas," but rather as "social sentiments without which a man cannot be a good citizen or a faithful subject" (Rousseau 1762/1973 267). [12]

Rousseau emphasized that the religious values of civil Religion should be limited in number and fixed. Nevertheless, a Divine entity is required that encourages justice and punishes wrong deeds. He depicted a unique religion of its genre (Merquior, 1980:37). However, he pointed at a "society of the social contract and the law." The public of the *Social Contract* does not count for their beliefs or Religion but duties in society. As a result, making civil obligations "spiritual"

would give it more credit (Macfarlane, 1970: 68). In this way, civil Religion had a similar role as Christianity in old times, mainly promoting cohesion and morale (Selznick, 1992: 424).

1.2.2. Rousseau's Type of Civil Religion

The type of civil Religion suggested by Rousseau is a natural religion related to civil obligations and moral duties in society. He has no fear about the people's beliefs in Jesus and salvation (Masters, 1968: 88). Once individuals' lives "are touched by the requirements of the common good, that they must accommodate their personal views to public's needs" (Delue, 1997: 157). Therefore, everyone must accept and adapt the central beliefs of civil Religion, for, without a faith, civil society becomes more exposed to attacks and harm from others. Its doctrines contain the distinctiveness of a high-quality citizen. Individuals who disrespect civil duties and laws can be expelled from society.

He declares that people who break the social contract "must be removed by exile as a violator of the compact, or by death as a public enemy" (Rousseau 1762/1973:190). As an outcome, civil Religion should set collective standards and facilitate an inevitable collaboration and order in society. It would allow a common sense "that could sustain a community's quest to define and to maintain the general good." (Delue, 1997: 157). "Civic virtue that prompt a man to respect and uphold the contract and its laws (Noone: 198;140).

He divides the faith into individual personnel and civic trust (a national, public creed for the civic good). He validates that civil Religion must be imposed [15]. The regime's responsibility is to have its sect fix its rituals and make them obligatory on its citizens without "explanation or comment." It is mandatory to avoid separation and to achieve social order and collaboration. He considers civil Religion an

instrumental political phenomenon to "secure loyalty to a contingent social order" (Wilson, 1971: 17).

For Rousseau, having faith is particularly eminent for the group concern of the society. It seeks to prove that all evil deeds must be punished and that good behaviors and morals will be rewarded. Likewise, his suggestion of civil Religion is "religious," not only political. Nevertheless, this religious dimension gives importance to the "sanctity" of the Social Contract. The "sacredness" of the regulations means citizens and duties are relationally disposed of so that people love their duties. Certainty in the purity of the Contract means the faith in a deity who sanctifies "a transcendent source of political obligation and a transcendent source of public morality (Noone, 1980:148). On the contrary, Hammond(1980:42) said, it remains "civic" because its thoughts and feelings are concerned with "sociability" required to be "a good citizen (and) a faithful subject." It is "civil" because it is connected to citizenship and with society.

Nevertheless, its aim is mainly political, not religious. Rousseau rejects the subsistence of "any exclusive national religion" controlling the spiritual power. He instead favors the endurance of various religions and tolerance and raises many questions regarding the legitimating of a creed in a country.

Noone (1980:145) observes that Rousseau is aware that separateness between creed and politics can only be avoided by establishing shared goals "a love of country independent of, but not necessarily contrary to love of God." He continued that Rousseau admits that having a social unity "by encouraging a type of emotional patriotism best exemplified by Sparta." Rousseau concludes with the country's image with religious atmosphere and taking citizenship to the height of religious faith. Consequently, he becomes the "prophet of nationalism." Rousseau's vision of citizenship requires nationalism. This name, "the prophet of nationalism," comes from the central place he devotes to the societal and national interest (Sherover 1984: 212, note 363).

Rousseau describes a civil religion, which would unite all citizens under one regime. His goal was to found some form of faith similar to a creed as Islam, Christianity, or Judaism but to launch a dominant civil religion that can undoubtedly maintain order and security in the state. The political part of faith is a true religion that is sacred or "divine" and as the "cult of the legislator, the divine ordering force in human affairs (Henry, 1979: 172). Noone was, to a certain degree, correct when he assured that the "pragmatic import" of this creed is "purely and simply secular."

Furthermore, it is entirely political that this creed of the state (as Noone suggests) was not meant to be a faith for citizens but a religion that would make a nation more powerful. ^[16] Individuals are asked and even ordered to be devoted to their state and to love their duties. Clearly, the obligations are not sacred, and Rousseau's goal was not the creation of a religion which is not secular Noone affirms, but rather one that "he took to be the pure, uncorrupted and simple faith of the Gospels." However, these are against Rousseau's aims because the Gospel favors "the brotherhood of all men," strengthening the world's unity and loyalty. Nevertheless, "cosmopolitan brotherhood rules on total devotion to a specific national polity" (Noone, 1980: 149- 152), while Rousseau's purpose is political and civil.

He emphasizes his idea through a solid standard collaboration for the country's stability and order, showing that an authority that uses Religion is logically correct. What is contradictory is his acceptance of the "religion" of the citizen, which he rejected at the beginning.

He then could not predict that "the religion of the citizen" is a religion that can lead people to a "war" under a religious name or a holy war. His kind of Religion is totalitarian and bloody precisely identical to the "religion of the citizen." The government must put the establishment of civil Religion but cannot oblige individuals to consider them. Nevertheless, it can "vanish from the state" those who

are atheists. However, the sovereign can do many things. "if anyone, after publicly recognizing these dogmas behaves as if he does not believe them, let him be punished by death: he has committed the worst of all crimes, that of lying before the law" (Rousseau, 1762/1973: 276).

1.2.3 Rousseau's Perfect Citizen

In the *Social Contract*, the society is built on a convention involving people and the country. By accepting to be components of the social contract, they find their freedom to their country and the sovereign state, which becomes, in his words, a *persona facta* (Rousseau, 1762/1973: 177). He assumes that the individual loses his ordinary freedom to get civil liberties. Natural liberty rests upon the "power" of each citizen to pursue his dreams. Civil right, however, is restricted by the general will. He asserts that his common choice is the group concern in a free, equal, and law-abiding community. The common will focal point is the wellbeing of the public as a whole, not the citizens' interests and hopes. So civil liberty provides the citizen with "moral freedom and makes him/her real control of himself." When people try hard to reach all that they want, they become only slaves. Will abiding by the joint force or "the law one prescribes to oneself is freedom (Rousseau, 1762/1973:177-8).

He thinks that obeying the common will means following themselves. He distinguishes between the "general will" and "the particular will." The former leads to the welfare of the society while the latter leads to its benefits regardless of others' interests and hopes. When the common becomes a law, it is obligatory for all citizens. The dominance of the general will is for Rousseau "the first" public principle and the "fundamental rule of government" (Rousseau, 1962/1973:123).

He admits that "man's particular interest is different from "the common interest." This happens when the profits of a civilian contradict the general interest.

It will be harmful in government. He believes in the risk of allowing a citizen to enjoy his full "rights" while they fail to bear out their "duties" to their country.

He believes the country's power lies in its people. Power belongs to "the collective sovereign," i.e., the people (Cole, 1973: XX). However, the sovereign is granted to body politics. Each individual is bound to believe as a "good citizen" for the happiness of society. The perfect citizen is necessarily "virtuous," who can put aside his own will, interests, and wishes for the public will.

To conclude, a perfect citizen is an individual who is required by the collective Contract. Rousseau perceives the common will in the community with severe ethics "as a principle of moral conduct applied to political behaviors (Cole, 1973, XXXIV-VI). His thoughts of a perfect citizen is "that of an individual completely absorbed by the state" (Noone, 19880, 140).

In the *Social Contract*, particularly in the chapter which deals with civil Religion, he attempts to answer the query of the individual's faith and whether it helps citizens reach liberty and political security and order. He answers this question as follows: "instill in each citizen a profound love for his country and its laws and make the knot of the socialite indestructible. For the social tie to be morally bending and legally upheld, laws are essential. They are the special motive force" of the body politic. Without laws, the state is only a body without a soul" (Rousseau, 1762/1973: 291). If the state entirely absorbs citizens, they are not fully accessible, nor can they be protected.

He argues that loyal citizens respect laws and work hard for the country. Every citizen acts within a contract, which works for the country's advantage and never tries to endanger its safety. In return, people obtain an outstanding education teaching them how to be high-quality citizens, which is the central purpose of civic Religion in the contemporary era, confirmed by Rousseau when he sums up the Social Contract with stress on the involvement of politics in society. For him, civil Religion is a historical specific state ideology with a particular variety- with a

"transcendent focus and an element of "sacredness built into it" 16

Nevertheless, a weird reality exists about civil Religion, as Noone has noted (Noone 1980:154); In Rousseau's theory of political necessity in the "sovereignty of man," laws are based on social agreement social contract. This sort of covenant honors the self-reliance and independence of the individual. Those citizens altogether constitute a political community. The latter is not natural but rather a work of each citizen to be an element of this community.

However, the responsibility of the ruler is perceived in a tyrannous way. In this way, the social contract forces citizens to act against their will "only to the extent that he voluntarily accepts the coercion" (Noone: 1980:154). He takes for granted that the typical choice is "always upright and always tends to the public advantage" while it is sometimes "deceived"; it is "never corrupted" (Rousseau 1762/1973:185). Furthermore, the sovereign's power is "absolute, sacred and inviolable.... (Rousseau, 1762/1973:188). He thinks that the state is bound to preserve its unity.

The sovereign is the sole judge of what is essential for the society, and it is not impossible to justify tyranny or coercion (Rousseau 1762/1973: 186). He "hinders" the most prominent points of liberalism for consent once given is now irrevocable, and it is God, not man, that scarifies the contact. 'Noone, 1980:154)**intext quo

He increased the tension between liberalism (freedom of any individual from restriction) and those against liberalism (the extreme obedience and yielding to the authority). He tried his best to lessen the tension between 'man' and the 'citizen' and between 'God-given liberty' and that provided by the society, but he failed to resolve these quarrels and tensions. As Merquior notes, Rousseau's intention to harmonize the pressure between the individual and the civilian remained, throughout his academic career, an "insurmountable antithesis" and an "absolute conflict"-one that he was never able to resolve. (Rousseau, 1975:46)

1.3. Durkheim's Vision of Civil Religion

Long after Jean Jacques Rousseau came another scholar and philosopher "Emile Durkheim," who also used "civil religion," not including the term 'civil religion'. In this manuscript entitled the "Elementary Forms of Religious Life," Durkheim focused on the most primitive and straightforward Religion, which is known (Durkheim 1912/1961 a 13). He finds out his type (a very simplistic and primitive) faith in Australian aborigines' totemism.

According to Durkheim, « totemism » and the clan go together mutually imply each other (Durkheim 1912/1961 a: 194-195). For him, the collective totem is the « civil status particular to every individual, a status not acquired by conscious designee, but by birthright (Durkheim, 1912/1961 a: 25,188). From Durkheim's point of view, any individual has no totem apart from his mother (Durkheim 19/2/1961 a: 289). The totem represents the source of the moral life of the clan, but the totemic principle is a moral power (Durkheim 1912/1961 a: 219).

He had an identical opinion as Rousseau when he said that the Almighty and the community are alike, « they are only one.» The clan likewise refers to both. (Durkheim 1912/1961 a: 236).faith and community were one together during the meetings of Australian primitives « it is in the midst of these effervescent gatherings and out of this effervescence itself that the idea of religion seems to be born" (Durkheim 1912/1961 a: 250). Meetings of the clan create a religious atmosphere and preserve the line united and homogeneous as well. The objective of these gatherings is to keep the clan's identity and homogeneity not via torture and oppression but rather via sacred nomination and symbol.

The chief suggestion of Durkheim's book is that creed can be defined when related to society. The preliminary step of Religion is like « effervescence of the periodic assemblies of society. The function is seen as social integration, and the

meaning is understood to be the society's symbolic worship of itself » (Breytspraak, 1973:76). Durkheim admits that the unsurpassed approach to bind society is Religion. It is compulsory to keep social stability through shared beliefs, feelings, morals, and obligations necessary to faster social homogeneity, social order, and collaboration. Consequently, Durkheim's type of civil Religion is a creed defined and apprehended only via society itself (Christi and Dawson, 1996: 322).

He bases his argument saying that "the idea of society is the soul of religion" (Durkheim, 1961 a: 466). He confirms that the center of society is faith, and thus a sacred society is similar to public society. They unite citizens in the society, and both constitute «a collectivity that is nothing if not religion at its base... » (Demerath and Williams, 1985:156). He defines religion as an amalgamation of collective standards, attitudes, and customs that are divine and whose function is to unite citizens into « one single moral community called a church all those « who adhere to them » (Durkheim, 1912/1961 a: 62). He validates that men who bind together to constitute a group do have a shared religion and beliefs.

The idea emphasized by Durkheim is that gatherings and meaning are compulsory for the moral unity of any society. He thinks that societies can never exist without any religion [t] here can be no society, which does not feel the « need » of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and collective ideas, which make its unity and its personality (Durkheim 1912/1961 a: 474-475). Individuals « Reaffirm in common their common sentiments.» During meetings, they create rites « ways of behaving [that] only came into being at the heart of the assembled group.» This social unity, through civil rituals, is almost the same as religious festivals.

Religious rituals, for Durkheim, have been there in all communities since the beginning of human existence. They bind individuals together through common principles and values. He declares that by revitalizing different feasts and rites such as celebrating the coming of Jesus Christ or Exodus recalled by Jews, individuals

perform similar acts once they remember a national day; their ideas are the same. (Durkheim 1912/1961 a:475)

From his perspective, religious feasts and national events provide joy similar to « the religious state.» So the central concept of spiritual rituals is usually related to feasts. However, even if nonreligious, every feast is related to the sacred ceremony (Durkheim 1912/1961 a: 427-428). As a result, « all parties, political, economic, and confessional » irregularly hold assemblies to invite their adheres and « remove their common faith » (Durkheim, 1975: 128).

He warms of a "transitional phase" when people give little importance, if any, to the ancient times and also to collective existence. In contemporary communities, people prefer to be individualistic and even without memory of past stories and events. This is very dangerous, notes Durkheim. This is why he pointed out the idea that feasts and rituals keep the collective and societal existence alive, for they are vital to revitalize the most eminent morals and values and thoughts that have guided humanity. (Durkheim 1912/1961 a: 474-476)

His observation dealt with the solidarity and collaboration in different events during various historical periods (Hughey, 1983:177). He assures that when people are from a similar group, they grow strong because of collaboration; they behave differently than if they were on their own. « Men become quite different.» He believes that their behaviors and deeds move from « super-human heroism [to] bloodthirsty barbarism » (Durkheim, 1912/1975: 129).

He assured that the family is not the single means to bend people together, but religious practices and « a community of interests and traditions.» Religious ceremonies hold people together, but even when religion is different, the holy nature remains. This sacred nature sometimes refers to things, which are not very important as the sacred nature given to kings and aristocrats (Durkheim, 1912/1975: 131). Consequently, religious ceremonies and feasts strengthen moral values like obedience, allegiance, and even nationalism.

It is fitting that Durkheim gives tremendous importance to ceremonies, feasts, and education, too. In "Moral Education" (1925/1961 b: 260), he stresses the « need for the devotion and sacrifice that lies at the root of all moral life » and that loyalty to one's nation must be learned at schools. For him, teachers must be devoted but also bound to be aware and are ordered by the Almighty to achieve a sacred job « the teacher is the agent of a great moral person who transcends him, this society is just as the priest is the interpreter of the great moral ideals of his time and country" (Durkheim 1922/1956:89). Consequently, he emphasizes loyalty and allegiance to one's nation and believes that « the creation of patriotic citizens is the primary aim of the public schools » (Wallace 1973:4). Wallace tackles the notion of (Durkheimian vision of a secular ethic of citizens and the French spirit of the nation [13]

From the Durkheimian perspective, society has moved from backwardness to a recent, civilized kind. Scholars like Herbert Spencer believe that society was a split between the backward and the modern. They thought that the « natural internally spontaneous and moral life of « lower » societies (Gemeinschaft) had been irrevocably replaced by the « modern » type (Gesellschaft), produced by the wholly external stimulus of the nation and based upon the egoistic and hence immoral pursuit of individual self-interest (Hughey, 1983:11-12). As Hughey believes, stability in ancient societies was natural, while it was imposed in modern societies.

However, Durkheim thinks that « the life of large social agglomerations is just as natural as that of small groupings, it is no less internal.» He adds, « We have to choose, if society is originally a natural phenomenon, and if it stays so until the end of its life » (Tonnies, Gemeinschaft, cited in Hughey, 1983:12).

Durkheim predicts that the society is identical, but there might be some rebuilding of the sacred. In the past, spiritual rituals were for the whole group, but it was recently for the person. He declares that a group's collaboration and unity in the latest years are less than before because those individuals are bound together

and independent and self-reliant. This is known as « the individualized symbols of the sacred » (Beckford, 1989:26). He concludes that individualism regards the ethical and spiritual expression of the *conscience collective* of the contemporary age. The Declaration of the Rights of Man's aim is to fulfill moral individuality, i.e., respect for others and collaboration:

"We make our way towards a state where the members of a single social group will have nothing in common among themselves except their humanity general except the constitutive attributes of the human person" (persone hummating in a (Durkheim 1898/1973:51)

Like Rousseau, Durkheim thinks that Religion in modern society « tends to embrace a smaller and smaller portion of social life (Durkheim 1895/1983:169). He assumes that religions take a smaller function in the community yet present (Beckford, 1989: 26). Inversely, he is aware that the purpose of civil Religion has declined, but he is uncertain whether it will disappear completely or not. Religion, for Durkheim, is a constituent of any community in the world. Thus, he is certain that the society will necessarily have a faith of any type because he believes that religions do change the claims, « that the religion of yesterday could not be that of tomorrow » (Durkheim 1898/1973:51)

He denies a secular society and predicts that there might be a faith in humanity, a world free from « moral mediocrity.» He dreams that local nationalism will be substituted by internationalism or the «Religion of society (Gine, 1993:23/Wallace 1973:09). Durkheim and Rousseau had problems, which needed answers; Rousseau's question was how to embrace a faith in a material world? While Durkheim's question is, how can we make interdependent individuals be « more individuals yet unified? (Durkheim 1893/1964:37) and how can we achieve unity when the faith of different groups is different?

Durkheim answers that faith should be replaced by education (Wallace, 1973: 3). He pointed to the idea that spiritual members have a significant task to end the issue of public instability. This role is to construct a country nearer to the citizen

because divisiveness constitutes a danger that Durkheim warns against. The solution is that various associations should intermediate between rulers and citizens (Giddens, 1986,08). Those associations would stop the separateness of the state since it is the foundation of ethical standards and laws (Beckford, 1989, 30).

The focal proposal of Durkheim is that civil Religion should be optional to citizens as an ingredient of their culture. It generates from society, will persist, and can be maintained whenever religious members gather. Various thoughts and moral values available in society's conscience are transmitted from one individual to another during different periods; the state does not repress the citizens but rather the community.

Civil Religion fails to serve the citizen, but the citizens do (Hughey, 1983, 172). He was without much concern in political life (Giddens 1986, 01). Nevertheless, when he and several thinkers became interested in civil Religion, religious feasts and symbols constituted « a modern functional alternative to traditional religious systems as sacred legitimating the social order » (Stauffer, 1973:415).

1.4. Civil Religion, Stability, and Government

Both theories of Rousseau and Durkheim were not stated for the sake of stating but for deep analysis. However, very few efforts are made about the split and differences between both ideas dealing with the civil religion issue ¹⁹. A « wall of separation » exists between both scholars on the civil religion problem. The phrase « wall of separation » is a metaphor describing the link between spiritual and public life.

Both Rousseau and Durkheim agree on the need for social stability and that the unique way to achieve it is «Religion. » Ever since, Religion has become the crucial

issue of many scientists and scholars, who adopt the idea as if it were Durkheim's. He was the one who argues that the vital point in faith is to fulfill organization and integration.

Durkheim emphasized that a sovereign is an essential tool used to teach citizens ethical values and principles. He depicts the state as the organ of social thought, the « ego » of the 'conscience collective.' "He assures that rules in business must be within « moral controls.» These moral controls must be within the supremacy and supervision of the government. The state is « the institutional form which replaces that of the church in the traditional type of societies." (Giddens, 1986:13)

He centered the state when he places « considerable emphasis » upon the « cognitive » contrary to the « active » significance of the state (Giddens, 1986:9) For him, the authority does not found itself with violence but rather, as Weber put it, "It has moral authority. It exists for the moral development of its members" (Weber, 1958:52). Indeed, the ruler has a vital function, « the state has a signification role to play, above and beyond the flux of particular opinions in the advancement of the religion of humanity, and hence in the advancement of national and international harmony » (Durkheim, 1898/1973:52).

Consequently, the state goals are and must be achieved using whatever means regardless of faith. For him, "any religion well (s) up naturally from the bottom, from the very depth of social experience itself" (Demerath and Williams, 1985: 156). Thus, Religion is nothing but an instrument for civil society: from the Durkheimian perspective, it is preferable not to be employed by politics.

Therefore, many problems appeared, like the need for writers and scientists who believe that civil religion does not consider the period or place a « natural » form of civic faith. Civil religion is used in political life. It could « emerge as a function of societal processes in the earliest times while the second instance might be viewed as functional for the political order. ». (Garret 1975, in Bourg, 1976:142)

However, Rousseau has a different vision. He argues that civil Religion has a

political role to play. He was conscious that it is the most eminent vehicle to establish social harmony and stability; he says, « civil religion is crucial for promoting political unity without which no state or government will ever be rightly constituted » (1762/1973:271). This social order and unity is « not natural » but instead was made compulsory by the governor. The rationale why Rousseau thinks of an authoritarian religion « of and for the state.» He thus believes that civil Religion is the vehicle used to implement social order and the influence of the government. (Demerath and Williams, 1985:155)

1.5. Hobbes and Civil Religion

Thomas Hobbes wrote a fascinating book entitled "Leviathan"; a lengthy systematic political discourse, « it tackles subjects like religion, manifestations of divine truth, and Christianity in particular." He devoted his effort to revealing the function of faith in politics. His depiction of this faith made several researchers think he was an Orthodox, while others argued he was without faith whatsoever or atheist. As a writer, he emphasized the political nature of Religion. His book "Leviathan" is a masterpiece that describes the civil governor and how Religion and holy writing are used to defend political actions and missions.

What sort of political actions are justified by Religion? Thomas Hobbes did not sufficiently understand and even misquoted his (holy) texts. As a result, his readers were disappointed²¹. Religious texts are not to be read separately but linked to one another. Likewise, his agreement was known about Religion, and his readers wanted to check its connection and qualify it carefully.

He clearly states that religions are pretty diverse from superstition since they are opposed to the truth of God- he differentiated between the Judeo-Christianity and the pagan one, which are both holy and spiritual, but after he stopped giving

importance to their divinity and spirituality and was concerned with the authority of individuals and the matters of society. For him, God is supreme, but he was unsure to what level God is efficient. He assured that religious texts are the basis of all laws and moral values, but again when the authority owned them, they were verified by the ruler itself. As a result, for him, Christianity was a civic religion, a tool of government to institute the organization of citizens. He failed to highlight the divine side of this Religion but rather put it under total management of social community and state.

Hobbes feared religious persecution in France after such an argument²² because his book « Leviathan » was viewed as a danger to the Orthodox.²³ Consequently, he withdrew all arguments that would offend Catholics in particular and Christians in general. He also feared repression and persecution because expressing one's ideas and thoughts openly are sometimes regarded as wrong. Instead, according to Machiavelli, scholars necessitate using terms in an indirect way and with a certain beauty to bring new ideas. Machiavelli describes this as « new modes and orders.» Likewise, new words can be perceived mentally but do not appeal to one's feelings and emotions²⁴.

Hobbes argues that «Leviathan » was debatable, and this « made it readable by many."25 His argumentation that all the powers are controlled by the political authority, which the public must check made scholars interested in its study with scrutiny and attention.

Hobbes confirms that the dread of Religion is the result of the misunderstanding of causes: « and that they make little or no inquiry into the natural causes of things, yet from the fear that proceeds from the ignorance itself (of these causes) are inclined to suppose and feign unto themselves several kinds of powers invisible » (Leviathan, 11.26). However, this argument cancels out his former one « that God results from the love of the knowledge of causes (11.25). Does he mean that religions, including Christianity, emerged from superstitions and fear or from

questioning the certainty of things? His response to this problem is « and this fear of things invisible is the natural seed which everyone in himself calleth religion, and in them what worshiper fear that power otherwise than they do, superstition. » (11,25-27). He adds, « the fear of God though not of the true one to [savage people]was the beginning of religion as the fear of the true God." or the start of knowledge to Jesus and Christians.

He assures that Religion results from the scarcity of knowledge of causes and that the eagerness to understand the causes and things is the initial place of Religion (21-1). Inversely, he made another assumption that the need to know does not automatically guide to the knowledge of God but to worry about the future. He adds that only polytheism comes from fear and lack of knowledge. However, « the acknowledging of one God, eternal, infinite, and omnipotent may more easily be derived from the desire man has to know the causes of natural bodies" (12-6). This statement reveals that the scarcity of knowledge of causes is the initial place of Religion. Then, he continues that ignorance is the origin of polytheism. Still, the curiosity of roots is the source of all religions, and this can be true only through differentiation between Religion and fallacy.

Hobbes continues concerning the theme of Religion. He says that the Almighty is eternal, infinite and with unlimited power, authority and that all these characteristics are so particular and absolute that they do not require any investigation because « disputing of God's nature is contrary to his honor And therefore, when men, out of the principles of natural reason dispute of the attitudes of God, they but dishonor him" (31.33) as a result, questioning God's existence or authority is sinful and can lead to the loss of faith (12.31). In addition, for him, investigation about God in politics lead to conflicts, disunity in society and disorder because many theories taught in colleges and churches from ancient philosophy are made to lessen the dependence of subjects on the sovereign power of the country » 46.18

Accordingly, he says that religion and thinking should be separated. « knowledge of the God belongs to natural reason, but « true religion » is « fear » of the same God, where « fear » does not mean the sort of awe and reverence, that is understood in the phrase « fear of God,» but « a version with opinion of hurt from the object. » (6.16) Regarding the Bible, he admits, « the scripture was written to show unto men the kingdom of God [here, the kingdom that will be established in the world after Jesus second coming when he will rule as king over those who acknowledge Him as the Christ." (Chapter 41)], and "to make them the loyal citizens, leaving the world and the philosophy thereof to the disputation of men for the exercising of their natural reason. » (8.26). Likewise, he says, « it is with the mysteries of our religion as with wholesome pills for the sick, which, swallowed whole have the virtue of curing, but chewed, are for the most part cast up again without effect » (32.3)

Therefore, there is a supernatural being who is unique, eternal, and with full authority and power... and that « reason has no place in Religion but only in the world and the philosophy thereof. « Reason can only make suggestions in the way to be used in the way (s) of worship, can only be dedicated by « those they believe to be wiser than themselves. »(12.9), or, from Latin, « the laws of particular commonwealths. »(12.9 n 6). Yet Hobbes deals with « rational worship » but later declares that it « argues a fear of [God], and fear is a confession of power » (31.33).

1.5.1 The Role of Civil Religion

What function does civil religion play in politics and daily life? Its role lies in establishing shared types of worship for faith does not concern just fear and ignorance. In the following quotation, Hobbes admits that only citizens who take action can plant the seeds of faith by their will and that of God.

"But both sorts done it with a suppose to make those men that relied on them the more apt to obedience, laws, peace, charity, and civil society. So that the Religion of the former sort is part of human politics, and teaches part of the duty which earthly kings require of their subjects" (12.12)

According to Hobbes, God ruled over subjects (chapter 40) while Jesus Christ also ruled his promised land. The similarity between them is that both used Religion to make subjects loyal and obedient to them. "And the religion of the latter sort is divine politics, and contain the precepts to those that have yielded themselves subjects in the kingdom of God." (12.12)

Hobbes compares pagan and Judeo-Christian Religions. Pagan Religion teaches « the duty which earthly kings require of their subjects.» At the same time, Judeo-Christianity gives percepts for the citizens of the empire of God (either during the Judaic period or the Christian future kingdom). In the primary period, a creed is a component of politics; in the second case, politics is an element of Religion. He adds [God] gave laws not only of behavior towards himself, but also towards one another, and thereby in the kingdom of God, the policy and laws are part of Religion. Therefore the distraction of temporal and spiritual domination hath here on place (12.22). He fused Religion into politics and later politics into Religion.

The following quote shows how pagan monarchs struggled to preserve their subjects obedient by imposing laws and acts. They convinced their followers that these laws came from the Almighty, and in case they disobeyed this act, they would do sinful and forbidden deeds.

The first founders and legislators of commonwealths among the gentiles, whose ends were only to keep the people in obedience and peace, have in all places taken care: first to imprint in their minds a belief that those precepts which they gave concerning Religion might not be proceeded from their own device, but from the dictates of some God or spirit... secondly, they have hand a care to make it believe

that the same things were displeasing to the Gods which were forbidden by-laws (12.20)

The civil sovereign believes that God dictates their regulations and behaviors but what is striking about it is the use of ordinary citizens who are afraid of God to reach their aims. Hobbes, in Leviathan, tries to unveil this fear of the divine by questioning some accessions²⁷. For as laws, they try to decrease the reliance of citizens on their government.

He describes Abraham as an ideal Sovereign who is divine. He asserts that Abraham was allowed to make dreams and private revelations binding on subjects who had not practiced them, despite his earlier dismissal of apparitions and visions as mere fancies of mind (12.7, see 32.6). Abraham treated dreams as accurate and asked his followers to behave identically. Hobbes also argues that Abraham had the right to penalize anyone who questioned his declaration. (40, 3)

Similarly, the Christian sovereign only and no other person can interpret God's orders...to the people. Therefore, subjects cannot oppose. Hobbes says, "as none but Abraham in his family, so none but the sovereign in a Christian commonwealth, can take notice what is or what is not the word of God...[and] that they have the place of Abraham in a commonwealth are the only interpreters of what God hath spoken (40,4). [Whosoever in a Christian commonwealth holds the place of Moses is the sole messenger of God and interpreter of his commandments (40.7).

Hobbes says that Abraham was the priest, Lord, and the civic sovereign who made God's revelation and commandment binding on his descends. However, they lack access to the revelation he had received without verifying its truth (26.41). However, the influence of Moses came from his people, not God. The power that belongs to citizens is repeated through "Leviathan." Then, he defined the term "sovereign," 'the people confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by the plurality of voices unto one will, which is to appoint one man to bear their person...and that he that carried

that person is called Sovereign" (17.13-14).

He depicts Moses' authority as "the authority of the other princes, must be grounded on the consent of the people and their promise to obey him" (40.6). In his definition of the sovereign, he writes, "Covenants, being but words and breath, have no force to oblige, contain, constrain, or protect any man, but what it has the public sword" that is a popular consent (18.1-2-4).

According to Hobbes, "people are obliged to obey God because of His ultimate authority. This power, not his ability as a Creator, gives him the right to guide and punish²⁸ (31.5). However, God cannot control people's loyalty. Nevertheless, the civil sovereign, whose influence comes from the word of God, can give his opinion about the speech of "God" and oblige people under his control without punishing them.

His portrayal of the empire of God carries some realities. First, he confirms that God rules all creations by nature or by his "irresistible" power. He rules over a "peculiar people" (Israel) by contract (35.5) and that Jesus Christ will come back once again. He believes that the rule of God by nature brings about bloody wars and the ruling of the public supreme ruler.

1.5.2. Hobbes Definition of Civil Religion

Rousseau wrote about Hobbes' depiction of civil Religion, "of all Christian authors, the philosopher Hobbes is the sole thinker who currently saw the evil and remedy, who dared to propose the union of both heads of the eagle, and the complete return to political unity, without which no state or government will ever be well constituted. However, he ought to have seen that the dominating spirit of Christianity was contrary to his system and that the priest's interest would always be more substantial than that of the state. It is not so much what is horrible and false in

his political theory as what is correct and valid that has made it odious" 29

It is Hobbes' idea that "it is the duty of each private individual to follow the Religion approved in his homeland by the public authorities, if not adopting it in his heart, at least in professing it and submitting to it obediently" 30. His notion of Civil Religion is not new. He believes that the country has absolute power in forming and maintaining faith for a specific political society. He criticized theocracies contrasting Rousseau. He adds, if many governments kept Christianity, they would have been more united than they are today. "provided that the religion founded by Christ is interpreted as if it were the Religion of the Old Testament and Christ as if he were Moses". 31. As a result, Hobbes' type of Civil Religion is Judicised Christianity which means that Christianity cannot convince humankind of any statement of truth, however minor. Nevertheless, Judaism can have such an authority.

He believes that theocracies should return to power with a governor who cannot be challenged solely by making the state or the judge convinces the community that He is God's priest and prophet or "God Lieutenant." This point will be dealt with scrutiny in chapter three and particularly with President Bush, the son. Hobbes's idea is to strive to reconstitute Christianity as if it were the same as the old version of the Bible, and the only one who can do it is « the governor.» He wants him to compel a Judicised Christianity on the church. In this way, Rousseau says that Hobbes wants to « reunify the two heads of the eagle.» Hobbes' aim is not to separate between religion and politics, but to change the « priesthood of kings » to a « kingdom of priests" 34

1.6. Robert Neely Bellah and Civil Religion

Robert N. Bellah advises against the presence of civil religion in politics

because it constitutes a danger and destruction. He became the most eminent personality whenever people, scholars, or the media raised the inquiry of civil religion in the USA. He taught his student in Japan the beginnings of civil religion after issuing his most outstanding essay entitled « Civil Religion in America » in 1967. In this essay, he wrote about the risks of the overuse of religion in the community. Nevertheless, it encouraged them in an optimistic way to change and self-criticism.

Bellah's presence abroad, whether in Canada or Japan, was for academic purposes; but it was an escape from the anti-Communist party.35 He clearly stated, « I came to believe that American society needed to be reformed rather than abounded... Here was the Protestantism of my childhood transmitted through the deepest encounter with the twentieth century. »36 President Eisenhower confined the existence of three main religious Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism. After the Cold War, the movement of « anti-Catholicism » caused the selection of a Catholic President and the inclusion of faith in political and social life. Yet, some intellectuals think that this inclusion is a threat rather than an asset.

The question that arises here is about Bellah's vision of civil religion. It is different and sometimes contrary to the faith of the church, synagogue, or mosque. He depicted an inevitable scarcity of knowledge available about civil religion. He confirmed its existence in Asia, where he used to study, and attributed this existence to the thoughts of Durkheim and philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau. Bellah confirmed that civil religion is as old as the founding era until the inaugural speech of Lyndon Johnson (p.5-19).

He then confirmed that in America, civil religion was wholly shaped by President George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson and « selectively derived from Christianity [but] clearly not itself Christianity »37. Reference to God appeared as early as the inaugural speech and the Thanksgiving ceremony in 1789. Likewise, many stories from the colonial period give a clear image of the

Biblical tales of the Egyptian exodus, who moved from Europe to the New World or America. Then, civil religion is defined as a « collection of beliefs, symbols, and rituals with respect to sacred things and institutionalized collectivity" 38

Bellah's definition of civil religion stemmed from Durkheim's "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden- beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them" 39. He emphasized on aspects of Durkheim's civil faith, which are attitudes and performances and their function (to differentiate sacred elements). Durkheim called the church "an institutional collectivity" yet, he neglected its particularity or morality ([15] p 7-8, [22] P. 44).

Civil religion was not stable mainly throughout the civil war. The country was going through an era of Reconstruction. President Abraham Lincoln did his best to repair the divided house as he mentioned, "death, sacrifice and rebirth" because it was a factor of civil religion legalized at the Cemetery of Arlington founded with Memorial Day. Here, Bellah confirmed that "the Gettysburg symbolism of [Redemption and rebirth]....is Christian without having anything to do with the Christian church". He believed that the civic religion used at the period of the civil war utilized a specific language, symbols that sounded like Christianity suitable for the rebuilding of America. Yet, this civic faith never attempted to surpass or lead other religions. It had its precise events and ceremonies like "Independence Day or the 4th of July, Veterans Day, Memorial Day..., etc." ([15], p.p 10-11)

Restoring the establishment of civil religion pushed Bellah to admit that, in its best state, "a genuine apprehension of universal and transcendent religious reality as seen in or, one could almost say, as revealed through the experience of American people." He confirmed that civil religion had various functions, for example, to explain the reasons behind the civil war in the USA and the killing of native Indians. Therefore, the purpose of civil religion is shifting from a noble humanitarian one, as achieving civil liberties, to a dangerous mission such as giving

good motive for the conflict with Vietnam.

Nevertheless, Bellah saw a positive side of civil religion like in other faiths, saying that priests and clergy members cannot be more religious than politicians can. He added that it benefits society. Throughout American history, it helped the country get its independence from Britain. Later, throughout the Reconstruction era, an era of rebuilding the nation or gathering the pieces of a country torn by the Civil War. More recently, it appears as a means to fight terrorism. It can also prohibit the American people from following their government blindly without understanding its plans and missions ((15] p. 14-18). Consequently, the functions listed by R.N Bellah were noble as they constituted the best strategy for Americans to start self-criticism in a trial to be more just and religious. The roles of civil religion will be detailed in the fourth chapter.

1.6.1- Bellah's Definition of Civil Religion

The concept of civil religion became very famous when Robert N. Bellah published his most eminent article, "Civil Religion in America," in 1967. This article confirmed the truth of 'an elaborate and well-institutionalized civil religion' or ACR. Still, he said that it was mainly concerned with "the right of man" and the presence of a mission to secure those rights and recurrent reference to the name "God" to give those values a sacred character.

Bellah's article remained ambiguous as he sought only to argue about values "the will of the people is not itself the criterion of right and wrong. There is a higher criterion in terms of which this will can be judged" (Bellah, 1967.3). Thus, the US civil religion is the origin of this higher criterion. He meant a sacred duty for political purposes, as it is apparent by the understanding of Americans (Bellah, 1967: 3.9).

Nevertheless, he asserted that the ACR is sometimes absent. He criticized the Vietnam War, saying "it can be linked to the ideal of Manifest Destiny... never has the danger been greater than today...." (1967,10-11). He advised against making civil religion a weapon for waging wars, which pushed him to seek an unavoidable reformation of civil religion (Bellah, 1967, 13).

Bellah was the pioneer to emphasize the presence of the concept of civil religion, although Jean Jacques Rousseau referred to it in the 16th century. However, Rousseau describes a traditional belief that the country imposes on the people. His thoughts are Durkheimian when he confirmed that a well-defined civil religion must come from the people. Consequently, Bellah took a term coined by Rousseau, but all the other theories come from Durkheim.

Durkheim believes that the central beliefs practiced by people originate from a "collective consciousness." Later, those people form their symbols to put across their collective consciousness. The best values are regarded as divine. This formulates the "religion" of the community. In Bellah's words, understanding" (1991:168).

Bellah recommended Americans worship their highest values. He delivered many lectures in 1971, from which he published his book the Broken Covenant. It talks about the roots of ACR and its function in US policies that appear as destructive more than constructive. Consequently, he advised against the unnecessary use of the ACR.

However, in the seventies, he was also anxious as Durkheim about the overuse of ACR. For him, freedom in using ACR would put the USA at stake, "the struggle between individual acquisitiveness and public order was a central theme of this book" (1975: 31, 32). He eventually made people attentive to those whose deeds were immoral or without religious dimensions (Bellah, 1975: 18). He described many Americans who follow their feelings and who believe that human beings are innocent and good. He answered those people saying, « Well, one hears the kittled

drums of hell » (Bellah, 1975:84)

Bellah's fears influenced Reinhold Niebuhr, who worked on the spiritual doctrine of the « original sin,» that man is created imperfect by nature and that when Adam fell, we became sinners! Therefore, Bellah was almost like Durkheim, ready to withdraw when he wrote, "today, the American civil religion is an empty and broken shell" The main drift of American society is to the edge of the abyss... The specter of complete collapse looms on the horizon" (1975:142,158,149). He warned against failure and destruction whose sources are: first, freedom of people by maintaining unity, and second making a law out of public opinion but maintaining the highest values or ACR.

Logically, no contradiction exists between freedom and unity, nor is there between democracy and ethics. If action and decision are not in harmony with moral standards, then they would divide the nation. However, Durkheim, Bellah, and Niebuhr believed that these inconsistencies would undoubtedly lead to destruction.

Bellah was more optimistic than Niebuhr, who declared that if the group's creed were received attention, it would solve problems, but only and only if high moral standards were used. He suggested the amalgamation of rational thinking with esteem to others' opinions. In such a way, the attitude of people and the community would be in harmony.

Bellah's solution was in the application of "new myths that would protect the nation and lead it to a new balance of impulse and control, energy and discipline" (1975:159). He promised that the application of such myths would save the country and the complete world as Whitman put it, "America is really the great test or trial case for all humanity" (1975:139)

However, the solution suggested by Bellah was contradictory because, like Niebuhr, he argues that acting without values is enormously insecure to the safety of the country. This claim cannot be entirely correct, as humans can be wrong, particularly in the national interests. Meanwhile, he recalled the Jeffersonian doctrine that those morals are part of national policies, which is paradoxical in the ACR. This point will be detailed in chapter four.

1.6.2. Bellah's Influence on Civil Religion

Bellah could never imagine that his article was so influential when he wrote it. He was not the only scholar who alluded to the belief that religion was a constituent of American social and political life. For example, Alexis De Tocqueville mentioned civil religion in his famous book entitled, Democracy in America in the 1830s. Furthermore, John Dewey wrote about Americans' "common faith." In the fifties, many authors wrote about the function religion played in the Cold war. Will Herberg criticized "the American way of life" as influenced by a national creed. Like Bellah in 1967, Sidney Mead published an article entitled "The Religion of the Republic," depicting the USA as "a nation with the soul of the church."

However, Bellah's work was most influential because he referred to the term "civil religion." John F. Wilson studied further ACR in the late seventies. For him, texts were written on the subject of civil religion "functioned as revitalization moment occasioned by widespread loss of internal confidence in American society and changed external cultural relationships" (1970:170). Similar to other revitalization movements, the ACR was based on "culturally specific versions of American Protestant Christianity" – "to encounter a threat to the whole social fabric" (1979:172).

This contributed to the fame of Robert Bellah as a sociologist and a father of ACR as a solution for problems in American society. As Bellah, many scholars warned against the misuse of values instead of the misappropriation of policies. The question that arises here is how to plant back moral values in the nation again

without starting a crusade that would tear the country apart?

Many other scholars did not follow Bellah's thoughts but instead emphasized the chronological setting and recent studies of ACR. Nevertheless, they were additionally inspired by his work, The Broken Covenant. His empirical studies included even analyses of symbols, values, missions, ethics, success, immigration..., etc. Therefore, even those who disagree with Bellah cannot deny that his works enriched the ACR. This field of study became known mainly in the late sixties, thanks to Bellah.

After Bellah had suggested solutions to rescue the US community from evil, people were still wondering about the evils available in the Vietnam War. Many scholars have asked questions: how come a great nation like America could and still make harmful decisions domestically and internationally? They aimed to find answers by studying civil religion in connection with politics. For many researchers, studies must be done to discover the utility of civil religion to justify political actions, whether in Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan, or elsewhere. Therefore, this study is an excellent way to understand history, our present, and the future.

Thus, many writings and critics emerged after Bellah's article in 1967. Scholars are still wondering if ACR is real or not. Some of them used quantitative methods to study ACR and prove its existence, like Whillock... etc. However, their plans were limited but unbiased.

1.6.3 Critics of Bellah's Civil Religion

Many scholars and critics criticized the US Civil Religion "ACR" of Bellah because they believed he could not provide enough proof of its existence. Among the first critics was Richard Fenn, who thought, like Durkheim, that any nation must have some basic values followed blindly by its members. After 1972, he stated that

a contemporary, non-religious country does not use religion in society or government. In the early times, faith was a significant element in society and politics.

Critics stressed the non-existence of a standard definition of ACR neither long ago nor in the present. In 1974, Russell Richey and Donald Jones grouped various reports under the following categories,

- 1. A transcendent religion: is a religion described by Bellah in which America uses moral values. Besides, Mead defined it as "the creed of the nation."
- 2. Democratic faith is composed of common values during the Enlightenment period like (liberty, equality, justice..., etc.) which are considered holy and purely American, without mentioning Christianity or another.
- 3. Folk religion is practiced by ordinary people to demonstrate their understanding of "being American," as Herberg put it, "The American way of life."
- 4. Religious nationalism: America is a divine land to which people must show loyalty associated with religion that is identical to the habitual faith
- 5. Protestant civic piety: it is the latest model of American nationalism conceived through Protestant vision (chosen people, missionary spirit, freedom, crusade, ...etc

Other categories of civil religion include "priestly" and "prophetic" (1974). Catherine Albanese categorized civil religion under three headings" creed, "code," and "cults" (268-270). All of the three were exclusive but significant elements of ACR. The question raised was whether civil religion was efficient or not; many scholars were totally against it.

The lack of an exact definition of civil religion has pushed to believe that it was a "myth," so should it exist at all? John F. Wilson tackled this question in his book Public Religion in American Culture. He could not describe civil religion, nor did he give any exact definition of civil faith. Instead, he wrote about practices,

traditions, customs, and myths as evidence of its existence, following what might be defined as "a set of beliefs, a systematic pattern of behavior, recurrent images that create a group of identity and fixed organizational structures (1979: 42-43). Unfortunately, those symbols, documents, and texts did not describe such a religion (1979: 144).

Wilson was mistaken because there are many facts and explanations about its existence in the current time and the past in the literature of civil religion. This needs more research of sacred objects, documents, texts to prove its existence. In addition, scholars must study its discourse and also its purposes in community and politics.

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter deals with the roots of civil religion. The word was coined by Jean Jacques Rousseau and then was investigated by other philosophers and scholars like Durkheim, Machiavelli, and Hobbes and in the contemporary era by Robert Neely Bellah. Rousseau wrote about a civic faith that the authority imposed to promote public qualities and political unity. For him, such a religion was vital to spheres and made all citizens devoted to the government. Durkheim, in the opposition, dealt with primitive faith and modern belief. Even though he did not mention the word "civil religion," he believes that faith is individualistic or/and societal. Hobbes noted in his book Leviathan that the purpose of religion and how it gives good reason for some political actions and missions.

Rousseau said that in Christianity, faith and government are separated. Still, Hobbes could understand this issue because the unification of religion and politics causes disasters such as wars waged for religious purposes. Durkheim thinks that civil religion is a central factor of society. It is described as a composition of shared

beliefs, values, traditions, behaviors, etc., which are linked to divine things, objects, texts, and documents. Individuals are bound together not only by family but also by religion; although they embrace a different religion, what matters is the sacred nature of civil religion. Nevertheless, he confirmed that the role of civil religion in society is limited.

Despite the dissimilarity between the Rousseaurian and the Durkheimian theories, they both agree that creed is vital for the harmony of any nation. Still, Durkheim favors no purpose of faith in politics while Rousseau focuses on authoritarian religion for social stability and political stability.

Unlike Durkheim, Hobbes said that faith is vital to politics. In his book, Leviathan, he depicted the position of spirituality and sacred writings and how they rationalize some political actions, even the bloodiest. His focus was not on the spirituality of the creed (neither Christianity nor religion) but its position as a means possessed by the citizens and the government.

Hobbes' ideas of civil religion are different from Rousseau's and Durkheim's as he believes that the state is free to set up a religion suitable for particular political stability. For him, "Civil Christianity" is Judicised Christianity because Christianity does not work for modern societies. He adds that citizens would pay attention and pursue their government only if it convinces them of following God's orders.

Robert N. Bellah wrote a famous article in 1967 entitled "Civil Religion." He is identified as the pioneer of the hypothesis of civil religion or the ACR. However, he was criticized for his idea that ACR was unreal. The ACR is one of the most debatable themes nowadays, but it is not dead nor mythical. Otherwise, how come sacred objects, ceremonies, and texts exist, let alone the recurrent use of the word "God" and invocation of religious terms by US Presidents. These aspects will be the primary concern of chapter two, entitled sacramental objects, texts, documents and monuments, and US Civil Religion.

Chapter Two: Sacramental Texts, Objects, Documents, and Sites Related to the American Civil Religion

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates many sacred songs, mottoes, objects, and monuments, which describe the diversity and presence of the American civil religion in society and politics. The Statue of liberty is a holy monument that has reminded Americans of various values of civil religion ever since 1886. It demonstrates that it exists through the different sacred memorials, such as Mount Rushmore of these presidents (George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln), that were named by Gatizon Borglum, "the gods they have become." Even the songs are full of religious words: like Irving Berlin's "God Bless America" and the "Star – Spangled Banner,"... etc.

Since the USA gained its independence, their Declaration of Independence, 'a masterpiece' and a sacred text, has motivated many countries. This is due to the values they represent, like freedom and democracy, which are sacred to US citizens. Similarly, the US flag is a celestial object, which is valid for the Statue of liberty.

Americans are highly connected and devoted to public signs, exceeding nationalism; it is "civil religion." While most Americans are unconscious of this term, it came into existence after the famous text by Robert Neely Bellah, "Civil Religion in America." Still, the topic is debatable and raises essential questions like whether civil religion signifies an oppressive ideology and if it is pushing Americans beyond nationalism to a missionary duty.

A common point connects those sacred texts, monuments, objects, and beliefs, namely the notion of values like liberty, democracy, cultural tolerance, and peace. Many questions arise regarding if they represent the most critical morals in the American Civil Religion and if they lead to violence. Alternatively, are American civil religious beliefs like "the Promised Land" pushing the country to wage wars because God ordered it to do so?

Some researchers think that it has some Biblical origins, following ancient Israel. It does exist elsewhere in France, Russia, and the UK, but it is less common

and less intense than in the USA. Even with the fall of nations, civil religion will continue to exist, as James Russell Lowell wrote in "Once to Every Man and Nation": "New occasions teach new duties, time make ancient good uncouth

They must upward still and onward Who would keep, abreast of truth".

2.2 The Significance of "America."

America is the exact name of the country. Very famous expressions with the word America are "The American Dream," "America the beautiful," "the American Way of life," and "God bless America." Of course, people born in the USA are "Americans." The name "America" came from the explorer "Amerigo Vespucci," who was sent by Spain and Portugal to discover new lands. Indeed, other explorers claimed they found the USA, but Vespucci is particular as he was the pioneer to send a letter to his chief that the newfound land was not in Asia. Some value his efforts, while others believe that other explorers, like Christopher Columbus, are more entitled than him to lend their name to the newly discovered land.

What is unique about the name "America" is that the immigrants become "Americans," while the immigrants to Russia do not become Russians. America is a nation that encourages diversity. The word "America" is a word that is used in songs such as "America, the beautiful," "God bless America," ... etc. As Allen Walker Read - Columbia University English teacher put it, "the name America is a sublime poetic inspiration ... a name of greater euphony, harmony and sympathy with other continental names that could not possibly be imagined." Despite critics, whether positive or negative, "America" remains the holiest name in the ACR.

2. 3. The Mayflower Compact

The colonists decided to rule themselves by themselves in America before reaching Massachusetts in 1620. Starting with an oath "In the name of God – Amen" from the Mayflower Compact, the language of the Mayflower Compact was wholly religious, and this can be inferred from "for the Glorie of God, and advancement of the Christian faith."

Many of the puritans aboard the May Flower were "separatists," but not everyone. The real point behind the contract was very political; to be self-governed. The meaning of a phrase like "in the name of God" shows the foundation of a founding document of American Civil Religion.

In the name of God, Amen We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, ..., and advancement of the Christian faith...Having undertaken, for the glories of God and honor of our king and country, a voyage... done by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God. (Mark, 1998)

When they wrote the Mayflower Compact, the 41 males aboard Mayflower wanted to escape divisiveness and rule themselves. Then they faced many difficulties with surviving under Governor William Bradford. Nevertheless, those men showed loyalty and esteem to the Lord of Britain "our dread sovereign Lord, King James. George Bancroft, a historian wrote in 1834] i [n the Cabin of the May flower, humanity recovered its rights" To government by the people

...and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hear of to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal lowes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and –offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise submission and obedience. (Mark, 1998)

Morrison said that the founders of the nation succeeded since they were religious. For this reason, God helped them, and they survived. He assures the sacred character about the Compact.

"Breakfast has been eaten, a psalm of praise and thanks giving sung by all, and extempore prayer said by Elder Brewster. The sea is smooth, the weather fair, and every one feeling fine, it will be an hour yet before the course has to be altered and final preparations made for anchoring".

The fathers used to pray and believe in God. They were Pilgrims, and this means the Mayflower was both a secular and a sacred document because God was invoked in a governmental text that is an element of the ACR.

"After, that is done, and the generality dismissed, we may suppose a little quick handshaking among the leaders, and a few remarks like "thank God, Governor, that's over!" and "I never expected John Billington to sign it must have been your prayer that brought him to it, Elder!".

2.4. America, a City on a Hill

A city on a hill is a metaphor brought from the Gospel of Mathew "Ye are the light of the world." A city that is set on a hill will always shine... "Let your light. So shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven" (Matt, 5:14, 16 KJV). Four centuries later, presidents would refer to America using the phrase "city on a hill."

President Kennedy was the first Catholic leader who described America as a "city on a hill" like Winthrop. He assured that he was "guided by the standard John Winthrop set before his shipmates on the flagship Arbella three hundred and thirty one years before" (Warner, 1990). He quoted John Winthrop: "we shall be as a city upon a hill the eyes of all people are upon us," and he added, "Our governments, in

every branch... must be as a city upon a hill – constructed and inhabited by men aware of their great trust and their great responsibilities" (Warner, 1990).

He said, "When the high court of history judged how the people of his time discharged their trust, they would be seen as good only if they acted with courage, judgment, integrity and dedication – the historic qualities of the Bay Colony and the Bay State." Before his election, he imitated John Winthrop and devoted his colleagues to his mantle.

Another Catholic President speechwriter named Peggy Noonan also employed "City on a Hill"; America is considered the New Jerusalem, the Promised Land. Reagan also called America "a city upon a hill" or "a land singled out by God." In his last speech delivered on January 11, 1989, Reagan said, "And that's about all I have to say tonight, except for one thing. The past few days when I have been at that window upstairs, I have thought a bit of the "shining city upon a hill." (address 1989)

The sentence is John Winthrop's, which he used to portray America. What he visualized was eminent as he was a puritan, a founder who believed in the significance of independence and democracy. He traveled to America on a small inexpressive ship, and like other puritans, he sought liberty. "I've spoken of the shining city all my political life, but I don't know if I ever quite communicated what I saw, when I said it, but in my mind it was a tall, proud city built on rocks stronger than oceans, windswept, God-blessed and teeming with people of all kinds living in harmony and peace"

Both of them called America a "city upon a hill" to show that it freedom available in America. Reagan also talked about the virtues of ACR like forgiveness and security. In his last speech, Reagan said that the USA is a multiethnic country. The phrase was borrowed from the Gospel of Matthew's address on the Mount, but the image came from (Apocalypse) the text of Revelation, the last copy of the Bible.

And in the spirit he (an angel) carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. It has the glory of God and radiance like a very rare jewel, like jasper, clear as crystal. It has a great high wall with twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels....and the street of the city is pure gold, transparent as glass. I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the lamb. And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine on it for the glory of God is its light. (Morseley, 1992)

From the above passage, we deduce that the description of America as a "City upon a Hill" and as the New Israel or the Chosen Land persists, and it is a significant component of the ACR and Christianity.

2.5. The Declaration of Independence

The first lines of the Declaration of Independence refer clearly to the ACR, and as the historian David Armitage puts it, "this is the seminal statement of the American creed." These words are also engraved on Jefferson's Memorial wall.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed... (Armitage, 2007)

The Declaration of Independence is a consecrated document, a stunning success, and a basis of autonomy and democracy. It inspired several countries and movements everywhere, and it still does, a treasure to preserve. It is a very influential text carrying the most eminent American values. Written by Thomas Jefferson, it starts like this:

In Congress, July 04, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them,

The pilgrims wrote several complaints claiming that King George imposed taxes without having any rights, that he was tyrannous and unfair to them, and that his rule was destructive. They consequently wrote a petition with their demands, and after several trials and because they rejected their demands, they asked for independence. The word "independent" comes at the end of the declaration (see above).

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, assembled appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and Declare, that these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES,

It was written Thomas Jefferson together with other outstanding figures like Benjamin Franklin and John Adams..., etc. They represent the commission of five who wrote a list to Congress containing complaints against King George. Jefferson wrote the phrases "free and independent states" and the concluding sentence of "our lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor," but Congress referred to God in the end.

In the first paragraphs, some phrases or even passages are contradictory in the Declaration of Independence. The committee of five agreed to some human unalienable rights like "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," but they denied those rights for slaves. As a result, the colonists were seeking independence and self-governance, but not human rights or equality. Like John C. Calhoun, a senator from South Carolina, puts it, "the equality posited by the Declaration was a" hypothetical truism" about humanity in a state of nature, not only irrelevant to any civil society, but actually "poisonous" to good social order."

It was also criticized by William Lloyd Garrison because the colonists' list of complaints contained sufferance, but the sufferance of the slaves was worse. However, slaves were not included in the document. So was the Declaration of

Independence meaningless and dangerous?. What makes this document so powerful and sacred?

It is a divine document like independence, which is both a moral value and a right. It is a general contract, something like the Mayflower Compact. It is a document that united America as one nation because it appeals to God to bless the land, as Lutz claimed that its purpose in American law shows that the Almighty is vital to the US Government.

Despite critics, it is a fundamental document to the ACR from Thomas Jefferson to Abraham Lincoln to Martin Luther King. Its phrase "created equal" pushed millions to ask for their rights. The impact of independence on the Founders has been inspirational for many nations to claim their freedom.

2.6. The US Constitution

Civil religion is also present throughout the Constitution. Liberty, independence, and social equality appear in the separation of powers (Checks and Balances system) and not merely liberty and equality, but protection of world countries. Without forgetting cultural diversity (we the people), the opening of the Constitution, and, of course, the Declaration of Independence is a divine and prominent document.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our prosperity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America . (Kammen, 1986)

In what way is the Constitution connected to the American Civil Religion? It would not be necessary to present the whole past of the US Constitution here. It is of more importance to find all the phrases or passages related to the ACR and which are religious or spiritual.

The Constitution sets the main structure of the country under a system called Checks and Balances with three different branches: lawmaking, presidential and judicial. Earlier, the branches of government were not separate until authors such as Montesquieu, John Locke, and John Adams wrote Thoughts on Government in 1776, which emphasized the separation of powers. Madison says that humans cannot be angels; they are capable of morality and wrong, and this also has a religious interpretation; "In Adam's fall, humans became sinners." As a result, humans are imperfect by nature, and hence the powers are not given to one man but several branches.

Concerning the ACR, the word 'God' is not obligatory in oaths. Article VI states that neither the Bible nor religious words would be required:

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all Executive and Judicial Officers, both of the United States and of several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. (Waldman, 2008)

There is a powerful link between spiritual beliefs and liberty in Article I of the US Constitution. Demand existed for the Bill of Rights in 1791. Madison participated in the initial ratification:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof or abridging the freedom of speech, or the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. (Waldman, 2008)

In the above passage, six rights are mentioned, freedom from State religion, choosing one's religion, speaking without fear or constraints, showing one's opinion in a written form, meeting and criticizing the government. According to Steven Waldman, who depicted in his book Founding Faith (2008), Madison saw Baptist priests arrested, tortured, and imprisoned because they rejected the ending of religious discourse and transmitting their message. Modern missionaries who sought

to elevate the job of faith in the community said that evangelicals were the pioneers to partition religion and politics in 1780.

Still, the issue of "church and state" created problems even for the Founders themselves. Benjamin Franklin insisted on starting all constitutional conventions with a prayer, but the law of the land does not contain any word like "God." Later, after the 14th Amendment, Lincoln urged his fellow citizens to celebrate Thanksgiving, a spiritual and national holiday.

The question here is whether the ACR is absent if the word "God" disappears from the Constitution. Its modification aimed to insert the word "God." but this was not possible. Nevertheless, the Constitution substituted God for officers. The Senators swear to the Constitution, not to God, which makes a divine document of such vital importance that nobody can hold a position in America without the promise of loyalty to the highest law in America.

It is a divine document because it took care of human freedom, but also of carrying guns. In some states, bearing arms is allowed, but in other states, it is prohibited. The highest Justice five-to-four decision made it possible to carry guns in 2008 (District of Columbia v. Heller). The gun was perceived as a holy tool of ACR since it protected people and their freedom. According to Amendment II, "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms should not be infringed" (Nisbet, 2001)

Bearing arms is so vital that Amendment II stated. The early pilgrims were proud of militias during the founding period and mainly throughout the upheaval against the British. Earlier, colonists used weapons to seize the lands from the natives and chase animals in the wilderness or even to hold and chase slaves. Living without a gun in that era was like facing death at every corner.

With the progress of cities in the south, crime levels increased. Many people are against arms-bearing, not including the army. On the contrary, some writers and associates of the National Rifle Association confessed that a militia could possess

guns by non-professional soldiers. Article II of the Constitution allowed individuals to carry weapons, while Article 4 protected citizens against unreasonable searches.

The right of the people, to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon a probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized .(Nisbet, 2001)

Another sacred value and a right is the physical integrity of individuals. It is a value once neglected by Christians or Muslims. The Eighth says, "Excessive bail shall, not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted" (Waldman, 2008)

In the 1600s, rebels were cut their ears off or hanged to death. These kinds of punishment were for double and secret agents in the 18 century. Even nowadays, in some countries, like Saudi Arabia, they still cut the right hand of thieves off. Consequently, faith constitutes a factor of the US constitution; as Michael Kammen, a cultural historian, said, "religious attitudes, or 'constitutionalism' have pushed Americans to support the Constitution from destruction," like in the civil war. The Constitution was preserved, and so was religion, and hence the Constitution is considered a divine manuscript of ACR.

Nevertheless, the American Constitution contains several inconsistencies as a celestial text. Some articles and laws are just contradictory, like the Smith Act (1940): which makes it a crime to overthrow the country of the USA by "force or violence," which contradicts the freedom of communication in Article 1. Another example is that after the 09/11 attacks, the parliament issued a commandment called the Patriot Act, which allowed the government to listen secretly to phone calls and read emails. At the same time, Articles 4 and 5 warn against arbitrary searches and incrimination. Despite its inefficiencies and contradictions, the US law remains a primary text that clearly sets the liberties and democracy, which serve as a basis of the ACR.

2.7. Civil Religion and the Liberty Bell

More than three million people gather annually to observe the Bell positioned above the building where the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were signed. The site that attracts visitors is also "sacred," symbolic, and historic. It symbolizes freedom. As Martin Luther King Jr. said in his speech, "I Have a Dream," "Let freedom Ring!" The Liberty Bell is a symbol, among others, of the ACR.

The Liberty Bell was a significant element of ACR during the colonial period since it fulfilled essential roles and functions in various events. In 1751, 50 years after William Penn got a contract for self-government, the Bell arrived in the country.

The Bill was established with a Biblical quotation: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (from Leviticus 25: 10) – it served for years as an icon of liberty with a religious connotation. Its function was to call senators to their meetings, to open ceremonies and governments acts. It was placed in one of the enormous constructions of the colonies, the Independence Hall. What is strange about the Bell is that it cracked after its first use in America; then, it melted in Philadelphia before its installation on the colonial capitol.

The utility of the Liberty Bell was prominent but not always appreciated. Neighbors made a complaint in 1772 saying that the Bell rung a lot and very loud and even with had a dangerous tone, principally for inhabitants living nearby. No proof exists if it rang on the day of the Declaration of Independence, in July 1776. During the Revolution, the Bell was smuggled away from Philadelphia to protect it from being destroyed by the British colonists. After a decade of absence, the Bell reappeared to announce the modification of the Constitution. Philadelphia was considered the capital during George Washington and John Adam's Presidency, and the Bell continued to be of solid value to the US government.

Later on, the Bell, used in memorials, rang on July 04 and the death of martyrs such as Franklin, Hamilton, Washington, and others. They called it the Independence Bell after Jefferson and Adam's death when the Bell rang in a huge ceremony. It also rang after the assassination of the Chief of Justice Marshall and had another crack. Then, the Bell became "the Liberty Bell," as R.G Williams called it. The Bell also rang on Washington's birthday on February 22, but why such a name the "liberty Bell" when slavery had persisted yet?

The significance of the Bell lies in its symbol of "Liberty" and "Martyrs." Later, this Bell took a new function in the ACR; a symbol and a witness of unity and power. It moved around the country. It became very famous and even personified and given welcome speeches. It existed as a supply of honesty and morality that fits the name "Liberty Bell."

After its tour in the country, it returned to symbolize liberty. It was very costly, and some complained about it, but it travelled to extend the impact of freedom all around the nation. A famous song deals with the liberty bell: "Liberty Bell, it's time to Ring again," which inspired many movements like women's voting rights. Before the raid of Normandy, the Mayor of Philadelphia struck the Bell seven times, a similar figure of the letters in "liberty" and recorded its tone.

After World War II, every state got a copy of the Bell. Americans wanted liberty to expand across their fatherland and be heard all around it in ceremonies and events like sovereignty Day. However, the original "Liberty Bell" was kept in Philadelphia at the Independence Hall in memory of the Founding Fathers who wrote the Declaration of Independence and wrote the Constitution.

The common element between the "Liberty Bell" and the ACR is that it has some biblical origins without forgetting its function in the Revolution, with the civil war and other movements: when the Bell travelled all along the nation, as if it was exploring the country with a mission within the ACR. In recent times, America is more diverse, with new challenges for the ACR, but the Liberty Bell continues to appear and serve the nation.

Although the Bell is an icon of independence and power, many people criticize it because, as Warshawsky puts it, "it has little relevance to a middle-class white male like me, except as a tool to scold me and my presumed ancestors for our wrong doing against others." (Kammen, 1991). However, millions visit the Bell every year, but the room is devoid of any decorations or flags, except some steel cables that surround the Bell.

Despite everything, it remains, as Jill Ogline, former park service guide, calls it "the greatest relic of America's heroic age." Its greatness appears on what is written on it that is visible "To proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Leviticus 25:10). Finally, its greatness is in its crack, despite many attempts to melt it, which were rejected. Nonetheless, even with the crack, it looks remarkable. It is a representation of Martyrs but also of the ACR.

2.8. The Dollar Bill and the Great Seal

The money of the USA is exceptional as compared to other banknotes in different countries. Other currencies, for instance, the Algerian one, carry symbols, but the US currency honors outstanding figures that passed away. The one-dollar Bill carries the image of George Washington, Lincoln on the five, Alexander Hamilton on the ten, Andrew Jackson on the twenty, Ulysses S. Grant on the fifty, and Benjamin Franklin on the hundred-dollar Bill as they represent the Founders and their position in history are undeniable. They are the courageous people who established the nation.

Washington's face on the dollar, he looks so calm and formal. On the other side, many religious symbols appear, with the term "ONE" written in big letters and the expression IN GOD WE TRUST written wholly in capital letters. The most sacred among all the bills in the USA is the dollar, where the sentence "almighty dollar" came. This sentence was also written on every other Bill after the commandment

issued by Congress in 1957. This phrase has become the certified slogan of America after the 1956 law, and this is another proof of the ACR.

The most potent religious symbol on the Almighty dollar is the Great Seal of America, which appears both on the front, on the right side of the ONE, and the back, on the left side. The Continental Congress assigned aboard to design a seal for America. Franklin proposed a portrait of Moses leading Israel to the Red Sea. Adams chose Hercules, while Jefferson proposed the children of Israel on one side and the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons (Hengist and Horsa) on the back: the seal chosen by the committee is an eye in the interior of a triangle with the motto "E pluribus Unum" or "Out of Many, One." The pyramid contains the "shining eye" on the top, thirteen arrows, and an eagle. The Founding Fathers disagreed on the eagle, as Franklin said that eagles were like thieves and preferred a turkey to the eagle.

After the last drawing of the Dollar Bill that comprised the Great Seal, religious symbols appeared, and they were numerous. The eye itself above the pyramid refers to "God" not in Christianity or Judaism, but in Masonic religion, and this shows that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe were Masons. The pyramid depicts the optimism of America but and a principal constituent of the Masonic tradition (religion) since the Masons regard themselves as sons of builders of the pyramids.

Furthermore, the pyramid is a sacred representation of power and resistance, built by the Egyptians to symbolize eternity. Overall, the eye and the pyramid refer to "supernatural being," central to ACR. Under the pyramid, the Latin sentence NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM or "a new order of the ages" is written, and the Roman number MD CCLXXVI (1776), because the year 1776 is essential in the history of the US. On the above part of the pyramid, there is another motto: ANNUITY COEPITS or "it has favored the beginnings," which means the year '1776' is preferred by any authority. However, the holiest one remains "In God We Trust." The eagle is a divine bird. Above the bird's skull stands the motto "E PLURIBUS UNUM," showing that the domination of this nation lies in its unity. The symbols of US currency show again that the "almighty dollar" is a component of the ACR.

2.9. Other Symbols of Civil Religion

Civil Religion is not dead but present in the signs of the state like the Liberty Bell, the dollar, the Great Seal, and the Statue of Liberty:

2.9.1. The Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island

The Statue of Liberty is a representative symbol of America. It symbolizes the most exceptional standard of the ACR: "liberty." The Statue nears the harbor of New York as if to welcome the immigrants who have always arrived in America for different purposes.

Ellis Island is a heavenly place visited by thousands of people every day. It is a holy place because most US people think their ancestors came via Ellis Island, another reason for its sacred nature being the Goddess of Liberty that is so near to the island. In early times, the Statue of Liberty did not symbolize immigration. France gave it to the USA as a mark of gratitude. Both countries built the Statue as a symbol of gratefulness but also of liberty. It is the highest construction in New York. The most famous poem of the Statue of liberty is by Emma Lazarus:

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame, with conquering limbs astride from land to land; Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand...A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame...Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name (Sutherland, 2003)

This poem personifies America and was written on an iron tablet in 1902, which is at present inside the platform of the Statue of Liberty. It was admired by James Russell Lowell, who wrote to Lazarus and said, "I liked your sonnet about the Statue much better than I like the Statue itself because the poem gives its subject a raison d'être which it wanted pretty as much as it wanted a pedestal.

Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand...Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command....The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame..."Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she..With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor...Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me; I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

The immigrants confirm Emma Lazarus wrote that the "Mother of Exiles" welcomes newcomers to the nation. A Ukrainian man, quoted by scholar Rudolf Necoli in 1994, said that "when you see that Liberty Statue.....it is the greatest feeling. It is like God accepting you into paradise. Immigrants from diverse countries chose to live in the USA for various reasons to escape oppression, poverty, crowded cities or seeking fame, money or riches, and the mother of liberty welcomed them "behind the golden door!"

Ellis Island is very symbolic and important as a position of checking, accepting, or refusing immigrants. It symbolizes the site of immigration from Europe to the United States. Nevertheless, being an indication of diversity and immigration, either Ellis Island or the Liberty Statue include drawbacks for so many reasons like elsewhere. In America, where immigration appears, conflicts and feelings such as confusion and sorrow appear with it too. When Emma Lazarus wrote her poem in 1883, anti-immigration laws had appeared, but the young poet said that being friendly to newcomers was a component of the ACR.

Not everyone considers Ellis Island as a heavenly place. In 1903, Jacob Ris described the island as "the nation's gateway to the Promised Land. When President Lyndon Johnson went to the Island to sign a new immigration law defending family affinities and skills, he said, "Today, we can all believe that the lamp of this grand old lady is brighter and the golden door that she guards gleams more brilliantly." (Gardella, 2014)

To conclude, Ellis Island has become "the New Plymouth Rock" or a third Eden without forgetting Jamestown and Plymouth. Both symbolize the most important

values of civil religion "liberty" and "tolerance of diversity." Since the Liberty Statue stands beside this island, it should remain a holy site.

2.10. God Bless America

This song clearly expresses religious feelings towards America. Written in 1918 by Irving Berlin, it is a significant aspect of the ACR. The initial phrase is "God bless the United States of America," a compulsory sentence in all speeches delivered by US Presidents. This point will be the focus of the next chapter.

God bless America...Land that I love ...Stand beside her, and guide her

How the night with a light from ... Above... From the mountains, to the prairies,

To the oceans, white with foam, ...God bless America,

My home sweet home (Freedland, 1986)

This sentence would be present in political discourse and articles in the New York Times (1858-1938). It is the most recurrent phrase in America that belongs to the American civil religion. There were attempts to convince Congress to make "God Bless America" the national anthem. However, Berlin Irving, the greatest American songwriter, musician, and rhymester, refused any modification to the national anthem. Anti-Semites criticized Berlin, a Jewish who wrote a song used at celebrations of Memorial Day, which represented the gratitude of a refugee but without singing the "Star-Spangled Banner."

The genuine significance of "God Bless America" is liberty, peace, and tolerance of diversity, which are the principal values of civil religion. The song is very influential and interpreted by many singers, like the Canadian Celine Dion. Singers sang it during wars to sustain America, like in World War II, although its lyrics are peaceful. Thus, America promised serenity to all countries. It also promised "blessing," a Jewish prayer, and this is another form of ACR.

2. 11. Plymouth Rock, the Puritans, and the Native Indians

The Plymouth Rock is the most ancient sacred object in the ACR; although small, it was split during a move and was shipped away by merchants and buried by Indians."

After the arrival of the May Flower in 1620, the pilgrims lived in Plymouth for a century or more. Before it was broken, the weight of this granite rock was about ten tons. Its importance was the entrance of the puritans in Plymouth on December 22, 1620. Plymouth was the "Old Colony," and the Rock was not famous at all. Nevertheless, it was present on a map published in 1715, where it appeared as the "Great Rock."

It was at the Forefather's Rock, in 1741, after the Great Awakening, where the ancestors of Plymouth wanted to practice their religion freely without constraints or persecution. Plymouth had become a center of spirituality like Jerusalem or Mecca, and the Rock was a holy place. John Quincy Adams noted, "It had been less than two centuries in 1802 since the first European foot touched the Rock and predicted that in two centuries more...our numbers must exceed those of Europe itself" (Abrams, 1999).

Amerindians buried the Plymouth Rock in 1970. Then Daniel Webster, the American politician, orator, and lawyer, believed that the Amerindians were "roving barbarous who practiced a religion of idolatrous sacrifice" In a three-hour speech, Webster spoke about the Plymouth Rock; he said, "We have come to this Rock, to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers. Beneath us in this Rock, which New England received the feet of the Pilgrims....Two thousand miles westward from the Rock where their fathers landed, many now be found the sons of the pilgrims, cherishing, we trust the patrimonial blessings of wise institutions of liberty, and religion. The world has seen nothing like this." (Abrams, 1999). The pilgrims had a free government system; they were committed to education and their loyalty to religion.

The Rock of Plymouth was invoked by Webster again, "I urge you to pledge here upon the Rock of Plymouth to...destroy slavery....]i[t is not fit that the land of the Pilgrims should bear this shame longer", and that any place that continued to support slavery should be set aside from the Christian world"(Abrams, 1999). James Russell Lowell wrote his abolitionist hymn, Once to Every Man and Nation (1844). He pushed Americans to confront the future, even if it included war.

On the Plymouth Rock, the year 1620 is engraved. It is a celestial object and "a material vehicle for the power of good." "Plymouth Rock does not mark a beginning or an end," notes Coolidge, "It marks a revelation of that which is without beginning and without end, a purpose, shining through eternity with a resplendent light." (Coolidge, 1924)

Was the May Flower launched by cowards, steered by men behind their time? Turned those tracks toward Past or Future that make Plymouth Rock sublime. (Gardella, 2014)

The pilgrims buried their dead, about 52 of the 102 who arrived in 1620 after the first brutal winter. Here, there is another rock, smaller than the Plymouth Rock, with a plaque that contains the phrase "NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING" and this text:

As of 1970, Amerindians have assembled at midday on Cole's Hill in Plymouth to honor a National Day of Mourning on the US Thanksgiving feast. Many Amerindians do not commemorate the arrival of the puritans and other European immigrants. For them, Thanksgiving Day is a prompt of the killing of hundreds of people, the stealing of their lands, and the persistent attack on their civilization. Below this text, one can read, "Erected by the Town of Plymouth on behalf of the United American Indians of New England." (Gardella, 2014)

The plaque shows the conflicts between the successors of Pilgrims and the children of Amerindians, which started in 1970. An Amerindian called Frank James, or Wamsutta came to speak at a Thanksgiving ceremony. He prepared a text describing a need for "a more humane America, a more Indian America, where men

and nature once again are important; where the Indian values of honor, truth, and brotherhood prevail." He said that his grandfather Massasoit's biggest mistake was helping the white Pilgrims, and he wished to take back their proper position in the nation that is legally theirs.

Frank James could not reach the Thanksgiving Podium; therefore, together with Native Indians, he demonstrated and showed the launch of the public day of Mourning. He delivered his speech and then buried Plymouth Rock. They boarded the May Flower II and threw the manikin of Captain Christopher Jones into the harbor.

Other demonstrations followed until both sides reached an agreement: that Native Indians could celebrate their Mourning Day with no disturbance of the process of Thanksgiving. In his address, delivered on the occasion of the agreement, the children of Frank James said:

Some of us: will you ever stop protesting?...we will stop protesting when the merchants of Plymouth are no longer making millions of dollars off the blood of our slaughtered ancestors. We will stop protesting when we can act as sovereign nations ...without the interference of the bureau of Indian affairs...when corporations stop polluting... the earth. When racism has been eradicated when the oppression of Two-Spirited people is a thing of the past we will stop protesting when homeless people have homes and no child goes to bed hungry. (Gardella, 2014)

Since that agreement and for years, the two ceremonies, the National Day of Mourning and the Thanksgiving, continued to take place side by side in Plymouth. From the speech mentioned earlier, we can deduce that the Amerindians wanted some measures to be taken and justice to be done; otherwise, they would keep protesting.

When police brutality no longer exists in communities of color. We will stop protesting when Leonard Peltier and Mumia Abu Jamal, and all the political prisoners are free ..., the

struggle will continue ... today, we will correct some history ... in a country that continues to glorify butchers such as Christopher Columbus, glorify slave-owning Presidents such as Washington and Jefferson and carves their face into the sacred Black Hills of Lakota. (Gardella, 2014)

Maybe descendants of Massasoit will continue to reject to commemorate Plymouth Rock. Nevertheless, the truth of Plymouth since Governor Bradford to the children of freedom and Daniel Webster is a legend of devotion to liberty, social justice, and cultural tolerance, as values of ACR.

2.12. America, the Beautiful

A poet and college professor of English, Katherine Lee Bates, wrote the poem "America, the beautiful," which she published on July 04, 1895, in a journal of the Congregationalist. The first description of the poem is different from the one sung now:"

O beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain, for purple mountain majesties. Above the fruited plain! America! America! God shed his grace on thee...Sea to shining sea!" (Lynn, 2001)

The poet is a son of a Puritan pastor with a church in Massachusetts next to Plymouth Rock. Today, Americans realize what harm their ancestors did to native Indians. Katherine Lee Bates was also conscious that "America," her beloved country, was not without mistakes and defects, and she said, "God should mend her every flaw." (Gardella, 2014). Nevertheless, she assures that exploring and colonizing the New World was a fantastic story.

O beautiful for pilgrim feet,

Whose stern, impassioned stress ... A thoroughfare for freedom beat ... Across the wilderness!

America! America! God mend there every flow,

Confirm thy soul in self–control, thy liberty in law! (Gardella, 2014)

In the original poem, Bates repeats the verse "God shed his grace on thee," then it was changed to "Till paths be brought through wilds of thought / by pilgrim foot and knee!" (Lynn, 2001) She described her epoch's spiritual nature in which she took part, although she was not religious at all. However, her poem is religious and contributes to the ACR. She invoked the Almighty to provide America with "self-control."

The fourth verse of America the Beautiful is as follows:

O beautiful for patriot dream ...That sees beyond the years ...Thine alabaster cities gleam ...Undimmed by human tears! America! America! God shed his grace on thee...And crown thy good with brotherhood... From sea to shining sea (Grild; 1951)

In Revelation 21:4, "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying" (Revelation 21:4).

Katherine Bates added to the ACR exactly as leaders like Thomas Jefferson or Abraham Lincoln. She wrote about "God," who appears in her poems. Her poem "America the Beautiful" became a song and hence was known by everyone! This song is as important as the National Anthem, carrying religious words, and it places Katherine Bates Lee among the mainstream of ACR.

2.13. The National Anthem: The Star-Spangled Banner

This song became the National Anthem by law in 1931. It is a song, which praises and worships the ACR: "the Star-Spangled Banner" is about freedom. It makes Americans take off their hats and stand, usually with the hand on the hearts and staring at the flag. These actions happen every day in schools, in ceremonies, sports events ..., etc

Oh, say can you see, by the dawn's early light...What so proudly we hailed at the twilights last, whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight, O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air, (Gardella, 2014)

The song entitled "the Defense of Fort Mc Henry" speaks about the American flag "the Stars and Stripes." It also describes the liaison point between the national anthem and the ACR. "The Star-Spangled Banner" carries religious terms. In the song, the USA appears as a "heaven-rescued land."

Gave proof through the right that one flag was still there, O say, does the Star-Spangled Banner yet wave O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave: On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep, Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes, What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep, Between their loved homes and the war's desolation! Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven rescuedlard (Borneman, 2004)

Key Scott urged the Americans to thank God, the power who "hath made and preserved us a nation as we "conquer" not as imperialists but to protect ourselves, we should take "in God is our trust" as our motto. Later, this motto became by law the official of the USA.

Praise and power that hath made and preserved us a nation Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just, And this be our motto; "In God is our trust" And the Star-Spangled Banner shall ware O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave (Borneman, 2004)

Francis Scott Key, 1814

Many phrases clearly show a sacred language in the song written by Francis Scott Key and other songs like "Adams and Liberty" written by Thomas Paine to celebrate Independence Day on July 04, 1798. The poetry is as follows:

Ye sons of Columbia, who bravely have fought... For those rights, which unstained from your sires, have descended... May you long taste the blessings your valor has brought...And your sons reap the soil which their fathers defended. Mid the reign of mild peace...May your nation increase, with the glory of Rome and the wisdom of Greece; And ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves, while the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves. (Borneman, 2004)

This song is the most political ever written in the United States. Many people prefer "America the Beautiful to "the Star-Spangled Banner" as the National anthem because the former is more peaceful while the second is more appropriate for armed forces. Still, some citizens argue that the US anthem should be changed. However, many Americans stick to it, saying that it increases one of the significant values of civil religion, diversity, and cultural tolerance.

To conclude, the "Star-Spangled Banner" is a holy value in the ACR because it relates to the holiest thing, the flag. The ACR includes other songs with equal importance, such as "America, the Beautiful," "the Battle Hymn of the Republic," and "God Bless America." The difference is that the "Star-Spangled Banner" has a militant value, a unique national anthem par excellence quality.

2.14. The Battle Hymn of the Republic

"The Battle Hymn of the Republic" is among the sacred songs of the ACR. Many religious words and terms are emphasized, like the ancient Hebrew, the mythic roots of Christianity, the recurrence of "God," and the powerful will for peace and beauty

Chapter two: Sacramental Texts, Objects, Documents and sites Related to the American Civil religion

to take it over evil. Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910), the writer of the Battle Hymn of

the Republic, was the child of a Calvinist Episcopalian, Samuel Ward. In her poem,

Julia Ward depicts Judgment Day, "the coming of the lord."

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored.

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of this terrible swift sword.

His truth is marching on. CHORUS[Glory, glory, Hallelujah!

Glory, glory, Hallelujah! (Molotsky, 2001)

In addition, she mentions "trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored"; This depiction of Judgment Day in the holy book, which appears in Isaiah 63:3 and later in Revelation 14:19 and 19:15. Isaiah said in God's words promising to trample countries of enemies like grapes in a wine press, like use their bloodstains all his garments. In the Revelation, "the wine press of God's wrath" is present. Before Julia Ward Howe, evangelist Jonathan Edwards used this threat in the classic sermon "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." Another phrase that refers to a religious language in the Battle Hymn is "terrible swift sword" (Claghorn, 170), used to retract the sword from the mouth of Jesus to strike down and kill the nation's Armageddon, in Revelation 19:15.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;

They have builded. Him an altar in the evening dews and damps

I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps,

Let the Hero, born of woman; crush the serpent with his heel,

Since God is marching on [CHORUS [(Goodwin, 2004)

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The Battle of Hymn tells about blood and judgment and gives triumph and consolation; "I have read a fiery Gospel writ in burnished rows of steel" in the third verse, showing Julia Ward's ability to ride a carriage with ranks of infantry endowed with rifles and bayonets. She describes a "hero born of woman" who "will crush the serpent with his heel". (Goodwin, 2004) In the Christian version, it is mentioned that "as he died to make men holy; let us die to make men free,"; but the Battle Hymn of the Republic never mentioned something like slavery or the warfare between the North and the Confederacy.

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;

He is sitting out the hearts of men before his judgment-seat.

Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! Be jubilant, My feet!

Our God is marching on [CHORUS [

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea, (Goodwin, 2004)

Julia Ward Howe, 1861; Atlantic Monthly, Ix (1862), 145

Julia Ward Howe was aware that she was using a Christian language. She was a pioneer who listened to transcendentalism, which interpreted religious texts, varied with the religion of humanity. She wrote about Christ who came to life across the sea with glory in this bosom, transfiguring you and me. It was mixed with a humanistic language about Jesus: "as he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free." This religious belief was converted into a governmental philosophy that pushes America to promise serenity and security to all countries whatever means it might use, 'ends justify the means. This point will be emphasized in the fourth chapter.

'The Battle Hymn of the Republic,' with other songs, clearly shows the vital link between Christianity and American civil religion. However, this song is also related to war and conflicts to guarantee peace in every nation. It is hence more connected with the ACR than Christianity.

2.15. More Sacred Sites

In America, many sites exist, such as Mount Rushmore, which also manifest as proof of the phenomenon of Civil Religion in America.

2.15.1 Mount Rushmore

Mount Rushmore is the most prominent site of American civil religion. It is positioned in the mountains, in the Black Hills, which are also sacred for the Indians. What is impressive about this mountain is the presidents' heads (George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln. Gutzon Borglum said, "Our race's secret and sacred dreaming. The Presidents symbolize freedom and democracy". The strong relation between Mount Rushmore and the issue at stake is that the presidents carved on the mountains are heroes and gods.

Other sacred sites include memorials to Jefferson Washington, Lincoln, and Martin Luther King, Jr. The particularity of the mountain is its divinity. Borglum depicted it as "faces of Presidents should express serenity, mobility, a power that reflects the gods who inspired them and suggests the gods they have become.

For Borglum, American Presidents were gods and prophets who did many things for the country. The title provided by the artist for this mountain is "the Founding, Preservation and Expansion of the United States" (Glass, 1994). Lincoln and Washington were symbols of preservation, while Roosevelt and Jefferson represented expansion. According to Coolidge, four values are represented in Mount Rushmore: for him, Washington symbolizes Independence, Jefferson's self-government, Lincoln represented freedom, and Roosevelt was associated with economic equality.

Many Americans think that this unique mountain is a representation of autonomy or liberty. William Andrew Burkett wrote in an essay, "Almighty God, from this pulpit of stone the American people render Thanksgiving and praise for the new era of civilization brought forth upon this continent. Holding no fear of the economic and political, chaotic clouds hovering over the earth, the consecrated Americans dedicate this nation before God, to exalt righteousness and to maintain mankind's that constituted liberties so long as the earth shall endure" (Glass, 1994)

2.15.2. Disney Park

Many people from different countries refuse to consider that amid the standards of the ACR is the respect for wishes and dreams and holding them as sacred. An irresistible place like Disney Land regards clients as guests. Some of Mickey Mouse's words are: "Believing in your dreams is swell! Gosh, everyone can imagine! (Gardella, 2014)

Disney brought Lincoln back via a Robot. It rose from its seat to deliver a speech: "All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined could not, by force, take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge. What prevented this was not the American military, but the spirit that prizes liberty as the heritage of all men" He continues, "As a nation of free men, we must live through all time, or die by suicide...." (Birnbaum, 2007). That suicide would not take place....because God had not created humanity to live and die in futility but for immortality. American freedom was an element of God's plan of salvation. (Birnbaum, 2007)

What is unusual is that even a position of entertainment contains hundreds of sacred icons and carries some sacred values and words that are religious. Even though no church is available near Disney Land, it is a holy place. The thought of the eternal soul is present at Disney Parks. Benjamin Franklin and Mark Twain appear there as though he was eternal, without forgetting the robot of Mr. Lincolnetc

2.16. Conclusion

This chapter sought to provide a general overview of the ACR, including sacred texts, songs, places, and symbols, to reveal the presence of the ACR in all aspects of American life in society and politics. It is both a very influential religion and a flexible one.

The ACR includes many values, such as freedom, democracy, peace, and tolerance. At diverse epochs in the history of the USA, these values continued to improve, sometimes even through means that are far from them. These means range from wars to conflicts, manipulation, xenophobiaetc. To accomplish the four values that will be discussed shortly.

First, the implication of freedom, described in the US law "to secure the blessing of liberty." The same Constitution dealt with slavery; article IV provides the Federal government the power to defend the "Republican" government against all rebellions. Consequently, the character of the relation between liberty, social justice, and power remains very controversial.

Second, peace appears as the US first mission on earth, declared by the Founders Washington and Lincoln. However, to grant serenity and security to every country is no easy task. America has decided to wage wars in various places such as Great Britain, Spain, Germany, Japan, North Korea, China, USSR, Cuba, Vietnam, Panama, Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria...etc. Is it not contradictory to provide security and consider it the state's first goal while waging wars?

This type of battle is a new type, known as "A war for peace" or "the war against terrorism." Other types include "war for cultural tolerance." Cultural tolerance was a big issue in the founding era, especially in Jamestown and Plymouth, but Amerindians were soon chased, slaughtered, and driven away. Nowadays, some sites like Elis Island are symbols of cultural tolerance, but once Elis Island was known for discrimination, a point for checking the immigrants and sending hundreds of them back home. Thus, cultural tolerance is still an unlimited topic in America today.

Nevertheless, ACR proved its ability to go beyond conflicts. This became evident with a black President of African origin: Barrack Hussein Obama, a Muslim father whose name "Barrack" means "Blessed" in Arabic. In addition, his family name was "Obama," which means "the one who bends," i.e., "the one who prays" in Islam. 'Hussein' simply means "the handsome or the beautiful" in Arabic. Consequently, the complete translation of his name would be "the Blessed, Beautiful, leader who prays" Even the president's name is purely religious, a black African with a Muslim father. This shows that cultural tolerance is achieved in America.

Furthermore, Obama's election is in itself a live image of the ACR. He is African, but his stepfather is Indonesian. He also grew up in Indonesia, a nation with the most considerable number of Muslims. He won the Nobel Peace Award in 2009. Before he achieved anything, being chosen and elected a US president was already an achievement. He was grateful and then delivered a speech where he confirmed his will to continue to struggle against terrorism.

Obama used less religious words in his speech but kept the same mandatory ending like all presidents "God bless the United States of America." The religious speech in political discourse will be discussed in chapter three, entitled: the Rhetoric Language in Presidential Speeches.

Chapter Three: Religious Rhetoric in Presidential Speeches

3.1. Introduction

American leaders have used sacred rhetoric and evoked God to speak to US citizens on various occasions, mainly in times of crisis. The extent of "religiosity" and the occurrence of the word 'God' differ from one President to another. For example, George Walker Bush was more religious than his father and other presidents because he mentioned the holy book and used many sacred images.

This chapter tackles the analysis of presidential discourse and the religious rhetoric in particular. The difficulty found by scholars lies in the shift in presidential language from a traditional to a modern rhetorical one, focusing on mission and leadership. This shift happened at the beginning of the twentieth century with President Theodore Roosevelt (Tulis 1987, 19). Therefore, we should differentiate between the religious rhetorical language in political discourse previous to and past the 20 th century.

Nevertheless, several researchers think that very little change occurred in the style of the political leaders. For instance, Hinckley[1] (1990, 133) came across a "striking similarity" in the rhetoric of the US presidents. The current section examines this rhetoric in the broad sense and how God is mentioned in particular. The recurrent use of the term 'God' in the American presidential addresses signals their firm conviction in the ACR. They employ a type of speech with specific terms and understand such a language. One should understand its origins in various historical periods.

A significant focus will be placed on the political face of the ACR. This belief contains spiritual rhetoric used by presidents, especially when they mention 'the Creator' or the 'Almighty.' Scholars describe it in relation to symbols, monuments, and rituals as depicted in the former part, which aims at highlighting the presence of a divine connection between the Americans, politics, and God. Particular focus will be devoted to the liaison between religion and politics in political addresses and its

consequences on the domestic and foreign policies, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

Robert Neely Bellah said that civil religion has a "transcendental goal" [2] to spread to all countries worldwide morals like equal opportunity, liberty, peace, and democracy. The USA has a divine mission to accomplish as if it were 'the policeman of the world,' a 'city upon a hill' that might shine on the new-found land or the 'New Jerusalem' [3]. Nevertheless, America is bound to verify that everybody benefits from the gains on its land, too.

To identify the relation between the codes of the ACR and goals like democracy, liberty, and equality, in-depth content analyses of presidential inaugural speeches are required with a great focus on faith and Government. When the presidents use the discourse of civil religion, they point out to rules and measures to explain actions often described as sacred. As a result, governmental actions are not simply about good and evil, equality and inequality, but about being religious.

It is thus of vital importance to highlight the role(s) that civil religion plays and its consequences on politics, citizens, and the Government. To do so, some presidential speeches will be analyzed, like the ones of Abraham Lincoln, Kennedy, George Walker Bush, Barrack Obama, and finally Donald Trump. It is of considerable significance to clarify that the religion used by presidents is a mature phenomenon. It started as early as 1789 when George Washington stated in his first speech that "it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe" [4] Since then, the presidents have referred to God, which shows a divine discourse in Government.

3.2. Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address (March 04, 1865)

On March 04, 1865, Lincoln used many religious words like "the Bible, God, Almighty, His, divine intervention of deity, He, Living God, God Wills"...etc. This speech, carved on the Lincoln monument and deemed a divine document of the ACR, has a deep religious language. It shows the dissimilarity between the ACR and the Jewish and Christian religions.

He stated through his discourse that if people interpret the identical versions of the holy book and worship the similar God, "the omnipotent has his own purposes" [5] He also added, "if we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come...". Other religious words include "the Lord," as an alternative to supernatural beings, and "the judgement of the Lord are true and righteous together."

Throughout his administration, Lincoln dealt with different matters. He grew in a Baptist Church, yet not a Baptist. He never believed that he was "chosen by God" to be saved. He liked rational thinking and read Thomas Paine. Though also very religious, comprehended the holy book and learned many verses by heart.

When blamed for being an atheist, he answered that he was not part of a specific church; he had never rejected the truths of the holy books[6] (Delbanco, 2008). When asked if he believed in heaven and hell and if he was going to either of them, he replied, "I am going to Congress...I would limit its creed to the commands to love God and one's fellow men" [7]

His spouse Mary Todd Lincoln belonged to the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, and he sometimes went to church with her. He was happy not to hear the priest talking about politics, for he was listening to political speeches all the time. He was unhappy with the reality that the Almighty had written the destiny of all people and yet condemned them and punished them when they made mistakes. For him, this was unfair and unreasonable. He believed for sure that God existed, and he punished sinners who were free in their will and whose aspiration is salvation.

Concerning the Civil War, Lincoln assured that the Almighty would punish both sides[8]. "Woe unto the world because of offenses for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!" (Jesus in Mathew 18:7)[9] (Wolf, 1963) Uncertain about the written destiny, and unsure about punishment, he acknowledged the lack of his willpower on events 'I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me...the nation's condition was not what anyone expected, but that God alone can claim it'...

He believed that "if American slavery is predestined offense, which in the providence of God, must needs come." Nevertheless, punishment will be present for slavery. For him, both sides of the Civil War deserved punishment. He was courageous to announce that even the North was guilty "if God now wills the removal of a great wrong, there will be nothing to say but to attest and serve the justice and goodness of God" [10] (Kazin, 1997).

The "God" mentioned by Lincoln was a judge and a God who gave the sun and the rain "even to his enemies." Ronald. C. White, the American historian, author, and lecturer wrote: 'instead of rallying his supporters, in the name of God, to support the war, he asked his listeners quietly, to imitate the ways of God' [11]. Lincoln confirmed that "with malice towards none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations" [12].

He was a man of peace who strived to achieve liberty and democracy, two critical values of civil religion. His life was sad, full of hardships. His mother and elder sister died, then his friend Ann Routledge. After that, one of his sons died of tuberculosis and another of pneumonia. He neglected the notion of salvation but instead acknowledged the will of God to forgive people after judging them for every sin. For him, after the ending of the battle, people would live peacefully in the "kingdom of God." [13]

Slavery was "somehow the cause of the war... it is strange for people to pray to God for assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces". After hearing those words, some African Americans answered, "Bless the Lord." However, white northerners were unhappy with those phrases. Lincoln's speech was mainly about peace and that 'His Almighty' has his purposes [14].

Right after he had delivered his speech, many people criticized him. Nevertheless, others also appreciated it, like Frederick Douglas, an abolitionist who believed in a sacred effort and a symbol of optimism and realism besides the sacred nature of the ACR. The question that arises here is whether Lincoln's speech constituted a component of civil religion or Christianity. He mentioned the Bible more than three times like in the quote of Mathew on offenses, and when he mentioned to slave owners who "take their bread from the sweat of other men's faces" (Genesis 3:19), he also used "judge not" (Jesus in Luke 6:37). He concluded that the "judgements of the Lord are true and righteous altogether" (Psalms 19:9). Many scholars such as Harold Bloom and David Gelernter agree that 'Americanism' originates in the Bible.

3.2.1. Lincoln's Second Inaugural Speech and Christianity

There are terms in Lincoln's speech that do not come from the Bible. First, he denied that the Almighty had selected him or told him about His will. Regardless of the occurrence of God, his speech remained part of the ACR when he said, "the Almighty has his own purposes" (Wolf, 1963). His rhetorical address is not personal, with no personal pronouns or the active voice. At last, he invited citizens for human work "to bind up the nation's wounds." He asked his fellow citizens to seek peace among themselves and with other nations. God did not give this type of peace, but one that belongs to the state and the ACR[15]. The reference of 'God' shows that He helps them and that without Him, failure is inevitable[16].

To break words down, the connection between religion and Government and between the Creator and USA is not evident in Lincoln's speeches. He did not describe God clearly, although he used capitals like "He" and alluded to being divine. However, no proof exists that this God belonged to Christianity. His employ of the term God indicates that the USA has been bound to a God who helped the nation achieve its goals. Without a comprehensible verification of the presence of God, He has only been mentioned as "God of our Fathers or God of the nation."

3.3 The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

Abraham Lincoln claimed that the site of Gettysburg had become sacred with the martyrs who died in the War of Gettysburg. People from diverse nations visit it widely to honor and remember them. In addition, many people learned about the Battle, for instance, the Egyptian leader Anouar El-Sadat who studied in military schools. In the following quote, Abraham Lincoln depicted the mission that Americans had to play as Martyrs already played theirs:

It is for us to be here dedicated to the unfinished work that they have so nobly carried on...

God gave a new birth of freedom, and that Government of the people, by the people for the people, shall not perish from the earth [17] (Boitt, 2006)

Although what Lincoln meant by "a new birth of freedom" remains ambiguous, freedom has continued to be a highly prominent ACR value besides democracy and cultural tolerance. However, despite its shortness, the Gettysburg is the most influential among Lincoln's speeches. He focused on equality and the true

significance of the Declaration of Independence. He described the "Union" armies who died in the Gettysburg Battle for their country. He described the USA as a country of equality, ensuring a civil religious value. He also mentioned issues related to slavery.

3.3.1 The Language of the Gettysburg Address

The opening of the speech is about equality: "four score and seven years ago, our fathers sought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, dedicated to proposition that all men are created equal" (Boitt, 2006). The speech is taken from the Old Testament, as in Psalm 90:10, which says, "The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength, they be fourscore years yet is their strength neighbour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away" [18]

Concerning the rhetoric of Lincoln, the possessive pronoun "our" is very common. He used it to mention to the Founders like the Israelites who mentioned the prophets[19]. Consequently, he described Americans as people preferred by the Almighty to accomplish a divine task already given to their parents, who did a lot for this nation. Those people brought equality, which is an aspect of US politics.

He added: "now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation or any Nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure" (Boitt, 2006). He confirmed the egalitarian character of the American Government [20]. The Civil War would later show how democracy could end the anarchy. It would also prove that equality could reign and hence end slavery.

Many scholars alluded to the combat of Armageddon in his rhetoric at Gettysburg. The similarity is when both parts fight each other. The particularity of both is their different faiths. The war then is certainly for political and profitable reasons and even for religious ones. Lincoln said, "We are met on a great Battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives so that the nation might live. It is altogether fitting and

proper that we do this" [21] (Boitt, 2006). He means that many citizens had sacrificed themselves for their country. Those men are the country's martyrs.

His portrayal of the martyrs' sacred character becomes visible in the following lines; "but in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men - living and dead- who struggled have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or subtract." [22] The blood and lives of the martyrs became sacred. Still, he denied three times, "we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow." The ground itself, 'Gettysburg,' became sacred and honored with the blood that had fallen on it.

3.3.2 The Endless "Missions of America."

After martyrs, Lincoln addressed the audience as follows: "It is for us, the living rather, to be rededicated to the unfinished work which they have so far so nobly carried on" [23]. He explained that martyrs honored the site, which honored them in return. Now, the living has to carry the flame, continue the mission, and construct a superior future free from an institution called "slavery."

The legend of the nation's rebirth remains ambiguous for many scholars or as the state was dead in the battle. However, their death gave a big responsibility to the living people. Besides martyrs, that country had come to life again. It is thus a rebirth of liberty[24]. Like Mircea Eliade said, "this is a repetition of the consmogonic act of the founders, repeating their actions and reconfirming them in an act of religious piety."

The rebirth of the country made Gettysburg a sacred text. Poet Robert Lowell said, 'the Gettysburg Address is filled with images of birth "brought forth," "conceived," "created," and a "new birth of freedom." Death and rebirth are the main ideas of the Gettysburg Address. Lincoln took the ACR beyond the

Government. The language he used emphasized one idea, namely that all martyrs without mentioning their ideas and missions would be valued and remembered.

3.4. Kennedy's Inaugural Speech, January 20, 1961

John F. Kennedy's opening speech is unique in the ACR. He depicted the central beliefs of liberty and social equality and gave them a new dimension beyond US territories. He depicted a strong liaison between liberty, social equality, and world peace.

He said:" I have sworn before you and the Almighty God the same solemn Oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago" (Dallek, 2000). He added, '...the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the land of God.' [25]

Robert N. Bellah chose Kennedy's speech as an illustration in tackling the ACR issue. He pointed to the occurrence of God as a rhetorical tradition and a confirmation that the ACR is central to American values. He said that Kennedy's actions were not related to his own individual religion but connected to his belief in God.[26]

The most exceptional values of the ACR are freedom, equal opportunity, egalitarianism, and cultural tolerance. Often, these principles appear in the President's use of the word "God." However, Kennedy did more than this; he expanded freedom from his country to the world, implying that US citizens have a divine task to extend peace throughout the whole world. He said, "we dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution...and unwilling to witness or permit the show undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world." [27] (Sorwson, 1965)

America has tried to stick to Kennedy's commitment "to assure the survival and success of liberty," even if this meant the military force interference. This is what happened in different countries such as Vietnam, Somalia, and Haiti and lately the raid on Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria...etc.

After W. W. II, America started interfering with world affairs. It often sent soldiers abroad like to Iran and Korea. Was all this for freedom? Kennedy said that Americans had to resume what martyrs started. He said,

To assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house [28]. (Clark, 2004)

He emphasized that the UN has an authority that might be dangerous. He described it as "the last best hope." He also gave a promise to sustain the needy, not considering the time needed to do so. Furthermore, he promised liberty, by saying, "... the United Nations...our last best hope in an age where the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support —to prevent it from becoming merely a form for invective- to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak - and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run." [29]

For him, America can keep a high position in a world without scarcity and wars. Since the forties, it started constructing well-equipped houses with electricity that individuals in America missed. Nevertheless, technological advancement has many drawbacks because even nuclear weapons have emerged.

3.4.1. A New Type of Peace

Kennedy's opening speech was not without consequences. In the following passage, he invited all citizens to establish world peace and to create God's heaven on earth: "...let us begin in your hands...more than mine, will rest the final success

or failure...since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been surrounded to give testimony to its national loyalty." [30] (Tofel, 2005)

The United States was standing alone in the first years of the sixties, although USSR had launched Sputnik in 1957 and had weapons of mass destruction. However, Kennedy was worried as he depicted a dangerous moment for freedom. His fear was real and coming directly from Communism. Nevertheless, in his first address, he was very hopeful when he spoke of a world that could collaborate so that peace would prevail worldwide.

He said, "The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavour will light our country and all who serve it - and the glow from that fire can truly light the world" (Tofel, 2005). He was persuaded that God ordered the USA to guide humankind to freedom. The terms used, such as "faith," show religious rhetoric. He urged his citizens to consider their nationalism without mentioning the word "God" until the final paragraph of his speech.

The initial lines of the closing paragraph are very famous and used as annotations on many occasions: "and so, my fellow Americans ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." Then he mentioned "God," but like Lincoln, he was unconscious about the willpower of God. He was not speaking only to American citizens but all humans, making the mission national and universal.

Concerning the "ask not" instead of "do not ask," he borrowed it from his headmaster at Choate School. His headmaster's phrase was, "ask not what your school could do for you, but what you can do for your school." (Tofel, 2005) Of course, this phrase remained in Kennedy's brain, and he used it in his discourse. Presidents of different countries use the same phrase to call their citizens and inspire millions.

Robert Nelly Bellah also used Kennedy's inaugural in debates about the prospect of the ACR. Bellah argued that urging Americans to spread freedom

worldwide sometimes clashed with the US policy in some countries. Bellah wondered what would happen to ACR if the world ever really developed an international government.

To solve the above question, in his first speech, Kennedy welcomed the proposal of the new government "whom we welcome to the ranks of the free and to whom we offer aid, are treated equally and can even choose freely." (Address) Although he mentioned God, saying, "Here on earth, God's work must truly be our own," no specification of God was provided for even atheists are concerned. In addition, his reference to Biblical terms exceeds the nation's history and faith. He urged citizens of his nation and other countries to establish an international government. His Inaugural Address deals with international affairs and American values that could be extended worldwide. This issue will be dealt with in the fourth chapter.

3.5. Lyndon B. Johnson and Civil Religion (1963-1969)

After the murder of J. F.Kennedy, Johnson carried the job of reconstruction after an extensive national crisis. It is in challenging moments that presidents use the ACR and religious rhetoric the most (Hart, Pulpit, 47). Right after Kennedy's assassination, Johnson spoke to Congress urging all US citizens to join and mourn Kennedy: "we will serve the entire nation, not one section or one sector, or one group but all Americans. These are the United States, a united people with a united purpose" (Address). He concluded,

I profoundly hope that the tragedy and the torment of these terrible days will bind us together in new fellowship... So let us here highly resolve that Kennedy did not live or die in vain. And on this Thanksgiving eve, as we gather together to ask the Lord's

blessing, and give Him our thanks, let us unite in those familiar and cherished words: America, America, God shed His grace on thee, And crown thy good with brotherhood, From sea to shining sea. (Address, Johnson, 1965)25

In his address, Johnson used phrases of unity and religion to unify Americans in a period of crisis. He confirmed that by working for hand by hand with the trust in America, US citizens could get over the murder of Kennedy and even continue with the plans he wished to achieve. Johnson also invoked God on behalf of US citizens and urged them to thank the Almighty for his blessing, even through hard times. He chose his words for the occasion, which suggests the use of the ACR. Furthermore, he mentioned that the civic holiday of Thanksgiving is another occasion to bind together and thank God. In his conclusion, he mentioned "America the Beautiful" and confirmed the union of the Americans. Therefore, Johnson made good use of the civil religious rhetoric in his first speech (1965)

3.5.1 Johnson's Inaugural Address, January 1965

Johnson delivered only one inaugural address whereby he glorified unity as a civic religious value. In the opening lines of the speech, he said, "My fellow countrymen, on this occasion, the Oath I have taken before you and before God is not mine alone, but ours together. We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one citizen, but upon all citizens" (Address, Jan 1965).

The scholar Hart admits that the chief aim of the ACR is "unity." Johnson talked about a contract between America and the US citizens, which was "conceived in justice, written in liberty, bound in union, it was meant one day to inspire the hopes of all mankind; and it binds up still. If we keep its terms, we shall

flourish" (Inaugural). He used the faith of reconstruction, trying to engage all citizens. He also described values like liberty, honesty, and unity as the principal value of the ACR. Those values are sacred, which shows the use of civic faith in a US political discourse. Using such terms, the presidents intended to strengthen the faith in national unity and American ideals.

Johnson also referred to transcendentalism and the mission that the USA is bound to carry by saying: "Men want to be a part of a common enterprise, a cause greater than them. Each of us must find a way to advance the purpose of the nation, thus finding new purposes for ourselves. Without this, we shall become a nation of strangers" (Inaugural). How Johnson referred to God in the start, and the conclusion of his address was described by Robert Bellah as follows; "references to the divine are strategically placed for structural purposes (civil religion)" In his first address, he used religious rhetoric by referring to American ideals like unity, justice, and transcendent mission, and by looking for God's assistance and blessing. He agreed with the US citizens and gave examples from American history to pass on his point and call them to action.

G. Pauley wrote that "in this civil religious view of the world, Lyndon Johnson plays the role of the nation's prophet/priest" and calls Americans to action (G. Pauley. 42). His type of ACR is a traditional one since it is a language used to unite citizens together to face troubles, but not to wage wars. He also preferred a division between faith and Government and stressed the impact of the transcendental unity of the ACR.

3.6. Civil Religion and Richard M. Nixon's first Inaugural Speech, 1969

President Nixon had more legitimacy because he used the ACR. Like other presidents, Nixon also mentioned unity in his inaugural address. He said, "In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free...if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us" (Nixon, 'Inaugural'). Unity, a central principle of the ACR, also appears in the struggle about race. "No man can

be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together." (Nixon speech) He meant whites and blacks together as one country.

In his opening speech, he mentioned a rhetorical contrast. Concerning the disconnection between religion and politics, he preferred the absence of any form of religion. "We are approaching the limits of what government alone can do. Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed" (Inaugural, 1969)26. This contract goes hand in hand with the contract suggested by Hart. However, it instead favors the union of US citizens.

Nixon rejected the inclusion of faith in political matters. He instead preferred US citizens as the central collaborator of the American Government. "What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all" (Nixon Address). He spoke about people without mentioning their faith; what mattered was their help and unity with the Government.

Nixon avoided the overly religious language. He mentioned God, who grants equality to humankind. He used "God" when he swore his Oath and portrayed the earth as a "single sphere reflecting light in the darkness." These references are general. Nevertheless, he also used some transcendental words such as begging the Almighty for assistance and guidance (Mathew. 5. 9. Bible Gateway)

Nixon reserved a vast share of his address to the actual situation of other nations and seemed to be very hopeful about the optimism of America. He got his hope from the energy of the public, saying that ordinary people together with available resources would save the nation from the crisis.

In his address, Nixon gave attention to the whole world's public, not simply the US. He used phrases like "the leaders of the world" and "the people of the world." He highlighted the idea that the person cannot be successful if he remains isolated from society. This focus on teamwork is of significant importance because it empowers the individual.

President Nixon spoke to people at the College of Tennessee, where he depicted the purpose of faith and its significance for his antecedents. He also portrayed its importance for a better opportunity for the country. This speech will be scrutinized in-depth to demonstrate Nixon's implementation of the ACR.

He then identified the role(s) of the governments, which must be separated from the church. For to him, the Government provides people with "peace, clean water, clean air, clean streets, and all the rest, but we must remember that quality of the spirit that each one of us needs, that each one of us hungers for, must come from a man who will address you in a moment" (Inaugural). Here, the man referred to is Billy Graham. This quotation describes clearly the different purposes of religion and the state. Nevertheless, Nixon described the utility of faith when he said, "I can tell you America would not be what it is today, the greatest nation in the world, if this were not a nation which has made progress under God" (Nixon, 1969)

This quotation showed that Nixon used faith as a starting place of help and guidance. Invoking God is an aspect of the civil religious tradition. He considered God as "the Wise and Just...one whose counsels and administrations provide a reservoir of knowledge and justice for humanity" (Hart, Pulpit. 71). Likewise, Nixon depicted the transcendent role of religion. His language is not highly religious, as he rarely mentioned to the Bible, but he stated that America would have a bright future with the help and guidance of God.

He avoided religious issues but concentrated on fundamental issues of all nations. "The air is dirty...the water is polluted ...there aren't enough parks, that education is inferior, that health is inadequate; that there is alienation between the races in this country; and that there is also alienation between generations" 27. He stressed the youth as being the generation that would follow him. After that, he informed them of the issues which affect their society. He addressed young students at the College of Tennessee because he thought they would construct the future. He focused on them as they represent the nation's hope and, unfortunately, those who endure hardships most from its problems.

To sum up, the rhetoric used by Nixon was not overtly religious like that of other presidents. He used religious words but less than his predecessors. Wimberly wrote: "Nixon's presidency has been considered a civil religious priesthood." However, he is considered as "the leader of civil religion" (Wimberly 57).

After analyzing different speeches delivered by Nixon, Harts stated the results in the governmental pulpit. He found that Nixon used "God-talk" throughout his speeches (Pulpit, 68) and argued that Nixon's civil religion was mainly used during hard times. However, his successor Gerald Ford understood the presidency differently to develop the situation of the country.

3.7. Gerald R. Ford and Civil Religion

Gerald Ford followed Nixon, who resigned following the scandal of Watergate. Ford became a president directly without elections or inaugural speeches ("legitimating," 28). The speech he delivered after swearing contained some religious words related to civil religion. Since he was unconscious of becoming President, he questioned the US citizens for help and support.

When he took the Oath of the presidency on August 09, 1974, he opened his speech by becoming President under "extraordinary" conditions, which was never experienced before. He sought the assistance of the Americans, especially since the country was going through hardships. He then mentioned a vital ideal of ACR, which is "Unity" after the slight division caused by the Nixon scandal.

Ford demonstrated a clear comprehension of the chief law in the land. Furthermore, he also preferred a division between religion and the Government, saying: "I am actually aware that you have not elected me as your President by our ballot, and so I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers" 28 (Ford,

1974). "Ballot" is a civil word while "prayers" is a religious one, which shows the use of civil religious rhetoric.

He utilized sacred oratory to get the backing of the public. He explains the special conditions of his election. Therefore, he called US citizens to pray for him since he had become President without their vote. Another presence of spiritual language is when he depicted the USA as "a higher Power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy ("Talking").

When he delivered his speech, Ford avoided any type of religion or its relation with the state. Like Nixon, he also required the help of the US community who had also made him sign a contract with the American citizens: "I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented contract with my countrymen. What matters is that Ford would assume all his responsibilities with the belief that "honesty is always the best policy."

Ford did not lie to the audience by saying that the "nightmare was over" nor claim his ability to adjust to the situation in a short period. He turned to the populace of goodwill to unite around him to progress and better the situation of America. He dreamt of seeing America once again "a strong and united nation ...dedicated to the safety and sanity of the entire family of man, as well as to our own precious freedom" (Talking).

He urged all the people to reunite to improve the situation. He mentioned the Fathers of the country like Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. He quoted Thomas Jefferson, "the people are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty" (Ford, 1974). After that, he quoted Lincoln, "Is there any better way or equal hope in the world?" When people bind up together, they can rebuild the nation, as happened throughout the US Civil War. He joined Jefferson and Lincoln by stressing the merits of unity in collecting the pieces of the nation once again.

Ford depicted the separation between religion and politics but mentioned an inspiring type of ACR. He portrayed the harmony of brothers to share the burden. Ford mentioned "Christ" when he advised citizens to uphold their moral codes, especially in the office, "for what has a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" ("Speech"). He continued with the idea of ethics using more religious terms like the Baptist and their beliefs in "Reconstruction" (or rebuilding America and gathering the pieces after the Civil War).

Ford described the collaboration between the Government and faith to let the nation stand on its feet again, but he never mentioned a division between faith and Government:

This rekindling of religious conviction, this new appreciation of Biblical teaching..we see in America today, is an encouraging development as we move into our third century as a nation. It means that we will resolve to make our society not only prosperous but noble, not only progressive but constructive. We may come toknow peace as a climate in which understanding can grow and human dignity can flourish. (Southern Baptist Convention, June 1976)

Likewise, Ford used faith as a tool to help Americans survive and better the situation in which they used to live. He mentioned "the Bible," even though the religion that was common in the seventies was "Judeo-Christianity" and used "down-to-earth" language. Another technique that strengthened his oratory was the fact that Ford used dialects. He mentioned salvation when he said: "while we are far from attaining heaven on Earth, we can make this Earth a better place to live. That must be our constant goal whether we labor in Government or in the kingdom of God." He referred to a goal that America is carrying endlessly. Americans were aware that the situation would not change rapidly, but it kept them moving forward.

When Ford addressed the Southern Baptist Convention, he swore his voice would reach even those who were absent. He advised the citizens to be responsible and contribute to the construction of the country. He stressed one idea that the number of people is not as significant as the importance of character.

To justify his preference of the Baptist convention, he mentioned the Founders who were also Baptists, such as Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson. He emphasized the notion that the Baptists were doing a great job that they were bound to keep going on.

To sum up, Ford did not decide to be President but assumed his responsibilities under "unique conditions" after the scandal of Nixon. He swore to be honest to himself and the community concerning his civil religion. McCarthy affirms that "he was acting as God's humble servant" (McCarthy 1). Ford's use of ACR would be carried on by his follower Jimmy Carter, "the born-again" Christian.

3.8. Jimmy Carter and Civil Religion (1977-1981)

Jimmy Carter could "stress his religion" more than other presidents could. This appears clearly in the following quote, "we ought to make our own societal structure a better demonstration of what Christ is" (Hahn, 58). He was extremely religious as he prayed many times a day and even claimed to have spoken to Jesus (McCarthy). Even during his electoral campaign, he was overly religious. Journalists and scholars described James Carter as a leader who used religious rhetoric in his address, but they were uncertain if this use was due to the need for political experience or his choice (Erickson, 221). However, Hahn admits that Jimmy Carter was a pious individual and would gain more support.

3.8.1 Carter's Inaugural Speech and Civil Religion

When Carter made his opening speech, he "celebrated the renewal of the American faith" (Johnstone 248) by saying: " in this outward and physical ceremony, we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our Nation." ("Inaugural speech"). He mentioned some verses from the Bible, Micah 6:8 (Bible Gateway), to demonstrate his will to act upon God's orders. He also used rhetorical strategies, which were also religious (Johnstone 248-9). He described his religion in the community and America and confirmed that "faith" was a building block of his presidency (Johnstone, 248).

Carter's spiritual oratory was eminent. He began his speech by mentioning the Bible, stating that humans exist to achieve God's plans on earth with equality and liberty. The use of sacred words is not unique; Kennedy and Johnson also used religious rhetoric as a technique to get across their message of unity.

Carter also mentioned the wish of the Fathers in order to give hope to the masses. He said: "The American Dream endures. We must once again have full faith in our country – and in one another. I believed America could be better. We can be even stronger than before." ("Inaugural"). For him, the Fathers' dreams were to be achieved and pointed to some plans to accomplish before the Day of judgment.

Turning to ordinary people's support, he asked Americans to help him realize the Founders' dream. On the other hand, the US government would also participate in the rebuilding of the country. He also mentioned "Sacrifice" as he was convinced that the community and the Government had to sacrifice themselves to develop the situation of America, just like Jesus sacrificed his life for humanity.

3.8.2. Christmas Speech, December 1980

In this rhetoric, Carter used sacred language to draw the attention of the audience. He described the initiative of the separation between religion and Government and even confirmed that the President was obliged to be aware of that separation between politics and faith. He stated clearly:

I am a Christian. I'm very proud of my faith. It is the most important element of my life. But I'm also a president of a nation that was a wide range of kinds religious, and also a President of a nation that believes very fervently in the separation of church and state, which means, to put it in simple terms, that the Government cannot tell any American how to worship ("Christmas Speech, 1980").

The preceding excerpt shows that the Government cannot affect religion but not the opposite. He preferred a total division between religion and Government as he realized that when they meet, they cause a disaster "down through history ... many people's lives have been lost, much blood has been shed, much hatred has been engendered because of religion" (Carter, Christmas speech, 1980). He mentioned that when religion meets politics, they create a procedure for destruction.

Nevertheless, he acknowledged the purpose of religion and assured that they completed each other. For example, in the matter of the "release of hostages," they played significant roles. The Government negotiated for the "release" of hostages while the Americans were "praying" for them. Likewise, faith and Government are complementary. However, for Carter, faith should remain far from the Government.

According to Erickson, "Carter's religious –political discourse reaffirmed our civic piety and faith in America: his religious discourses communicated trustworthiness, served as a source of identification with evangelicals and generated media attention." (222, emphasis original). Erickson believed that Carter's address marked the public because he mentioned fundamental values like nationalism that would restore the confidence in the US citizens (Erickson, 223).

3.9. Ronald. W. Reagan and Civil Religion (1981-1989)

Reagan was unique because he used "God-talk" in almost all his speeches. Consequently, he is considered as the "high priest of civil religion" (Linder 2). The particularity of Ronald Reagan is that he "applied religion to politics" (Boase 5), and "he successfully fused the fundamentalist idiom with the political issues" related to religion (Boase 5).

The following article, "Mr. Reagan's civil Religion," which was published in 1984, describes Reagan's civil religion with precision:

... he first links politics, morality, religion, and Government's need for the church, warns against intolerance and celebrates the facts that there is a wall between church and state guaranteeing all Americans rights to their own religious beliefs or to no belief at all, he is not acting the political hypocrite, as his critics aver ... he is not promoting religion in the sense of the many particular faiths that we know in America. He is preaching something else, and that something is *civil religion*. His own version of it (483).

Reagan's civil religion contains some fundamental principles like "family," "hard work," "power and purposefulness in our foreign relations." (Mr. Reagan's, 484). Agreeing with the community to work together with the Government is something familiar to all presidents. What was new and unusual was Reagan's application of faith to politics (Coe and Dowke, 313).

3.9.1 Reagan's Inaugural Address: January 1981

In his opening address, Reagan emphasized the economic problems the country was going through. Like his antecedents, he also depicted the "contract," the

separation between politics and faith, and devoted concern to the people's problems. He said:

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the states or to the people ... it's not my intention to do away with Government. It is neither to make it work-work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it ("Inaugural").

This excerpt does not deal with religion directly, but it instead specifies the role of the President and the people. Nevertheless, it clearly defines the limit of the state to take part in people's private lives. Reagan did not specify any religion, but he depicted "prayers." He also focused on the balance between Government and church: "It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inaugural Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayers" ("Inaugural"). Political speeches are secular, while the word "prayer" is sacred. Here, he stroke an equilibrium between both and confirmed that they balanced each other.

In this rhetoric, he uses religious rhetoric, which is a tradition in the presence of the ACR. He said, "your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes and the goals of this administration, so help me God" ("Inaugural"). He continued speaking about the religious practices in his presidency:" I'm told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this Day, and for that I'm deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free" ("Inaugural speech, Reagan). The use of the ACR is evident, but he made sure not to sound overly religious.

3.9.2. The Religious Broadcasters' Speech, January 1983

In this oratory, he drew the public's attention to the importance of faith in American life. He confirmed that "the growth of religious broadcasting is one of the most heartening signs in America today "(the speech). He described people using the word "hungry" for religious broadcasters. This shows the ending of the separation between politics and religion.

Reagan justified the ending of the splitting up between politics and faith by mentioning the Fathers and the usefulness of religion in politics and society. He mentioned Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and John Adams. He declared: "when I hear the first amendment used as a reason to keep the traditional moral values away from policymaking, I am shocked" ("Remarks of Reagan"). He considered the Founders as the "priests" of the ACR who interpreted the American law. He said that the role of religion is to grant an ethical basis to the regulations of the state.

From here, we deduce that Ronald Reagan started the convention of the utility of the ACR in the Government. He confirmed, "Facing the future with the Biblethat's a perfect theme for your convention. You might be happy to hear that I have some "good news" of my own. Thursday morning, at the National Prayer Breakfast, I will sign a proclamation making 1983 the year of the Bible ("Reagan remarks").

This was a major step when Reagan unified politics with religion, not for the Government but for the public's wellbeing. He continued: "I hope Americans will read and study the Bible in 1983. It is my firm belief that the enduring values, as I say, presented in its pages have a great meaning for each of us and for our nation. The Bible can touch our hearts, order our minds, refresh our souls" ("Remarks"). The above quotes indicate how far the Bible can influence people's lives. Reagan's suggestion was "voluntary," not "obligatory." He assured that the Government or the community had to function within the Bible.

The values that Reagan referred to were equality, justice, freedom, reality, and honesty. His reference to Christianity as a source needed by people and the Government is questionable.

In his speech, he addressed the Religious Broadcasters" Convention but was conscious of his limits, "I realize it's fashionable in some circles to believe that no one in the Government should order or encourage others to read the Bible. Encourage-I should not have said order. We are told that it will violate the constitutional separation of church and state established by the Founding Fathers in the first amendment ("Remarks"). Encouraging the citizens to comprehend the Bible is prominent because by doing so, they would use moral codes. The use of the word "fashionable" shows his awareness of various branches in politics; he avoided mixing them with religion. His ACR is about the utility of faith by the Government and citizens alike.

In his address, he dealt with other matters such as salvation and abortion. He said, "let us come together, Christians and Jews, let us pray together, march, lobby, and mobilize every force we have, so that we can end the tragic taking of unborn children's lives" (Reagan, "Remarks"). With the accomplishment of this aim, he promised salvation and struggle, not success.

Reagan highly appreciated the expansion of spiritual assemblies in America. He affirmed: "As far as I am concerned, the growth of religious broadcasting is one of the most heartening signs in America today ("Remarks"). Besides, he encouraged those religious organizations that were of great use to people in need. However, he could not support those groups financially, nor could he encourage their recruitment.

The community he described contains the assembly he addressed with issues like abortion, tuition fees, and loans. He also spoke about religious freedoms saying, "no one must be forced or pressured to take part in any religious exercise." He pointed to the duration of school prayer, "last year, we tried to pass an amendment

that would allow *communities* to determine for themselves whether voluntary prayer should be permitted in their public schools. And we failed. But I want you to know something "I'm determined to bring that amendment back again and again ..." (Reagan, "Remarks," emphasis added).

Alison Howard and Donna Hoffman wrote in their text "Agendas, Rhetoric, and social change: State of the Union Addresses from Eisenhower to Clinton" that after analyses, results have shown "a striking increase in religious references in the last two decades of our time series, beginning with Reagan" (16). Before Reagan, the presidents used broad religious terms, but Reagan introduced "God-talk." He "sprinkled his speeches with religious references" (Hoffman and Howard 17). He used such references to gather and unite the people and justify his policy (Hoffman and Howard, 18). This point will be dealt with later.

3.10. Bush's Religious Rhetoric

Bush pledged the swearword of commitment using the same Bible used by George Washington in 1789. The song selected in the ceremony was "God Bless America" by Alvy Powel[31]. He started his opening oratory by referring to Ronald Regan, thanking him for his achievements. He also showed gratitude for a great job of the Father "George Washington," saying, "Heavenly Father, we bow our hands and thank you for your love. Accept our hands and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this Day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely." [32](Address, 1989)

In his first rhetoric, he showed gratitude to God's love and confirmed that the collective religion would enable the country to move forward. He also asked God for power to direct the country for others. Later, he made a declaration that clearly states Bush's aims in America. However, his aims are not personal but to achieve God's aim on the Chosen Country or the "New Jerusalem."

After the prayer, he described some standards such as freedom, justice, democracy, and America's potential. He also used religious metaphors like the Latin sentence "necessariis unitas" or "In crucial things, unity" (para.19). He advised the community to drop any conflict or disagreement for the country and the community's good. He completed his oratory with God's love and wished His Blessing on America.

He included his speech by "yearn for a great tolerance" (Para 24). For him, the single solution towards peace was tolerance. His responsibilities are more complex than religious men's or presidents' roles because they relate to tolerance. He thus clarified that he was neither a priest nor a president but carried the roles of both of them.

3.10.1. George H. W. Bush and Civil Religion (1989-1993)

Near the closing of his initial address, Bush had to face many challenges with courage, a courage that comes from God: "God's love is truly boundless" (Para.26). He confirmed that God donated him power, leadership, and peace. In conclusion, he thanked the audience and wished the approval of God "God Bless you and bless the United States of America" (Para.28). Presidents have always used this concluding sentence to express the importance of God's blessing to their nation.

According to Pierard, "the most far-reaching civil religion statement ever made by a twentieth-century chief executive to George H. W. Bush was: "I want to thank you for helping America, as Christ ordained, to be a light unto the world" (7). He also addressed the National Religious Broadcasters, which is why he used the language of the ACR to fit in with the audience.

3.10.2. Bush's Inaugural and Civil Religion

Bush tried to appear as different from Reagan (Barilleaux and Rozell), 7). He used less "God-talk" in his State of Unions than Reagan (17). In his opening oratory, he used religious rhetoric that is specific to the ACR.

Concerning Bush's civil religion, he spoke implicitly about the relation between religion and politics in his initial oratory. Nevertheless, the sacred public speaking is apparent in his invocation of "God" for help and guidance. In addition, he invited the audience to pray with him: "We meet on Democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended and my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads" 33.

A political leader is a secular official, but as it appears in the above excerpt, he opened his administration with a "prayer" and required the US community to join him. The act of starting with a "prayer "is uncommon among US presidents except for Eisenhower, who also started his opening rhetoric with a prayer in 1953. This signifies the role of "civil religion" as a means to establish unity. Presidents invoke God, while Bush invoked "Christ" for help and guidance (Pulpit 71). "God-talk" then is not inappropriate, but it carried the duty of the "moral fuel" for Americans.

3.10.3. National Prayer Breakfast and Civil Religion, 1989

The National Day of Prayer, when guests arrive at the White House to have breakfast, allowed the President to explain his civil religion. He is free to use religious rhetoric but without forgetting the space between religion and Government. He saluted his public and continued: "I am glad that together we could commemorate this event, and just for a few moments let me focus on what to me,

and I hope to you, this observance means ... we believe in the separation of church and state, but not in separation of morality" (Wallace, 2011)

He was conscious of the separation between Government and faith and was also aware that the country could not function without moral codes: "We believe in the separation of church and state, but not in the separation of morality, or of moral values and state." (Wallace, 2011)

From the above two quotations, we understand that faith has a significant function in the progress of America. It is not a mixture of politics and faith. Religion appears in principles that have influenced government policies. The President appealed to God for assistance and guidance and to justify actions and policies, which is the transcendent civil religious tradition. Bush emphasized the existence of many religions in the USA that people should respect. The President used the word "God" but without mentioning the "Bible". His reference to faith and ethics was too general and not overly.

3.11. Bill Clinton and Civil Religion 1993

Bill Clinton pledged the swearword on King James' 'Bible. He mentioned God in the initial phrases: "the Almighty (Para4) and described how the Founders relied on Him "God." The chief idea of the speech is on crimes, liberty, employment, and the country's victories like in the Civil War and the Great Depression..., etc.

When he swore, he said, "And so, my fellow Americans, at the boundary of the twenty first century, let us begin with energy and hope, with faith and discipline, and let us work until our work is done." He mentioned the responsibility of the USA to face troubles, which will be certainly carried by the citizens too. In the 38th paragraph, he said, "My fellow Americans, you too, must play your part in our renewal. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service."

(address, 1993). He advised the community and guaranteed them that the reward was coming soon.

He concluded his address like many other Presidents by asking God for his blessing. He used some metaphors from the Bible, for example, "from this joyful mountaintop," "we have heard the trumpets," and "we must answer the call." The same metaphors existed in the Bible when Isaiah asked the community to "shout from the top of mountains (Isaiah 42:11, King James version)". Furthermore, the resonance of trumpets has an essential significance in the Bible. For instance, when God talked to Moses about the Sabbath Day weekly, the signal used was a trumpet (Leviticus 23:24). Concerning the reply to the call of God, in Psalm 91, the author writes, "He will call on me, I will answer" (verse 15, New International Version)

As a result, Clinton's mention of the previous metaphor (call of God) is to call citizens to accomplish a blessed task in the twenty-first century (Para 41). Presidents use this technique to convince people to do what they require them to because the call of God is to perform all actions ordered by the President. Bill Clinton wanted to expand the ACR outside its borders. He described to sacred people and values like justice and freedom and the latest kind of ACR.

3.11.1. Clinton's Inaugural Speech, January 1993

President Clinton stressed the thought of unity in his first address. He said:

Today we do more than celebrate America. We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, an idea born in revolution and renewed through two centuries of challenge; ... An idea ennobled by the faith that our Nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity.

(Inaugural speech)

He used ACR in his first address differently from Carter, Reagan, and Bush. Eisenhower and Reagan included "prayer" in their addresses while Clinton used religious "rhetoric" to convince people of his idea of "rebuilding America." He avoided the purposes of faith in his address, nor did he refer to any religion. He instead focused on the responsibility of Americans to unify their Nation. He confirmed that "no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission [to renew America] alone." Consequently, he invited all citizens to play their part in this renewal ("Inaugural"). In conclusion, he encouraged all Americans without avoiding the relation that exists between politics and faith.

Finally, Bill Clinton urged the citizens to do their best, with patience and hope. He also used some metaphors from the Bible and admitted that the populace must obey presidents since God sent and called them. He concluded his address with a "thank you and God bless you all." (Para 43)

3.12. George W. Bush's Inaugural Speech

George Walker Bush swore his Oath on the Bush family's Bible, precisely like his father. After Bill Clinton, Bush also mentioned Reagan, showing pride and appreciation for his effort to change America "where so many American leaders have come before" (Para 4).

In the thirteenth paragraph, he mentioned that unity and equality should be achieved "because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves, who creates us equal in his image" [33] (verse 27, New International Version). He promised all people equality without mentioning their race, gender, or class. He continued speaking about values saying, "We will speak for the values that gave our nation birth." Then he quoted Mother Theresa, "a saint of our times" (Para.39). He added, "We are called to do small things with great love" (Para 39). The above quotes

show the reference of God and the role He performs in the founding of American principles and the closeness of God and love.

3.12.1. The Reality of Bush's Religion

US leaders have always evoked God in their addresses and even used verses from the Bible. However, George Walker Bush was the most religious, making him more open to critics, who usually focused on his religion. A Commentator said that Bush was too religious because of the composition of his speeches: "Bush's own religion has turned highly public, arguably more so than any modern president. It is not just that Bush is talking about God but he's talking about God differently" (Caldwell 2003). This means that Bush used his faith in the presidency, considering God as an aspect of US history and politics.

Other critics pointed to the occurrence of spiritual words in his rhetoric. Fineman analyzed the consequence of faith on Bush:

[T] This President –this presidency- is the most resolutely 'faith-based- in modern times, an enterprise founded, supported and guided by trust in the temporal and spiritual power of God...But the Bush administration is dedicated to the idea that there is an answer to societal problems and to terrorism abroad; give everyone, everywhere, the freedom to find God, too. (Fineman, 2003)

Fineman thus believes that Bush's religion influenced his policies and even his beliefs that faith has solutions for societal and political problems. Bush believed that he was God's prophet who had to fulfill a mission. He even talked about a crusade, "God is on our side". Beware the infidel, i.e., he does not join his beliefs in "America the beautiful" (Odone 2001). Consequently, Bush was regarded as a careless leader who never accepted his errors, as he believed that he was obeying God's orders.

Another concern was raised on the use of "us" vs. "them." The problem is that many scholars, like Gaddy, oppose the use of faith in Bush's policies. In this respect, his speechwriter David Frum clarified: "The language of good and evil – central to the war on terrorism - came about naturally." He continued: "the president used the term 'evildoers' to describe the terrorists because some commentators were wondering about whether the United States in some way deserved the attack visited upon it on September 11, 2001" (Fineman, 2004). Frum confirmed that Bush "wanted to cut that off right way and make it clear that he saw no moral equivalence. So he reacted right into the Psalms for that word" (Fineman, 2004).

3.12.2. Justifying Bush's Use of Religious Rhetoric

Why does Bush use religion so strongly and deeply? What is his goal with such a tool? What follows will explain why Bush talked about his creed so openly. Some scholars claim that he uses it to get the approval of Christian voters. Despite all this, around 4 million did not take part in the election of 2000 (Mooney 2003). However, not all Christians or voters of different faiths appreciate his reference to faith in politics. Therefore, he could have evaded criticism if he had appealed to the Christian voters more indirectly and intelligently.

Many interviews with President Bush revealed that the faith he used came from his convictions. He even admitted that his religion profoundly influenced his policymaking. When interviewed by Bob Woodward, he pointed to the raid on Iraq: "I was praying for strength to do the Lord's will...I am surely not going to justify war based on God. Understand that. Nevertheless, in my case, I pray that I will be as good a messenger of this will as possible." (Thomas 2004). He assured that he did not get the support of his father nor did he look for his guidance and said that he prayed to God because "there is a higher father that I appeal to" (Fineman and Lipper 2004). [34]

3.13. "God-Talk" vs. "Faith-Talk"

Presidents have always included "God" in inaugural speeches throughout various eras in US history. They have openly referred to Him, and this is known as "God-talk." However, mentioning faith or God using religious words or words alluding to God is "faith-talk." The dilemma is not about the presence of faith in politics but about its frequency and rising style in the most current three decades. Since 1980, political leaders have used terms that are more religious though differently. They might refer to God, the Creator, Providence, the Almighty[35]....

From Roosevelt in 1933 to Jimmy Carter in 1981, many Presidents used "Godtalk" in almost half of their speeches. Still, there were differences; for instance, J.F. Kennedy, Richard M. Nixon, and Jimmy Carter invoked God on various occasions. Regan also involved God 96 percent in his addresses, and so did George Walker Bush, with a percentage of 91, while Clinton and George Bush (through 2006) referred to God 93 percent of the time.

Figure 1 describes these percentages, indicating how the White House addresses the US audience with explicit reference to God.

Figure 1: Presidential Speeches with the Use of God.

120
100
80
60
40
20
Redeeter Truman Ligarhouse Learned Johnson Nixon Ford Careet Reason Ligarhouse Control Cartell Reason Cartell Reason Control Cartell Reason Cartell Reason Control Cartell Reason

Figure 3.1.Use of God in Presidential Speeches

Source: Domke, David, and Kevin Coe: The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America'' (Oxford University Press, 2008)

The above figure indicates that "God-talk" nearly doubled after the presidency of Jimmy Carter to reach its peak with George. W. Bush, the son. The above presidents referred to God in their addresses, but how many times did they do it?

First, US presidents consider religious rhetoric an imperative device in Government. In addition, the employ of "God" in ceremonies such as inaugurations gives a religious dimension to the country's endurance. Therefore, this has profound effects on US civic nationalism.[36]

The leaders have overtly mentioned "God" since 1981. Table 1 shows the use of "God" per address.

Table 3.1: The use of "God-Talk" in presidential speeches

Presidents	The use of "God-Talk" per
	address
Truman	1.87%
Reagan	2.80%
G.H.W. Bush	2.20%
Clinton	1.89%
G.W. Bush	3.29%

Source: Domke, David, and Kevin Coe: The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America'' (Oxford University Press, 2008)

The data in Table 1 point to the election of Reagan initiated a novel sort of faith in presidential speeches. In 1981, it was not as explicit as with Reagan.

The "God-Talk" language has also changed since the September 11, 2001 raids on the USA. People could see the horrors and terrible pictures of the World Trade Centre and the injured people and burning Pentagon. Nine days later, G.W.

Bush spoke to US people in Washington DC, which was rich in "God-Talk." On September 11, his speech lasted for five minutes only, but he ended it with:

"Tonight I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense, safety and security has been threatened and I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in psalm 23: Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for you are with me". (Address, 2001)

Later, he spoke to the American people on the Day of Grief for the sufferers of the attacks. He openly and explicitly referred to God and quoted the Bible many times:

"On this national Day of prayer and remembrance, we ask Almighty God to watch over our nation and grant us patience. We pray that He will comfort and console those who now walk in sorrow. We thank him for each life... May He bless the souls of the departed. May he comfort our own, and may he always guide our country. God Bless America".

Finally, on September 20, Bush spoke before many Americans and Congress. He started by thanking the allies of America, the US community, and the army for their support. Then Bush described the terrorists, the causes why they attacked America, and the measures political leaders and the nation were bound to take. He mentioned the word "Allah" twice, as opposed to other US presidents before. Finally, he said, "the course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear... and we know that God is not neutral between them". Bush mentioned 'God" more than six times in three addresses. This clearly shows Bush's religious policy.

3.13.1. "Faith-talk" in Presidential Speeches

Earlier, there was a check of the direct and explicit use of the word "God" in Presidential speeches, called "God-talk." This is known as "faith-talk" as contrasting to "God-talk." However, "faith-talk" is the utility of words like evil, faith, miracle, angel, pray, holy, sacred, destiny, higher, sin, confession, worship, swear, bless, Oath...etc. The following table contains sacred words used by American presidents. They mention religion implicitly or explicitly.

Table 3.2. Words used in "Faith-talk."

Faith-talk	Words used	
	Amen, angel, apostle, backslid, baptism, believer, bible,	
	biblical, bless, Buddhist, cathedral, Christian, church, clergy,	
	commandment, communion, confession, congregation,	
	consecrate, creed, crusade, denomination, devotion, devout,	
	disciple, epistle, evil, faith, fellowship, fruits, genesis, gospel,	
	grace, hollow, heaven, hymn, holy, immortal, Islam, Allah, Jew,	
	lamp, martyr miracle, mission, Muslim, Orthodox, parable,	
	pastor, peacemaker, peace mane piety, peons, pope, pray, priest,	
	prophet, proverb, psalm, pulpit, rabbi, reap, rebirth, etc. ¹	

Source: Domke, David, and Kevin Coe: The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America'' (Oxford University Press, 2008)

www.concordancesoftware.co.uk

¹ Roderick P. Hart and J. P. Childers,., The Evolution of Candidate Bush: A Rhetorical Analysis" *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (October 2005) 180-197

The list is much longer. One should talk about these words are not used only for religious topics; "faith-talk" is commonly part of the daily speech of US people.

The liaison between "God-talk" and "faith-talk" is not contradictory but complementary. Presidents may wish to use one type according to the occasion and the period. Despite the increase in the recurrence rate of "God-talk" after 1981, "Faith-talk" remained stable. Therefore, "God-talk" appears more often than "Faith-talk." Table 2 describes faith talk by presidents per address.

Table 3.3 Faith-talk per presidential speech

Presidents	"Faith-talk" per speech
Roosevelt	9.9%
Reagan	10.4%
G.H.W. Bush	8.6%
Clinton	11.8%
G.W. Bush	12.7%

The sum of "faith-talk" was higher with Reagan, Clinton, and G.W. Bush. Reagan's sacred language was unpredictable in its explicit use of religion, followed by G.W. Bush. With Clinton, religious language was apparent, especially for African Americans and Southern white evangelicals. It started to demonstrate how a democrat can succeed by using religion in Government. He used "God-talk" but not to the as Reagan and Bush the Father and the son. Nevertheless, he employed a unique strategy in his "faith-talk," namely in the presence of "God," which might not appeal to secular democrats38

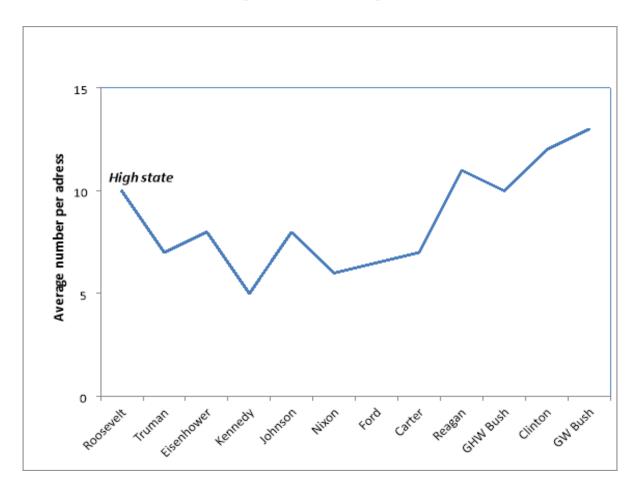


FIGURE 3. 2 The Use of faith per Presidential Speech

Domke David and Kevin Coe, The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America'' (Oxford University Press, 2008)

The above figure describes faith-talk per presidential address. Nearly all leaders from Roosevelt to George Bush used faith talk. As with "God-talk" in the figure above, it reaches its zenith with President George Walker Bush, the son in particular after 09/11 raids. He mentioned a 'war on terror and a 'sacred mission' that America had to carry to save US people and other countries.

3.14. "Mission" vs. "Crusade"

Among the findings of the current investigation, mentioning the Presidents' "faith-talk" is that two nouns were used recurrently when describing how Americans can face the challenges met by America. These two nouns are "mission" and "crusade," and different presidents used them also with the implicit meaning of any type of military action as orders from God throughout history, like the crusading wars. Today, these two words are crucial in ACR since they indicate a novel kind of war, "a holy war". Recently, these two words have appeared a lot in political addresses, and therefore it is necessary to analyze in which contexts they were used.

The analysis carried out on a sample of 102 addresses prior to and following Reagan's presidency has revealed that "mission" appeared 197 times in national speeches, while "crusade" was repeated 20 times.

Table 4 depicts the both terms in the periods: 1933-1980 and 1981-2006.

Table 3.4. "Mission" and "crusade" in presidential speeches

1933-1980	Use of the noun "mission"	76%
1981-2006	Use of the noun "crusade"	80%

Source: Domke, David and Kevin Coe: The God Strategy: how Religion Became a political Weapon in America" (Oxford University Press, 2008)

The high use of terms like "crusade" and mission," especially following 09/11 corresponds to the increased use of military troops and actions carried out both inside America and abroad. As a result, the Presidents used both "mission" and "crusade" in a religious and a political context, and they addressed both the US citizens and other populace of other countries.

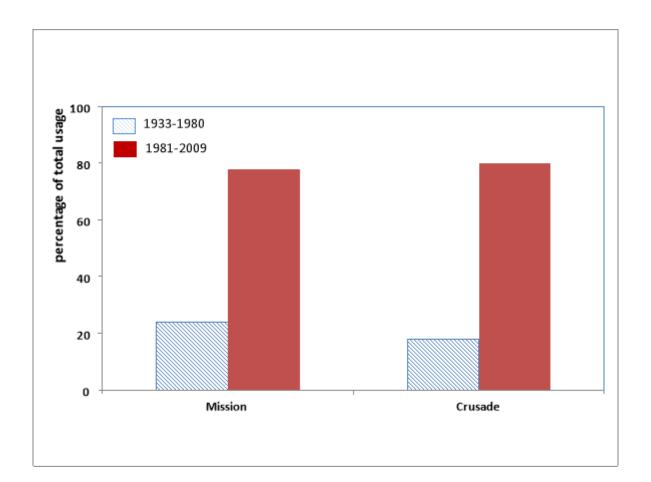


Figure 3.3 "Mission" and "Crusade" in presidential Speeches

Source: Domke, David, and Kevin Coe: The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America'' (Oxford University Press, 2008)

To better illustrate the occurrence of "faith-talk" in the two periods mentioned above, our analysis focused on two addresses, those of Presidents Truman and Clinton, in an effort to demonstrate that such techniques are needed especially throughout political tragedies like racial divisiveness in 1969, the Vietnam War, the 9/11 raids and the attack on Iraq. Our purpose was also to confirm whether they used religious rhetoric when addressing the citizens.

Truman was elected in April 1945 after Roosevelt's death. In January 1947, he began his State Union Speech by saying: "It looks like a good many of you have

moved over to the left since I was here last." (Address, 1945) He mentioned Republicans stating that he was the 20th president under Congress run by the opposite party. Later, he spoke to US citizens using "faith-talk," nearly 15 specific words having been identified, among which were "spirit" (mentioned twice), "devotion," "faith," and "solemn" [38].

Clinton adopted different trends. In his State of the Union Speech in January 1995, he used both "God-talk" and "faith-talk" starting from the speech's opening. He commenced with these words; "Again we are here in the sanctuary of democracy, and once again our democracy was spoken." Then, he used some religious terms like "sacred" in "we will work together to earn the jobs you have given us. For we are the keepers of a sacred trust, and we must be faithful to it in this new and very demanding era." He added, "...I came to this hallowed chamber two years ago on a mission, to restore the American dream for all our people". He was precise and emphasized the main point of his address:

...That is what I want to talk to you about...I call it the New Covenant. But it's grounded in a very, very old idea, that all Americans have not just a right but a solemn responsibility to rise as far as their God-given talents and determination can take them and to give something back to their communities and their country in return.

In the earliest paragraphs of his speech, Clinton mentioned "Almighty" twice, used faith-talk eight times, and mentioned a novel social contract between God and American citizens, known as" the New Covenant," a sentence which attracted the audience and especially Christians, who remembered Jesus' words in the final dinner as referred to in the Bible.

Throughout the whole speech, Clinton used "faith-talk" 49 times. The "New Covenant" was mentioned 13 times besides other faith terms like "church," which appeared firstly in Clinton's speech not only once but six times. He also used other

terms, for instance, "sacred, reverend, worship, religions, congregation, and sanctuary," all of which were used twice. Clinton addresses could have very well been delivered from a church on Sunday. He closed his speech by saying:

We all gain when we give...this is at the heart of this New Covenant. Responsibility, opportunity, and citizenship, more than stale chapters in some remote civic book, they are still the virtue by which we can fulfill ourselves, reach our God-given potential, and be like them...(address)

In this excerpt, Clinton described a type of contact between the Almighty and US citizens. It states the representation of God on earth and carrying a "sacred-mission." He added, "...and to fulfill the central promise of this country, the enduring dream from that first and most sacred covenant." Before Clinton, Truman also used "faith-talk," but Clinton introduced the idea of "God-talk." This shows that people are compelled to follow their governors because those governors receive orders directly from God. In this way, they rule America and the whole world. Is religion ruling America again like in the dark ages?

3.15. Obama and Religious Rhetoric

Obama was the first "African American" President in US history. In 2009, he delivered his opening speech that was watched and attended by a massive number of US citizens in the capital Washington DC. He pledged the promise of allegiance on the Bible used to inaugurate Abraham Lincoln.[39]. The ceremony held opposite the Lincoln Memorial celebrated Lincoln's 200th birthday.

The address, which lasted for twenty minutes, was an occasion for Obama to describe the nation's mission inside the USA and abroad and continue to be a strong

country. He said that they had to respond to the order of God to America, "to shape an uncertain destiny" (para.30). "God grace upon us" (para.34) as we achieved and maintained freedom, and of course, the famous concluding phrase "God bless you, and God bless the United States of America" (para.35). Again, this shows that Obama also used "God-talk" in his rhetoric.

What is particular to Obama is his call for the country to grow and become mature. He mentioned the word "God,," saying, "the time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift" (para.9). He added, "The God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a change to pursue their full measure of happiness" (para.9). Here, the President dealt with equality regardless of origin, race, or gender.

Therefore, he was the first American President to be interested in issues of discrimination. He has always thought that equality of race and gender is a right given by God to humanity, and thus he was compelled to protect it. Obama defended ethnic diversity, but he also described religious diversity. He described the USA as a land of "Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus and non-believers." No other leader before him had referred to non-believers or other religions than Christianity. This sentence points to the US identity that was founded upon God, and his providential blessing had changed. Consequently, the new US identity rests upon ethnic, intellectual, and religious diversity.

Furthermore, he mentioned Muslims openly as "the Muslim World." He spoke about America's intention and will to "seek a new way forward, based on mutual respect." (para.23). He addressed Muslims, saying that America had turned a new page of unity of faiths, freedom of belief, and respect for differences. He said that people who disagreed would be rejected, "we will extend a hand if you are unwilling to unclench yours first" (para24). This gesture shows that during Obama's office, America was making a giant leap towards tolerance, respect, and unity of believers and non-believers.

3.15. 1. Obama's Civil Religion

Obama's experience is unique, for he was the first African American to be President and a leader with a different character. He was simultaneously black, African, white, urban, rural, ghetto, secular, and religious (Remnick, 2010). His civic faith was also unique, which enabled him to speak easily in various circumstances. This is also due to his remarkable biography (Kloppenburg, 2010). He studied law and the US political system, while as a member of the black cathedral, he knew the religious language of Jeremiah.

Therefore, Obama always incorporated sacred language in his rhetoric. Following Abraham Lincoln, he mentioned the prelude to the Constitution and mainly to the phrase "We, the People," which shows the nation's power and solidarity. He summarized unity in the USA by the motto "E Pluribus, Unum" or "out of many, one" in his famous speech about race. Obama regarded those values as sacred and that the country defends mainly in periods of crisis. Prior to his election, he attacked the policies of Bush, especially following the raid on Iraq, the Abu Ghraib events, and Katrina. For Obama, those policies and actions did not correspond to American values, "this is not who we are," this is not what Americans mean"..., etc.

Obama's Civil Religion appears clearly in the way he spoke referred to freedom and liberty, tolerance, respect, and the pursuit of happiness. He mentioned "hope" and optimism, which persist despite challenges, conflicts, and failure. He became a Nobel Prize winner for his enthusiasm to abolish the war on Afghanistan and Iraq and find Ben Laden.

The question that arises here is, where is Obama's civic faith? Of course, his faith appeared in his skill to speak on various occasions. In 1967, Robert Neely Bellah wrote his famous article entitled "Civil Religion in America" and claimed

that it was dead. However, this claim was very wrong since Obama gave special attention to cultural and religious pluralism. However, both Martin Luther King and Kennedy focused on race and class issues. Barrack Obama emphasized religious diversity in recent times, especially between a secular and a religious America.

Obama is unique because he mentioned non-believers in his inaugural address. He clarified this idea in 2006 by saying:

The discomfort of some progressives with any hint of religion has often prevented us from effectively addressing issues in moral terms. Some of the problem here is rhetorical if we scrub language of all religious content, we forfeit the imagery and terminology through which millions of Americans understand both their personal morality and social justice.

(Call for Renewal, June 06, 2006)

In 1995, Todd Gitlin described an equivalent language of patriotism and nationalism that created many challenges for the liberal left. However, Obama's vision to exclude faith from the Government was immature because faith is among the pillars of liberal values, and the USA is a highly religious nation.

Obama suggested that the relation between faith and rational thinking is not contradictory. For him, faith relies on facts that are not verifiable through common human understanding- the belief in things not seen (p.219). Science and reason are used for empirical purposes, while religion is suitable in speeches dealing with values and ethics related to humanity.

Obama's religious rhetoric is different from other presidents because he neither referred to God directly nor to "faith-talk." He addressed individuals using a narrative of social organization, which challenged the atomic individualism of ancient times by creating the concept of a recent democratic citizen. His victory as a leader lies in his skill to speak in dramatic moments of shared self-transcendence

through everyday experiences that happen in the battle against resistance toward a goal.

In his book *The Audacity of Hope*, Obama narrates how meeting God pushed him to study Christianity. In 2006, when he became Christian, Obama stated, "I felt God's spirit beckoning me, I submitted myself to his will, and dedicated myself to discovering his truth" (Obama, 2006). He continued, "...how in the day-to-day work of the men and women I met in church each day, in their ability to make a way out of no way and maintain hope and dignity in the hardest of circumstances, I could see the world made manifest".[40] (p.207)

Concerning the ACR and political rhetoric, Bellah argues that "the frequent expression in Inaugural Presidential Addresses is that the responsibility of the US citizen is to accomplish God's work on earth." This means that the presence of an "elaborate and well-institutionalized civil religion" [41] embodied in several thoughts, rituals and symbols which are divine and institutionalized in a collectivity" (Bellah, 1967)

Obama is a highly religious person, partly because he attended the Trinity United Church. He used oratory of spiritual knowledge in his address in 2004 at the Democratic National Convention when he launched his theme "the audacity of hope," and he argued:

I am not talking about blind optimism here the almost willful ignorance that thinks unemployment will go away if we just do not think about it, or the healthcare crisis will solve itself if we just ignore it.: I am talking about something more substantial. It is the hope of slaves sitting around a fire singing freedom songs; the hope of immigrants setting out for distance shores... Hope - hopes in the face of difficulty. Hope in the face of uncertainty... the Audacity of Hope. In the end, that is God's greatest gift to us, the bedrock of this nation. A belief in things not seen. A belief that there are better days ahead(address, 2004)

Obama used a particular civil religious speech to encourage citizens to come together to extend the orders of God on earth. His rhetoric comes from the oratorical style of the American black cathedral. In this respect, Cornell West clarifies (1988): "this religious tradition tends to emphasize a "Christo-centric" style of oratory that emphasizes a personal relationship with "Jesus as the bright and morning star against darkness".[42] (P.5). The prophetic practice of the black cathedral does not focus on the harmony of the state and God; it instead seeks to make citizens and societies follow the steps of Jesus Christ.

Nonetheless, this rhetoric has many harms, and Obama cautioned against the unnecessary use of civil religious language. He instead encouraged an equilibrium between religion and secularization. He argued that "politics and morality are inseparable and as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related." [43] For him, the purpose of religion is vital in the declaration of Reagan. Nevertheless, both leaders' virtues were not similar because they belonged to two various environments and periods.

Obama had knowledge of the "Black church," which influenced and marked him "the power of the African American religious tradition to spur social change." [44] His deep sense of society came from his Baptism at the Trinity United Church (Obama, 2008). Consequently, community service and religion were part of Obama's life.

Nevertheless, he said that "a lot of damage was done around the world in the name of religion and certainty." [45] Consequently, he assured that politicians had to participate in a dialogue with religion by devoting attention to social responsibility:

"In the end, what is called for is nothing more and nothing less than what all the world's great religions demand: that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Let us be our brother's keeper, scripture tells us. Let us be our sister's

keeper. Let us find that common stake we all have in one another and let our politics reflect that spirit as well. [46] (Address, 2009)

In his speech of March 18, 2008, after a debate about his former pastor, Obama exploited the scriptures to show his awareness of the central relationship between religion and social responsibility. In the beginning, he applied the Golden Rule (Mathew 7.12, Luke 6.31). He explained this rule via social solidarity, which is a component of ethical principles.

He also referred to "keepership" in helping the poor and the weak. This is also another sort of public solidarity. Therefore, Obama's use of moral ethics in his policies has been called as "Obama Code" that includes American values as part of the US law. These values include "self-reliance, risk-taking, self-improvement, discipline, drive, temperance, material possession, thrift and personal responsibility" [47]. He said: "so long as individual men and women are free to pursue their own interests, society as a whole will prosper" (Obama, 2009). He dealt with other values like patriotism and "neighborliness," two values he mentioned in his initial address: "It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break; the self learned of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to murder a child, that finally decides our fate." (Obama, 2009)

He stressed that these values are fundamental. Consequently, the relation between social responsibility and moral codes is present in his rhetoric. He also used a particularly sacred oratory to depict mortality in his book *The Audacity of Hope*.

Obama's sacred language is not different from that of former presidents, even if he has different opinions of the country. He mentioned the Declaration of Independence and basic American morals and described the USA as a diverse country based on certain rights, which are also human. He called all US people to unite to realize those morals.

In Obama's speeches, he demonstrated his appreciation to Martin Luther King Jr. for his success and advocated a just community using American civic religion but not racial discrimination. He also depicted the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties and its blessing upon him as African American. In such a way, presidents can realize American ideals.

Religious public speaking aims at understanding the nation's destiny via historical experiences linked to religious events. In the election of 2008, the US community voted for a leader who spoke about morals and public responsibility. They showed their loyalty to the Oath of founding a "more perfect Union."

3.16. Trump Inaugural Speech and American Civil Religion

Trump's Inaugural speech introduced a novel epoch of making America a "new perfect union"; it was instead a denunciation of the US civic faith. He promised devotion to the USA but not to rights and US values.[48]

He repeated God five times, quoted Psalm 133:1 on the blessings of God on citizens enjoying life in unity as America was under the protection of God. Like other presidents, he closed his speech by asking for the approval of God on America and the Americans so that his America would shine like a business winner.

He used three approaches of religious rhetoric: first, plainspoken statements, which he changed later on the basis that he was uncertain. Second, he used nostalgic statements to live in safe greatness and pride. Finally, yet importantly, vague declarations or statements were not clearly articulated or not said at all.

His speech was full of religious words more than his previous speeches, without mentioning God or the Bible. In the middle of the speech, he mentioned the Bible precisely to Psalm 133. He depicted the merits of living in unity by saying: "We

must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity." (Trump, 2017)

Trump also made a combination between religious terms and political language: "I wondered if many heard an echo of the far more common turn of phrase "open your heart to Jesus." In "One Nation under God: a never American history," Peter Manseau wrote that Trump had used a sacred speech in politics. He also mentioned the pressure of America that comes from its military force and law. He said, "There should be no fear. We are protected and we will always be protected And most importantly, we will be protected by God." [49] (Address, 2017)

Indirectly, Donald Trump used the metaphor "City on a Hill" with reference to the Bible saying, "We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example, we will shine for everyone to follow". Although he did not talk about (Mathew 5:16) openly, he said, "let your light shine before others, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your father in heaven"

The particularity of Trump's Inaugural Speech lies in his reference to religious groups, to "Muslims". He said, "We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and reform the world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate from the face of the earth" (Inaugural, 2017). His sacred assembly was not humanitarian but a mere promise to eradicate "Islamic terrorism". He did not attempt to link between different religious groups as Barrack Obama did. This reference to "Islam" generated disappointment among the Muslims in the USA.

Similar to his antecedents, using religious language is a tool to get the support of Christian voters. Amy Black, a Professor of Political science at Wheaton College, said that presidents do not deal with policy but with American values, solidarity, democracy, and value for the nation and the Constitution. However, Trump described the situation of the USA at that time and promised development in the future. Nevertheless, he "used some occasional interjections of the patriotic and

civil religious themes that are more common in inaugural addresses," added Amy Black.

What is striking about Trump's Inaugural is that it is filled with references to Jesus. Before him, Franklin Graham, the Christian, and evangelist also pointed to Christ in 2000. However, Trump's reference to Jesus generated several criticisms as "the rain Friday was a sign of God's blessing." Many people were disappointed, especially those who showed no religious identification.

A challenge facing modern America is the presence of Christian religious rhetoric because, besides Christians, there are hundreds of other spiritual denominations in America. Obama said in 2009, "we are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and non-believers." That was the earliest step when atheists were mentioned in an inaugural address, whereas Trump denied their existence.

Many Americans were angry following the selection of Trump due to his surprising style and Government: "Americans are saying good riddance to the ugly 2016 campaign". Many believe Donald Trump will govern like a pragmatic business person. Some Americans called his (election) presidency an earthquake, while others saw it as a catastrophe.

Some critics think that Trump's model of the ACR is the most terrible of its own. However, others suggest that his civil religion depicts America as the New Jerusalem blessed by God. It is indisputable that ACR is a type of civic faith that can help the nation mainly in moments of hardship because political leaders appeal to US citizens using either "God-talk" or "faith-talk," and people believe them as they are told they were exercising God's orders.

Trump has preferred the Bible verse, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," which deals with revenge. Trump's religious experience is limited, but he turned to become the priest of the ACR.

He is the first leader with neither military nor political experience. Nevertheless, his religious oatory appears in his depiction of the USA as a "city upon a hill," saying, "We shall be as a city upon a hill... and shall not hide your lump under a basket" and closed "respectfully in Jesus' name. Amen". An extraordinarily religious and sacred language was used by Trump when he said, "Glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We pray in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen" (Address, 2017).

When he swore on Lincoln's Bible, he wrote a short speech for himself then delivered it. It was not roughly twenty minutes but full of religious terms. He pledged to help the forgotten people without power. For him, America will be a winner once again through optimistic thinking. He also promised a call for "friendship" and goodwill with countries of the world. Later, he quoted Psalm 133 urging US citizens to enjoy unity, "when America is united, America is unstoppable." He quoted all leaders, especially the recurrent expression "Protected by God." Finally, he extracted from his Stump speech, saying, "we will make America strong again... wealthy again...proud again...safe again...and yes, great again. Thank you. God bless you and God bless America. (Address, 2017)

Donald Trump promised that America would win, but what did he promise to Muslim countries? He banned migrants from 07 Muslim countries and said he agreed with the "agenda of religious nationalism." This reaction to Islam and Muslims is the cost Trump pays to his Christian supporters during his electoral campaign. This will undoubtedly have a thoughtful consequence on the US domestic and foreign strategy, representing the last chapter's primary concern.

3.17. Conclusion

American political leaders have employed religious rhetoric as a device to describe their aims, missions, and policies. So far, the analysis has shown two modes. Since the thirties, the presidents have invoked "God" more openly, especially "God-talk," and they used a religious language known as "faith-talk." God has been a central component of the American presidency, which has continued until the current day. Obama and Donald Trump have also used religious rhetoric in their addresses in different ways and various purposes.

The presidential addresses analysis helps us comprehend how American political leaders have a sacred talk to depict their aims, missions, and policies. Religious rhetoric in Presidential speeches is a tool used to get the community's approval both through electoral operations or even later. In this way, presidents make sure they win the sustain of citizens since they just follow God's orders to bear a divine task on earth.

From the sixties until onwards, US Presidents focused on subjects like foreign policy, global warming, civil rights, and challenges facing America today. Presidents managed to get society's approval concerning American international strategy by mentioning a sacred "mission" or "crusade." Using their ACR and principles, presidents give their policies and missions a transcendental nature which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Four: The Effects of Civil Religion on U.S. Foreign Policy

4. 1. Introduction

Foreign policymaking in the USA is a composition of political and government thoughts that direct presidents to manage international affairs. It is a transcendent mission to secure humankind and spread American values like democracy and freedom. Within this mission, a relation between protection and economic profits has emerged, and it has even become so tight that many presidents have referred to this "heavenly- mission" since the sixties.

The ACR is profoundly entrenched in policymaking both on the domestic and foreign levels. When policymakers talk about their policies only related to fighting terrorism and economic profits, they fail to get the public's approval. However, when they mention U.S. principles related to Civil Religion, the Americans believe them and even support their policies. This chapter aims to shed light on the effects of Civil Religion on U.S. foreign policy and how such a creed can profoundly negatively impact both America and the rest of the world.

4.2. U.S. Foreign Policy and Civil Religion throughout History

Freedom is among the central values of the ACR that the Founders celebrated since early colonial times. Other values include equality and social responsibility. Equality is when individuals act without government restraint. It is to have equal opportunities to exercise freedom. Social responsibility is also central and celebrated – the Constitution starts with "We the People," and the rule is "of the people, by the people and for the people."

The importance of liberty appears in the Declaration of the Independence (1776), which is connected to religion: "we hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain

unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" (Armitage, 2007). Thomas Jefferson related individual freedom to God that citizens can possess material goods and improve the quality of their lives.

Civil Religion appeared in Puritanism, which dominated the seventieth century, and precisely in the New England colonies. Religious liberty was emphasized, and many biblical texts were converted into governmental and social acts. For instance, the New Jerusalem in the "Revelation book" is likened to the escape from the maltreatment of the previous world into a free new one.

The virtue of liberty is not new since it has existed throughout history until nowadays. American institutions have strived to preserve this "God-given" right during different periods ranging from slavery, the Civil War, the industrial revolution, massive immigration, the Great Depression, and consumerism. The belief in America as the "kingdom of God on earth" is not new. Since early times, it has been debated in a trial to assimilate Catholicism into the American mainstream or the "new Christian" religion after the last part of World War II and to found an "Abrahamic" identity today.

Foreign policy use of the ACR dates to John Winthrop in 1630, when he applied the metaphor "City on a Hill" to depict the seashore of the New World. U.S. presidents like George Washington were pioneers in using American values as instruments. In his Farwell address, Washington said:

Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and cannot be, That good policy does not equally enjoin it – it will be worthy of a free, enlightened and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to marrleino the magnanimous and too novel example of justice and benevolence.64 (Address, 1796)

Presidents like J.F. Kennedy adopted this metaphor in his "City Upon a Hill" Speech in 1961.65. President Reagan also used the metaphor "shining city on a hill"

in 1984 throughout his election and his Farwell address, as already tackled in the second chapter.

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, America became a superpower whose influence became a universal task to broaden American values, mainly freedom to all nations. Individual freedom, which is central to American Civil Religion, related between international strategy and the conception of Manifest Destiny, which means the USA can discover new areas and move beyond U.S. territories regardless of means used. Since the ending of W. W. II, presidents have adopted ideas like the "sacred mission" or "the divine will," the wish to extend freedom beyond American boundaries and economic interests.

In order to justify how the presidents used their ideals, the case of the Cold War is provided when President Truman said in his State of the Union speech in 1947 that "the spirit of the American people can set the course of world history." (Address, 1947). He continued saying that by sharing the American ideals with other countries, they can spread equality, and the world would automatically share the American devotion to such ideals.

From World War II to the present day, a discourse relating Civil Religion, freedom, and divine mission has shaped U.S. foreign policy. The role of the ACR in making U.S. policies is not easy to define and/or describe. It is simple to describe when it deals with diplomatic practices like the beginning of the human civil liberties regime. The preface to the U.N. charter (1945) used "faith in fundamental human rights" and in "the dignity and worth of human person" 67.

Article one of the human rights published in the Universal Declaration of 1948 stated: "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood" 68. Religious liberty was also emphasized in Article 18: "everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes freedom to change one's religion or belief in teaching practice, worship and observance".

America has made extensive efforts to monitor religious freedom in the USA and outside its borders through the International Freedom Religious Act (1988). Like Saudi Arabia, China, Russia, Iran, and India, many countries objected, while others confirmed their national sovereignty to the U.S. religious liberty model. America could not establish an individualistic approach to human civil liberties in the U.N. This shows U.S. power and influence restrictions. Among the most significant problems of ACR and its impact on foreign policy is that America supports dictatorships to make economic and security profits. Throughout the Civil War in the sixties, America helped Europe and some countries in Latin America to preserve their geopolitical stability and their oil supply. This pragmatism is vital to promote universal liberty and a democratic system.

However, problems arise with the central values that form policymaking. How can we test the extent to which the ACR influences foreign policymaking? The raids of 09/11 increased the interest in Civil Religion. Bush thought that the terrorists had targeted American freedom. Consequently, the attack on violence was above values. This novel kind of "fighting terror" mission is a good cause for the U.S. attack on Iraq and Afghanistan. Bush thought the decisions he made as a President were to extend the freedom of God beyond the borders of America. In his State of the Union Speech (2003), he said, "we Americans have faith in ourselves but not in ourselves alone. We do not claim to know all the ways of providence, yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the living God behind all of life and all of history" .69 (Address, 2003)

4.3. Bush's Civil Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy

Bush was a protestant like his antecedents, but he refused the Wilsonian strategy, followed by both his father and Bill Clinton. His policy was new, which was without collaboration but a "unipolar" system of the world. Bush decided to attack Iraq and catch Saddam Hussein because he was considered a tyrant and the source of "evil." However, the Americans attributed Saddam a more excellent value and endowed him with qualities he did not have. He considered him his enemy and a foolish man who owned nuclear weapons and whose presence as the country's leader threatened the security in the Middle East.

Like other presidents throughout history, Bush made many mistakes. Critics blamed him for following the Conservative Evangelicals or the "religious right." The latter has influenced the Republican Party and foreign policymaking. Bush used a religious civil discourse to clarify his policies. He argued that the USA had a "sacred mission" from God to spread U.S. values, end terrorism and save other countries. Nevertheless, he was different from U.S. leaders since he used "a war strategy to fulfill peaceful missions," which means using weapons and wars for peaceful purposes. Such an approach created many challenges for America.

4.4. Barack Obama and the Continuation of Civil Religion

In his first campaign (2003), Obama mentioned Civil Religion in "America is the last best hope on earth" 70 as noted in the previous chapter. In his inaugural speech, he referred to American standards like freedom, democracy, peace, and economic profits and security. In his Cairo address (2009), he said,

I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations – to live in peace and security; to get an education, and to work with dignity, to love our families, our communities, and our God. This is the hope of all humanity 71 (Address, 2009)

Concerning the persistence of civil religion, Obama started with a new vision and ideology, different from Bush's unilateralism policy and mainly concerned with global order. He could withdraw U.S. soldiers from Iraq and Afghanistan. When asked if Obama believed in U.S. exceptionalism and the unique quality of his country as a leader of the world, he said: "I believe in American exceptionalism....just as I suspect that Brits believe in British exceptionalism....and the Greeks believe in Greek exceptionalism". He was confident in his nation and its task and history, even if he knew the USA was not always correct.

Obama faced many problems because of the civil religious transcendent mission of the U.S. towards other countries. He was criticized for turning his back to American exceptionalism. For example, in 2012, Sarah Palin, an American politician, said she was unaware of U.S. exceptionalism at all. She seemed to think it was "just a kind of irrational prejudice in favor of our way of life" .72 (Palin, 2010)

Obama's way international strategy was highly optimistic. For him, America could collaborate with other nations for a better world, "a decade of war is now ending... America's possibilities are limitless, for we possess all the qualities that this world without boundaries demands; youth and drive, diversity and openness, and endless capacity for risk and gifts for reinvention" [1]. (Address, 2013). He also described a new role for the USA to play, which is to found bilateral relations between countries and manage issues abroad.

However, his optimistic approach to policymaking disappeared after various crises in numerous nations like Palestine, Ukraine, Israel, and mainly Iraq, from where U.S. Troops withdrew because of ISIL (the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant). Obama dealt with some critical themes of ACR. He made a plan to destroy ISIL and claimed, "We stand with people who fight for their own freedom, and we rally other nations on behalf of our common security and common humanity." (ISIL Speech, 2014)

He suggested the leading of other nations and spreading freedom, justice, and dignity. He described U.S. values, which represent an element of the U.S. way of life and history. Americans are making a difference in the world by granting the protection of the USA to other nations. Furthermore, Americans are devoted to supporting their nation and spreading their values.

The relation between destroying ISIL and the U.S. values of the ACR is not apparent in political rhetoric. However, all the presidents, including Obama, use their policymaking culture with firm roots in the ACR.

4.5. The Effects of Civil Religion on U.S. Foreign Policy

America or the "Chosen Land" has a divine task from "God." Presidents invoked God in their addresses to explain their policies. Therefore, civil religion profoundly influences the international strategy of America. The Almighty selected the nation to accomplish "the expansion of freedom in the world" or, as Abraham Lincoln put it, "America is the last best hope on earth."

This mission is to change and improve the world and its business interest, security, peace, and values. Americans are considered as "God-chosen" people to direct the world towards redemption. In 1960, Nixon said, "America came into the world one hundred and eight years ago not just to have freedom for ourselves, but to carry it to the whole world" (Address, 1968).

The particularity of this mission lies in America fighting terrorism: "there never has been— there never can be — a successful compromise between good and evil." Roosevelt said that the USA is bound to do its best to let good win over evil. George .W. Bush said in this respect that "we are in a conflict between good and evil and America will call evil by its name" 73 (Judis, N.4). These beliefs have

formed the visions and thoughts, which matter most to U.S. citizens, whatever faiths they have.

What is the purpose of the ACR, and how does it influence foreign policy? The function of civil religion has changed since the Founding Fathers. In colonial America, early Americans thought of building a new country, a "land of freedom," throughout the administration of Jackson, the Americans wanted to spread Christianity, while Roosevelt attempted to broaden the "Anglo-Saxon" culture among the barbarians. Wilson aimed to set up a novel order opposed to fascism, German supremacy, and Communism. Nevertheless, the notions of "chosen nation" and "sacred mission" appear in the strategies to treat various events and crises. For instance, after the 09/11 raids, the strategy used was "self-defense." However, when the U.S. wanted to add the Philippines, it worked with "the Chosen Nation" attitude under God.

Civil religious beliefs have protestant roots brought from Holland and England in the 17th century. English people believed England was the "New Jerusalem and the battlefield of the last war, "Armageddon" that was written before in holy books. However, after the breakdown of Olivier Cromwell in 1658, their dreams turned towards the New World. This was called the "American millennialism," Like Jonathan Edwards, the American revivalist preacher described it in 1740, "the dawning, or at least the prelude, of that glorious work of God... will begin in America".

In the eighteenth century, the Founders transformed the sacred attitudes into civil religious ones. The Chosen people turned to be the public of the New Land. The millennium of religions and civil liberty Protestantism spread and was altered into a political language instead of a personal faith.

Nevertheless, this religious discourse of politics was not without consequences because Americans have various faiths, so it is misleading to impose Christian or Judeo-Christian values on other people having different religious backgrounds. Americans faced them, using religion to find solutions. This technique was adopted

in the 17th century in God and Satan's conflicts adding to good and evil problems. The U.S. Revolution was a battle of freedom against oppression and a war of "good" against "evil." The "religions thinking" can improve the situation, as happened in the W. W. II and the Cold War. However, if imperialism is involved, it can worsen matters since imperialism adopts the strategy of "the ends justify the means." It favors direct resolutions to problems, even if not a wise thing to do.

4.6. The Dark Side of Civil Religion Use in Politics

Americans think they can improve the standards of living on earth and achieve their mission of peace. They have adopted various strategies and approaches which changed with events, people, and crises from 1620 throughout 1890; the USA was a model for all nations as a "city on a hill." At the ending of the nineteenth century, Roosevelt and other leaders were in favor of imperialism and owning as many colonies as possible, and why not "owning the world." Thus, the Philippines was annexed but at the cost of both lives. Consequently, Roosevelt dropped the strategy of "imperialism" and implemented a new one, this time playing the role of the mediator, finding compromises for countries at war.

After Roosevelt, Wilson brought his strategy to turn the earth "a safe place for democracy." He tried to remove the structure of imperialism since it caused wars and bloodshed. Instead, he urged imperial nations to ask their colonies to be self-governed. Later, Presidents from F. Roosevelt to Clinton implemented his strategy. America cooperated with different countries by leading groups like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), The World Trade Organization (WTO), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

In the First World War, Wilson refused the claim that Germany was the chief cause of the war, while all over the Second World War, Franklin Roosevelt did reject plans which carried the idea that the wrong came from the Germans. J.F.

Kennedy made a Test Ban Treaty with Russia during the Cold War in 1963. Afterward, in the eighties, Nixon tried to reconcile relations with China (1987). Reagan signed the agreement of controlling arms, with China he mentioned to as "the hub of an evil empire" .74

4.7. U.S. Foreign Policy and the American Identity

The American identity was shaped by numerous beliefs and myths such as "the Chosen People," "the New Israel," "the Innocent Nation," and the "Manifest Destiny." 75 J. O. Sullivan, who first used the term "Manifest Destiny," saying that America has a divine task to save the world and spread its values (Mc. Dougal, 1988. 77). Early settlers escaped religious persecution in Europe and tried to develop their lives in the New World.

John Winthrop depicted America as a "city on a hill" (Mathew 5:14) that would make other countries shine. The phrase that Presidents and politicians adopted described "a Chosen Nation" under God with a "holly mission" and justified U.S. expansion further than its frontiers (Gentile, 2008: 93). Consequently, the massacre of native Indians was justified by "an order from God and the expansion of American values such as: liberty, democracy and making profits."

The allegory of "Manifest Destiny" goes with the belief of American uniqueness. America claims that it is an inimitable nation and that its exceptionalism has economic, military, and religious bases. It also claims that this nation is "divine" and blessed by God (see Limpest, 1996). This makes America carry a "holy job," to which much is given, much is required" (Marsden 2008: 108).

Another myth that shapes the American identity is the belief that the USA is an "innocent country," attacked by other nations and even targeted. For instance, America did not hit the USSR, and it was Russia who attacked the USA. America attacks Jihadists in the Middle East but supports Israel. America considers itself as a victim and thus an "innocent country."

Those myths have formed the American identity besides religion. Although America was inhabited mainly by Christians, it is not a Christian nation by law. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison called for a division between faith and government in the article I to the U.S. law. However, this does not mean that faith is not involved in politics; rather, it means a simultaneous development because they do not contradict but complete each other.

The White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture (the WASP) has dominated the American culture and religious domains since early colonial times, even though the American Constitution protects Jews, Muslims, Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists (Mead: 2002). However, the USA is a Judeo-Christian country. People with different faiths are united by different beliefs and sacred symbols besides myths. Consequently, individuals can go to churches, synagogues, mosques, and temples, but they keep their commitment to a national creed or Civil Religion symbolized in sacred texts, documents, sites, and events.

Civil Religion relies on Protestantism, which contains moral codes, values, and religious bases necessary for daily life. (Gentile, 2008: 112. See also Wilson, 1979; Bellah and Hammond, 1980). America is a holy nation, and presidents are like priests and prophets, mainly in hard times. The U.S. flag is a holy object, and the oath of commitment and the Declaration of Independence is sacramental. Those sacred documents, texts, and sites keep the nation bound and united.

The USA has succeeded in unifying the power of religion and that of freedom (Tocqueville, 1988; 74). The latter encouraged the founding of the most stable nation from the financial point of view, while the former gave the nation unity of morals and shared beliefs. This faith is considered by 85% of Americans as the basis of American daily life (Pen forum 2008: Gallup, 2009). The connection between a shared identity and U.S. international strategy lies in the reality that

America has a huge task to accomplish to spread peace worldwide. This was secretly or openly expressed in Inaugural Presidential Speeches.

At the ending of his two-term presidency, Bush pointed to a range in U.S. international policies (see Lunch and Singh, 2008). His promise is contradictory because the USA intends to remain an isolationist nation yet participates in most international affairs. Therefore, the role of the ACR is to maintain a universal influence and domination with whatever means "the ends justify the means," Obama puts it, "So that we once again have the strength and standing to truly lead the world" (Obama, 2009 b). In this way, the domination of this state is increasing through Presidents who also act as priests of the ACR.

4.8. Civil religion and The US Imperial Project

The ACR's influence on American international strategy is to make some countries achieve U.S. aims without showing the real American hidden projects. For example, Christian services and charities' hidden aims are to extend the pressure of Christianity and help people in the USA and other nations. Humanitarian organizations seek to spread U.S. values internationally. This is called "the religious soft power".

On the contrary, the military hard power is sustained by the soft power of the church because religious actors represent it. The Christian embassy produced a video in 2006 showing a Christian group who converted leaders and military powers to Christianity. This shows the immense pressure of evangelicals on the Pentagon. General Jack Catton said that it makes a significant impact because we have many citizens who are seeking God's Council and Wisdom as we advise our chairpersons and Secretary of Defense, Hallelujah! 76

Even the military field is extraordinarily religious and supports Christianity through cadets and midshipmen programs. However, there is much pressure on those youngsters who have made different complaints to military religious freedom foundations. Military missions and crusades for Christ are relevant in 200 American military bases worldwide (Banerfee, 2008: Lich Blan, 2009). It is understood that a battle waged by the USA on Iraq and Afghanistan is not for nuclear weapons, nor is it to stop dictatorships. It is for religious purposes; as the Secretary Army Peter Green put it, "the war on Iraq and Afghanistan is like a clash between American and radical Islamic approaches to religious liberty" (Banerfee, 2008). Another proof that the war on Iraq was religious is when forces entered a battle shouting "Jesus killed Mohamed" written on their vehicle (Sharlet, 2009).

Most U.S. Army officers consider themselves Christians with a deep belief in "American exceptionalism," myths, and the belief in expansion and Manifest Destiny. They also admit that their country is 'Chosen' or a God-given land where Americans spread their civilization, thoughts, culture, democracy, and Christianity.

4.9. The Influence of Civil Religion on Foreign Policy

Faith has a chief function in different American societal and governmental events in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Missionaries tried to spread Christianity and American values in Asia. In addition, U.S. expansion and exploration were justified by their conviction of sacred duty and the belief in the "Manifest Destiny." Moreover, almost all U.S. Presidents invoked God in their addresses on various occasions, mainly hardships like the result of 9/11.

The roles of Christianity in international strategy are clear and lie in the Biblical stories used by Presidents in direct or indirect ways. In difficult moments, policymakers stop and think of what Lincoln, Moses, or God would have done to imitate them, but how did they transform religious beliefs into political ones? First,

they adopted the thought of "sacrifice" from Genesis 22, when Abraham tried to slaughter his son because God had asked him. When he held the knife to cut his son's throat, God changed his order, providing Abraham with a sheep to sacrifice instead.

Likewise, in international strategy making, the notion of sacrifice is present as policymakers consider themselves servants and loyal to God. For instance, the decision of Wilson to take America to battle against Germany in 1917 was the same decision made by Abraham to cut his son's throat. The agreement between God and Abraham is a covenant or a contract. Abraham follows God's orders while, in return, the Almighty gives him protection and blessing. Similarly, Wilson scarified the children of America and expected the help and protection of God.

Another contract between Him and the Prophet that was changed into a political practice is apparent in the story of Adam and Eve. The father of humanity, "Adam," was created first, then Eve was extracted from one of his ribs. They lived peacefully till "Satan" came to Eve and advised her that they would survive eternally if they are from the prohibited tree of "eternity and knowledge." After eating, they became embarrassed as they turned naked. Therefore, God cast Adam and Eve out of heaven and made them mortal; and obliged them to live "by the sweat of your face you shall eat bread." 81 (Preston, 2006)

What happened to Adam and Eve is depicted as the "Original Sin" was changed into a political theory. Christians believe that in "Adam's fall, humans became sinners." Therefore, humans are born sinners. Likewise, the prerogatives of the administration should not belong to one man. This system is called the "division of powers" that is also described as "Checks and Balances." The 03 branches of government are "the legislative branch, the judicial branch, and the executive branch. Every branch checks the other two and is checked by them. This is one type of adaptation of religious ideas into political ones.

Adam and Eve's story was between God and evil, and so was the Cold War. Churchill and Truman distinguished between a sinful world and an innocent one. The Cold War was called a "crusade," according to Billy Graham, the U.S. evangelist and minister who claimed that communism "is a religion that is inspired, directed and motivated by the devil himself who has declared war against Almighty God" [2] (Graham, 2017). Dwight Eisenhower confirmed in his first inaugural address that "forces for good and evil are masses and armed and opposed as rarely before in our history... freedom is pitted against slavery; lightness against the dark."

The link between the "Original Sin" and the "Cold War" is the thought that Americans hold sacred. "In Adam's collapse, humans became all sinners." If all human beings were born sinners, then why should they accept judgment? The reality is that both the U.S. people and the Soviets were sinners. The story of Adam and Eve's sons Cain and Abel started when Abel murdered his brother Cain because of jealousy. When asked by God where Cain went, Abel said that he did not know his place. Therefore, God punished Cain, he was "cursed from the ground and will be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth..." 83

The notion of expansion is associated with the earliest trip of the puritans. The metaphor of a "city on a hill" has shaped the beliefs of U.S. people who believe that the eyes of other nations are upon them and that they must be the most righteous nation. Can they just be better than Iraqis can? The legend of the "manifest destiny" or the map of moving further than U.S. boundaries gives America a mission to play both at a national and global level. However, religion deeply affects this role, which means that the USA is bound to achieve God's goal on earth. In other terms, America has a sacred task to carry using a particular foreign policy such as fighting extremists and terrorism. Policymakers are doing their best to persuade other countries that their international strategy is the wish of the Almighty. Consequently, believers are the pioneers to support such a foreign policy.

If this sounds too theoretical, an example can make matters simpler. When believers or Christians listen to leaders like G.W. Bush in his 2004 election, they tend to listen with their hearts and minds. Bush said that they would invade Iraq

since it is the will of God to spread freedom. He said, "We are freedom's defender. We welcome this charge of history, and we are keeping it" 84. For the Christian listener, the sacred discourse adopted by the presidents may be appealing, while the Presidents may feel involved and support those missions and policies since they believe they exercise the desire of the Almighty.

As explained in the previous chapter, in presidential speeches, the Civil Religious language functions as a device to get the public's assistance, especially Christians. The question that arises here is what the link between religion and politics is? Several Americans think that faith is certainly essential, but they deny its significance to political beliefs (Patterson and Kim 1991). There exist 03 types of religions, personal religion, the family's faith, and the politicians' religion.

Once the individual adopts a religion and starts to think about its use in politics, he is confronted with beliefs such as "God supports Israel, God opposes a mosque at ground zero, and God wants America to guide the other countries. Those beliefs have changed according to events and times as well. After the forties, America turned to be the world superpower before W.W.II; it withdrew from wars and entered into a condition of isolationism. However, after W.W.II and with another power, USSR, America sought a new tool, and here came "religion" to have the most prominent role played, especially in world affairs. Billy Graham considered the Cold War an honest war as its central issue was evil contrasting to good. It is also a secular Russia versus a divine America.

Consequently, faith plays a very significant function at both personal and national levels. It specifies the nation's role and mission and defines the American people's identity. It certainly helps Americans learn about themselves not in isolation but in relation to other nations. However, the question asked here is why religion is used in politics and not culture or gender?

The answer is that faith has always played a central role in U.S. history since early colonial times. The founders depicted America as the "God-chosen land," and ever since, Americans have held the principle in the legend of 'God's chosen people'

and thought that the USA was the "New Israel." Religion is also present in diverse domains of American culture through sacred documents, texts on monuments, sites, and days. It is also part of presidential rhetoric when politicians and leaders invoke "God" in all their speeches.

Apart from their religion, presidents accept the fact of a holy God that is controlling various historical events, i.e., providentialism. Therefore, faith has a central task in creating the American past from the start, especially during wars. This tendency was noticed mainly during the fifties. When they agreed to be isolated, thinking only about their domestic interests, like in the civil war, God punished them. However, in W.W.II, they started to look outside their country in a trial to find explanations for world events. In this case, they explained their involvement with the conviction in the belief of "Chosen People."

Billy Graham assumes that the USA was a Christian nation that should stick tightly to this faith. He thought that America went through difficulties after the second world war because it functioned lacking faith. The Americans also relied on science when they used the A-bomb to end the war, which was destructive. They were mistaken when they believed that science was the solution to all their problems.

However, it is unfair to reduce or neglect the role of science; it ended in polio that reached all around America. Nevertheless, Billy Graham encouraged the coaching of science, biology, and the theory of evolution. Throughout the late forties and early fifties, Graham and other Christians advocated a novel category of religion named "secular humanism." 85

The shift from science into religion was contradictory because it relies on logic and clear explanations, while religion is concerned with spiritual matters. However, Billy Graham's idea emerged as a reaction to the secularization process. He believed that disobeying God would not solve problems. He encouraged Americans to repent to God. Again, Graham spoke against secularization in 1970.

He remarkably disagreed with a nation that relies only on government and science, not religion.

The role of faith is prominent to maintain people under control and in their positions. Consequently, he was not wrong when he recommended the worth of religion. Later, he spread the plan of an America fearing God against an atheist, secular Russia. With this message, Billy Graham became very famous.

In the 1950s, his fame was equal to that of pop music artists. In the sixties, the Americans were very anxious about a possible nuclear war that would end life on earth; people prepared themselves for a possible atomic attack. Political leaders claimed that the true adversary was not Russia but Communism. Consequently, political leaders dread the increase of socialism from the USSR to America.

In the 1950s, there was a wall to various racial groupings and religious trends to unite under the motto "E Pluribus Unum." Billy Graham advised against secular Communism and encouraged Americans to turn to God. However, this was not easy because of the availability of a variety of faiths in America. Besides, there exists no proof that Christianity is the religion of America by law, so the new motto was "in God we trust," implying that the Almighty destines Americans to expand his word on earth and prosper forever.

Religion has different functions; for example, political leaders used faith during the Cold War when science failed to mend the nation. It has a role in politics, but also at a personal level; people go to churches, synagogues, and mosques to strike a certain balance in their lives. They think they should turn to God, repent from their sins, and believe in God to be rescued and remarked.

In the 1950s, this was the message that helped the Americans in hard times, anxiety, and confusion. A fear of technology brought benefits to the nation but also fought the Atomic Bomb. Some Americans also were anxious about their children who entered school to study science but forgot their link with God and moral codes.

They feared secularization, which put people far from the fundamental Christian values. Billy Graham was called the "American preacher," but not everyone in America agreed with this name. Critics, who were also Christians, believed that this message was straightforward because it asked people to believe, repent to God and follow but that it was devoid of responsibility of the public. He answered critics claiming that his idea was appealing.

Before the fifties, America was secular, but afterward, it turned to be religious. Most religious and spiritual people who shared the same faith surfaced, while earlier, they were not united since they belonged to different organizations and doctrines. Nevertheless, another divisive issue was whether there should be a division between religion and politics or just to accommodate the teaching of religions and moral values. Those who favored the separation were called 'separationists' while their opponents were described as the 'accommodationsits.'

As faith has a chief role, being religious meant being patriotic. Most Americans feared God, had faith in Him and the Bible and indeed accepted the religion of the USA to be the Judeo-Christian, although, of course, not everyone in the nation accepted this as a reality. Thomas Jefferson himself refused Christian beliefs. He considered that individuals were free to embrace a specific creed, whether they accept or reject Christian Orthodoxy.

The religion of America or that of the ACR is thus not the Christianity of Jesus, but a novel American Christianity. It is a religion based on "god bless America" and "God protects America against secular communism and recently terrorism" in the 1960s, while African Americans used religion to ask for their civil rights.

Discrimination between races according to color is against Christian principles. Martin Luther King advised the public to live to be Christians. He started with the U.S. most sacred documents like the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights to call for democracy and justice. The Bible shows that all human beings are born with equal rights before God, and so does the

Declaration of Independence, so Martin Luther King used sacred documents to make civil rights a reality, not just on paper.

Therefore, he was arrested because of his religion which threatened the safety of the country. However, he was motivated to maintain his struggle inspired by Frederick Douglas, who was enslaved and beaten, preferred to die with honor than live with shame. Still, deep in his heart, Martin Luther King followed the paths of Jesus, who also fought injustice.

So, did religion have a fundamental function in the civil rights movement? The answer is "yes," it did during the sixties, with religious leaders like Martin Luther King who held meetings in churches, not somewhere else. African American churches did not serve only as spaces of religious practices but as meeting rooms. African Americans discussed their issues at ease and with respect, feeling a great sense of dignity. Besides, King used religious rhetoric in almost all his speeches, most of which came from the Bible.

His well-known speech, "I Have a Dream," is composed of sacred rhetoric and symbols. Even the civil rights movement workers who had different religions were motivated and touched by sacred words. Consequently, the civil rights movement became militant; as MLK put it in 1966, "we live in a militant nation, and the only way we can triumph is to take it on in a military way and nonviolence won't work" 86.

In the seventies, the role of the ACR changed. Conservative Christians were disturbed since abortion was allowed thanks to the Rose vs. Wade decision. In addition, they were irritated as religion was removed from schools. Consequently, they removed their children from public schools because they taught scientific matters only like the theory of evolution; they were disturbed because the society was becoming more secular and controlled by the government, which allows the spread of immoral laws like abortion.

Nevertheless, with a decline in morality, Christians were called again by Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. "We need to return to our Christian values, to our moral foundation...." The decline in morality spread with attacks of feminists and homosexuals. Here, the responsibility of Conservative Christians and evangelicals increased because they were invited to join political parties. Both political and religious leaders at that period believed that if they joined, they would develop the situation of America.

4.9.1. The Role of Civil Religion in Politics

In U.S. history, faith and government have always been related. In the 19th century, parliament enacted a law, which says that post offices must open on Sundays to ensure business dealings. Nevertheless, this law was vehemently opposed by religious men who asked political leaders to back them and defend them. From here, lobbying appeared in Congress, whose aim was primarily to make and preserve Saturdays or "Sabbath" sacred as contrasting other ordinary days.

In this case, religious men urged church groups to question laws passed by Congress and used lobbyists to support them. They wrote in newspapers to get the support of the masses, but the question is whether faith and government should be mixed. Some Christians admit that they have a sacred task to keep people safe on earth and spread God's word. However, this task happens without being slaves to politics.

However, in the seventies, different beliefs emerged. Other Christians said they were obliged to engage. They always copied Christian terms and referred to Jesus. Despite their efforts, they could not end abortion and immorality. Therefore, the solution was not transforming religious men into politicians but sending all those religious men again to their churches, putting the nation once again on the

track and asking citizens to repent. Overall, the role of the ACR is to take care of the spiritual life of the country.

The most empirical inquiry of the epoch would be "To what extent should religion be important in politics"? To reply to this question, a deep analysis is required of two things: religious variety and state funding. They are interrelated because religious men back up and support politicians ideologically, and in return, they receive religious privileges.

America is a highly tolerant nation when it comes to religious variety and religious liberty. No particular place of worship or religious group dominates politics. It has also divided between faith and government or an institutional "differentiation" between two fields. Nevertheless, some scholars advise against the separation of America into separate "religious camps." So, to what extent should faith dominate politics?

Earlier in this dissertation, it was clearly stated that many U.S. presidents, if not all of them, used the word "God" and "faith talk" in their inaugural speeches. According to Coe and Domke, this rhetoric style has increased since Nixon's presidency. This religious discourse used by presidents has influenced public policies in American churches, which served as moral institutions and even as places of meeting for the civil movement leaders.

Moreover, throughout elections, presidents use religion called "the religion vote" as an obvious strategy. George Walker Bush, for example, used his religion to get the backing of the citizens, and he even claimed that the Almighty had given him orders and was talking to Bush as He did with Prophets. Still, today's debate is not about the religion of political leaders but the shift from social discrimination between classes or classism to religious-cultural struggle.

4.10. Civil Religion after September 11

The USA is a unique country because in hard times, it turns to God. Americans know well when to sing civil songs by establishing a tight relationship between deities and society. For instance, when Pearl Harbor was attacked in 1941, "God bless America" was sung. However, if faith is present only for politics and society, it can be a recipe for destruction.

After the raids of 09/11, the U.S. flag "the stars and stripes" was viewed as a "sacred object." The blame for the attacks was on Muslims and Sikhs since the "Civil Religion" religion was Christianity, then it became Judeo-Christianity. Nevertheless, some U.S. citizens admit that the ACR in itself is not a religion. They claim that it is only a nationalized faith that unites Americans with various faiths. Nevertheless, for them, the American experience would become a guide for other nations, primarily that its politics is founded on values that come from Christianity.

Therefore, the ACR should not be thought of only as a "religion". The faith helps individuals establish a certain balance in their daily lives by relating the divine world to government and society. It is clearly apparent in the mottos in "God we trust," "God bless America," "One Nation under God," and "God Save America."

It is not very easy to consider the ACR as a traditional type of faith. The Court prohibited advancing Civil Religion, but this is not its end. By contrast, it has always been present, primarily through the religious discourse used by presidents in hard times like during the "Gulf war" and the 9/11 attacks. Bush said that the Gulf War was justified because it was a conflict approved by God. This ideology is enormously risky as there is no proof that those decisions represent God's will. Consequently, this tight connection to a providential religion turns to veneration because it replaces the ordinary faith since the USA is a religiously diverse country.

Despite its critics, the ACR has many positive effects, especially on the political side in hard moments like after the 09/11 events, when it facilitated the

harmony of the Americans. Nevertheless, the dissimilarity between the traditional faiths - Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and / or Judeo Christianity and the ACR is not vivid, especially when some political decisions are linked to religion. Here, Civil Religion becomes a dangerous machine.

The role of the ACR after the raids of 09/11 was not just for the solidarity of U.S. citizens, nor to console the victims, or to wage a battle against terrorism and the Taliban. The Americans promised to spread liberty, democracy, and American principles such as justice, but this might not be easy because humans do both right and wrong. They are just imperfect and if so, do they all deserve freedom?

Robert Bellah advised against the use of faith in wars or even after attacks. He described the role of the ACR through Kennedy's opening speech in his article "Civil Religion in America" 86 in 1967. He said that various traditional religions must accommodate to the U.S. culture or civil religion precisely, after the 09/11 events.

4.11. The Negative Impact of Civil Religion on U.S. Foreign Policy

American Civil Religion has a significant role in the unity of people. However, it has other adverse effects, as it favors a messianic duty of compelling all countries to the existence of a "New Israel."

In his notable book entitled "the Tragedy of U.S. Foreign Policy: How America's Civil Religion Betrayed the National Interest," Walter Mc Dougal, a university lecturer of history and international relations at the College of Pennsylvania, wrote that if Civil Religion exists, it is abstract. He wondered if it was Christianity or Judaism. He confirmed that the citizens are the origin of the betrayal, not Civil Religion 87. He assured that the ACR, which was genuine during the Founding Era and up to the nineteenth century, was modified, so America became a country of Orthodoxy. This change in relation is described as the ACR through which U.S. strategy makers justified their missions, "God has chosen

America to do this or that...etc.". This progressive Civil Religion can be very hazardous as America loses its aptitude to handle a foreign policy.

4.12. Various Civil Religious Impacts on Modern Times

Since the concept appeared with Jean Jacques Rousseau and became famous with Robert N. Bellah in 1967, Americans have practiced ACR without referring to it as the "American civil religion." It was Robert N. Bellah who confirmed its existence since the establishment of the country. However, he also described a change in ACR since the inaugural speech of J. F. Kennedy because he was the first Catholic president. What is particular is that J.F. Kennedy used "God-talk" in his political discourse. He appealed to all the American citizens with his most famous phrase, "Ask not what your country can do for you... ask what you can do for your country". He emphasized the preference of God of U.S. people saying, "God's work must be our own... we are doing God's will". Likewise, he employed "Bible rhetoric" and an ACR as a universal phenomenon.

Civil Religion subsisted in ancient times; for example, the Almighty of lords of the ancient empires in the Near East or the Consent of Paradise of East Asian kingdoms, and the Sultan of Islam, who was the highest authority in the land, and the priests of the Renaissance City State like Saint Mark in Venus or the Divine Mend of kings argued that they ruled because God asked them and people who disobeyed were against Him.

It is of imperative importance to review the definition of Civil Religion, "a civil religion is a set of beliefs and attitudes that explain the meaning and purpose of any given political society in terms of its relationship to a transcendent spiritual reality. They are held by people generally and they are expressed in public rituals, myths and symbols". (West, 1990, p. 39) This Providential Religion is what makes Civil Religion different from other secular thoughts, like patriotism, totalitarianism,

or socialism. U.S. citizens do not worship their government; on the contrary, they are bound to check the contractual obligation of their federal government because they know that humans are guilty by nature (in Adam's fall, we all became sinners)

Consequently, they transformed these religious beliefs into political ones. From here, the U.S. political system was established under the name "Checks and Balances." Therefore, Americans worshipped a "divine being" whose holiness was composed of Protestantism and enlightenment or reason. That is the divinity that made the Americans "one out of many" or "E Pluribus Unum," which made them a new order for the century "Novus Ordo Seclorum" and "blesses their undertakings" or Annuity COEPITS. "All the three mottoes are on the great seal of the United States.

The U.S. Independence War was a holy war when the Founders set the Constitution; the first article they passed was "the free exercise of religion for all citizens and prohibiting the establishment of a national church." This created a free-marketed religion and sectarian religions, but it also silently established the ACR. When Americans fought their War of Independence and established their new nation, they put their lives and sacred honors at peril with the firm belief that they were actors in a play made by God.

4.13. The Author of History and the God of America

American leaders were prudent from the beginning not to identify who their God was. Consequently, their "God" was unanimous. From George Washington to Andrew Jackson, they called God "the Father of Light," or "the Supreme Architect," "the Almighty Being," "the Invisible Hand," "the Patron of Order," "the Founder of Justice," "the Infinite Power" or just "Providence."

Today, numerous U.S. citizens think that God has another name, "Free Mason" "G." This "G" refers to Geometry; the vigilant eye oversees the unfinished pyramid that exists on the Great Seal and the reverse of the one-dollar bill until now.

However, this ACR has reproached Americans to recognize the traditional anthropology of man and the Almighty and the bond between them, especially in what concerns "man's depravity" (Mc Dougal, 2016). This simply means that nobody is perfect, that God does exist, with instructions that humans do to live by. These values were transcribed or recorded. George Washington, for instance, did not write down his speeches, but he instead recorded them, not only for his generation but for other generations to come to stretch the wisdom that he thought came from God. His speeches dealt with how Americans ought to act wildly in their foreign affairs.

4.14. The Six Principles that Shape U.S. Foreign Policy

Washington's magnificent address is exceptionally persuasive and very affecting. He described many rules and commandments to the U.S. people:

Firstly, the dispositions and habits that lead to political progress, religion and honesty are independence supports. Secondly, as an important source of strength and security, cherish public credit, thirdly, good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all, forth, the nation which indulges towards another a habitual weakness is in some degree a slave against the insidious miles of foreign influence. The jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, fifthly, the great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. (Mc Dougal, 2016)

These were almost the central beliefs that informed all presidents and generally U.S. policymakers for many years from 1796 when Washington delivered this speech to 1896. Presidents constantly rewarded honor to the values in Washington's address. Since 1890, in particular, since the Farwell Spanish-American war, Americans started the exploration of new areas and expanding west.

So far as here already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good for thenit is our policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. Sixth, harmony and liberal interaction with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. However, even our commercial policy should hold an equal and neutral hand neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences" 88.

4.14.1. The Theological Aspect of Progressivism and Civil Religion

Apart from Civil Religion, different secular elements exist, which influence U.S. international strategy, like the responsibility of American leaders and even ordinary people. Numerous researchers think that Abraham Lincoln prepared America for world power. Nevertheless, others criticized him because, after the Civil War, America became very ruined. Congress and politicians in the Gilded Era cared about their Constitutional rights in matters of foreign policy. The Presidents were the leading players in U.S. international strategy throughout what remains of the nineteenth century, and American international strategy continued along the same lines that George Washington had outlined. Even Republicans, such as William McKinley, who would lead the USA in the Spanish-American war, started their inaugural addresses by quoting Washington's Farwell address. The Spanish-American War substituted the Cuban Rebellion. Therefore, President McKinley

tried to negotiate peace, stay out of it, and finally, accept an empire that spread to the Philippines.

4.14.2. American Civil Religion and USA as a World Super Power

After the Cuban Revolt, America became a superpower in 1898. Can we trace this back to Lincoln and the Civil War? To respond to this question, we must mention that Abraham wrote many speeches without referring to "foreign policy" in his second opening speech. Policymaking belongs to U.S. citizens to keep diplomatic relations with all the nations worldwide. He also called Americans to a novel global destiny saying, "We are the world's last best hope." He worked hard to spread freedom everywhere, but he expresses a particular fear that freedom cannot survive even in America. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Civil War led America to be a world superpower and a progressive nation.

4.14.3. America as a Super Power

Industrialization and other issues like immigration, urbanization, substantial growth of giant corporations, the labor turbulence, middle-class conflict, the dishonesty of politicians, the contamination of the cities, all those social issues became critical all over the USA by the 1880s and 1890s. In the meantime, all through the nineteenth century, various scientific and intellectual branches emerged, such as archaeology, geology...etc, which criticized the Bible, just like in Germany where scholars began examining manuscripts of the Bible to find all sorts of mistakes or contradictions and also the miracles of the Bible.

Consequently, American Christianity started to change drastically. It started to transform in the direction of what is called "the Social Gospel." This is a highly significant movement, which is referred to as "progressivism." 89 With progressivism, churches got aboard regarding international strategy and ACR. The idea which prevailed was "God raised us to be a world super power." Why the USA as a 'new chosen land'?

This progressive ACR in the twentieth century witnessed a hesitant civic opinion included in conflicts, but two men had faith in it: Wilson and FD Roosevelt. They justified their actions when they faced problems or crises using ACR and' divine mission'. Wilson, of course, adopted the progressive ACR that essentially declared that the Almighty did not order them to call monsters capable of destruction. It is the latest theology used by William Mc Kinley and Teddy Roosevelt.

They claimed they were righteous when occupying the Philippines or Puerto Rico, or Cuba since God was calling America to do that to justify American imperialism. Indeed, America had economic interests and military agendas to accomplish but also some religious purposes behind imperialism. Wilson was a curious fellow who pretended to denounce imperialism, yet he got involved in Latin America under the apparent reason of "humanity." His rhetoric was as offensive like G.W. Bush is saying, "I cannot stop till I end all evil in this world" (Mc Dougal, 2016). He gave that speech in 1911 in Denver to a religious audience. World War I, he was not ready to challenge and be involved in the war because the U.S. people would have preferred to stay neutral. Therefore, Wilson asked America not to take sides. He was with the French and British, and he opposed the Germans. It was thus predictable that with the American support, the British and the French would win. In 1917, Wilson thought of involving America in conflicts, but he was still committed to neutrality. He was thus advocating a "crusade."

Wilson's crusade was a vague idea. He addressed parliament and said, "God was calling U.S. to get in into this war" (Mc Dougal, 2016). He took progressive

ACR to its final aim by saying that America's mission and responsibility are to turn all countries secure for democracy, to wage a war that will end the war. In fact, to engage in a messianic work claiming that Jesus was not the "messiah," but America is. In this way, a theological inference exists as a chief component of the progressive American Civil Religion. 90

4.14.4. Civil Religion, the Cold War and Communism

Some people refuse that "God gives missions to individuals or to countries" without providing them with resources to accomplish those missions. That is unrealistic because if He had endowed America with a mission, He would have already supplied her with the power and the resources needed to perform such a "divine mission" or "providential mission." For example, Henry Truman, a Southern Baptist from Missouri, who took it for granted that "God was calling Americans to stand forth as the champions of a free world and, if God is calling us to do, then quite obviously we might have already been endowed with the power to achieve these messianic goals at least for the free world" [3]

Consequently, we deduce that the quality of presidential rhetoric during the Cold War was highly unpleasant. It was a religious war 91 in which both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower thought that civil rights were God-given rights and that He had asked America to defend liberty in all the nations and that Communism was terrible because it was far from religion. After all, religion helped America define its enemies to beat them.

However, American churches in that period could not accomplish the mission because of differences in faith and government. In addition, Christians and Jews helped Protestant leaders neither in America nor abroad. Therefore, Truman and Eisenhower tried to start a novel category of the ACR to get the assistance of citizens for the Cold War and specify the absolute boundaries of containment. They

also had aims like appealing to people of various religious trends to unite and fight Communism.

In 1964, Lyndon Johnson promised that war, scarcity, and bigotry would fade away very soon. Approximately all the leaders of that era promised the last part of Communism and the crumple of the USSR and finally the arrival of the millennium or the "Millennial American Civil Religion," which is an unreal promise. They promised such dreams to people, engaging them into wars just in anticipation of a big day to come. In the 1990s, all Americans almost thought that this day had arrived only to help them live the best years of their existence.

The youth in the 1960s rebelled not against Civil Religion but government decisions and the utility of arms of mass destruction. They were totally against the Cold War, especially the conflict of Vietnam. In fact, young people were against the neo-progressive ACR or the so-called "millennial ACR." Neo-progressive ACR91 worked in the 1960s, which was labeled the technological era of global Civil Religion. However, during this era, racism, prejudice, scarcity, and violence appeared even in America. Why is all that? The answer is simple: Americans who were saved after W.W.II and the economic crisis could deal with poverty and other problems.

People also faced dilemmas like the issue of the civil rights movement. Besides, they kept struggling against enrollment in the army even during peacetime. In 1967, Bellah published his famous article "Civil Religion in America," in which he described a religion that would unite Americans but warned against America's mission in the world. The "New Israel" idea appeared under various denominations, first, as the belief of the "Manifest Destiny." Then, America started exploring new areas as a way of U.S. exploration and imperialism that preceded the Cold War, and currently, America is engaged in a fight against terrorism.

4.14.5. Failures of the American Foreign Policy

One year after G.W. Bush turned to be president in 2000, the 09/11 attacks took place. Four years later, the Iraq invasion took place, and the fall down of other American geo-strategy as America was invading geographical areas for political, economic, and military reasons. Therefore, Bush made his most eminent Inaugural Address in 2005, in which he declared a fight on Iraq and promised to fight terrorism. This speech was criticized greatly and described by Walter Mc Dougal as "the crazy speech." Again, just like Wilson and the Progressive ACR, George Bush's millennial ACR would take the country towards the "war on terror" failure. The plan or the agenda of America that goes back to George W. Bush ruined America to the point that Americans were seeking a road map leading to liberty and richness. They kept asking questions such as "what does this God want us to do in the twenty first century"?

Thus, the Americans adopted the millennial ACR by claiming spirituality but not religion. A new Global Civil Religion appeared, in which all cultures, civilizations, and faiths amalgamate into one big mush of humanitarianism. However, the Americans' conviction in the "God" of the ACR remained that this country has a destiny, which is incomparable and indispensable. They also take for granted that the Almighty has a plan for the universe in which America has a significant role to play.

Like Clinton, Obama intended to bring the millennial ACR back by amending the country's wounds made by Bush. He started an apologizing tour, withdrawing the U.S. army from Iraq and Afghanistan. He also established multilateral relations with all of Syria, Egypt, Libya, Iraq, Ukraine, and South China. Furthermore, he resumed with Cuba and started détente with Iran92. This type of agenda is called "building the nation," but unfortunately, the Arab Spring was a means of expanding the millennial ACR agenda. NATO helped Libya rebel against Gaddafi in 2011,

which increased terrorism. Later, in 2012, the regime of Bachar Al Assad collapsed in Syria, which also helped the birth of Daesh or (ISIS). Consequently, Obama attempted to fight terrorism with EAVES (drones), but in 2016, he did not manage to achieve a further arrangement with Iran on the issue of nuclear arms.

4.14.6. The Neo-millennial ACR

However, the election of Obama for a second-term presidency was primarily because of religious rhetoric. In fact, he took advantage of his priestly office to get the prop up of all U.S. citizens, not only Protestants, Catholics, and Jews – to bind together to turn the universe into a beautiful place for all. He used six values that shaped the nucleus of what the historian Diane Butler Bass called a "pluralistic, post-religious discourse." Those values are community, prosperity, stewardship to earth, mutual care, appeasing and human rights" 93. The purpose of those values is to push America toward a civil spirituality potentially appealing to all humankind.

Nevertheless, Obama failed to implement the millennial ACR as the religion of America instead of Orthodoxy. He did not escape the character of the "sacred mission." This means the nation may adopt a neo-millennial ACR that would transform into a Global Civil Religion (GCR). This GCR may witness a succession of actions like wars in the Middle East, substantial environmental and/ or economic problems. All these fears surround this new form of GCR.

The question that arises here concerns the description of this neo-millennial GCR? This creed does not fit America since it is a providential nation, which went beyond U.S. Borders, institutions, and regulations. It will not concern a particular race, ethnicity or language, because the West includes America, Europe, and other countries. It is not democratic but somewhat spiritual. It is charitable, as it will endorse liberty of communication and equal opportunity.

This religion will certainly fit other countries with military defense, counterterrorism, and intelligence. This help is without the interference of military troops since they would be replaced by cyber-attacks, drones, rhetoric, and total surveillance.

The historian William Mc. Neil said (in the pages of foreign affairs) that public myths should be replaced because the truth is not fixed, and today's reality might be tomorrow's legend. He added saying that America has been using those myths to justify actions and wars. He even had the gut to announce that it is high time America buried its so-called "American exceptionalism." Instead, the solution is a country leading all countries to a universal community controlled by a universal state. This would direct us to the Machiavellian and Hobbesian Leviathan's ideology, already mentioned in chapter one, "the Vice-regent of God on earth" 94 and "the Divine Providence" that was transforming the human race towards perfection.

The question that we need to ask here is how to reach a shared vision between Christianity and ACR? First, in the 16th century, the Machiavellian Civil Religion revived the early Greek values. The Hobbesian Civil Religion appeared after it in the 17th century, which used the Jewish virtues seeking by every means possible to establish God's providence on earth. Third, the Civil Religion of Jean-Jacques Rousseau of the 18th century employed ancient Roman virtues and secularized the church. These are the primary phases of the ACR, which used myths to escape history and renew it.

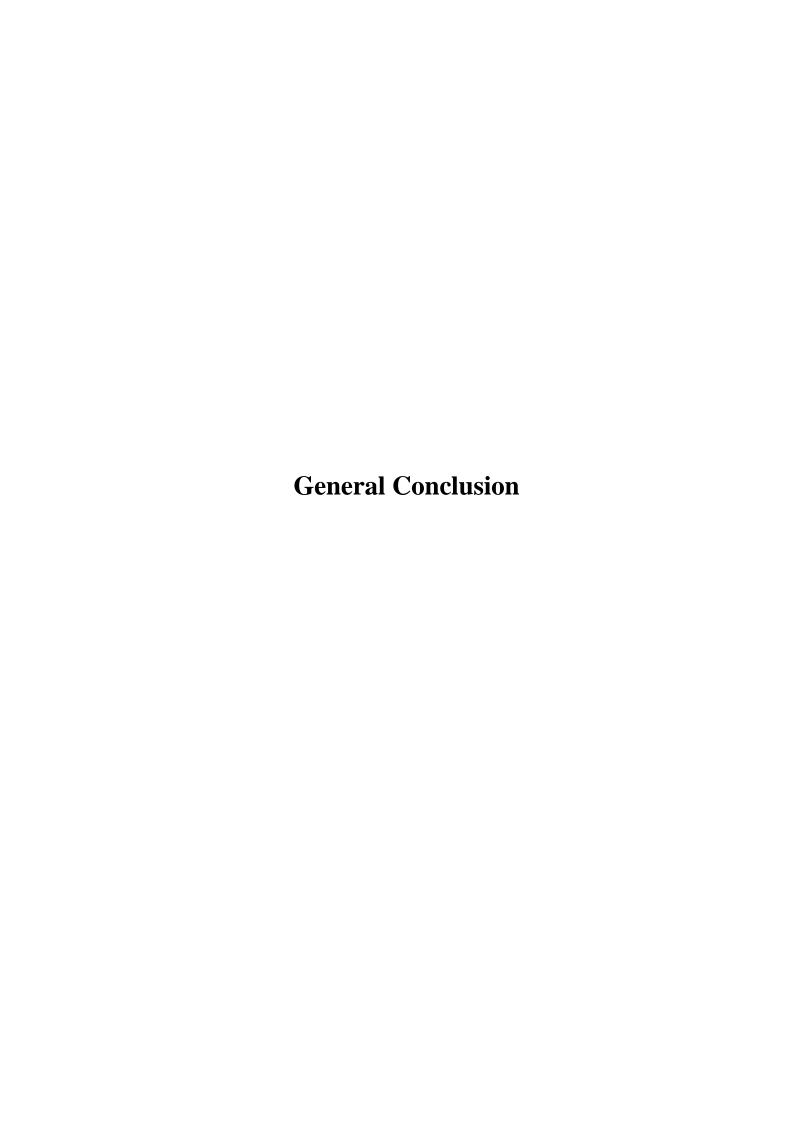
4.15. Conclusion

It is not very easy to speculate about what will occur to the universe in the future. America will probably wake up and make a new Cold War Civil Religion if it gets into conflict with Cuba. It might also go back to the classical Civil Religion advocated by George Washington and George Quincy Adams. America might not

be a strong nation anymore. If the strong nations, whether after a World War or after a terrible calamity or just through the development of economics and technology, transcend all "nation-states" and empower worldwide supremacy and global bureaucracy, the future for human liberty will be very bleak indeed.

However, there exist many phenomena, which have taken place recently, like the Trump phenomenon and the Brexit phenomenon, their transitory events, the technology, and the economy, plus the global problems that are addressed through trans-national committees and commissions, and institutions. This includes all the non-legislative organizations. Trump himself cannot disengage America from foreign trade or international institutions. He might make some adjustments in the procedure of globalization identical to the mid-course correction throughout the Civil War that Richard Nixon made. He could not end the Cold War, but he changed the geopolitics of great powers, and he even led to American triumph in the Cold War. However, neither of those stages was immediate. Trump, the British government, and Europeans are working on the plan of their own institutions that address the democracy deficits. However, this will not stop globalization but the continuation of ruling via exploiting a "Millennial Global Civil Religion."

Walter Mc Dougal claimed that all the Presidents – Kennedy, Nixon, Carter, Reagan, G.H.W. Bush and Bush the son, Clinton, Obama, and recently Trump – used the millennial Civil Religion, "Millennial ACR will most likely double as the first operational ACR." The mainstream was the U.S. public who chose Trump to fit into the white working class. They represent the community pushed aside in the procedure of globalization. They are generally older people who have a very diminutive position in the community and/or politics. However, the senators who are young and influential in politics might be future governors contrasted to Trump's party. The Democratic Party needs the leadership of a gentleman like Bobby Kennedy – someone who can motivate all the U.S. youngsters and minorities. If this happens, the progressive era and globalization will come back. Thus, the Trump presidency will be forgotten.



General Conclusion

The investigation of the ACR in the United States has not attracted scholarly attention until the publication of Bellah's article entitled "Civil Religion in America" in 1967. Bellah and other researchers and philosophers tried to find out a theoretical framework for Civil Religion by introducing theories, which joined disciplines like philosophy, sociology, history and political science to understand the characteristics and components of this religion. This brought about an interdisciplinary concept, called "Civil Religion."

As far as the ACR is concerned, a lack of data is available because many scholars, philosophers, and Americans refuse to confess that a civic faith exists, which influences American culture and politics. The media rarely describes the term "Civic Religion." In fact, even university teachers are either uninformed of the concept or refuse to use such an oxymoron since it implies the utility of faith in politics or vice versa.

At the outset, chapter one provided a bird eye on the most exceptional definitions of the ACR as a theoretical background that helps inquest about the availability of this concept since the 16th century. It gave an inkle eye on the most central sources of Civil Religion, the Bible, Leviathan, the Social Contract...etc in a trial to demonstrate its source and discover a standard description for the most debatable concept nowadays.

Jean Jacques Rousseau defines Civil Religion as several universal beliefs that consist of beliefs in God, the Day of Judgment, reward and punishment, and the virtue of tolerance. The concepts deal with the primary spiritual virtues of the country, which appear in national ceremonies, symbols, sacred places, and even political discourse.

The term civil religion was actually coined by the French thinker Jean Jacques

Rousseau as early as 1762 to depict a divine basis of any nation. This religion serves as a source of unity for societies. In order to reach unity, he referred to four significant elements: God, life after death, reward and punishment, and the respect of all religions.

However, Emile Durkheim defines it as a composition of standards and customs connected to spiritual matters and practices. He drew a connection between faith and the community. For him, modern new religions replaced the ancient traditional ones. He even called for the secularization of societies as he saw no importance in the presence of traditional religions. Durkheim's type of civil religion does fit America because the USA has always been a nation with "the soul of the church."

On the other hand, Thomas Hobbes emphasized the functions that Civil Religion plays in politics and society. In his book Leviathan III and IV, he stressed the fact that the power of the ruler comes from the authority of God or Christ. Nevertheless, he failed to see the harm Christianity might have done to republics.

Like Rousseau, his vision of Civil Religion can be understood easily. Machiavelli was described as a realist. Nevertheless, he used his imagination to claim that nations needed a God or a savior and a domesticated religion in politics. Otherwise, a religion guided by churches would lead to destruction.

Additionally, the central part of chapter two was to provide an in-depth look at the ACR on the ground. This chapter dug deeper into sacred objects, mottos, moments, documents, sites, and texts to prove the existence of the issue of Civil Religion, which manifests as a reality.

Another concern of chapter two was to throw some light upon the American culture, society, and government elements to discover if the ACR is a constituent of them or merely on faith. In this respect, data has shown that the Declaration of Independence and other texts are sacred. Sites like the Statue of Liberty and the Disney Land are also considered divine. National days like July 4 are also sacred

day that binds US people together. Besides, mottoes like "In God we trust" or "God Bless America" carry the word "God" and are part of the ACR tradition and the American culture as well. Hence, from the above evidence, the ACR does exist and is connected to the US culture, society and politics.

The objective of the third chapter was to analyze and examine in general addresses from Johnson through Trump. Nevertheless, like the Gettysburg Speech, Lincoln's speeches were also analyzed to demonstrate a continuation in the ACR tradition. The analysis started with shedding light on the invocation of the term "God,"; what was described as "God-talk. " In addition, Presidents used other religious words, which is known as "faith - talk. " Figures and tables were also provided and with comparison. This chapter also endeavored to arrange the analyzed data for a better consideration of the final chapter.

The fourth chapter describes the effects of the ACR on US international policy and its central role(s) on the domestic and international levels. Besides, this chapter explained how politicians used the ACR in policymaking to be supported by the public. This chapter also tended to study different new types of ACR like the GCR or the Global Civil Religion and the Neo-millennial ACR to depict the current situation.

Intriguingly, the notion that Civil Religion was a legend or that it is dead was misleading. Data analysis and presidential discourse analysis demonstrated their existence in American history, sociology, theology, and politics. It is, therefore, "a multidisciplinary concept."

Furthermore, the ACR has a chief function in policymaking inside America and abroad. However, when it comes to international strategy, issues cannot remain simplistic. The USA started with the idea of exploration and expansion under the value or the falsehood of "Manifest Destiny." After that, America's main task was to extend the American traditions and civilization beyond US territories. More recently, it claimed that its role is to save from harm all countries since "God" has

chosen America as "New Israel" to protect other countries and grant harmony to all world nations. However, after the raids of 09/11, America started a battle on "terrorism" or simply "waging wars for making peace" regardless of the means it might use. Thus, the ACR is changing from its noble aims to destruction.

To this end, this research work strived to scrutinize how the ACR has evolved through time. Besides, what can be noticed is that the ACR is still active. This is reflected through the analysis of data and political discourse. In fact, a shift in the discourse employed by different presidents varies according to the era, background, beliefs, and political events.

What can also be added is that the current researcher's work has faced many hindrances due to the scarcity of scholarship in theories explaining the issue at stake. Another point that I have come across is the need of documents and participants (US people), who might have answered questionnaires and taken surveys.

Finally yet importantly, as further research is concerned, researchers may deal with the idea of a "missionary spirit" in civil religion. They can investigate America's function in world affairs in general and the Middle East in particular. This study encourages further investigation about a "religiously-oriented" fight on terror for the principle of "making peace."

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Appendix:

Presidential Speeches

March 4, 1865: Abraham Lincoln Second Inaugural Address

Transcript

Fellow-Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without warseeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union. but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the fight as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Appendix

November 19, 1863: Gettysburg Address

Transcript

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new

nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created

equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so

conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that

war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those

who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper

that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not

hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have

consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note,

nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is

for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who

fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to

the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased

devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we

here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under

God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the

people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Kennedy Inaugural Address January 20, 1961: Inaugural Address

Transcript

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice

President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, fellow citizens:

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We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end as well as a beginning—signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own' freedom—and to

remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient, beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly

alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to "undo the heavy burdens . . . (and) let the oppressed go free."

And if a beach-head of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself

.Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

Johnson Inaugural Address January 20, 1965:

Transcript

My fellow countrymen:

On this occasion the oath I have taken before you and before God is not mine alone, but ours together. We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one citizen but upon all citizens.

That is the majesty and the meaning of this moment.

For every generation there is a destiny. For some, history decides. For this generation the choice must be our own.

Even now, a rocket moves toward Mars. It reminds us that the world will not be the same for our children, or even for ourselves in a short span of years. The next man to stand here will look out on a scene that is different from our own.

Ours is a time of change—rapid and fantastic change—bearing the secrets of nature, multiplying the nations, placing in uncertain hands new weapons for mastery and destruction, shaking old values and uprooting old ways.

Our destiny in the midst of change will rest on the unchanged character of our people and on their faith.

They came here—the exile and the stranger, brave but frightened—to find a place where a man could be his own man. They made a covenant with this land. Conceived in justice, written in liberty, bound in union, it was meant one day to inspire the hopes of all mankind. And it binds us still. If we keep its terms we shall flourish.

First, justice was the promise that all who made the journey would share in the fruits of the land.

In a land of great wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty. In a land rich in harvest, children just must not go hungry. In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die untended. In a great land of learning and scholars, young people must be taught to read and write.

For more than 30 years that I have served this Nation I have believed that this injustice to our people, this waste of our resources, was our real enemy. For 30 years or more, with the resources I have had, I have vigilantly fought against it. I have learned and I know that it will not surrender easily.

But change has given us new weapons. Before this generation of Americans is finished, this enemy will not only retreat, it will be conquered.

Justice requires us to remember: when any citizen denies his fellow, saying: "His color is not mine or his beliefs are strange and different," in that moment he betrays America, though his forebears created this Nation.

Liberty was the second article of our covenant. It was self-government. It was our Bill of Rights. But it was more. America would be a place where each man could be proud to be himself: stretching his talents, rejoicing in his work, important in the life of his neighbors and his nation.

This has become more difficult in a world where change and growth seem to tower beyond the control and even the judgment of men. We must work to provide the knowledge and the surroundings which can enlarge the possibilities of every citizen.

The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. And that is today our goal. Thus, if as a nation, there is much outside our control, as a people no stranger is outside our hope.

Change has brought new meaning to that old mission. We can never again stand aside, prideful in isolation. Terrific dangers and troubles that we once called "foreign" now

constantly live among us. If American lives must end, and American treasure be spilled, in countries that we barely know, then that is the price that change has demanded of conviction and of our enduring covenant.

Think of our world as it looks from that rocket that is heading toward Mars. It is like a child's globe, hanging in space, the continent stuck to its side like colored maps. We are all fellow passengers on a dot of earth. And each of us, in the span of time, has really only a moment among our companions.

How incredible it is that in this fragile existence we should hate and destroy one another. There are possibilities enough for all who will abandon mastery over others to pursue mastery over nature. There is world enough for all to seek their happiness in their own way.

Our Nation's course is abundantly clear. We aspire to nothing that belongs to others. We seek no dominion over our fellow man, but man's dominion over tyranny and misery.

But more is required. Men want to be part of a common enterprise, a cause greater than themselves. And each of us must find a way to advance the purpose of the Nation, thus finding new purpose for ourselves. Without this, we will simply become a nation of strangers.

The third article is union. To those who were small and few against the wilderness, the success of liberty demanded the strength of union. Two centuries of change have made this true again.

No longer need capitalist and worker, farmer and clerk, city and countryside, struggle to divide our bounty. By working shoulder to shoulder together we can increase the bounty of all. We have discovered that every child who learns, and every man who finds work, and every sick body that is made whole—like a candle added to an altar—brightens the hope of all the faithful.

So let us reject any among us who seek to reopen old wounds and rekindle old hatreds. They stand in the way of a seeking nation.

Let us now join reason to faith and action to experience, to transform our unity of interest into a unity of purpose. For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without hatred; not without difference of opinion but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the union for generations.

Under this covenant of justice, liberty, and union we have become a nation—prosperous, great, and mighty. And we have kept our freedom. But we have no promise from God that our greatness will endure. We have been allowed by Him to seek greatness with the sweat of our hands and the strength of our spirit.

I do not believe that the Great Society is the ordered, changeless, and sterile battalion of the ants. It is the excitement of becoming—always becoming, trying, probing, falling, resting, and trying again—but always trying and always gaining.

In each generation, with toil and tears, we have had to earn our heritage again. If we fail now then we will have forgotten in abundance what we learned in hardship: that democracy rests on faith, that freedom asks more than it gives, and the judgment of God is harshest on those who are most favored.

If we succeed it will not be because of what we have, but it will be because of what we are; not because of what we own, but rather because of what we believe.

For we are a nation of believers. Underneath the clamor of building and the rush of our day's pursuits, we are believers in justice and liberty and in our own union. We believe that every man must some day be free. And we believe in ourselves.

And that is the mistake that our enemies have always made. In my lifetime, in depression and in war they have awaited our defeat. Each time, from the secret places

of the American heart, came forth the faith that they could not see or that they could not even imagine. And it brought us victory. And it will again.

For this is what America is all about. It is the uncrossed desert and the unclimbed ridge. It is the star that is not reached and the harvest that is sleeping in the unplowed ground. Is our world gone? We say farewell. Is a new world coming? We welcome it, and we will bend it to the hopes of man.

And to these trusted public servants and to my family, and those close friends of mine who have followed me down a long winding road, and to all the people of this Union and the world, I will repeat today what I said on that sorrowful day in November last year: I will lead and I will do the best I can.

But you, you must look within your own hearts to the old promises and to the old dreams. They will lead you best of all.

For myself, I ask only in the words of an ancient leader: "Give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before this people: for who can judge this thy people, that is so great?"

Nixon Inaugural Speech, January 20th, 1969

Transcript

Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, my fellow Americans--and my fellow citizens of the world community:

I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free.

Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries.

This can be such a moment.

Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest aspirations can at last be realized. The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries.

In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.

For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace.

Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years--the beginning of the third millennium.

What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America--the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.

This is our summons to greatness.

I believe the American people are ready to answer this call.

The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth.

We have given freedom new reach, and we have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white.

We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history.

No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it. Because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope.

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a Nation ravaged by depression and gripped in fear. He could say in surveying the Nation's troubles: "They concern, thank God, only material things."

Our crisis today is the reverse.

We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth.

We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.

To find that answer, we need only look within ourselves.

When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things--such as goodness, decency, love, kindness.

Greatness comes in simple trappings.

The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.

To lower our voices would be a simple thing.

In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another--until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices.

For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways--to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart--to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard.

Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in.

Those left behind, we will help to catch up.

For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure.

As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before--not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new.

In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history.

In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life--in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward.

We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home.

The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.

But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do.

Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, and to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed.

What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything.

To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people--enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit--each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.

I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure--one as rich as humanity itself, and as exciting as the times we live in.

The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny.

Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole.

The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents; we achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use.

As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce, but as we chart our goals we shall be lifted by our dreams.

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.

This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to ensure at last

that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man.

As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind.

Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.

After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.

Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open.

We seek an open world--open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people--a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.

Those who would be our adversaries, we invite to a peaceful competition--not in conquering territory or extending dominion, but in enriching the life of man.

As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together--not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared.

With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.

But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be.

Over the past twenty years, since I first came to this Capital as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the nations of the world.

I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the hatreds, the fears that divide the world.

I know that peace does not come through wishing for it--that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy.

I also know the people of the world.

I have seen the hunger of a homeless child, the pain of a man wounded in battle, the grief of a mother who has lost her son. I know these have no ideology, no race.

I know America. I know the heart of America is good.

I speak from my own heart, and the heart of my country, the deep concern we have for those who suffer, and those who sorrow.

I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. To that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon, to the cause of peace among nations.

Let this message be heard by strong and weak alike:

The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.

Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness.

As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of earth--and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness.

In that moment, their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write:

"To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold--brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity--seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible; telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on Earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts.

We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.

Our destiny offers, not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it, not in fear, but in gladness-- and, "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers; but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man.

Gerald R. Ford's Remarks Upon Taking the Oath of Ofice as President

Mr. Chief Justice, my dear friends, my fellow Americans:

The oath that I have taken is the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every President under the Constitution. But I assume the Presidency under extraordinary circumstances never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.

Therefore, I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented compact with my countrymen. Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech--just a little straight talk among friends. And I intend it to be the first of many.

I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots, and so I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers. And I hope that such prayers will also be the first of many.

If you have not chosen me by secret ballot, neither have I gained office by any secret promises. I have not campaigned either for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency. I have not subscribed to any partisan platform. I am indebted to no man, and only to one woman--my dear wife--as I begin this very difficult job.

I have not sought this enormous responsibility, but I will not shirk it. Those who nominated and confirmed me as Vice President were my friends and are my friends. They were of both parties, elected by all the people and acting under the Constitution in their name. It is only fitting then that I should pledge to them and to you that I will be the President of all the people.

Thomas Jefferson said the people are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty. And down the years, Abraham Lincoln renewed this American article of faith asking, "Is there any better way or equal hope in the world?"

I intend, on Monday next, to request of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate the privilege of appearing before the Congress to share with my former colleagues and with you, the American people, my views on the priority business of the Nation and to solicit your views and their views. And may I say to the Speaker and the others, if I could meet with you right after these remarks, I would appreciate it.

Even though this is late in an election year, there is no way we can go forward except together and no way anybody can win except by serving the people's urgent needs. We cannot stand still or slip backwards. We must go forward now together.

To the peoples and the governments of all friendly nations, and I hope that could encompass the whole world, I pledge an uninterrupted and sincere search for peace.

America will remain strong and united, but its strength will remain dedicated to the safety and sanity of the entire family of man, as well as to our own precious freedom.

I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our Government but civilization itself. That bond, though strained, is unbroken at home and abroad.

In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end.

My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over.

Our Constitution works; our great Republic is a government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule. But there is a higher Power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy.

As we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate, more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars, let us restore the golden rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate.

In the beginning, I asked you to pray for me. Before closing, I ask again your prayers, for Richard Nixon and for his family. May our former President, who brought peace to millions, find it for himself. May God bless and comfort his wonderful wife and daughters, whose love and loyalty will forever be a shining legacy to all who bear the lonely burdens of the White House.

I can only guess at those burdens, although I have witnessed at close hand the tragedies that befell three Presidents and the lesser trials of others.

With all the strength and all the good sense I have gained from life, with all the confidence my family, my friends, and my dedicated staff impart to me, and with the good will of countless Americans I have encountered in recent visits to 40 States, I now solemnly reaffirm my promise I made to you last December 6: to uphold the

Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can f or America.

God helping me, I will not let you down.

Thank you.

JIMMY CARTER

39th President of the United States: 1977 - 1981

Inaugural Address

January 20, 1977

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

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

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

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

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

Ours was the first society openly to define itself in terms of both spirituality and human liberty. It is that unique self-definition which has given us an exceptional

appeal, but it also imposes on us a special obligation to take on those moral duties which, when assumed, seem invariably to be in our own best interests.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- --that we had remembered the words of Micah and renewed oursearch for humility, mercy, and justice;
- --that we had torn down the barriers that separated those of different race and region and religion, and where there had been mistrust, built unity, with a respect for diversity;
- --that we had found productive work for those able to perform it;

- --that we had strengthened the American family, which is the basis of our society;
- --that we had ensured respect for the law and equal treatment under the law, for the weak and the powerful, for the rich and the poor; and
- --that we had enabled our people to be proud of their own Government once again.

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

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

Thank you very much.

RONALD REAGAN

40th President of the United States: 1981 - 1989

Inaugural Address

January 20, 1981

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker, Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens:

To a few of us here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion, and yet in the history of our nation it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place, as it has for almost two centuries, and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every 4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process, you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our Republic.

The business of our nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift, and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, human misery, and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.

You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a nation, we're not bound by that same limitation? We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding: We are going to begin to act, beginning today.

The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we've been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable, with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

We hear much of special interest groups. Well, our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we're sick—professionals,

industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truck drivers. They are, in short, "We the people," this breed called Americans.

Well, this administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans, with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning," and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America, at peace with itself and the world.

So, as we begin, let us take inventory. We are a nation that has a government—not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the Earth. Our government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government, which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it's not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work--work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth, it was because here in this land we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on Earth. The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government. It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We're not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what

we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope.

We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we're in a time when there are not heroes, they just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter, and they're on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They're individuals and families whose taxes support the government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet, but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

Now, I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your," because I'm addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen; and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they're sick, and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well, the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic "yes." To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I've just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy.

In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow, measured in inches and feet, not miles, but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles there will be no compromise.

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, president of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger,

but not to be despaired of On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves."

Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children, and our children's children. And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it, now or ever.

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

Above all, we must realize that no arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

I'm told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I'm deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inaugural Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held, as you've been told, on this West Front of the Capitol. Standing here, one faces a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man, George Washington, father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence. And then, beyond the Reflecting Pool, the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond those monuments to heroism is the Potomac River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery, with its row upon row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom.

Each one of those markers is a monument to the kind of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno, and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

Under one such marker lies a young man, Martin Treptow, who left his job in a small town barbershop in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There, on the western front, he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

We're told that on his body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," he had written these words: "America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

The crisis we are facing today does not require of us the kind of sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does require, however, our best effort and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, to believe that together with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us.

And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans.

God bless you, and thank you.

Ronald Reagan

Address to the National Religious Broadcasters Convention

<u>Moderator</u>: It is my honor and distinct pleasure to introduce the President of the United States.

<u>President Reagan</u>: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you, Brandt Gustavson, Dr. Ben Armstrong, and ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests. Thank you all very much.

I'm going to depart from what I was going to say, or begin with here, for just a moment to tell a little story. And I hope Pat Boone won't mind. I'm going to tell it on him.

Some years ago when there was a subversive element that had moved into the motion picture industry and Hollywood, and there were great meetings that were held. There was one that was held in the Los Angeles Sports Arena. 16,000 people were there, and thousands of them up in the balcony were young people.

And Pat Boone stood up, and in speaking to this crowd he said, talking of communism, that he had daughters -- they were little girls then -- and he said, "I love them more than anything on Earth." "But," he said, "I would rather" -- and I thought, "I know what he's going to say and, oh, you must not say that." And yet I had underestimated him. He said, "I would rather that they die now believing in God than live to grow up under communism and die one day no longer believing in God."

There was a hushed moment, and then 16,000 people, all those thousands of young people came to their feet with a roar that you just -- it thrills you through and through.

Well, I thank you all very much. This is a moment I've been looking forward to. I remember with such pleasure the time we spent together last year. Today I feel like I'm doing more than returning for a speech; I -- I feel like I'm coming home.

Homecoming -- I think it is the proper word. Under this roof, some 4,000 of us are kindred spirits united by one burning belief: God is our Father; we are His children; together, brothers and sisters, we are one family.

Being family makes us willing to share the pain of problems we carry in our hearts. But families also come together in times of joy, and we can celebrate such a moment today. Hope is being reborn across this land by a mighty spiritual revival that's made you the miracle of the entire broadcasting industry.

I might say your success and my celebrating another birthday about this time of year are both a source of annoyance to a number of people.

Let me set the record straight on your account: The spectacular growth of CBN [Christian Broadcasting Network] and PTI [PTL - Praise the Lord] and Trinity [Trinity Broadcasting Network], of organizations that produce religious programs for radio and television, not to mention the booming industry in Christian books, underlines a farreaching change in our country.

Americans yearn to explore life's deepest truths. And to say their entertainment -- their idea of entertainment is sex and violence and crime is an insult to their goodness and intelligence. We are people who believe love can triumph over hate, creativity over destruction, and hope over despair. And that's why so many millions hunger for your product -- God's good news.

In his book, "The Secret Kingdom," Pat Robertson told us, "There can be peace; there can be plenty; there can be freedom. They will come the minute human beings accept the principles of the invisible world and begin to live by them in the visible world." More and more of us are trying to do this. George Gallup has detected a rising tide of interest and involvement in religion among all levels of society.

I was pleased last year to proclaim 1983 the Year of the Bible. But, you know, a group called the ACLU severely criticized me for doing that.

Well I wear their indictment like a badge of honor.

I believe I stand in pretty good company. Abraham Lincoln called the Bible "the best gift God has given to man." "But for it," he said, "we wouldn't know right from wrong." Like that image of George Washington kneeling in prayer in the snow at Valley Forge, Lincoln described a people who knew it was not enough to depend on their own courage and goodness; they must also look to God their Father and Preserver. And their faith to walk with Him and trust in His Word brought them the blessings of comfort, power, and peace that they sought.

The torch of their faith has been passed from generation to generation. "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever."

More and more Americans believe that loving God in their hearts is the ultimate value. Last year, not only were Year of the Bible activities held in every State of the Union, but more than 25 States and 500 cities issued their own Year of the Bible proclamations. One schoolteacher, Mary Gibson, in New York raised 4,000 dollars to buy Bibles for working people in downtown Manhattan.

1983 was the year more of us read the Good Book. Can we make a resolution here today? -- that 1984 will be the year we put its great truths into action?

My experience in this office I hold has only deepened a belief I've held for many years: Within the covers of that single Book are all the answers to all the problems that face us today, if we'd only read and believe.

Let's begin at the beginning. God is the center of our lives; the human family stands at the center of society; and our greatest hope for the future is in the faces of our children. Seven thousand Poles recently came to the christening of Maria Victoria Walesa, daughter of Danuta and Lech Walesa, to express their belief that solidarity of the family remains the foundation of freedom.

God's most blessed gift to His family is the gift of life. He sent us the Prince of Peace as a babe in a manger. I've said that we must be cautious in claiming God is on our side. I think the real question we must answer is, are we on His side?

I know what I'm about to say now is controversial, but I have to say it. This nation cannot continue turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to the taking of some 4,000 unborn children's lives every day. That's one every 21 seconds. One every 21 seconds.

We cannot pretend that America is preserving her first and highest ideal, the belief that each life is sacred, when we've permitted the deaths of 15 million helpless innocents since the Roe versus Wade decision -- 15 million children who will never laugh, never sing, never know the joy of human love, will never strive to heal the sick or feed the poor or make peace among nations. Abortion has denied them the first and most basic of human rights. We are all infinitely poorer for their loss.

There's another grim truth we should face up to: Medical science doctors confirm that when the lives of the unborn are snuffed out, they often feel pain, pain that is long and agonizing.

This nation fought a terrible war so that black Americans would be guaranteed their God-given rights. Abraham Lincoln recognized that we could not survive as a free land when some could decide whether others should be free or slaves. Well today another question begs to be asked: How can we survive as a free nation when some decide that others are not fit to live and should be done away with?

I believe no challenge is more important to the character of America than restoring the right to life to all human beings. Without that right, no other rights have meaning. "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for such is the kingdom of God."

I will continue to support every effort to restore that protection including the Hyde-Jepsen respect life bill. I've asked for your all-out commitment, for the mighty power of your prayers, so that together we can convince our fellow countrymen that America should, can, and will preserve God's greatest gift.

Let us encourage those among us who are trying to provide positive alternatives to abortion -- groups like <u>Mom's House</u>, <u>House of His Creation in Pennsylvania</u>, Jim McKee's Sav-A-Life in Texas, which I mentioned to you last year. Begun as a response to the call of a conscience, <u>Sav-A-Life</u> has become a crisis counseling center and saved 22 children since it was founded in 1981.

I think we're making progress in upholding the sanctity of life of infants born with physical or mental handicaps. The Department of Health and Human Services has now published final regulations to address cases such as <u>Baby Doe in Bloomington</u>. That child was denied lifesaving surgery and starved to death because he had Down's Syndrome and some people didn't think his life would be worth living.

Not too long ago I was privileged to meet in the Oval Office a charming little girl -tiny little girl -- filled with the joy of living. She was on crutches, but she swims; she
rides horseback, and her smile steals your heart. She was born with the same defects as
those Baby Does who have been denied the right to life. To see her, to see the love on
the faces of her parents and their joy in her was the answer to this particular question.

Secretary Heckler and Surgeon General Koop deserve credit for designing regulations providing basic protections to the least among us. And the American Academy of Pediatrics and the National Association of Children's Hospitals have now affirmed a person's mental or physical handicap must not be the basis for deciding to withhold medical treatment.

Let me assure you of something else: We want parents to know their children will not be victims of child pornography. I look forward to signing a new bill now awaiting final action in a conference committee that will tighten our laws against child pornography. And we're concerned about enforcement of all the Federal antiobscenity laws.

Over the past year, the United States Customs Service has increased by 200 percent its confiscation of obscene materials coming in across our borders. We're also intensifying our drive against crimes of family violence and sexual abuse.

I happen to believe that protecting victims is just as important as safeguarding the rights of defendants.

Restoring the right to life and protecting people from violence and exploitation are important responsibilities. But as members of God's family we share another, and that is helping to build a foundation of faith and knowledge to prepare our children for the challenges of life. "Train up a child in the way he should go," Solomon wrote, "and when he is old he will not depart from it."

If we're to meet the challenge of educating for the space age, of opening eyes and minds to treasures of literature, music, and poetry, and of teaching values of faith, courage, responsibility, kindness, and love, then we must meet these challenges as one people. And parents must take the lead. And I believe they are.

I know one thing I'm sure most of us agree on: God, source of all knowledge, should never have been expelled from our children's classrooms. The great majority of our people support voluntary prayer in schools.

We hear of [cases] where courts say it is dangerous to allow students to meet in Bible study or prayer clubs. And then there was the case of that kindergarten class that was reciting a verse. They said, "We thank you for the flowers so sweet. We thank you for the food we eat. We thank you for the birds that sing. We thank you, God, for everything." A court order of -- a court of appeals ordered them to stop. They were supposedly violating the Constitution of the United States.

Well, Teddy Roosevelt told us, "The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled, it burns like a consuming flame."

I think Americans are getting angry. I think they have a message, and Congress better listen. We are a government of, by, and for the people. And people want a constitutional amendment making it unequivocally clear our children can hold voluntary prayer in every school across this land. And if we could get God and discipline back in our schools, maybe we could get drugs and violence out.

I know that some believe that voluntary prayer in schools should be restricted to a moment of silence. We already have the right to remain silent -- we can take our fifth amendment.

Seriously, we need a new amendment to restore the rights that were taken from us. Senator Baker has assured us that he -- we will get a vote on our amendment. And with your help, we can win, and that will be a great victory for our children.

During the last decade, we've seen people's commitment to religious liberty expressed by the establishment of thousands of new religious schools. These schools were built by the sacrifices of parents determined to provide a quality education for their children in an environment that permits traditional values to flourish.

Now I believe that some of you've met with my advisers to discuss the situation of religious schools in Nebraska. We have all seen news accounts of the jailing of a minister, the padlocking of a church, and the continuing imprisonment of fathers of students. This issue of religious liberty has arisen in other States. The question is how to find a balance between assuring quality of education and preserving freedom for churches and parents who want their schools to reflect their faith.

These cases have mostly proceeded in State courts. A number of State supreme courts have reached decisions that moderated the effect of State regulations on religious schools. Last week, a panel appointed by the Governor of Nebraska concluded that the State's regulations violate the religious liberties of Christian schools.

I'm a firm believer in the separation of powers, that this nation is a federation of sovereign States. But isn't it time for the Nebraska courts or legislature to solve this problem by a speedy reconsideration? I hope -- I hope some way can be found to resolve the legal issues without having people in jail for doing what they think is right.

Within our families, neighborhoods, schools, and places of work, let us continue reaching out, renewing our spirit of friendship, community service, and caring for each other -- a spirit that flows like a deep and powerful river through the history of our nation.

I made a point last year which some of our critics jumped on, but I believe it has merit. Government bureaucracies spend billions for problems related to drugs, alcoholism, and disease. How much of that money could we save, how much better off might Americans be if all of us tried a little harder to live by the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule? I've been told that since the beginning of civilization millions and millions of laws have been written. I've even heard someone suggest it was as many as several billion. And yet, taken all together, all those millions and millions of laws have not improved on the Ten Commandments one bit.

Look at projects like CBN's "Operation Blessing," Moody Bible Institute's "Open Line" radio program, inner city -- or the radio program, "Inner City," I should say, in Chicago, and the work of Dr. E.V. Hill of Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Los Angeles. They show us that America is more than just government on the one hand and helpless individuals on the other. They show us that lives are saved, people are reborn and, yes, dreams come true when we heed the voice of the Spirit, minister to the needy, and glorify God. That is the stuff of which miracles are made.

Our mission stretches far beyond our borders; God's family knows no borders. In your life you face daily trials, but millions of believers in other lands face far worse. They are mocked and persecuted for the crime of loving God. To every religious dissident trapped in that cold, cruel existence, we send our love and support. Our message? You

Appendix

are not alone; you are not forgotten; do not lose your faith and hope because someday

you, too, will be free.

If the Lord -- If the Lord is our light, our strength, and our salvation, whom shall we

fear? Of whom shall we be afraid? No matter where we live, we have a promise that

can make all the difference, a promise from Jesus to soothe our sorrows, heal our

hearts, and drive away our fears. He promised there will never be a dark night that

does not end. Our "weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

He promised if our hearts are true, His love will be as sure as sunlight. And, by dying

for us, Jesus showed how far our love should be ready to go: all the way.

"For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever

believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

I'm a little self-conscious because I know very well you all could recite that verse to

me.

Helping each other, believing in Him, we need never be afraid. We will be part of

something far more powerful, enduring, and good than all the forces here on Earth. We

will be a part of paradise.

May God keep you always, and may you always keep God. Thank you very much.

GEORGE BUSH

41st President of the United States: 1989 - 1993

Inaugural Address

January 20, 1989

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker

Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors, and

friends:

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

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

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

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

I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn. For in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken and new action to be taken. There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have spoken of a Thousand Points of Light, of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the Nation, doing good. We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on

this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved. The old ideas are new again because they're not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

41st President of the United States: 1989 - 1993

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

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

42nd President of the United States: 1993 - 2001

Inaugural Address

January 20, 1993

My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This

ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we

show the world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy

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that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change; not change for change's sake but change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though we marched to the music of our time, our mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.

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

Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the cold war assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, and deep divisions among our own people.

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

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

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

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

To renew America, we must be bold. We must do what no generation has had to do before. We must invest more in our own people, in their jobs, and in their future, and at the same time cut our massive debt. And we must do so in a world in which we must compete for every opportunity. It will not be easy. It will require sacrifice, but it can be done and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake but for our own sake. We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children.

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

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

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

While America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges nor fail to seize the opportunities of this new world. Together with our friends and allies, we will work to shape change, lest it engulf us. When our vital interests are challenged or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary. The brave Americans serving our Nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve. But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause.

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

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

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

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

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Appendix

GEORGE W. BUSH

43rd President of the United States: 2001 - 2009

Inaugural Address

January 20, 2001

Thank you, all. Chief Justice Rehnquist, President Carter, President Bush, President

Clinton, distinguished guests, and my fellow citizens. The peaceful transfer of

authority is rare in history, yet common in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm

old traditions and make new beginnings.

As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our Nation, and I thank Vice

President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace.

I am honored and humbled to stand here where so many of America's leaders have

come before me, and so many will follow. We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a

story we continue but whose end we will not see. It is a story of a new world that

became a friend and liberator of the old, the story of a slaveholding society that

became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect

but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people united across the

generations by grand and enduring ideals. The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding

American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no

insignificant person was ever born.

Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though

our Nation has sometimes halted and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other

course.

Through much of the last century, America's faith in freedom and democracy was a

rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations. Our

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democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God; they are failures of love. And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and order in our souls. Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers; they

are citizens—not problems but priorities. And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God bless you all, and God bless America.

Appendix

BARACK OBAMA

44th President of the United States: 2009 - 2017

Inaugural Address

January 20, 2009

My fellow citizens, I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the

trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank

President Bush for his service to our Nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation

he has shown throughout this transition.

Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath. The words have been

spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet every so

often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments,

America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office,

but because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and

true to our founding documents.

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

That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our Nation is at war against

a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a

consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective

failure to make hard choices and prepare the Nation for a new age. Homes have been

lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly. Our schools fail too

many. And each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen

our adversaries and threaten our planet.

These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no

less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land, a nagging fear that America's

decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights. Today I say to you

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that the challenges we face are real. They are serious, and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America: They will be met.

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

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

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

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard Earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sanh.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken. You cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

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

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

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

As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us today, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service, a willingness to

find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.

For as much as Government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this Nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job, which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate.

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

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

So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The Capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a

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moment when the outcome of our Revolution was most in doubt, the Father of our

Nation ordered these words be read to the people:

"Let it be told to the future world . . . that in the depth of winter, when nothing but

hope and virtue could survive . . . that the city and the country, alarmed at one

common danger, came forth to meet [it]."

America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us

remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy

currents and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children

that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end; that we did not turn back,

nor did we falter. And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we

carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

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

DONALD J. TRUMP

45th President of the United States: 2017 - 2021

Inaugural Address

January 20, 2017

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President

Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: Thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our

country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together, we will determine the

course of America and the world for many, many years to come. We will face

challenges, we will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

Every 4 years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer

of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for

their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.

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

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

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

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

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

But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our Nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and

the gangs and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words: You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

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

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

Notes to chapter one

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- According to Machiavelli, « religion has glorifies humble and contemplative men, rather than men of action. It has assigned humility abnegation and contempt.
- Machiavelli says that Christianity is not suitable in politics and thus suggested some sort of anti-Christian politics, which can be achieved by going back to paganism (Beiner 1993: 619). Rousseau favors this solution. His solution is rather to find a secular creed. As Bellah says, Rousseau's interest has been, shared by many scholars like Machiavelli and Tocqueville, who also speculated whether Christianity could ever make good citizens (Bellah, 1978: 16).
- The idea that religion is vital to political stability is not a new one and can be found throughout the history of socio-political thought. He wrote in Emile (191: 255), "if there's no God, the wicked is right and the good man is nothing but a fool. Voltaire aphorism" if there's no God, it would be necessary to invent Him (cited in Noone, 198:134), and recently Eisenhower famous remark, "our government makes no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith- and I don't care what it is (Cited in Bellah, 1976: 156).
- 131 According to Rousseau, the sovereign is only a « corporate entity », whose existence is common but not concrete" having an abstract and collective existence, so that the idea attached to this concept does not refer to a single individual. However, it is up to the government to execute what the "sovereign want (s) in the manner that he requires. (Rousseau 1762/1973 283)
- 14. Rousseau equates the concept of the « common good » with the intention of the general will. In his own words, the end of the state is the common good. He adds that contradicting the private interests has made the society "very important" but the harmony of interests, which has made it possible. Thus, there must be a shared point of communication between all interests. Otherwise, no society could exist. Hence, what is common to various interests from the Social Contract(Rousseau, 1762/1973:182).
- Philip E. Hammond (1980 a) takes the notion of civil religion in Rousseau's definition of the term, is free of church and state.
- The study of the Soviet Marxism appears in Leninism, see Lane (1981), Zeldin (1969) and McDowell (1974)
- ¹⁶ The study of the Soviet Marxism appears in Leninism, see Lane (1981), Zeldin (1969) and McDowell (1974) The state supported the Durkheimian theory of education. See Richter (1960)
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- The word « God » appeared in Monroe's second inaugural address in 1821.
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الملخص

يختص هذا البحث بدراسة الديانة المدنية في أمريكا و التي تتعلق بمجموعة من الرموز و العادات والتماثيل و الأماكن المقدسة التي تبقي الأمريكيين متحدين سواء في أوقات الشدة أو اليسر كما و يركز البحث على إثبات وجود هذا المفهوم في كل من الحضارة الأمريكية المجتمع الأمريكي و كذا السياسة الأمريكية من خلال تحليل الخطاب السياسي و النصوص المقدسة و الشعارات المقدسة للدولة بالإضافة الأمريكية من خلال تحليل الخطاب عما و تركز الباحثة عن دور هذه الديانة المدنية في السياسة الأمريكية الداخلية و الخارجية

الكلماتالمفتاحية : الديانة المدنية-مهمةمقدسة-حملة صليبية-الهي-أهدافقصوى

Résumé

Ce travail de recherche porte sur la religion civile en Amérique (1967-20117). Il traite d'un ensemble de symboles, de rituels et de monuments sacrés qui unissent les Américains dans les moments difficiles et bons. Il examine l'existence d'un tel concept dans la culture, la société et la politique américaines à travers l'analyse de discours présidentiels, de textes sacrés, de devises, de monuments et de sites. Il enquête également sur son(s) rôle(s) au niveau national et international.

Mots clés : religion civile, mission sacrée, croisade, divin, idéaux.

Summary

This research work deals with Civil Religion in America (1967-20117). It deals with a set of sacred symbols, rituals, and monuments that bind Americans together in hard and good times. It examines the existence of such a concept in the American culture, society and politics through the analysis of presidential speeches, sacred texts, mottoes, monuments and sites. It also investigates its role(s) at the domestic and international level.

Key words: civil religion, sacred mission, crusade, divine, ideals.