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COMPARISON OF SPEAKERS LIZ TRUSS AND BORIS JOHNSON

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Abstract

Public political discourse is one of the most common ways for a politician to communicate with their voters. The aim of this study is to conduct an analysis and comparison of the speakers Liz Truss and Boris Johnson in their public appearances in front of the audience, where specific characteristics of political rhetoric will be explained in the following text. The speeches of Elizabeth (Liz) Truss differ in terms of length, style, and language she uses. Some of her speeches are strictly based on facts and descriptions of actions by historical figures, where the use of figurative language is very rare. However, there are speeches where the concept of metaphor is used in a prosperous and productive way. Entire domains such as country, economy, and the world are often combined with the original domain. This expresses the process of "building" or "creating" a better place to live or describing the desired way the country, economy, or the world should look, or the way to improve the current state. In contrast, Boris Johnson's speeches are more explicit, supplemented with emotional feelings, and a desire to evoke empathy among the entire audience.

Keywords: speech, political speech, audience, public.

1. Political Rhetoric

In political rhetoric, if we follow the same logic as in general rhetoric, the following elements should be identified: the speaker, the audience, and the speech. Political speeches shape public opinion, which is crucial in making political decisions.

The speaker is one of the distinctive features of political rhetoric. There are examples where significant movements and phenomena have been named after their founders, which are still known today: Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam got their names from their founders. Lenin is synonymous with the October Revolution, Hitler with fascism, Marx with political economy, Stalin with dictatorship, and so on. These individuals were political leaders who elevated their personalities to a cult-like status through their roles as speakers. This ties into the dilemma of whether historical moments create leaders or whether leaders create history. Leaders are often regarded as great orators.

Political rhetoric is crafted by political orators, who can be ordinary leaders or true leaders. Ordinary leaders are those at the forefront of a movement, party, or state but lack the qualities of true leaders. They can be wise, brave, and honest, but they do not possess all the attributes of leaders. Leaders share some common traits: appearance, decisiveness, persuasiveness, courage, ability to simplify expression, and more. Appearance is important for any speaker. It does not necessarily mean they should be tall or of a specific stature, as history has seen many excellent political orators with a shorter stature (e.g., Octavian Augustus, Napoleon, etc.). What is required are distinctive characteristics that set them apart from the profile of an ordinary person. They should appear healthy, decisive, relaxed, and relatable to the people. A leader should be adaptable to all changes, especially if they plan to stay in the political arena for an extended period. Through their speeches, leaders should invigorate the blood of their listeners and influence their minds. They should turn defeat into victory through their speeches. Leaders should make citizens feel important, minimize their worries and fears, and instill hope through their speeches. Through their speeches, leaders create a perception of a charismatic personality. Michael Corda distinguishes three types of leaders (Polenak Akimovska, Buchkovski, Naumovski, Apasiev & Andonovski, 2019):

a) Ordinary leaders are those who are at the forefront of a state, movement, or people, but they do not always possess the characteristics of true leaders; something is missing.

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b) True leaders are the leaders of the state, movement, or people in the true sense of the word. Almost all of them have some common characteristics, such as a unique appearance, persuasiveness, decision-making ability, the ability to simplify and express themselves, etc.

Appearance is significant for every speaker, especially for those who aspire to be leaders, even though it doesn't always have to be about being beautiful and robust. The distinctiveness of one's personality matters. Notably, even people with shorter stature have succeeded in the political arena, such as Napoleon Bonaparte, Otto von Bismarck, Octavian Augustus, and others. Some leaders had specific appearances, like Hitler and Mussolini, while others possessed remarkable beauty and physical stature, such as Gaius Julius Caesar or Pompey the Great. In more recent history, during the People's Liberation War, the indomitable Josip Broz Tito should be mentioned. These are the leaders who, once seen, are never forgotten. It is believed that a leader should not alter their outward appearance – for example, Queen Elizabeth II showing up at an event in farmer's attire or the legendary Cuban President Fidel Castro shaving his beard would not be appropriate. A leader should not be ordinary and unremarkable, but they must also not be excessively ostentatious. They should appear healthy, attractive, and their behavior should clearly show that they know how to make decisions. Such personalities are chosen by the people as leaders, and according to Gustave Le Bon, people can only be led where they want to go, even if they don't have their own program, so leaders are the ones who devise it. Corda, on the other hand, believes that a leader should understand the "spirit of the times" and the needs of the people – and through a well-conceived program, strive to achieve them.

c) Charismatic leaders possess charismatic traits, a remarkable appearance, decision-making ability, and an oratory performance that captivates and remains in the memory of the audience. As Korda states, they are capable of understanding the needs of the time and the desires of the people regarding the direction they want to take. In the past, these types of leaders, products of their time, relied on their intellectual abilities, intelligence, lineage, connections with other charismatic figures - for example, in ancient Rome, Caesar grew into a charismatic leader because he was exceptionally handsome, remarkable, educated, came from a prominent noble family, had personal and organizational skills, and was an exceptional and gifted lawyer, military commander, general, and orator. Today, entire teams and advertising agencies work for these charismatic personalities, constructing their image by organizing a series of ceremonies, celebrations, and similar events, but also by creating fabricated problems that don't actually exist. The individual whose image is being built should, in the end, solve these problems, thus being perceived as the 'hero of our time.' Charisma of an individual is especially constructed through means of public information, through media advertising, and political marketing, where TV channels and paid 'factory journalists,' regardless of proclaimed independent and investigative journalism, hold a special place (Polenak Akimovska, Buchkovski, Naumovski, Apasiev & Andonovski, 2019).

If we start from the generally accepted definition of rhetoric as the art of persuasion, the goal of political speakers during the pre-election campaign is to persuade the voters to cast their vote for them on the election day. This entails a motivational speech meant to convince the listeners and trigger the desired action.

The second element is the audience. In political rhetoric, the audience is on a pedestal.

2. The structure and specifics of political discourse

It may not sound authoritative enough, but what everyone knows from school about the three main parts of a composition also applies to political discourse. Practice has shown that it is best for it to be built on these three traditional parts, with the appropriate time allocation:

Introductory part (A) – 15%
Main part (content) (B) – 70%
Conclusion (C) – 15%

This most general orientation should be applied based on our goals and the audience's purpose. We may prefer an impartial speech (a report) in which we list and organize the facts and draw conclusions from the discussion and the opinions of individual listeners. If the goal of our speech is to persuade and lead, to engage the listener, the speech should tend to conclude with a clear

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and mobilizing call to action. In similar speeches, the principles of pure commercial advertising are often applied. In that sense, for example, there is the AIDA formula:

Attention – part A
Interest – part B
Desire
Action – part C

Regarding political discourse, we could, for example, use the following structure:
A – Motivation, presentation
B – Description of the situation, goal, examples of action, alternatives
C – Solution

Americans often use direct addressing of the listener:
A – HEY (directed at the listener)
B – YOU (referring to you)
WHY (why something should happen or be done)
C – WHAT (what exactly needs to be done)

In persuasive speech, you can indeed use the dialectical structure with success:
A: Thesis (your own viewpoints)
B: Antithesis (opposing viewpoints of the opponent)
C: Synthesis (necessary conclusion, which can also involve a compromise)

It is possible to use the following structure for expository and analytical speeches (reports) (Kanev, 2014):

A: Viewpoint: clarification of the problem
B: Reason: sober information
Emotion: awareness of the listener's connection to the problem
C: Knowledge: generalization and consolidation of information

- Emphasizing alignment with the audience's interests
- Appealing to the emotions of the audience
- Subjective selection of argument arrangement with the goal of the speech in mind

3. Analysis of the public speech of Elizabeth Truss

Mary Elizabeth Truss is a British politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and leader of the Conservative Party from September to October 2022, making her the shortest-serving Prime Minister in the history of the United Kingdom. Truss had previously held various positions in the cabinet under Prime Ministers David Cameron, Theresa May, and Boris Johnson, most recently serving as Foreign Secretary from 2021 to 2022. She became the Member of Parliament for South West Norfolk in 2010.

During her political career, Elizabeth Truss, from 2019 to 2021, also held the position of Secretary of State for International Trade. In the analysis of her speeches, the most significant theme that was evident given Truss's political position is labeled as the "trading nation", with a total of 32 mentions in 8 of her speeches. She often associates this category with "values" and "friends/allies." Britain should build the value of free trade and trade based on its values - with countries that also share those values. It should once again become a leader in world trade, as it was two centuries ago.

However, she adds that there are many aspects of global Britain that have little to do with trade. Trade itself can also be used to spread values and freedoms worldwide, as well as ideas, innovations, products, and services.

"*We will ensure our business is value-led and showcases the best of Britain to the world.*"

In her speeches, Truss uses historical references quite extensively, including specific mentions of historical events, personalities, and achievements, which are absent in her contemporary from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Dominic Raab. Their appearance would be more expected for him than for Truss, given the format of statements by Raab's predecessors. Many frequently cited

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examples by the Secretary of State for International Trade relate to the repeal of corn laws and the creation of GATT. Most of these can be found in her speech at Chatham House, where she mentions historian Vigil Thomas Macaulay, Napoleon, the Cobden trio, Peel and Bright, and their contributions to the repeal of corn laws, as well as the most common reference in discourse - the abolition of the slave trade.

Like Theresa May, when visiting a foreign country, she uses references to personalities or realities familiar to the local audience, and in an American context, she mentions Winston Churchill.

In her speeches to a domestic audience, her references are more specific and include a wide range of British thinkers, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Ada Lovelace, or Alan Turing. This is based on the assumption that the British public is familiar with these figures.

"I am thrilled to be the first Minister for Trade to represent the independent voice of the UK at an international meeting since Peter Walker, nearly half a century ago. The UK, now after leaving the EU, has continued its independent membership in the WTO, regaining control over our trade policy, our sovereignty, and our future.

The United Kingdom is and will always be an open, liberal nation with an outward view.

We are the home of Adam Smith and his 'invisible hand'...

... of David Ricardo and his theory of comparative advantage..."

She also doesn't hesitate to refer to non-British figures or realities if parallels can be found with the current situation, such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal or criticism of President Herbert Hoover (Truss, 2020).

In addition to historical references, Liz Truss is also concerned with the question of cooperation with countries from the Anglosphere and former colonies. Truss is one of the proponents of the "hibernation" narrative as a metaphor for British membership in the EU. By leaving it, they can renew interrupted trade relations with like-minded nations, "*starting with the USA, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand"* (House of Commons, 2020).

(For her, Japan often plays the role of a state that conveniently obstructs a group of countries from the English-speaking world in an otherwise purely Anglophone context. However, during her visit to Japan, Truss highlights their shared values, and she also uses the image of *"two democratic island nations"* − although in this case without historical references (Truss, 2020)).

She views cooperation with the Commonwealth and former colonies in a similar manner, seeing them as potential trade partners from which the EU has been separated. The significance of Truss's speeches is not just in the dominant economic focus of her nostalgically tinted statements. Given her position as Minister for International Trade, this dominance is understandable. However, what sets her apart is that even in this role, she approaches the concept of a trading nation through a large number of historical references and anchors her economic goals in past achievements and inspirational figures. It's as if she were to replace the speeches of her colleague Dominic Raab, for whom such statements would be understandable.

When discussing the equivalence of the terms "political discourse" and "political communication", as a two-way process, discourse is of interest from the perspective of its modeling within targeted professional communication, which shapes a set of strategies and tactics in the speech of a political leader. An important aspect of political discourse is addressing, which takes into account the activities of both the message sender and the recipient. The politician fulfills their discourse with such a strategic component designed to "respond" to the strategies in the audience's speech. At the same time, the leader assumes what set of strategies and tactics can be expected from the audience. In this regard, our interest in this work was drawn to the speech of Liz Truss as a political leader who incorporates strategies and tactics into her discourse. The speech chosen for analysis is when she was in the position of Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from September 6, 2022, to October 25, 2022, in which she announced her resignation.

In this section, the most striking examples are presented.

I would like to start the analysis of the strategies with comments in addressing the audience and greetings in Liz Truss's speech *("I took the office at a time of significant economic and international instability...")* (Truss, 2022). So, at the beginning of the resignation speeches of her predecessors David William, David Cameron and Boris Johnson, there is a greeting and addressing to

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each recipient *("Good morning, everyone, ..")* (Cameron, 2016) and an informal addressing *("Well, this is it, folks…")* (Johnson, 2022).

As a result of the study, tactics shaping the following main strategies in Liz Truss's speech were identified: positive self-positioning, self-defense, and discrediting the opponent. This set of strategies, to some extent, corresponds to those global strategies identified by the Dutch scholar T. van Dijk: positive self-positioning and negative positioning of the opponent (Dijk, 2008). The presence of a theatrical strategy is also noted, driven by the speaker's desire to make her performance spectacular.

The strategy of positive self-positioning/positioning involves the positive self-presentation of the speaker. The self-defense strategy is a kind of counter-argument to accusations from the opponent and/or the target audience. The strategy of discrediting the opponent is aimed at their negative portrayal.

"*I am a fighter, not a loser*" is a quote from Liz Truss's speech at the meeting of the House of Commons on October 19, 2022, while the former Prime Minister resigned the following day, on October 20, 2022.

During her first three weeks as Prime Minister, Truss had a "speaking role in front of hundreds of world leaders" at the Queen's funeral and held "a series of diplomatic meetings on the sidelines" of the United Nations General Assembly on September 21 (Landler, 2022) and she delivered a speech in which she said she wants people to keep more of their earnings (Martin & Truss, 2022).

On October 20, 2022, her 45th day in office, Truss announced her resignation as the leader of the Conservative Party and her intention to resign as Prime Minister, stating *that "given the circumstances, I cannot deliver the mandate on which I was elected by the Conservative Party."* (Truss, 2022). In the same statement, Truss said that after a conversation with the Chairman of the 1922 Committee, Sir Graham Brady, both agreed that there would be leadership elections "to be completed within the next week." Her resignation as Prime Minister was accepted by Charles III in an audience at Buckingham Palace. She was succeeded by Rishi Sunak as the leader of the Conservative Party on October 24, and she advised Charles III to summon Sunak for an audience and appointment as the new Prime Minister on October 25. She became the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom with the shortest tenure in history. The brief length of her premiership became the subject of much humor, including a live broadcast of a head of lettuce, comparing the vegetable's shelf life to her remaining mandate (Mason, 2022).

4. Analysis of the public speech of Boris Johnson

This part is about Boris Johnson, who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2016 to 2018 and as Prime Minister from 2019 to 2022. The research involves analyzing public appearances and speeches from both positions during the specified period. A total of 16 speeches and 150 statements with a certain degree of nostalgia were examined. The majority of primary sources come from his roles during the period under consideration.

Similar to Theresa May, it is possible to observe certain changes in Johnson due to the environment in which he found himself. In his assembly speech, his statements are not rich in nostalgic remarks. On the tested categories, he addresses everyone equally and emphasizes cooperation with Anglo-Sphere countries, although not explicitly, first by mentioning them only in a random list of countries without ascribing deeper significance.

However, the assembly environment is a place where his conservative colleagues and opponents expect such statements from him, which sometimes reflects in their questions during the debate following Johnson's speech. During that time, he responded to a question about the details of economic cooperation with the Commonwealth, but he did not further elaborate on this topic (House of Commons, 2018). In another case, he strongly opposed suggestions from the Labour councils that the government was attempting to create a ministerial role for the colonies. It seems that even if his parliamentary colleagues label him as a carrier of certain ideas from the past, Johnson at times distances himself from them, thereby seemingly negating their historical significance or place in British history. In front of the British non-parliamentary public, he already uses more historical

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references, and even here, we find themes of exceptionalism (through statements like *"we are protagonists")*(Johnson, 2022) and the island narrative.

"We won't need [the EU] for a simple reason – the UK is not a European power by agreement or law, but by irrevocable facts of history, geography, language, culture, instinct, and sentiment." (Johnson, 2020)

Exceptionalism primarily manifests itself in the form of past achievements. Although many of them are acknowledged as being accomplished with the help of friends, the independent ones prevail and hold greater weight for Johnson. In connection with this, he questions whether future generations of the British will abound with the same spirit and determination, but in the same breath, he accuses his Victorian ancestors of chauvinism (Johnson, 2016). Amidst the flood of praises, it is possible to find moments of critical assessment of one's own past, but these occur much less frequently. In non-parliamentary settings, he talks more about cooperation with Anglo-Sphere countries or former colonies. Like other speakers, he sees leaving the EU as an opportunity for the nation to look further outward and aims to have more intensive relationships with certain regions than during its membership in the integration project. Despite avoiding more specific statements about the Commonwealth in Parliament, in other speeches, it is clear that he attributes specific importance to it. The community constitutes one-third of the world's population, among global groups, it generates a similar enthusiasm as the popularity of Queen Elizabeth II. Among heads of states, it encompasses a wide range of topics. Johnson cites all of these reasons as worthy of admiration and for further collaboration (Johnson, 2018). At the same time, he sees in the Commonwealth the economic potential of one of the fastest-growing economies in the world (Johnson, 2020) contemplating it similarly to how he sees the United Kingdom.

"The expansion of our diplomatic network within the Commonwealth [...] demonstrates our commitment to create even greater success from this historic and important network of like-minded nations." (House of Commons, 2018).

In the case of a foreign environment or audience, it depends on the specific country. However, generally, these speeches follow a certain pattern – to find as many similarities as possible between Britain and the country in question, to emphasize a belief in shared values, and to cite instances when the paths of these nations have intersected. Japan is an example often mentioned to highlight common characteristics – both countries are democracies, constitutional monarchies, and island nations, and on top of that, they believe in shared values (Johnson, 2017). In the case of Latin America, he highlights the presence of English-speaking populations who have found refuge and admiration for British culture or a railway station built in the style of Paddington. As a bonus, he adds two British historical figures who were involved in this region, the maritime genius Thomas Cochrane and the geographer P. H. Fawcett (Johnson, 2018).

In his speeches, Johnson relies on a large number of historical references, including those that may not be familiar to the domestic audience, especially when it comes to references to British personalities engaged worldwide. In addition to domestic economists, thinkers, and politicians, he mentions sailors, explorers, geographers, and artists. His speech in Greenwich is particularly rich in these references, where he compares the ornamentation of Thornhill at the Old Royal Naval College in Greenwich to the work of Michelangelo in the Vatican.

It's clear that Johnson has a tendency to work with the space he's in and seek references to British history or exceptional achievements. (He mentions, for example, the marine chronometer on display in Greenwich as one of the exhibits or a detail from the painting above it, depicting the royal couple William III and Mary II.) While Theresa May mainly used statements from politicians and statesmen, Johnson doesn't hesitate to quote the Scottish poet Robert Burns (Johnson, 2016) or to label the Victorian misery as "Dickensian" (Johnson, 2020).

Boris Johnson is known for his distinct style of communication, which includes personal notes, humor, and metaphors (The Iranian term "Old Fox" referring to Britain.) In one instance, he even acknowledges a connection to a historical figure, mentioning that his mother highlighted this fact. In the case of Boris Johnson, one might wonder why his speeches, despite being more researched, don't contain as many explicit expressions with a nostalgic tone as one might expect. There are several possible explanations for this. It could be a form of self-censorship, whether by Johnson himself or by the political party he represents and expresses its ideology through his

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thoughts. At a time when Global Britain is used to secure new alliances and strengthen old friendships post-Brexit, it might not be wise to strain these partnerships with thoughtless statements and accusations of neo-colonialism or imperial resurgence. Additionally, Johnson may have been forced to address other issues, including the COVID-19 pandemic, after taking office as Prime Minister. This leaves him with less room to focus solely on foreign policy, especially during a time marked by a significant crisis.

During the pandemic, Johnson's language of sacrifice primarily focused on the general population: *"I want to thank families for their sacrifice in these difficult times"* (March 18). *"Bit by bit, day by day, with your actions, your restraint, and your sacrifice, we are putting this country in a better and stronger position"* (March 20). *"Thanks to your effort and sacrifice in containing the spread of this disease, the mortality rate is decreasing, and hospital admissions are decreasing" (May 10). "[The public] responded magnificently and selflessly. Putting their lives on hold, carrying any burden, overcoming every obstacle, and tolerating any disruption and discomfort, no matter how great or small or inconsistent"* (November 4). He uses the concept of sacrifice to honor the general population that greets him through his words. Moreover, he suggests that the collection of individual sacrifices is central to mitigating the pandemic. The logic is directly linked to responsibility. The individual citizen is considered responsible for the country's successes in the face of the crisis, through their willingness to sacrifice for the greater good of the entire society. Politics and authority in these situations fade into the background.

Utilitarianism – the calculation of the greatest good for the greatest number - is evident in statements that commend actions that benefit a large number of people. In this, he conceptually overlaps significantly with economics, with the difference being that utilitarianism is always explicitly a moral logic – it involves a sense of duty – while economics is only indirectly normative. Economics is a key theme in neoliberal logic, but it is not a proper moral logic in itself. In the following examples of Johnson's speeches regarding utilitarian logic, the presence of factors beyond pure economics is evident. On March 16, Johnson mentioned that he wants to *"save lives and minimize suffering."* On July 3, he said, *"Without a doubt, lockdowns saved many hundreds of thousands of lives – but they also had a devastating impact on our way of life and our economy (...). Our goal remains to enable as many people as possible to live their lives as close to normal as possible – in a way that is as safe and secure as possible."* From July 17: *"When we set out our roadmap on May 11, we said our goal was to return life to as close to normal as possible, for as many people as possible, as quickly and fairly as possible, in a way that is safe and continues to protect our NHS. That goal remains the same."* Although the logic of these statements is marked by the economic aspect of life, it cannot be reduced to pure economics. Utilitarian moral logic is evident in the emphasis that life has value in itself, rather than just having an instrumental or calculative character. The value associated with the quality of life, for example, is a factor that guides the outcome of the comprehensive calculation (Morelock, Listik & Kalia, 2021).

Compassion and pathos involve articulations of emotions experienced in connection with the suffering of others, i.e., "close" or "personal" articulations of human suffering that are expected to evoke emotions in the listener: "*Now there are four coronavirus deaths in the UK, and our deepest sympathies obviously are with their friends and families*" (March 9*). "Of those who have tested positive for coronavirus across all settings, I can tell the House that 42,927 have now died"* (June 23). Johnson often mentioned that he is "saddened" by the lives lost. On June 10, he expressed condolences to *"more grieving families."* On November 26, he appealed to the pathetic and sympathetic dimension when mentioning positive developments with the vaccine, which *"can help people in our country to 'get our lives back' and all the things we love."* Although compassion was commonly present, it was not usually expressed in terms of concrete behavioral or political responses to the pandemic as much as it was expressed on the surface. Emotions were narrated and spoken about with care, but they were not mobilized as forces or justifications for the actions taken. The main justifications were related to "governance" − the sense of scientific necessity, the plea for citizens to be responsible, and the government's desire not to resort to stricter measures for enforcement. However, this turn to an intra-personal and intimate approach to what is a political concern does not imply any invocation of the emotional elements of the neoliberal configuration highlighted above; it

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rather points to the individual as a unit of politics. In simple terms, the fact that the Prime Minister responds as an individual, rather than solely through his political role, is symbolic here.

Conclusion

In their speeches, politicians Liz Truss and Boris Johnson predominantly cover the researched categories that are their specialties, with a particular focus on one or more of them. "Values" strongly prevail for them as a foundation from which other important topics emerge. This is especially the case because the speaker is the Prime Minister or has previously held positions such as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for International Trade, as is the case with Liz Truss. (The only exception is Boris Johnson, for whom all categories are approximately equally represented.) Similarly, when the speaker is the Minister for International Trade, the category "trade nation" is dominant. Ministers for International Development, on the other hand, emphasize the theme of "power for good." However, the speakers also allocate space to other categories in their speeches. Thus, their role has a significant influence on the topics these politicians address in their speeches. When it comes to the influence of their positions on the Brexit referendum, there isn't a significant difference between former supporters. It is true that Boris Johnson's speeches are more explicit and eurosceptic, but such an approach is not evident from the other side, such as Liz Truss, who reevaluated her views after the referendum and decided to support leaving the union, which is also reflected in her speeches. Differences in rhetoric can be attributed to the background and education of these speakers. Those educated in the humanities, especially philosophy, like Johnson and Truss, tend to refer to historical figures, events, and achievements more often and in some way reconcile with the past. This tendency is also present in their speeches, and it's possible either Truss herself is responsible for these references due to a personal interest in British history or that they are contributions from speechwriters who participated in her prime ministerial speeches and could add these references to them. Therefore, it can be assumed that the education of the speakers significantly influences the nature of their speeches. The public statements about the pandemic from the UK Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, can be seen as an embodiment of at least three different moral logics simultaneously: neoliberal, utilitarian, and compassionate. Our analysis does not intend to comment on state interventions or their lack. It simply highlights that Johnson's public statements about the crisis indicate a mixture of these different logics and themes. Since the individuals under investigation use the services of speechwriters, it is not easy – if at all possible – to determine how many nostalgic references are contributed by the speakers themselves and how much is the responsibility of authors from the partisan environment. Given that the definitions and examples used by them overlap, two interpretations are proposed. The speakers can take the ideology of the Conservative Party and adapt it to their own rhetorical style. Or, with the help of speechwriters, they can let the party speak through them as carriers of these ideas. The end product is most likely a mixture of the two. Both representatives, Boris Johnson and Liz Truss, are both creators and orators. Their roles and education add uniqueness to the value and ideological basis provided in their public speeches.

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