

# **America's Call to Defend Freedom**

## **- A Critical Discourse Analysis of Three Presidential Speeches**

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# 1. Introduction

Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make.

Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists<sup>1</sup>.

These were the words of President George W. Bush in his famous “War on Terror” speech, which was held just nine days after 9/11 on September 20, 2001, when he declared war on terror. These words and many other utterances of President Bush after 9/11 were marked by a bipartite worldview of *us* and *them* and good versus evil.

This way of perceiving the world has provided me with an interest in how American presidents have spoken to the people of the United States - and the rest of the world - during times of crises that include other nations or other groups of people with different beliefs and ideologies than those of the United States. My initial speculations were whether this bipartite worldview is significant only of the discourse of President Bush or if other presidents have adopted this type of discourse as well. After reading several presidential speeches held in times of crises, it came apparent that it seems almost impossible for the presidents not to speak of *us* and *them* when a crisis also concerns other groups of people. This has led to a critical discourse analysis (henceforth referred to as CDA) of three speeches of three different American presidents with the sociocognitive approach to CDA of Teun A. van Dijk, ideological discourse analysis (henceforth referred to as IDA), where the notion of *us* and *them* and ideological discourse of *us* and degrading discourse of *them* is in focus.

When a nation experiences a crisis, the expectations of political leaders are extremely high as it is expected that they make vital decisions that help the entire nation get through the crisis in the best way possible. One way for leaders to show the citizens that they are great leaders who live up to the high expectations is by communicating with and informing the citizens. As with many other situations, the discourse of leaders can have great impact on how citizens perceive their leaders, and how the leaders seem to be managing their jobs.

Of course, there are different types of crises. They can be natural disasters or terrorist attacks that happen suddenly, and they can be different types of problems that arise and slowly grow bigger. No

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 1, lines 111-112.

matter what type of crisis a nation is experiencing, the political leaders must address the crisis and speak to the public as it is one of their main tasks as leaders. In my study of the discourse of American presidents addressing crises, I have chosen to focus on crises where the American ideology of living in freedom has been threatened, such as the Cold War and 9/11.

I have picked out three speeches to focus on in my study. The first is the Republican president Ronald Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate held on June 12, 1987 where the crisis which we can identify as the Cold War was not sudden or urgent at this point as it was still an ongoing crisis which began four decades earlier. I have also chosen to analyze President Bush's State of the Union address from 2002 where the crisis of 9/11 was indeed urgent and sudden; however, this speech was held four months later when it was time for the president to give his State of the Union speech and clarify to the nation what must be done about the crisis now that much more intelligence was gathered. Finally, I have chosen a speech held by the incumbent Democratic president, Barack Obama. This speech was held on March 27, 2009, which was only two months after he began his presidency, and here he presented his new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, which he wanted to approach differently than the former administration. Like the speech of President Reagan, this speech was held many years after the crisis originally struck but as we shall see, terminating and learning from a crisis are two significant stages of crisis management and these can be lengthy. This has led to the following problem formulation in my study of presidential discourse:

I will study the discourse of President Reagan, President Bush, and President Obama in the three speeches chosen to find out how they discursively convey their solutions to the crises, political visions, and their ideologies by answering the following three sub questions:

- How does each president express a bipartite worldview in their discourse?
- How do George Lakoff's family models fit these presidents' framing? Which family model and worldview do they each represent?
- Why do the three presidents communicate and frame their messages the way they do?

In my study of the discourse of these three American presidents, I will initially take a look at the five stages of crisis management undergone by Arjen Boin, Paul 't Hart, Eric Stern, and Bengt

Sundelius in their book “The Politics of Crisis Management”. This section is supposed to give an understanding of the stages that a nation and their leaders – in this case the United States and the incumbent president and his staff – go through when crises occur, and how leaders are expected to deal with the situation by the citizens, the media, and how it is advantageous for the leaders to deal with it strategically. This section will not be used directly in my analysis of the speeches; however, it is significant information to the understanding of the role of a president when crises occur.

Next, I will focus on the art of framing and the importance of framing persuasively for American politicians as failing to frame in such a way that it persuades may have consequences. I will elaborate on Robert M. Entman’s work on framing and *spreading activation*, which is important to the understanding of how framing actually works. I will include the Cascading Activation Model which demonstrates the flow of information from the White House to the ordinary American citizen. I will elaborate on the linguist, Charles J. Fillmore’s, study on frame semantics, which concerns the finding and addition of meaning to words and creating meaning of individual words within a context. In Fillmore’s work, I have found an emphasis on the importance of understanding contexts, such as *prototypes*, *categories*, and *speech situations* in order to understand individual frames and make meaning of a text or speech. This means that a politician should frame according to the citizens’ culture and understanding of broader contexts in order to appear credible and persuasive.

Then, I will move on to the cognitive linguist, George Lakoff’s, work on framing. According to Lakoff, framing concerns the cognitive structures in our brains and therefore, it is important for a politician to frame in such a way that it fits the listener’s worldview otherwise the goal of persuading may fail. I will elaborate further on this as I move on to study Lakoff’s family models, “The Strict Father Model” and “The Nurturant Parent Model”, which are supposed to reflect the two main political parties in the United States and morals and values within these parties and therefore also the worldviews of Republicans and Democrats. I will use my section on framing to demonstrate how President Reagan, President Bush, and President Obama are able to frame their messages by their choice of words and create connotations in our minds for us to understand their messages the way they want us to, and how they can represent their worldview through their framing.

Next, I will go over CDA and IDA. We know CDA as a method which sees discourse as a social practice where discourse constitutes events and situations and the people involved. This means that

CDA is a method which can be used to identify power relations and dynamics among people and groups of people. As this reveals a great deal about the underlying ideologies within groups of people, I have chosen to use van Dijk's sociocognitive approach called IDA, which has a focus on ideological discourse where the notion of *us* and *them* is significant. I will go through van Dijk's suggestions to a critical analysis and then elaborate further on this in his approach to IDA. I will use the terms that van Dijk introduces in his approach to IDA, such as *ingroups* and *outgroups*, *positive self-description* and *negative other-description*, and *semantic structures* and *formal structures*, etc. in my analyses of the three presidential speeches to demonstrate how a bipartite worldview of *us* and *them* seems to be shared by all three presidents in their discourse and which ideologies, values, and visions they each express in their speeches.

I find all these theories to be significant and well interconnected to my study. Crisis management in politics is important in this study because it gives us an understanding of what an administration goes through when crises occur and it gives us strategic insight. In order to be strategic, a politician must frame his messages in such a way that it evokes the right frames inside our minds so that we are persuaded. In order to understand politics and framing in America – which is my focus – Lakoff's theory is suitable for just that while a CDA with the sociocognitive approach of IDA gives us the tools to critically analyze different cognitive aspects in these speeches in order to identify the ideological discourse.

I will analyze the three speeches in chronological order so I will begin with President Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate from 1987. Then, I will analyze President Bush's State of the Union address of 2002, and finally, President Obama's speech concerning his new strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan from 2009. I will briefly comment on similarities and differences between the discourse of the three presidents and on as to why each president frames his messages the way he does. As this is a very comprehensive aspect which concerns political science and which there is not enough space for an elaborate analysis of here, I will limit this aspect to brief comments. Even though I will study roughly the same aspects of the three speeches, I will not be doing this in the same order and to the same extent in each analysis as the speeches were held by different presidents with different beliefs in different times and therefore, they each deserve different focuses.

All through my study of presidential discourse, I will keep my focus on exactly the discourse as I find it both interesting and significant to study and to stay critical towards the discourse of leaders. Discourse and rhetoric are persuasive devices that leaders can use, form, and shape according to



how they wish to appear and therefore, it affects us as receivers. As it appears from the literature that I have chosen to use in my study, many more aspects of the speeches could also be studied, such as an understanding of the broader context of which the speeches are held in as well as political science related questions that could be raised and possibly answered. I will return to this matter in my reflection as this should not be completely ignored even though my main focus is elsewhere.

## 2. Crisis Management

All nations face crises of different kinds. They can be natural disasters, accidents, or attacks. No matter how the crises appear, they are almost always unexpected and indeed unwanted. They disrupt the normal course of operating, which leads to an increase in the expectations of a nation's leaders as they must address the crises.

When a crisis occurs and the normal ways of operating no longer work, people often experience it as a threat to their fundamental norms. According to Boin, 't Hart, Stern, and Sundelius, a crisis has happened when "policy makers experience a serious threat to the basic structures or the fundamental values and norms of a system, which under time pressure and highly uncertain circumstances necessitates making vital decisions." (2005a, p. 2). Furthermore, a "crisis occurs when core values or life-sustaining systems of a community come under threat." (2005a, p. 2). This can for example be when fairness, security, or health is threatened due to some kind of destruction. The more people who share the threatened values, the bigger the crisis is.

When values of a community are threatened, we expect leaders to make urgent decisions in order to get through a crisis. This basically turns leaders into crisis managers at a time where lots of information about the cause of the crisis and possible consequences is still not available. Citizens whose lives are affected by a crisis expect that their government does all in their power to protect the citizens, make critical decisions, and to provide direction and guidance. The journalists and reporters who cover the crises in the media expect the same from leaders and so do members of parliament and other political figures that influence the behavior of the leaders. This may be a lot to ask of leaders; however, leadership is automatically expected in times of crises, and other political figures may seize the opportunity to show their leadership skills if the government is failing to do so.

No matter how many people a crisis affects, it is believed by Boin, 't Hart, Stern, and Sundelius that the strategic challenges for leaders are the same, and leaders must attempt to at least minimize or preferably prevent the impact of danger and manage the political and social consequences that may occur. Finally, leaders must try to restore public faith in the future (2005a, p. 4).

Boin, 't Hart, Stern, and Sundelius have developed a phase model of crisis management where crisis leadership involves five critical tasks: sense making, decision making, meaning making,

terminating, and learning (2005a, p. 10). According to Boin, 't Hart, Stern, and Sundelius, any leader who takes their responsibility seriously should concern themselves with all these stages. I will now elaborate further on this model.

## 2.1. Five-stage Phase Model of Crisis Management

### 2.1.1. Sense Making

Sense making is described as an acute crisis phase, which seems to impose the straightforward challenge of the leaders to take measures to deal with the consequences of the crisis that just occurred. However, reality is much more complex than this because most crises escalate over time. Here it is the task of the leaders to detect signals that may reveal that something out of the ordinary is about to happen. They must also evaluate possible threats and resolve what the crisis is about. Part of the evaluation process is to determine just how threatening events are and to what or whom it is threatening. Furthermore, the operational and strategic parameters of the events must be appraised alongside an assessment of how the situation will develop in the near future. However, crises are difficult to detect in the early phases but once they have become patent, it is possible for leaders and policy makers to construct reliable representations of the state of the crisis (2005a, p. 11).

### 2.1.2. Decision Making

Crises usually leave leaders and governments with serious issues of many different kinds that need to be addressed. The onset of a crisis can cause many problems and needs that can barely be covered by the resources available so the resources will have to be prioritized. This may be ordinary in politics; however, in times of crises the disproportion between the demand of resources and the supply of resources is usually much bigger. Furthermore, during crises there is often many aspects of the situation that are unclear and there is not much time to seek advice and then gain acceptance for the decisions made. All in all, crises leave governments with many problems that they do not deal with daily, and decision making involves big political risks so leaders automatically have major responsibilities in times of crises.

Coordination is important in the decision making process as every decision made must be implemented by a set of organizations, which means that these organizations must work together in order to create effective implementation and response. According to Boin, 't Hart, Stern, and Sundelius, it is a difficult task to get public organizations to adapt to crisis circumstances as “most public organizations have been designed to conduct routine business that answers to values such as fairness, lawfulness, and efficiency.” (2005a, p. 12). The problem is that crisis management requires improvisation, flexibility, and lastly, also the breaking of rules. In the implementation of crisis decision, there are also many groups or agencies involved. There must also be coordination between these in order to create effective crisis responses. There is constant pressure on these groups and agencies to adapt quickly and effectively so coordination is essential to prevent any form of miscommunication or conflicts.

### 2.1.3. Meaning Making

Clear and accurate communication is also vital during crises as there is a high demand from citizens to get an explanation of what is happening and a determination of that they should do to protect themselves. It requires a major communication effort of the leaders to communicate accurate and actionable information to the public as the leaders often must deal with enormous amounts of raw data in the form of rumors, reports, and pictures that appear immediately after a crisis occurs. The task is to make sense of all this raw data and then communicate it clearly to the public. This can be very difficult if citizens already do not trust their government. Also, people who are deeply affected by a crisis may be very anxious and stressed, which actually can hinder the major effort of communication done by the leaders.

During times of crises, it is expected of leaders to reduce uncertainty and present an account of what is happening, why it is happening, and what must be done. What the leaders must do is to make sense of the situation, evaluate the situation, make strategic policy choices, and finally get others to accept their definition of the situation (2005a, p. 13). Then, the leaders must frame the situation in such a way that it enhances their efforts to manage it. If they fail at this, their decisions will not be understood or respected.

It is not only leaders that attempt to frame a crisis. The media also frames crises so leaders often seek to maintain some control over the images of a crisis that circulate in public. This is of course

also because other political parties may have different accounts of the situation, which they present to the media and the public so incumbent leaders must still attempt to influence the way the media covers the situation.

So, while leadership credibility increases the crisis response and the chances of survival in the political world after the crisis, leaders should not depend on their credibility as they must excel in crisis communication in order to diminish both the public and political uncertainty that often come with crises (2005a, p. 13).

#### 2.1.4. Terminating

Crisis termination is necessary as no government can afford to stay in a crisis for too long. It is the task of leaders to terminate a crisis in an appropriate and timely manner. Crisis termination is all about going from emergency to routine, which at a strategic level requires a rendering of what has happened and also gaining acceptance of this. It also requires a reduction of crisis operations. The government must also be re-stabilized to perform its usual functions.

Political accountability is very important in the process of terminating crises. Political leaders must make sure to clarify that they cannot be held responsible for either an escalation of a crisis or its occurrence in the first place. Debating accountability can sometimes turn into blaming, identifying, and punishing the people behind the crisis rather than a discussion of causes and consequences. According to Boin, 't Hart, Stern, and Sundelius, it is here important for a leader to deal with "the politics of crisis accountability without resorting to undignified and potentially self-defeating defense tactics of blame avoidance that serve only to prolong the crisis by transforming it into a political confrontation at knife's edge." (2005a, p. 14).

#### 2.1.5. Learning

The last and final strategic task of the leaders in crisis management is lesson drawing from the crisis both politically and organizationally. It is simply expected of leaders that they study the lessons from the crisis and plan and train for future crises. However, according to Boin, 't Hart, Stern, and Sundelius, lesson learning is one of the most underdeveloped aspects of crisis management, and it can be constrained "by the role of these lessons in determining the impact that crises have on a

society.” (2005a, p. 15). Crises almost always become part of collective memory and this way, they become a source for future leaders to draw on in future crises. Actually, crises are often seen as opportunities for incumbent leaders to clean up their mess and start over, and they are also a test of leadership. This means that often new reforms will come about in the wake of a crisis, and people also expect this to happen.

## 2.2. Lesson Learning and Political Strategy

The last two phases of the model, terminating and lesson learning, give rise to the speculation of how leaders can use crises to their benefit. As mentioned above, crises are often a way for leaders to clean up and start anew, and sometimes even the most disastrous crises happen at just the right times for some leaders to use it strategically. An example is hurricane Sandy which hit the East Coast just a few days before the presidential election of 2012 where President Obama had the chance to prove just how well he could handle a crisis that was going to affect several thousands of Americans. It can be speculated whether President Obama’s handling of this disaster played a role for some Americans in their voting.

A hurricane like Sandy which was one of the greatest ones ever reminds us of earlier hurricanes that were enormous – like Katrina. Hurricane Katrina hit in 2005 and the Republican president Bush has been criticized widely for his handling of that crisis. So, this was a chance for President Obama to prove that he had learned from President Bush’s handling of Katrina and that he could handle a disaster of that caliber better than President Bush and therefore also better than a Republican president. This shows how crises can be used strategically by leaders to prove their abilities so they will get more success politically. As Boin, ‘t Hart, Stern, and Sundelius claim, it is a good investment for political leaders to take the time it requires to reflect strategically on their crisis management capacity as this may guarantee them a (great) political future (2005a, p. 156).

So, political leaders can be seen as crisis managers as it is expected of them that they are able to and committed to leading their nation out of crises. This also means that it is important for leaders to consider how they appear to the public because they should appear as both determined to lead the country out of a crisis as well as compassionate towards the people affected by the crisis. Of course, they also need to appear trustworthy and reliable. An analysis of a leader’s framing and discourse in

times of crises can inform us on his political ideologies and visions and therefore also how he appears publicly and in times of crises. This raises the question if a politician's personality plays a role in the messages that he is giving to the public. We often tend to think so; however, whatever a person says may not always be equivalent to what a person actually believes. Perhaps a leader must sometimes utter beliefs that benefit his position and reputation and this is where framing becomes helpful to any orator as framing is to adapt a message in such a way that it persuades an audience. The art of framing is therefore relevant to study also when studying how American presidents have conveyed their messages in times of crises. I will explain framing next.

### 3. Framing and Persuasion

When it comes to politics and the rhetoric of politicians, the art of framing is relevant to study as politicians constantly frame their messages. Framing is defined by Robert M. Entman in his book “Projections of Power – Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy” as follows, “Selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution.” (2004b, p. 5). In other words, to frame is to highlight specific facets of a situation in order to reach a solution, which we think might end up persuading the people who will be exposed to our message.

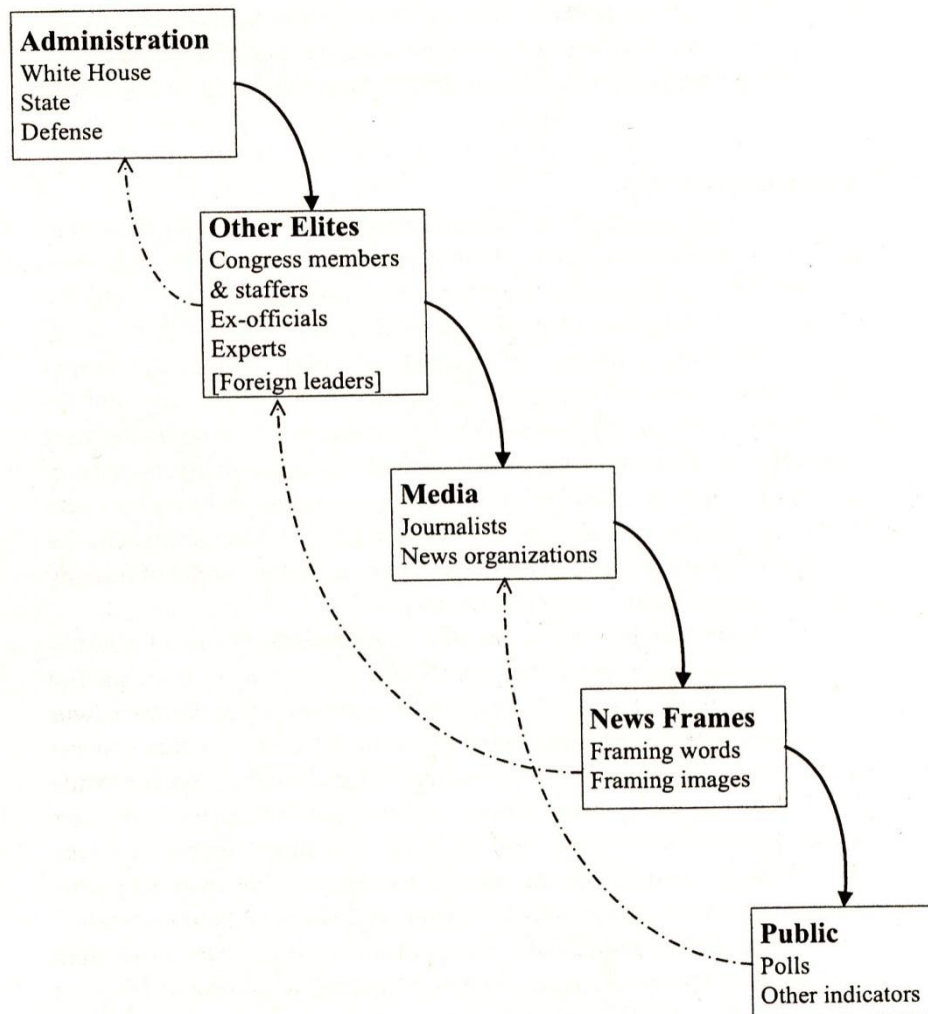
Some scholars use framing in connection with concepts such as schemas, which are clusters of connected ideas that we keep in our memory (2004b, p. 7). We often tend to make connotations and associations between different ideas so when we hear a word, we may come to think of the ideas or images that we connote with this word. So, when we use language, we must adapt our word choice according to the culture we are giving a message to. The words and ideas must be memorable and evoke emotions and feelings in the given culture, and repetition can be important to the resonance in the audience. The more resonance there is for an audience, the more effective a message will be and the better is the chance that ideas and feelings will be evoked (2004b, p. 6). Entman says, “Those frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the greatest potential for influence” (2004b, p. 6).

Words and ideas can evoke positive or negative feelings inside of us according to what feelings we have developed towards the words and ideas in question. This shows how important it is to choose the right words and focus on the right ideas depending on the audience. Entman refers to Lodge and Stroh who have observed that the process of bringing up thoughts and awakening feelings is possible because of “the mechanism of *spreading activation*” [italics added] (2004b, p. 7). The *spreading activation* emphasizes how important it also is to consider the order in which we provide information as early impressions often are awakened first and other ideas spread out from the initial idea (2004b, p. 7).



### 3.1. The Cascading Activation Model

Entman talks of the Cascading Activation Model”, which demonstrates how political information flows from the politicians to the general public in the United States. More specifically, it is a demonstration of how the administration, other elites, media, news frames, and the public link the flow one level at a time. He says that it “is designed to help explain how thoroughly the thoughts and feelings that support a frame extend down from the White House through the rest of the system – and who thus wins the framing contest and gains the upper hand politically.” (2004b, p. 9). This shows that a single frame can have a lot of influence.



(Entman's Cascading Activation Model, 2004b, p. 10).

This model suggests that messages which come from the administration cascade downwards through other leaders and journalists who frame the message on to the public. The other leaders or the "other elites" are for example members of congress, former government officials, or interest groups who do not work in the executive branch but still connect the insiders in Washington (2004b, p. 11).

The media's role in this process is very significant because they have the power to frame a message a certain way. Journalists, editors, reporters, and producers often compare their impressions and if several agree on similar interpretations, they will often broadcast news in words or images that go along that framing. The different news stations and newspapers will often influence each other this way. However, if the impressions are very diverse, the framing may turn out to be less one-sided (2004b, p. 9). This is why politicians like the president and his top advisors must carefully consider how they frame their messages as they are the ones who have the most power to influence how the media covers their messages.

What the citizens perceive goes back up to the officials, as the models illustrates. This may eventually affect what the administration decides to say later, and this way the model has a circular effect. This point is significant because it shows that a person's framing may have consequences.

### 3.2. Frame Semantics

I will now move on to talk about frame semantics based on the work of Fillmore. According to Fillmore, frame semantics is about investigating the meaning of words, adding new meanings to words, and finally, about gathering the meanings of individual words and creating a total meaning of a text or a speech (1982, p. 111).

Fillmore believes that a frame is one part of a system of concepts. In order to understand one frame, you have to understand the entire meaning of the system or structure that the frame is a part of. Also, when one frame – a word – is presented in a text or a speech, all the other frames are automatically made available because when we are introduced to one frame, it opens up the door to

many more frames in our minds. This applies well to the schemas that I described earlier as clusters of connected ideas kept in our memory.

### 3.2.1. *Categories and Speech Situation*

Fillmore sees words as experiences of different kinds of *categories*. These *categories* have an underlying motivating situation which “lean up against” a background of knowledge and experience (1982, p. 112). Frame semantics is the process of finding out what reason a speaker might have for creating the *category* that the speaker does through his or her choice of words. By clarifying the reason for this, it is possible to explain the meaning of a word. In other words, it is important to know the context in order to analyze and then understand the words and sentences. Fillmore says, “... we can say that the frame structures the word-meanings, and that the word ‘evokes’ the frame.” (1982, p. 117).

Fillmore also talks of a different kind of framing which concerns framing of the *speech situation* itself. When we interpret and understand words, we do not only schematize the words to the categories that they belong – we also schematize the situation in which the words are being produced (1982, p. 117). Fillmore underlines the fact that we have cognitive frames, but we also have interactional frames. The interactional frames are concerned with how we conceptualize what happens between the speaker and the listener, and this refers to the ability of schematizing the *speech situation*. However, in order to be able to do this, an understanding of what a text or speech is – for example a marriage proposal or a job advert – is necessary. An understanding of this provides knowledge of how to interpret parts of the speech or text and how to expect it to develop and knowing when it ends. Having an abstract structure in mind of the expectations concerning purposes, roles, and types of events can very likely lead to a correct interpretation of the *speech situation*.

### 3.2.2. *Prototypes*

Fillmore uses the word *prototype* to describe the background or surrounding culture of a word. He states that this is useful when attempting to state simple definitions of words and when allowing real world situations to be attributed to the *prototype* background frame rather than “just” to the details of the meaning of a word. To explain this, Fillmore uses the word “breakfast” to provide an example of a *category* that has to be fitted onto a background of practices (1982, p. 118). To understand the word “breakfast”, one must understand the practice of having three meals a day where one of these meals is eaten early after a period of sleep and consists of certain types of food according to the given culture. However, it is not a criteria that breakfast must be eaten after a period of sleep as some people work all night long and then have a meal at 7am and still call this breakfast. The same is true for the people who do not get up until 2pm and have toast and coffee and also call this breakfast; apparently, the fact that breakfast is eaten early is also not a criteria to understand breakfast. It is also not the menu of a breakfast that is crucial as some people have soup or sandwiches at 7am and call this breakfast. The main point is that a word like “breakfast” provides us with a *category* which can be used in several different contexts; however, there is a range of contexts which is “determined by the multiple aspects of its *prototypic* use – the use it has when the conditions of the background situation more or less exactly match the defining *prototype*.” [italics added] (1982, p. 119).

So, according to Fillmore, a frame is a system of *categories* that are structured in such a way that they match some kind of motivating context. In the process of talking, a speaker provides frames to a situation with the help of his or her word choice that are recognized within that frame. The frame is then intentionally created by the speaker. For the listener to understand a speech, a process of perceiving the frames that are suggested by the chosen lexical content and then create a context must happen. It may be necessary for the listener to construct a context in his or her imagination where each of the lexical items that created a frame were motivated. This means that there is a connection between lexical semantics and the process of comprehension.

Fillmore says that the semanticist’s job is “... to tease out the precise nature of the relationship between the word and the *category*, and the precise nature of the relationships between the *category* and the background” [italics added] (1982, p. 136). This is all a way of understanding how framing

works on the semantic level. I will now move on to talk about how framing works in American politics according to Lakoff.

### 3.3. Political Framing in the United States

According to Lakoff, frames are “the cognitive structures that we think with” (2008, p. 22). Lakoff has studied the art of framing for years and especially on how framing is used by both Democrats and Republicans in American politics. Politicians often use framing in order to shape opinions and persuade an audience, and the way they use framing can differ according to whom they are addressing as discussed earlier. This is significant because people from different cultures or different societies do not always share the same frames, and our understanding of the world around us depends on our personal frames that we have developed.

According to Lakoff, to frame is to add a specific perspective to a subject and thereby persuade people that this perspective is the right one. Evoking a certain perspective can be done through rhetorical resources like repetitions, metaphors, word choice, and grammatical structures. As we shall see, the American presidents that I have chosen to focus on also use these in order to frame their speeches.

When using the art of framing, one needs to use a type of language that fits one’s worldview. An important aspect that Lakoff touches upon in his book “Don’t Think Of An Elephant – Know Your Values and Frame the Debate” is that a politician should not use the language of an opponent because this may backfire. The consequence of this is that it will evoke the frames and ideas of the opponent, and that is of course not what is originally wanted. The example that Lakoff uses is that President Bush started using the frame “tax relief” when he took office back in 2000. This showed that Bush was against high taxes and saw them as a burden, and that his mission was to free people from high taxes, which would ultimately make him a good guy. Later, the Democrats started using the frame “tax relief” too, but this only emphasized Bush’s idea that tax is a burden and this way it did not benefit the Democrats to be using this frame.

According to Lakoff, the conservatives in American politics understand the art of framing a lot better than the progressives do, and in progressive circles there seems to be a tendency of believing

that each person will do the right thing and do what will benefit them. However, Lakoff has concluded that this way of thinking is defeating because people do not always do the right thing or vote according to their own self-interest. This happens because people think in frames and for a given politician's logic to be accepted, the truth must fit our frames. So even if a politician gives out facts, these facts will just be discarded if they do not fit our frames. Lakoff explains, "We may be presented with facts, but for us to make sense of them, they have to fit what is already in the synapses of the brain." (2004c, p. 17).

This is also the case when some people do not vote according to their own self-interest. This could be a poor person with progressive values voting for a Republican candidate for example. This does not seem logical, and Lakoff believes that some people tend to vote on the basis of their "hoped-for future" (2004c, p. 19). Also, voting according to one's identity and values is very common even if it does not benefit oneself.

One of Lakoff's main points is that politicians frame their speeches so they fit the audience's values, and this is how people get persuaded. The goal of a politician must also be to persuade people who have slightly different values, and this can actually be done with the help of the opponents' language. So, while it can backfire to use the language of opponent politicians, it can actually also be beneficial. A politician may choose to use an opponent's words and language to describe his own worldview and this way he may manage to persuade some voters "in the middle".

I will now elaborate on the two family models that Lakoff has developed, which are supposed to reflect the worldviews within the Republican and Democratic Party.

### 3.3.3. Lakoff's Family Models

When Lakoff talks of values, he also talks of family and seeing the nation as a family. Lakoff sees the two main political parties in America – the Republican Party and the Democratic Party - as two different family models respectively called "The Strict Father Model" and "The Nurturant Parent Model". Lakoff sees this metaphor of the nation as a family as natural because it is common to understand large groups in terms of small ones like the family.

The speculations that began Lakoff's studies were such as how we link our positions on different issues. For example, how do we link the position on being against gun control with being for tort reform? Lakoff eventually found out that the links must be in our family values, and he discovered that especially the conservatives focused on family values even in times where the nation probably should have focused on threats like global warming for example. This led to Lakoff's development of two different family models that supposedly reflect the nation's politics.

#### 3.3.3.1. "The Strict Father Model"

In "The Strict Father Model", the father must protect the family in this dangerous world. He must also support the family because this world is also a difficult one to live in. Finally, the strict father must also teach his children right from wrong (2004c, p. 7).

In "The Strict Father Model", the world is seen as dangerous because there is always evil all around that threaten us. Furthermore, the world is difficult because it is competitive, and there is an absolute right and wrong. Kids are born bad and must be made good. This worldview is generally rather bipartite and therefore, the strict father is simply needed to keep the family on the good and beneficial side.

The way that the strict and strong father figure must teach his children to be obedient and to know right from wrong is through punishment when they do wrong. The punishment may sometimes be physical as this will keep children from doing wrong again because they will develop internal discipline. It is believed that if methods like these are not used, there will be no morality in the world, and the world will go to hell (2004c, p. 7).

The internal discipline is needed in this worldview as the discipline will help the children to grow up and be successful in this competitive world. This way people can become wealthy, striving people who are self-reliant, which is the ideal in this worldview. This way "The Strict Father Model" links morality with prosperity (2004c, p. 7).

According to this family model, a good person is a moral person who is disciplined and obedient, knows what is right and does what is right, and finally, someone who pursues their own self-interest in order to become self-reliant and prosper. A bad person does the exact opposite of all this and

stays dependent on others. The good child does not need the strict father's meddling after the child has achieved all this, which reflects the conservative ideal of less meddling from the government.

Lakoff translates all these family values into a political worldview. He says that according to this family model, social programs are immoral because people depend on them. The way to stop these dependent people and the social programs must be to reward the good people who are independent with for example a tax relief plan, which will make it impossible to fund social programs.

Lakoff points out that it is not that conservatives are against government all together. Conservatives appreciate homeland defense, the military, and subsidies for corporations that reward the good people. What the conservatives are against is the care and nurturance that social programs provide people who are greedy and immoral because they are dependent on the programs.

From a political perspective, the strict father is the president. Just as the communication is one-way between the strict father and his child, so is the communication between the president and the citizens. It would be simply immoral for the strict father or the president not to live up to this moral authority. If we make the perspective even bigger, the strict father could be seen as the United States as the most powerful nation in the world, which is the moral authority compared to other nations. The United States does not need to ask anybody else because they know exactly what is right.

An opposite worldview of this one is according to Lakoff the one represented in "The Nurturant Parent Model", which supposedly reflects the worldview of Democrats.

#### 3.3.3.2. "The Nurturant Parent Model"

The worldview in "The Nurturant Parent Model" is gender neutral, and both parents raise the children with equal responsibility. Children are born good and can be made better just as the world can be made into a better place by us. The parents must nurture and care for the children and also teach the children how to care for others.



Being happy is your moral responsibility in “The Nurturant Parent Model”. This way you get a happy and fulfilled life that you can give on to your children. Being happy is what a nurturing life is about and you need to be happy yourself in order to genuinely care about others.

Lakoff lists the values that are essential for the people in this worldview. First, he talks about freedom. The only way a child can be fulfilled in life is if the child can be free. A child cannot be free though if there is no opportunity and prosperity in their life so these are also important values. Also, fairness is valued because if you care about your child, you want it to always be treated fairly.

To connect with a child and have empathy with a child, there needs to be open and honest two-way communication. This also provides trust, which is important in order to reach good cooperation. Cooperation is important both in the family but also in the community. Community-building and service to the community are important values as well because the community will affect how a child grows up.

In this worldview, nurturance is empathy, protection, and responsibility (2004c, p. 12). The parents protect their children from crime, drugs, smoking, and so on, which Lakoff translates into the political world where progressives prefer the government to be protecting the citizens from these dangers as well. Also, progressive politics prefer environmental protection, disease protection, consumer protection, and worker protection.

So, a very apparent difference between the two models is that the conservatives prefer a president who rewards the good people who do their deeds, and the progressives prefer a united government that provides all sorts of protection to all citizens. In foreign policy, “The Nurturing Parent Model” represents the wish to promote cooperation between nations all over the world whereas “The Strict Father Model” wishes to impose the government’s moral authority everywhere possible.

Lakoff uses these models to distinguish between the two worldviews that conservatives and progressives represent. However, it is important to remember that this is a theory of the ideal government or the ideal family, and in reality, most people most likely share a mixture of the two ideals and moral priorities. I will return to this in my discussion.

When analyzing the discourse, rhetoric, and framing of American politicians, Lakoff’s models can be helpful in order to identify the values of the politicians. I will now move on to elaborate on CDA

and IDA which are two methods for analyzing discourse in order to spot framing, power relations, injustices, and ideological discourse.

## 4. Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is a problem-oriented methodology which consists of several different approaches to discourse. What is shared by these approaches to discourse is the interest in the semiotic aspects of political or cultural changes in society, injustice, and power relations.

CDA seeks to define the relationship between language and society and therefore sees discourse as a social practice. Discourse constitutes events and shapes them and the relationships between the people involved. This means that there is a dialectical relationship between discursive events and all the other elements that are involved in the situations and social structures that frame them. So, the discursive events are framed by the situations and social structures and this also works the other way around, which means that the dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship (2011b, p. 357).

Since CDA is seen as a social practice, it is socially consequential and therefore, it gives rise to issues of power. This does not mean that power always derives from language but that language can be used to subvert or challenge power or to control the distribution of power. Power plays an important role in society because it says a lot about the dynamics within groups of people. Power and dynamics is sometimes somewhat invisible though, and this is where CDA is helpful in analyzing texts and utterances where power relations become clearer. This also means that discursive practices can have ideological effects in the way that they can produce unequal power relations between groups of people. This can be done through the different ways that they represent things and people and also position people according to each other. In other words, CDA can be used to examine how social inequality and power relations are expressed in discourse and this may say a lot about the underlying ideologies.

The foundation for CDA was developed back in the 1970s and is called the “critical linguistics” (henceforth referred to as CL). It was developed by the linguist Roger Fowler and his colleagues. CL was closely related to “systemic” linguistic theory which is known for its emphasis on the practical ways of analyzing texts and the emphasis put upon the role of grammar in its ideological analysis (2011b, p. 361). CL also draws attention to the ideological aspects of grammatical and linguistic structures such as passive structures, metaphors, rhetorical devices, and so on. Taking these grammatical and linguistic forms into account can sometimes be helpful in a critical semiotic analysis of for example social inequality. However, even though these can be helpful and tell us

something about inequalities or injustices, it is not possible to draw conclusions from these structures alone; a careful consideration of the social context must also be done. I will elaborate further on this issue in my section on ideological discourse analysis.

#### 4.1. Van Dijk's Sociocognitive Approach to CDA

Van Dijk is one of the leading figures in the cognitive approaches to critical discourse studies (henceforth referred to as CDS). His work highlights the cognitive aspects of how discourse operates in knowledge, ideologies, and other beliefs shared by social groups. Furthermore, van Dijk's interest is in mental representations and the processes of producing and comprehending discourse and participation in verbal interaction. Van Dijk's approach examines how cognitive phenomena relate to discourse structures, communicative situations, verbal interaction, and societal structures such as domination and social inequality (2009, p. 64).

##### 4.1.1. The Discourse-cognition-society Triangle

The sociocognitive approach that van Dijk focuses on is supposed to be understood as an examination of the relations between mind, discursive interaction, and society. Even though van Dijk recognizes the need of a broad, diverse, and multidisciplinary approach to CDS, he has limited his own work to be within the discourse-cognition-society triangle.

The cognitive and social dimensions of this triangle should be seen as defining the relevant context of discourse. Van Dijk defines context as "a subjective mental representation, a dynamic online model, of the participants about the for-them-now relative properties of the communicative situation" (2009, p. 66). This is what van Dijk calls a "context model" (2009, p. 66). He sees this as a "mental definition of the situation", which controls and adapts discourse production and comprehension to the social environment making it appropriate (2009, p. 66). This shows how cognition, society, and discourse are integrated in interaction.

According to van Dijk, context models within the framework of the discourse-cognition-society triangle “mediate between discourse structures and social structures at all levels of analysis.” (2009, p. 66). “Society” should then be understood – on the one hand – as a complex conformation of situational structures at the local level, which is participants and their identities and roles engaging in interaction that is spatio-temporal, institutionally situated, and goal-directed and societal structures – on the other hand - which is groups, classes, organizations, and their properties and for example power relations. “Society” also includes examinations of the historical and cultural dimensions of social interaction as well as the consequences of discursive injustice. Van Dijk stresses that the triangle is merely “an analytical metaphor representing the major dimensions of critical analysis” where human beings as language users and as members of different kinds of groups as well as their discourses are an integral part of society (2009, p. 66).

## 4.2. Van Dijk’s Critical Analysis

Van Dijk proposes that any critical analysis begins with an analysis of semantic macrostructures, which is a study of the global topics or themes. These topics or themes are what the discourses are about, and they are controlled by the speaker. They subjectively embody the most significant information of a discourse, represent the overall content of the situation, and they express the information that will be remembered best. Often topics or themes are expressed in summaries, abstracts, and titles.

Van Dijk sees topics as significant to study because topics are controlled by powerful speakers who influence other structures of discourse and also the listeners and their reception of the discourse. Therefore, the topic that a powerful speaker is talking about also affects the process of reproduction that motivates dominance and social power (2009, p. 68).

### 4.2.1 Local Meanings and Lexical Study

The next step of a critical analysis should concern the study of meaning of words, which is what van Dijk calls “local meanings”. Here the study of structures and propositions, coherence, and other

relations between propositions should be studied. This could be presuppositions, levels of description, and degrees of granularity (2009, p. 69).

Van Dijk sees the importance of studying semantics in a critical analysis in the contextual aspects as local meanings are selected by speakers in their mental models of situations and events or in their general knowledge and ideologies. Also, van Dijk sees the local meanings as information that next after the global topics influences the mental models, opinions, and attitudes of the listeners the most. In a study of local meanings, it is also interesting to study the many forms of indirect or implicit meanings like implications, allusions, and vagueness. Such meanings are related to underlying beliefs but they are not asserted directly or openly for different reasons, such as the ideological objective of de-emphasizing *our* bad properties and *their* good properties (2009, p. 70).

#### 4.2.2. Formal Structures

Van Dijk proposes a study of formal structures in a critical analysis. These structures are intonation, rhetorical figures, syntactic structures, and also spontaneous talk, pauses, turn-taking, and hesitation. These structures are often less controlled than the semantic structures, and generally, they do not express the underlying beliefs directly. Rather, they say something about the properties of an event, such as the mood of the speaker, his or her intentions, and the interactional concerns as *positive self-representation*. This means that a speaker may hide their negative opinions about minority groups quite well; however, their position, face gestures, evaluation, and hence their identity, may be signaled indirectly by subtle formal structures of talk or non-verbal properties (2009, p. 72).

#### 4.2.3. Context Models

According to van Dijk, a mediating cognitive device is needed to represent relevant structures of a social situation at the microlevel and at the macrolevel, and that also controls discourse in the social situation. Van Dijk claims that context models do this because they make sure that speakers adapt their discourse to the social environment. So, context models are needed to appropriately formulate

the same content in different situations, and this means that context models define both the genre and the style of a text or speech. As already touched upon, context models consist of fundamental categories as: “a spatio-temporal setting, participants (identities and roles, goals, knowledge, and ideologies), and the ongoing social action” (2009, p. 74). Context models are dynamic and constantly adapted to the situation and they are subjective interpretations represented in episodic memory as mental models of situations.

Van Dijk also talks about event models. These represent the events that the discourse refers to (2009, p. 76). Event models are to be seen as semantic and are structured by a schema with categories as settings, participants, and events. Event models are cognitive aspects of how people understand and interpret reality so these are actually the basis of discourse production. These models are therefore subjective; however, they have a social basis because they exemplify knowledge that is socially shared and sometimes also group ideologies.

#### 4.2.4. Social Cognition

According to van Dijk, a cognitive approach within critical analysis needs to account for social cognition which is the beliefs or social representations shared within a group. Social representations can be values, morals, norms, knowledge, and ideologies. CDS is not primarily concerned with the subjective meanings of individual speakers as power, power abuse, and dominance which CDS is concerned with usually involves groups, social movements, and organizations. CDS seeks to analyze specific discourses by attempting to find out which shared social representations are being expressed by discourse. Therefore, CDS of feminism or racism must relate properties of discourse with the underlying beliefs – the socially shared representations – which members of the group use as a resource to talk about other groups.

Van Dijk says that, “*Outgroup* derogation and *ingroup* celebration are the social-psychological strategies typically defining this kind of chauvinist discourse.” [italics added] (2009, p. 78). Exactly the notion of *outgroup* derogation and *ingroup* celebration is the foundation of van Dijk’s theory of IDA, which emanates from his sociocognitive approach to CDA. I will now explain IDA in further detail.

## 5. Ideological Discourse Analysis

In this section, I will elaborate further on the steps of a critical analysis that I briefly introduced in my section on van Dijk's sociocognitive approach to CDA. IDA is a socio-political analysis of discourse which can be used to "relate structures of discourse with structures of society." (1995, p. 135). This means that through their discourse, speakers can express their social position for example as members of a certain group or community. With the help of IDA, it is then possible to figure out what ideologies are typically linked with that position.

### 5.1. Ideologies, Attitudes, and the Link to Discourse

Ideologies are belief systems that are shared by members of social groups, which means that ideologies are social cognitions shared by group members. Van Dijk defines ideologies "as systems that are at the basis of the socio-political cognitions of groups" (1995, p. 138). Ideologies organize the attitudes and general opinions within a social group according to the social norms in the culture that they are living in. So, the beliefs that a group shares must be socially relevant to the members in some way. These general opinions will become values that the group uses as foundation for their group ideologies.

Any group can share opinions concerning social, political, economic, or historical issues where they develop an ideology in order to defend its interests (2011b, p. 380). The development of the ideologies within the groups will also help to preserve the cooperation, cohesion, and interaction between the members of the groups in relation to other groups. Ideologies in a group can be used to resist against domination of other groups and their ideologies just as ideologies can be used to oppress and dominate others. The consequence of this is that group power may be abused.

Van Dijk distinguishes between ideologies and attitudes. Van Dijk also defines ideologies as "*shared, general, and abstract* mental representations that should be applicable to the many situations in which ideological group members may find themselves." [italics in the original] (2011b, p. 389). Van Dijk says that there is a possibility that the ideologies are derived from and control the specific issues that are relevant to group members in the everyday. Van Dijk here adopts



the term to describe these specific representations as attitudes from the world of traditional social psychology. Attitudes are then seen as clusters of specific beliefs that are based on ideologies. These can be specific beliefs concerning immigration, pollution, or abortion or other social issues which give rise to debate. Van Dijk notes that group members may not always be aware of the fact that ideologies within the group often influence their concrete opinions about specific issues. Usually, group members will focus on the group attitudes towards concrete issues and will then adjust their personal opinions accordingly (2011b, p. 389). Van Dijk believes that attitudes play an intermediary role in the theory of ideology because we can link general ideologies to the more specific social issues and then finally to discourse.

In order to link ideologies and the attitudes based on ideologies with discourse, there is still one more level to consider, and that is the personal experiences of group members. This is what van Dijk calls both context models and mental models. These mental models are stored in our long-term memory, and they represent how we as individuals interpret, live, and remember the events in our lives. These may include both beliefs and opinions as well as the emotions we associate with the events from our everyday lives. Van Dijk underlines the importance of remembering that members of groups also have individual and personal experiences that affect their opinions on issues that all members may not share. Here it is necessary to "... bridge the gap between such social cognitions and personal cognitions...", as van Dijk says (1995, p. 138).

In connection with this, van Dijk talks about how the link between ideologies and discourse is indirect and it can also be quite complex. The reason for this is that we have personal experiences that sometimes may affect the way we talk about our shared knowledge within a group. Also, we all belong to several different groups and share many different ideologies. This way the link between the ideologies and the way we talk about them - the discourse - is indirect and sometimes complex.

Van Dijk says that "... one's activities and discourses may then be influenced by (fragments of) several ideologies at the same time,..." (2011b, p. 384). A member of a group must therefore consider their insecurities and ideological dilemmas and manage their discourse thereafter, and this way the gap between the social cognitive and the personal cognitive can be bridged. Ideologies may actually take a long time for members "to learn". The way "to learn" them and thereby adapt and develop them is through interactions, debates, and other types of *ingroup* discourse with other members of the group (2011b, p. 384).

Van Dijk says, “A *comprehensive theory of ideology that is analytically and empirically adequate should describe and explain **both** the personal variation of ideological discourse and conduct, **and** the ideologically based opinions people have in common as group members.*”[italics and bold in the original] (2011b, p. 390). The mental models are therefore ideal for an explanation of the personally variable - but socially based - ideological opinions and discourse (2011b, p. 390).

So, mental models are an important level in linking the ideologies and attitudes to discourse because they define how we personally understand, interpret, experience, and remember all that we are involved in. This means that our ideological mental models that one could say are “biased” control our ideological practices and therefore also the way we talk about our ideologies. According to van Dijk, it is through “... *personally variable but socially similar mental models* that members of an ideological group will interpret and represent all the social events that are relevant for a group and hence the discourses about such events.” [italics in the original] (2011b, p. 391).

Now that we see the links between ideologies and ideologies based on attitudes to discourse, I will elaborate further on the purpose of IDA. The purpose of IDA is not only to reveal the ideologies of a speaker but also to link the structures of discourse with structures of ideologies (1995, p. 143). Ideologies are not always expressed directly in discourse, which means that often fragments of ideologies will be expressed for example in debates about specific issues. Van Dijk says that in order to specify what some expressions of discourse give rise to and what kind of conclusions we can draw from these expressions, we need a more analytically explicit study of discourse. Van Dijk also believes that an analysis of the context may be helpful in order to figure out what specific expressions mean in specific situations and why we should interpret it as ideological (2011b, p. 393).

#### 5.2.1. *Positive Self-description and Negative Other-description*

Since ideologies are the basis of our social judgments and are shared by groups of people, they express a polarizing structure between *us* and *them*. Since the underlying ideological structure is polarized, the same must be the case in ideological discourse. This is evident in the way that we talk about *our own* ideologies and values versus *their* ideologies and values. Van Dijk calls this the *Ideological Square* which demonstrates the polarizing structure:

Emphasize <i>Our</i> good things	Emphasize <i>Their</i> bad things
De-emphasize <i>Our</i> bad things	De-emphasize <i>Their</i> good things

[italics in the original] (2011b, p. 396).

The *Ideological Square* shows that group members have a tendency of talking about opponents in a negative manner and describing their own group in a positive manner. Here lexical items in the form of either nouns or adjectives are helpful in describing ourselves versus the others. Also, complex structures that relate groups of people with specific places, events, or certain actions can be used. Van Dijk talks of *ingroups* and *outgroups* here. The *ingroup* is ourselves and the groups that we belong to whereas the *outgroup* is our opponents or even enemies. So, we often describe the *ingroup* in positive terms and the *outgroup* in negative terms.

Van Dijk lists how the descriptions of the *ingroup* and the *outgroup* can be:

<i>Ingroup</i>	<i>Outgroup</i>
Emphasis	De-emphasis
Assertion	Denial
Hyperbole	Understatement
Topicalization - Sentential (micro) - Textual (macro)	De-topicalization
High, prominent position	Low, non-prominent position
Headlining, summarizing	Marginalization
Detailed description	Vague, overall description
Attribution to personality	Attribution to context
Explicit	Implicit
Direct	Indirect
Narrative illustration	No storytelling

Argumentative support	No argumentative support
Impression management	No impression management

[Italics in the original] (1995, p. 144)

According to this, there will be an emphasis on the positive actions of the *ingroup* and a de-emphasis on the positive actions of the *outgroup*. Van Dijk notes that the reverse will happen for the description and attribution of negative actions, which will then be de-emphasized for *ingroups* and emphasized for *outgroups* (1995, p. 144). Van Dijk says that this list of discourse structures which can be used to display both positive and negative judgments about groups applies to different dimensions of discourse (1995, p. 145). This means that a discourse analysis needs to go deeper than merely a content analysis of positive and negative terms describing the *ingroup* and *outgroup*. A discourse analysis can then examine the formal structures of style, rhetoric, and syntax but also the semantic structures of meaning and reference. Therefore, emphasizing the negative characteristics of the *outgroup* may apply to some of the following levels and dimensions:

Semantic structures:

- Negative topics (semantic macrostructures): Any global discourse topic describing the *outgroup* as violating *our* values and norms. These can be topics as criminality, insecurity, and threat.
- Level of description (generality vs. specificity): The negative actions or properties of the *outgroup* are often described in more specific detail than *our* own negative actions or properties.
- Degree of completeness (at each level of description): At each level of description, more details of the negative actions or properties of the *outgroup* will be talked about.
- Granularity (preciseness vs. vagueness): The negative actions or properties of the *outgroup* will often be described with more precise terms than *our* own.

- Denomination (participant description): The *outgroup* tend to be identified as different from us (described as *them*). Descriptions such as “strangers”, “others”, “opponents”, or “enemies” may be used.
- Agency (role of the arguments): Emphasizing the agency and responsibility of the negative actions done by the *outgroup*. Then, de-emphasizing *our* own.

#### Formal structures:

- Superstructures (overall organization of discourse): Semantic categories that have negative characteristics about the *outgroup* can receive focus when placed in an “early” position in a lead or headline. The negative properties of the *outgroup* may be emphasized with fallacies and arguments and/or storytelling that is highly persuasive in order to promote the memorizing of negative properties of the *outgroup*.
- Pronouns: Expresses degrees of power and also solidarity when talking of *us* and *them*. Signals *ingroup* and *outgroup* membership.
- Demonstratives: Can express distance or closeness to the people being talked about. An example is “those people” which expresses distance.
- Rhetorical moves: Rhymes, repetitions, enumerations, and alliterations to emphasize negative actions or properties of the *outgroup*.

[italics added] (2011b, pp. 397-398)

Van Dijk says that this list demonstrates how speakers may emphasize negative meanings of the *outgroup* and produce the derogation that is typical of ideological talk. However, the same semantic and formal strategies can be used for a *positive self-description* of *ingroups*. Van Dijk says of these general structures and strategies of discourse, “... they are linguistic and communicative resources that can be adopted by anyone” (2011b, p. 399). Van Dijk stresses that an ideological discourse analysis can never only consist of a formal analysis; we must always also analyze the meanings that express the underlying beliefs and also the context. In other words, who is speaking about what to whom, when and with what goal should also be considered (2011b, p. 399).

The list provided here is however not the full list that van Dijk lists in the book “Discourse Studies” (2011b). According to van Dijk, categories as “presuppositions”, “predication”, “modality”, “implications”, and “focus” within the semantic structures can be significant to examine just like categories as “syntactic structures of sentences”, “visual structures”, “sound structures”, and “definite expressions” within the formal structures can be significant. Due to lack of available pages, I have had to choose which categories that apply best to the speeches that I have chosen to focus on and therefore, I have had to neglect the categories just mentioned even though they most certainly are significant in this context as they possibly could provide us with even more interesting aspects in an analysis.

### 5.2.2. Van Dijk’s *General Schema*

We have learned that discourse semantics are affected by the underlying ideologies both at the microlevel (sentence meaning and sentence coherence) and at the macrolevel (topics and overall meaning). Van Dijk says that the overall principle of all this is as follows, “Meanings are manipulated, structurally, by the principle of *ingroup* favouritism and *outgroup* derogation which is familiar in social cognition, and hence also in the analysis of ideologies.” [italics added] (1995, p. 146). So, if ideologies are expressed according to group categories, discourse meanings would feature information that answers the questions that van Dijk raises in his *general schema*:

- Who are *We*? Who do (do not) belong to *Us*?
- What do *We* do? What are *Our* activities? What is expected of *Us*?
- What are the goals of these activities?
- What norms and values do *We* respect in such activities?
- To which groups are *We* related: Who are *Our* friends and enemies?
- What are the resources *We* typically have – or do not have – (privileged) access to?

[italics added] (1995, p. 146)

These are fundamental categories of ideologies which reflect how groups develop a self-concept that is the result of their shared experiences in society (2011b, p. 386). This self-concept or self-image is can be represented in a positive manner with the help of this *general schema*. In other words; this *general schema* consists of ideological propositions.

In this *general schema*, the structure between *us* and *them* is very evident and this gives rise to issues of power. This schema also presents very concrete examples of questions to answer when presenting one's group; however, ideologies are very abstract because they have to function for several different social situations. But in concrete talk, these categories will be specified for the particular social issues at stake and ideologies will deal with concrete events, situations, and people. This means that the ideological talk will deal with specific mental models that have concrete representations of the general ideologies within the group (1995, p. 147). These mental models concern the problem with communicating a group's ideologies by different members of the group which I touched upon earlier. Even though there may be influences of personal experiences and so forth, ideological discourse will typically be centered around the following topics that van Dijk developed from the *general schema* above:

**Self-identity descriptions:** Questions such as “Who are *we*?”, “Where do *we* come from?”, “What is *our* history?”, and “How are *we* different from others?” will be discussed here. Typically, these self-identity descriptions will be positive as the descriptions of the *ingroup* are generally positive.

This topic will often be discussed in groups where the identity is insecure or threatened. These can be groups of minorities or it can be groups who are normally dominant but now need to defend themselves from threat. This topic is in particular relevant for those groups that are defined by their characteristics such as gender, race, religion, or origin (1995, pp. 147-148).

**Activity descriptions:** Here questions such as “What do *we* do?”, “What are *our* tasks?”, “What are *our* social roles?”, and “What is expected of *us*?” are discussed. Obviously, ideological activity descriptions are important to the groups that are defined by what they do. These can be groups of professionals or activists. An example could be groups of environmentalists where the focus is on what positive actions the members do like protesting against pollution (1995, p. 148)

**Goal descriptions:** The ideological activities only make sense if there are positive goals to reach. Therefore, the ideological discourse will often be about the goals of a group's activities, and these goals are exactly ideological and not necessarily accurate. This means that a group will describe

their goals as what they as a groups wish to accomplish. They will describe themselves as how they want to be seen or how they see themselves (1995, p. 148).

**Norm and value descriptions:** In ideological discourse, norms and values are of great importance to talk about because this says something about what a group thinks is right or wrong and good or bad. Also, it informs us of what the activities of a group are supposed to achieve. When a group describes their opponents, they will often emphasize what the opponents do to violate the norms and values and this way a negative description of the *outgroup* will occur. This also makes the opponents - the *outgroup* - impolite, not very intelligent, and inefficient (1995, p. 148).

**Position and relation descriptions:** One way to define yourself and your own group is by relating yourself and your group to others. It is possible and perhaps only natural to define the identity, the activities, and the goals of a group in relation to other groups. Here there may even be a focus on conflicts, polarization, and derogation (1995, pp. 148-149)<sup>2</sup>.

The described theoretical framework that links ideologies and discourse help us understand how ideological discourse may serve to sustain or challenge social positions and dominance. This framework of ideological discourse can therefore be used to analyze presidential speeches that regard foreign policy issues where the idea of *us* and *them* is often very apparent, and I will begin with President Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate.

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<sup>2</sup> There is one more topic in this schema, which is *resource descriptions*. As I will not be using this in my analysis, it is not presented here.



## 6. Analysis of President Reagan's Speech at the Brandenburg Gate

President Reagan held his famous “Tear down this wall!” speech on June 12, 1987, in the city of Berlin at the Brandenburg Gate during a European tour<sup>3</sup>. This was during the Cold War which was marked by political and military rigidity between the United States, their NATO allies and the Soviet Union and other Eastern nations. This speech was President Reagan's moment to speak of freedom which he did when telling General Secretary Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall, which is probably the most famous quotation from this speech and why we know it as the “Tear down this wall!” speech.

President Reagan spoke of freedom and liberation from communism, which the Wall that the Soviet Union erected in Berlin was a symbol of. This speech is marked greatly by hope and cooperation in order to create a better world for all without communism, and President Reagan was also known to have a very critical view of communism and the Soviet Union. One of the ways that President Reagan described the Soviet Union was by referring to them as “The Evil Empire”, which he did in the early 1980s. Even though this speech contains a more uplifting spirit in the discourse of President Reagan, the critical view of the Soviet Union is still clear, and this is why we can identify some of the aspects of the notion of *us* and *them*.

President Reagan was a Republican president, and he is actually widely known to be a politician that was relentless in his conservative beliefs; however, as we shall see in an analysis of this speech, his discourse may not always have reflected his persistent conservative beliefs when taking Lakoff's family models into consideration in the analysis as well. The first step of my analysis of President Reagan's speech is analyzing his discourse and framing in the perspective of Lakoff's family models. As we shall see, perhaps we may have an incorrect image of President Reagan as being a strict and persistently conservative president.

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 2. I will be referring to this appendix in parentheses all through my analysis of President Reagan's speech.

## 6.1. President Reagan as a “Nurturant Parent”

The president’s main focus in this speech is on freedom and that freedom leads to prosperity. In this connection, he says that an economic miracle took place in West Germany and Berlin. He says, “... so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders -- the German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.” (lines 54-57). Here President Reagan speaks positively of some basic Republican ideals such as free trade, low taxes, and economic freedom. Further in the speech, President Reagan also talks of freedom from state control, “Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.” (lines 76-77). Of course, here the president is talking about the improvements in the Soviet Union so it can be discussed whether the president is praising a Republican value here or merely just praising the fact that the Soviet Union seems to have come to value freedom and less state control.

Even though we see these few examples of President Reagan expressing his appreciation for basic Republican ideals, we also see a president who has a rather big focus on hope and cooperation. In lines 132-134, he says, “And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the greatest cities of the world.” Here we see a clear invitation to cooperation in order to reach freedom and therefore also a better life, according to President Reagan. Just a few lines further down, he says, “There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East.” (lines 143-145).

So, we see an emphasis on hope and cooperation, which we shall see is also the focus in President Obama’s speech concerning his new strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Hope and cooperation can certainly be ideals of Republican politicians as well as Democratic politicians; however, we will see a clear distinction between the discourse of the Republican president Bush and President Reagan. Even though President Reagan was known for his relentless conservative beliefs, which was often reflected in his rhetoric, we see a “softer” President Reagan than President Bush. What is

striking here is that these two Republican presidents have often been compared because of their persistent conservative beliefs and rhetoric; however, it seems that President Reagan has a somewhat softer discourse than President Bush has in his State of the Union speech from 2002, and also, it is evident here that President Reagan and the Democratic President Obama have some elements in common in their discourse.

This leads to a discussion of Lakoff's family models as it is now obvious that Reagan seems to represent some of the elements of "The Nurturant Parent Model", which is originally supposed to reflect Democratic family values. As mentioned above, there is a major focus on freedom in this speech. Of course, freedom can be interpreted in many ways. Freedom can be understood as freedom from the state, which is a Republican ideal. However, as we know, freedom in life is also very important in "The Nurturant Parent Model" in order to reach prosperity and a good life. One of President Reagan's main points in this speech is very evidently exactly this. The quote from above concerning hope for the future and enlightening young minds is also a quote that shows that President Reagan represents values from "The Nurturant Parent Model". Here he talks about exchange programs and cultural events for young people, and how the United States will help establish all this, which is a way of coming together and create unity and a great community in order for the young people to grow up happy.

In order to create a good community and unity, there needs to be cooperation, according to Lakoff's Nurturant Parent model. But before there can be cooperation, trust must be gained through good and honest communication. Even though President Reagan was evidently against the Soviet Union, he does show hope and a little trust in the Soviet Union in this speech. If we return to the paragraph already discussed concerning the Soviet Union's greater freedom from state control (lines 74-77), we see President Reagan's optimism towards the Soviet Union. He says, "And now -- now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom." There is clearly hope and optimism here, but the words "in a limited way" also reveal that President Reagan is not entirely happy with the Soviet Union. Rowland and Jones who wrote the article "Reagan at the Brandenburg Gate: Moral Clarity Tempered by Pragmatism" argue that the speech is – as the title indicates – marked by pragmatism. Rowland and Jones also discuss the example provided above to illustrate how there is a "cautiously optimistic tone and the hope of better relations with the Soviet Union." (2006b, p. 36). According to Rowland and Jones, we actually

cannot help but notice it when we read or hear the speech, which is probably true as there are also quotes that are more obviously positive and optimistic than the one above.

In lines 124-125, President Reagan says, “Today, thus, represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world.” Here President Reagan could not be more specific about his hope and optimism for cooperation, which will lead to a free and therefore better world. When President Reagan makes statements like these, he not only shows his willingness to cooperate, he also shows faith in the Soviet Union, which can be interpreted as a way of initiating trust between the nations so that good communication can occur and possible cooperation. Even though President Reagan was skeptical about the Soviet Union and not entirely optimistic, he does express willingness to reach a solution together so that the free world with good communication and cooperation that reflects Lakoff’s Nurturant Parent family can become a reality.

The fact that President Reagan seems to be the “nurturant parent” here rather than the “strict father” should come as no surprise according to Rowland and Jones. Not that they use Lakoff’s models but they do argue that all through President Reagan’s presidency, he did lay out a “principled ideological critique” of the Soviet Union; however, his administration also marked that policy critique with “a series of pragmatic actions” and statements backing up those actions (2006b, p. 37). Rowland and Jones argue that the reason President Reagan and his administration did this was to make it clear that the United States was no threat to the Soviet Union even though they were critical of them and also to send the message that the United States was ready to adapt to changed circumstances.

So, according to Rowland and Jones, the pragmatic aspects of this speech at the Brandenburg Gate were no single incident as it was a tendency of the Reagan administration. However, one could also argue that the reason that President Reagan has a focus on cooperation in this speech is that the speech is held in Europe and he must therefore appeal to the European audience. As mentioned, this focus is much like President Obama’s focus, and today, we see how popular President Obama is in especially Europe for his rhetoric which represents a somewhat soft president with a determination to cooperate and solve problems together rather than going into war to solve the issues. So, perhaps we see a President Reagan as the problem solver here because that may have appealed better to a European audience even then.

The fact that President Reagan appears very cooperative and hopeful in this speech is of course part of the framing of his message. This way, he appears as the one who is willing to do what it takes to reach an agreement and solve the problem while the other side, the Soviet Union, automatically looks bad because they have been unwilling to cooperate. So, here *we* are the good ones whereas *they* are the bad ones. I will return to this notion; however, first, I will elaborate on the connection that President Reagan creates between the United States and the people of Berlin as this signals who the group of *us* consists of.

## 6.2. We Are All Citizens of Berlin

On June 26, 1963, the Democratic president Kennedy was in Berlin and he held his famous “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech<sup>4</sup>, which President Reagan also briefly addresses in the introduction to his speech. President Reagan says that American presidents are drawn to Berlin of several different reasons. One is that he sees it as being a “duty to speak in this place of freedom”, as he puts it (line 13). Of course, the reason he feels that it is a duty of American presidents to speak of freedom is that Americans are strong believers in freedom and liberty.

When the president talks about all the reasons for American presidents to come and be drawn to Berlin, he appeals to the emotions of the people of Berlin. The president mentions the history of Berlin that is so much older than the American history, the beauty of the city, and lastly, the courage and determination of the people of Berlin. So, he not only appeals to the beauty and the history of Berlin, he also appeals to the values of the people of Berlin, which is a persuasive way of appealing to emotions. This way he makes himself appear as a friend of all Berliners, which is a way of leveling with the ordinary citizens of Berlin.

Like President Kennedy did, President Reagan speaks German in his speech. He says, “You see, like so many presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin.” (lines 17-18). In lines 23-24, he says, “For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin.” This reminds us of President Kennedy’s speech, and we are instantly reminded of his utterances “Ich bin

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<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 3.

ein Berliner” and “Lass sie nach Berlin kommen” (lines 15 and 25 in Appendix 3). These were comments that President Kennedy made in order to express his sense of belonging to Berlin, the support that the United States was giving West Germany, and the hope for cooperation with the communists. President Reagan does basically the same. He also expresses his sense of belonging in Berlin when he quotes the song “Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin”, and when he says that there is only one Berlin. Saying it in German adds to the credibility for especially Germans as he becomes one of them by speaking their language.

President Reagan also appeals to pathos by claiming that we are all Berliners. What he means is that it is everybody’s concern that there is a sign of separation and restrictions in Berlin in the Berlin Wall. The president says, “Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.” (lines 33-34). The president here shows his compassion with the people of Berlin, and he describes the wall as a scar – as an abnormality that should not be there. In lines 36-37, he claims that the Wall is a scar that raises the question of freedom for all mankind, and not just for Germans. So, here President Reagan also speaks of the Wall in metaphorical ways as both a scar and a sign of oppression. He is, however, hopeful because he sees hope and triumph in the city of Berlin “even in the shadow of this wall” (line 38). So even though the city of Berlin is marked by a scar and oppression, the spirit of Berliners will triumph, according to President Reagan.

We also see President Reagan praising the work of the German leaders, Adenauer, Erhard, and Reuter. Thanks to what they did (reducing tariffs, expansion of free trade, and lowering taxes), an “economic miracle” happened in West Germany and in Berlin, according to President Reagan (lines 52-57). This apparently led to liberty and freedom, and “the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled” (lines 56-57). Then the president goes on to talk about how West Berlin was, and how it has now improved thanks to the Berliners and freedom. He repeats the words “where” and “today” three times in lines 58-66 to demonstrate how West Berlin went from ruins to one of the greatest cities in the world. A threefold repetition is a classic rhetorical device that an orator can use to underline what he is saying and for the listeners to remember it as they hear the same multiple times within a short amount of time. Van Dijk also mentions this in his theory of IDA. He describes it as a “rhetorical move” that can also be used to emphasize either the negative actions and properties of the *outgroup* or the positive actions and properties of the *ingroup*. Here, it is being used to emphasize both the negative actions of the *outgroup* and the positive actions of the *ingroup*.

President Reagan here concludes this threefold repetition in lines 62-65 by saying,

From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom,  
rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on earth.  
Now the Soviets may have had other plans. But my friends,  
there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on:  
Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, ja, und Berliner Schnauze.

So, according to President Reagan, the people of Berlin have managed to rebuilt their city thanks to their spirit and freedom even though the Soviets tried to prevent this. Here we also clearly see how President Reagan makes an obvious distinction between the Soviets as the *outgroup* that are against the Berliners who are part of *us*, the *ingroup*. We see this when he calls Berliners “my friends” and talks of the Soviets as the enemies who attempted to prevent prosperity. Leveling with and showing compassion for Germans is of course important to do for President Reagan in order to show that the United States is a true ally that Germany can count on. It is also a way of emphasizing that *they* are bad, and I will now elaborate further on this notion.

### 6.3. *Negative Other-description*

This distinction between the *ingroup*, *us*, and the *outgroup*, *them*, is obvious in this speech by President Reagan and above was one example where the president not only appeals to the emotions of the people of Berlin and praises them for their hard work - he also demonstrates through his discourse that the Soviets are bad, and the people of Berlin are good, and *we* are with the Berliners. This speech is marked by this sort of discourse in several ways. When President Reagan describes the Wall, which was erected by the Soviets, it is clear that he sees *them* as what van Dijk would characterize as the *outgroup*.

In the beginning of the speech, President Reagan describes the Wall as something that “encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe.” (lines 25-26). As we know, being free is a fundamental value of Americans as the Constitution is permeated by this value, and here President Reagan claims that the Wall violates this value. He says

that the barriers “cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers.” (lines 26-27). Not only does the Wall emotionally and figuratively separate the people of East and West Berlin and East and West Germany, it also separates them physically with both the Wall itself and also with the help of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. In other words, every measure has been taken by the Soviets to physically separate people and to keep them in place, which is a major violation to the right of freedom that every person should have according to President Reagan. So, here we see the Wall, a work of the Soviets, being described as something that downright violates one of the most fundamental rights a person has and this way, President Reagan negatively describes the actions of the *outgroup*, the Soviets.

President Reagan also touches upon how the Soviets restrict people where there is no physical wall. He says that there are armed guards and checkpoints which are a restriction on the right to travel and says, “... still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.” (line 29). Here it is also obvious that President Reagan sees the Soviets as imposing a totalitarian government on the people of the East against their will, and this is of course also a violation on the right to freedom.

This is what van Dijk identifies as *negative topics* where in this case, the *negative topic* could be “threat” or “inability” because the Soviets and the Wall are a threat to Berliners’ freedom and ability to move around freely. Of course, this also concerns *agency* in the theory of IDA as the *agency* and responsibilities of the negative actions done by the *outgroup* are emphasized here. Also, Van Dijk says that complex structures that relate the *outgroup* to specific places, events, or certain actions can be used to make a negative description of the *outgroup*. He speaks of this in connection with the *Ideological Square*. Here it is obvious that President Reagan connects the *outgroup*, the Soviets, with the erection of the Wall, the extreme supervision of Berliners, and the violation of basic human rights.

If we return to the example from above (p. 47) where President Reagan describes how West Berlin used to be a city in devastation but now has risen up to be a great city, we also see a president describing the actions of the *outgroup* negatively. He says that there used to be rubble in the city of West Berlin, and the culture of the city seemed to have been destroyed. He says that there used to be so much want and devastation in the city of West Berlin. This was of course because of all the destruction caused by the Soviets. In continuation of this, President Reagan compares the West and the Communist world. He says that in the 1950s, Khrushchev said “We will bury you”, but that he



failed in his prediction (line 67). When describing the Communist world, President Reagan uses words as “failure”, “technological backwardness”, “declining standards of health”, and “want”. These are all negative words that can only be describing a society in decline, which is obviously what President Reagan wishes to do here to show that the Soviet way of ruling is not beneficial. We can link this with *level of description* from van Dijk’s theory as the negative actions and properties of the *outgroup* are described in very specific detail here.

The president also uses the notion of *us* and *them* later when he talks about how great of a threat the Soviet Union were ten years ago when they challenged the Western alliance with hundreds of deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles (lines 92-93). Here he describes the Soviet Union as being a dangerous nation that refuses to bargain for peace whereas *we*, the Western alliance, kept strong and were willing to negotiate and because *we* stood together, the Soviets came back to bargain. Obviously, *we* are the good ones here whereas *they* are the bad ones because *they* were threatening *us* and were unwilling to cooperate. The idea that *we* are the good ones is elaborated by President Reagan when he makes use of *positive self-description*.

#### 6.4. *Positive Self-description*

While President Reagan provides these negative characterizations of both the Soviet Union and their actions, he also provides overall positive descriptions of the United States and their role in this matter. We just saw one example above where he praises the Western alliance for holding it together and being willing to cooperate with the Soviet Union. President Reagan also mentions that the United States came to help in 1945 when Berliners found their city in devastation, and that 1947 was the year of the Marshall Plan where the United States provided monetary support to Europe. Here President Reagan characterizes the United States as being the heroes who did what they could to save Berliners and Europe even many miles away. He says, “Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help.” (line 41).

He continues to talk about the Marshall Plan and describes it as having had a great impact on the rise of the West. He talks of a sign that he saw which read, “The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world.”, and President Reagan goes on to say, “A strong, free world in the West

-- that dream became real.” (lines 48-49). Then he says that Japan rose from ruins to become an economic giant, and that almost every country in Europe found both political and economic rebirth and the European Community was founded. In other words, the aid from the United States helped nations in ruins rise up to something great, and President Reagan even describes it as a dream that became real. All this easily gives us connotations to the American dream where the essential is to rise up from nothing and realize a dream. One could argue that his descriptions here are even romantic. This way of describing the help coming from his own nation is easily identified as being *positive self-description*, which makes the United States appear as a great ally here. What is also worth noticing here is that even though President Reagan is being romantic here and giving us connotations to the American dream and all in all dream-like scenarios, he is actually also appealing to logos and attempting to make common sense here. He does this by explaining how effective the monetary support from the United States has been, and this way implying that economic independency is preferable. So, while being almost romantic in his rhetoric, the president actually also appeals to logos here.

Towards the end of the speech, President Reagan says that “We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world.” (lines 124-125). Here President Reagan also talks of the United States and other Western nations as being helpful nations that fight for the good and right values. He also clarifies that the United States will stand for strict observance and full implementation of the Four Power Agreement of 1971, which holds agreements between the East and the West for improvement of communication and travel between the two. Again, as with the Marshall Plan, the United States will stand for better circumstances for everyone and once again, the United States appear this way as a great ally that helps when needed.

Furthermore, President Reagan says, “... With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin.” (lines 139-140). This is when he suggests that Berlin should be more accessible to the rest of the world and that the United States will also help sponsor summer youth exchanges. All in all, President Reagan provides concrete examples of all the things that the United States will do to help the people of Berlin so that there is no doubt that the United States is a great nation that has the resources needed to be helpful because they prosper in freedom.

All this *positive self-description* applies well with van Dijk's *general schema* where the different categories represent what ideological discourse will typically be centered around. We can identify the *self-identity descriptions* and *norm and value descriptions* when President Reagan claims that the Soviet Union violates *our* norms and values. Especially the United States is a nation that is defined by their fundamental value of freedom and liberty and therefore, it is significant to Americans to discuss how the Soviets violate this basic value. When President Reagan talks about all the good deeds that the United States provides, it applies well to the category of *activity descriptions*. The questions "What do *we* do?" and "What is expected of *us*?" are indeed answered here. It is namely expected of the United States that they help their allies and defend freedom. As we know, ideological *activity descriptions* are important to groups that are defined by what they do, and in this case, the United States are defined by what they do such as helping allies and defending freedom. In connection with this, *goal descriptions* apply well too because defending freedom is exactly an ideological goal of the United States and here, President Reagan does not conceal that this is what the United States does and stands for. We know from van Dijk that *goal descriptions* concern a description of *us* as how *we* want to be seen and how *we* see *ourselves*, and this is what makes this ideological discourse.

So, even though President Reagan provides detailed descriptions of the wrong-doings of the *outgroup*, he also provides quite detailed and indeed specific descriptions of all the good that the United States has done. This is what van Dijk attempted to illustrate through his *Ideological Square* where talking about ourselves in a positive manner can be done with the help of positively loaded nouns and adjectives and also through complex structures that relate *us* with specific places, events, or certain actions. What is important to notice is that President Reagan is able to provide concrete examples of what the United States has done and will do to help by talking about the Marshall Plan, the Four Power Agreement of 1971 and proposing exchange youth programs in Berlin. Concrete examples and specificity make President Reagan appear credible and indeed also better than the *outgroup* of Soviets. Furthermore, the concrete examples of the wrong-doings of the Soviet Union and the good properties of the United States are examples of how President Reagan provides frames of good and evil/bad. In this speech, President Reagan does not call the Soviet Union "The Evil Empire" or evil at all but he certainly implies that the Soviet Union is bad and the United States is good and this way, President Reagan creates frames of good and evil and which nation is which inside listeners' heads without saying it directly.

President Bush deals with this differently in his State of the Union address of 2002. He does not indirectly imply that the *outgroup* is evil; he says it directly by calling them “The Axis of Evil”. I will elaborate further on this in my analysis of President Bush’s speech next.

## 7. Analysis of President Bush's State of the Union Address of 2002

On January 29, 2002, President Bush gave his first real State of the Union address as president<sup>5</sup>. This speech is obviously highly marked by the tragic events in New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania just four months earlier on September 11, 2001<sup>6</sup>.

Nine days after 9/11, Bush declared war on terror in a speech to the American people and the rest of the world where he made one of his famous statements, "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists." (See Appendix 1, lines 111-112). This statement and the general style of the discourse that Bush used in that speech demonstrates a bipartite worldview that Bush later came to present quite often in speeches and comments when discussing the war on terror. Here the notion of *us* and *them* is very apparent, and *we* are the good ones whereas *they* are the bad ones.

When it was time for President Bush to present the state of the union to Congress on January 29, 2002, this worldview was once again apparent in his speech. For the first time, the president used the term "Axis of Evil" to describe those governments that he accused of seeking weapons of mass destruction and promoting terrorism and thereby threatening the peace of the world. These states were according to the president North Korea, Iran, and Iraq. When President Bush talks about these states and how they constitute the "Axis of Evil", the bipartite worldview becomes very obvious and it is clear that these states are enemies of the United States, and they must be defeated.

The term "Axis of Evil" is just one out of many ways that Bush manages to create a bipartite worldview in his State of the Union address in 2002. I will look further into how he manages to do this in my analysis below where I will find out how his framing and examples of IDA help create the thought of *us* and *them*.

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<sup>5</sup> President Bush did address a joint session of Congress shortly after his inauguration in 2001; however, this address is considered to be his "Budget Message" and not a "State of the Union" address.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 4. I will refer to this appendix in parentheses all through my analysis of President Bush's speech.

## 7.1. Emotions, Goodness, and Reasoning

The State of the Union addresses usually concern different issues and so does the one of President Bush from 2002. However, war, terrorism, freedom, and justice all mark the speech greatly whereas economy, education, and healthcare are also being addressed, but certainly only briefly. The words “terror” and “terrorist” appear more than thirty times in this speech, and this shows how the fighting of terror is on top of the president’s agenda at this time.

Bush starts the speech by saying that even though the United States is at war and faces extreme dangers and the economy is in recession, the state of the union has never been stronger (lines 9-10). Here he shows faith in the American people by saying that the United States is strong and united despite the bad and unfortunate circumstances. This way of appealing to the American people is something that President Bush does several times in this speech. He also does this when he praises the American military for their good work and also when he provides authentic emotional stories about American families affected by 9/11.

In lines 24-28, Bush shows complete faith in the United States military by saying that thanks to them, the United States is already winning the war on terror that Bush declared just four months earlier. Here he also makes a threat to the enemies of the United States when he says, “Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves, you will not escape the justice of this Nation.” (lines 27-28). Not only does he express a threat that the United States will bring the enemies to justice, he also shows that the United States military is just that mighty and aggressive that they will bring the enemies to justice and defend the peace and freedom of the United States.

Then, President Bush goes on to talk about the authentic stories of American families affected by 9/11. He talks about a little boy that lost his father on 9/11 and a woman who lost her husband. These appeals to people and their emotions, which we also know as pathos, are a way for President Bush to persuade his audience. We also heard him using this strategy in his speech on September 20, 2001, when he declared war on terror. The reason for doing this in the “War on Terror” speech could have been to justify going into war by proving just how affected some people were by the attacks and how the attackers need to be brought to justice. This way he appeals to the emotions and

feelings of the American people because everyone will most likely be somehow affected or moved by such stories.

In this speech, it is also helpful for President Bush to be giving these emotional examples of how people have been personally affected by the 9/11 attacks because he still needs to justify the war that he just started. War is a serious matter and it must be assumed that no Americans wish for their country to be at war; however, it must also be assumed that many Americans – among them the President - believed it was necessary for the United States to go into this war. At the same time though, a large group of Americans have never preferred starting the war and especially these people need to be persuaded in order for the president to maintain his success. A popular way to do this is with the help of pathos and assuring the American people that going into this war makes perfect sense, which is why President Bush also uses the appeals to pathos as appeals to logos.

In lines 34-36, Bush addresses the woman who lost her husband personally and assures her that the cause of the United States is “just”. Furthermore, the president praises the husband who passed away and talks about how he gave his life for freedom which is in American patriotic spirit. One of the ways that President Bush has several times justified the war on terror is by claiming that America must defend their freedom. In lines 34-36, he does it again. This appeals to an American tradition or a spirit that is deeply rooted in many Americans because the right to freedom is guaranteed throughout the United States Constitution. Appealing to people’s values and therefore also people’s emotions is a very effective strategy, and we hear it often in presidential speeches and also here in a State of the Union speech.

Appearing credible is a very important task of the president of the United States. The president holds a very important and high position as he is the commander in chief. There are many ways to appear credible and trustworthy, and one of the ways that President Bush manages to do that is when he shows pathos and also when he shows goodwill and good character, which is what we know as ethos. When the president praises the heroes of 9/11 and the families of those who fell, he shows ethos. Of course, since the president is commander in chief, he does not need to create or develop ethos throughout every speech as ethos is established already when the president approaches the rostrum as there is symbolic power in his position as commander in chief. Even though the president does not need to develop ethos through the course of the speech, he does it anyway which is a persuasive strategy to appear credible.

Another way President Bush can appear credible is by showing that he knows the facts and knows what to do and how to respond to the actions of the enemy. This is also recognized as *logos* in the world of rhetoric. Knowing facts and knowing what to do next is always in any speech a powerful way to persuade an audience; however, in a State of the Union speech, it can be argued that it is especially important to express credibility because these speeches concern the current issues and how to deal with them here and now and possibly later as well.

President Bush also responds to this in his State of the Union speech from 2002. He lays out facts about the enemy such as how America has found detailed descriptions made by the terrorists of how to make chemical weapons; that the terrorists have surveillance maps of American cities; and that the terrorists have descriptions of landmarks in both the United States and the rest of the world (lines 40-42). These facts help the president justify the war as well just as it expresses credibility and resolution when he goes on to talk about what to do about the situation.

One of the ways to identify when an orator is using facts is identifying the use of numbers. In lines 44-47, President Bush talks about the number of terrorists who are trained in camps in Afghanistan. He says, "Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder,..." He continues a few lines later, "Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large." (lines 48-49). Here the president shows that the United States has found out what is going on, where the terrorists come from, and how the terrorists have become able to threaten America. He also emphasizes just how bad these terrorists are, and he says in line 50, "... we must pursue them wherever they are.", which shows the president's determination to go against the enemies, the terrorists. In this line the notion of *us* and *them* is also very apparent because of the words *we*, *them*, and *they*. So, here we also see this bipartite worldview that President Bush often talks about and that van Dijk talks about in his theory of IDA, which I will return to. Also, these facts can also be recognized as *agency* in van Dijk's theory on IDA where the speaker emphasizes the agency and responsibility of the negative actions done by the *outgroup*.

What seems to be only natural, the president here goes on to talk about what the United States will do to defeat their enemies. Here the president must give concrete examples in order for the American people to know exactly what is going to happen and for them to have faith in the



president. Just like facts are concrete, so are the examples that President Bush provides here, and he does it mainly to appear credible. Here he lists what will happen such as, “First,... And second,...” (line 54). He says, “First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world.” He makes it short and therefore also easy for the listeners to understand and follow.

These are all examples of how the president uses pathos, logos, and ethos to persuade his audience that he is credible and determined to fight to win the war on terror. While he does this, he also expresses the worldview that I have already touched upon of *us* and *them*. While he gives out facts about the enemy, he gives out the negative facts in order to make them appear as the enemy that the United States must defeat.

## 7.2. Good vs. Evil

When President Bush provides negative facts about the enemy, he lays out those negative characteristics of the *outgroup* that we know from van Dijk’s theory on IDA. If we look at the speech at a macrolevel, we can easily identify *negative topics*. The entire speech circulates around the terrorists and how they disrupt the values, norms, and everyday lives of Americans, and this is how we can quickly identify the *negative topics*. The main issue in this speech is terror and the threat of terror, and since we know this, we can identify the *negative topics* as for example “criminality” and “threat”.

Digging deeper though, we can look at how the negative actions of the enemy is being described. We know this from IDA as *level of description* where *generality versus specificity* is important, and where the negative actions of the enemy tend to be described more specifically than our own negative actions. We also see this in President Bush’s State of the Union address from 2002 as no negative actions of America is being presented at all, and when the president describes the United States, he talks about all the good that they have done and will accomplish in the future. This does not mean that he does not acknowledge the problems that America is facing both in terms of terrorism and domestic issues as financial and educational matters; however, the terrorists and their actions are being described in much detail whereas the negative actions of the United States are

simply not presented. Actually, the president uses the negative actions of the enemy to give way for a positive description of what the United States will do.

I have already listed some of the lines where the president both describes the negative actions of the enemy and where he describes the goals of the United States and how they will reach them. Of course, there are many more as the entire speech consists of these two matters. What is worth noticing in the president's descriptions of the terrorists and their actions is what van Dijk also talks about; namely, the *level of description*, the *degree of completeness*, and *granularity*. In lines 37-47, we see all these clearly in the president's description of the terrorists. We see how the characterization of the enemies is quite long and indeed descriptive with phrases as, "Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears...", "We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred...", and "... the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design." In the next paragraph, the president calls them "dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder... like ticking timebombs, set to go off without warning." (lines 45-47). Here we see a description of both the negative actions and properties of the *outgroup*.

This description is very specific but is still long and holds details. There is no doubt about how President Bush sees the terrorists as he expresses himself very clearly with the help of details and specificity. What is interesting about this is that it leads to a description of what the United States will do from line 48 and further down; however, this description does not hold as many details and it appears shorter because the sentences are short, but this only makes President Bush appear very specific and determined. So, both the negative description of the terrorists and the descriptions of what the United States will do appear very specific but the descriptions of the enemy hold more details and can be argued to be more precise because all those details make us understand just how bad the enemy is according to President Bush.

In the positive descriptions of the United States, the president lists very specific tasks of the United States such as shutting down terrorist camps and bringing terrorists to justice. He also lists the tasks of the United States military and navy. Later in lines 87-88, he says, "And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our Nation's security." Moreover, in lines 111-112, President Bush says, "My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades, because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay." Finally, in lines 225-226, he says, "America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people

everywhere.” Here we see a president that speaks ideologically of his nation especially when he mentions the fight for freedom, which is one of the most fundamental ideologies of the United States.

We can identify some of the topics of van Dijk’s *general schema* here such as *self-identity descriptions*, *activity descriptions*, *goal descriptions*, and *norm and value descriptions*. The *self-identity descriptions* are seen in the way that it is necessary for President Bush to say that the United States will defend their freedom because this fundamental value is threatened. The *activity descriptions* are obvious of the same reason; the United States are defined by their fight for freedom and this is expected of them. The *goal descriptions* and *norm and value descriptions* concern the same matter as the ideological goal of the United States is to maintain the value of freedom, which is according to President Bush and the United States a good value that the terrorists are violating. Furthermore, the *position and relation descriptions* are evident all through the speech as conflicts and derogation are in focus and we see a clear gap between the United States and the terrorists when President Bush clarifies the completely different goals of the two groups.

If we return to the *negative other-description*, another way that President Bush manages to emphasize just how bad the terrorists are is with the help of anaphoras. Anaphoras are helpful because it is to repeat a sequence of words at the beginning of neighboring clauses and as we know, repetitions can help emphasize certain matters. In lines 75-79, the president repeats the words “The Iraqi regime” and “This is a regime” at the beginning of 4 neighboring clauses to describe just how bad that regime is. He concludes this with, “States like these and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil...” (line 80) so there is absolutely no doubt how evil President Bush considers the terrorist to be. Rhymes and repetitions are *rhetorical moves* that van Dijk also includes in his theory of IDA regarding formal structures that help emphasize the negative actions of properties of the *outgroup*.

Towards the end of the speech, President Bush returns to talk about terrorism after he has briefly discussed economic and educational matters. In lines 184-186, we see an example of how President Bush polarizes the enemy with the United States within a paragraph. He says, “During these last few months, I’ve been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil.” (lines 184-186). Not only does the president appeal to pathos and ethos here, but he also polarizes America and their enemies very clearly by

first praising America and then finishing up this paragraph by saying, “They were as wrong as they are evil.” Here the president provides more detail in his description of America, but this makes sense here because this is a positive description. This is an example of what we have learned from van Dijk about how the *ingroup* will be described in a positive manner and this will then be emphasized compared to the description of the *outgroup*, and this way *we* appear as the good ones and *they* are bad. Also, President Bush refers to the terrorists as “our enemies” here, and this is a clear example of *denomination*. Generally, President Bush refers to the terrorists as “they”, and this signals *denomination* as well; however, when using a word like “enemy” to describe the *outgroup*, it cannot be made any clearer that the *outgroup* is different from *us*.

There are several other examples of President Bush either calling the enemy evil or polarizing good and evil. In lines 218-219, he says, “Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good.” Here we see that the president believes that *our* goodness will overcome *their* evil. In line 240, he says, “We’ve come to know truths that we will never question: Evil is real, and it must be opposed.” Here he clearly prepares the ground for a continuation of the war on terror. This leads into a brief mentioning of the Christian god that President Bush believes in, in lines 243-244, “And many have discovered again that even in tragedy – especially in tragedy – God is near.” In lines 247-248, he uses the word “tyranny” instead to describe the enemies, “They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed.” Here he polarizes the beliefs of the American people and the terrorists, and as heard before in speeches by President Bush, he brings up religion and makes references to the Apocalypse where god will judge, and the good will triumph in the end.

So, here we see a polarization known from the Bible and the president expresses a belief in the Apocalypse where the good, the United States, will defeat the bad, the terrorists, because god will make that judgment. President Bush is known for using Biblical language and the term “The Axis of Evil” is a significant example.

### 7.3. The Axis of Evil

I will now move on to talk about one of the most famous terms concerning the evil that President Bush ever used in connection with the war on terror, which I discussed briefly in my introduction to

this analysis. “The Axis of Evil” is an example of a frame which represents one group consisting of the three main enemies to the United States according to President Bush. Synonyms to the word “axis” are words such as “alliance”, “partnership”, and “alignment”, which tells us that Bush describes the three states of evil as an alliance or as a group working together against the United States. As mentioned in the introduction, these countries are North Korea, Iran, and Iraq; however, President Bush puts an emphasis on Iraq and makes a more elaborate description of this nation and of why they are an enemy.

When describing Iraq and how hostile of a regime it is, President Bush’s choice of words becomes very unsettling and almost frightening. He uses words such as “hostility”, “nerve gas”, “nuclear weapons”, and uses phrases as “This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of dead mothers huddled over their dead children” and “This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world” (lines 75-79). As listeners to this, we are frightened and very shocked about the president’s words here. Obviously, that is the whole point in order to tell us just how evil the regime of Iraq is and how bad of an enemy they are.

President Bush describes the three countries that make up “The Axis of Evil” as “terrorist allies... arming to threaten the peace of the world.” (lines 80-81). That is how the definition of “The Axis of Evil” is known to the world now that the president coined this term in 2002 and has repeatedly used it since when discussing the war on terror.

Since then, the accuracy of the term “The Axis of Evil” has been criticized as it turned out that Iraq actually never did possess any weapons of mass destruction. Also, the word “axis” has been questioned as it has never been proven that these three countries ever coordinated any policies together against the United States and therefore the word “axis” must be considered inaccurate. Even though the term has been criticized, Secretary of State during President Bush’s second term, Condoleezza Rice, used similar discourse to describe the governments of totalitarian regime or dictatorship. Here she described Cuba, Iran, Zimbabwe, North Korea, Burma, and Belarus as “outposts of tyranny”.

This “Axis of Evil” term gives us connotations to both President Reagan’s “The Evil Empire”, which was the Soviet Union and to the “Axis powers” from World War II, which consisted of Nazi Germany, Japan, and Italy. According to Philip Eubanks and John D. Schaeffer who are the authors

of the article “A Dialogue Between Traditional and Cognitive Rhetoric: Readings of Figuration in George W. Bush’s “Axis of Evil” Address”, the word “axis” itself connotes the “Axis powers” and is intended to associate the countries of the “Axis of Evil” with the countries of the “Axis powers” (2004e, p. 61). Eubanks and Schaeffer also touch upon the issue of using the word “axis” as it implies that the countries of the “Axis of Evil” work together like the countries of “Axis powers” did when they signed a treaty and were allies against the Allies. This way, the word “axis” provides us with historical values that the term already attained during World War II. Of course, even though it is inaccurate, President Bush manages to provide us with the connotations and associations of evil that was probably the intention. Schaeffer also claims that “the adjective “evil” is certainly a value judgment, and Bush’s speech aims at persuading people to share it.” (2004e, p. 62).

According to Eubanks, David Frum – who coined the term “The Axis of Evil” – first used the term “Axis of Hatred” in the drafts of the speech; however, he changed it to “Axis of Evil” to evoke theological dimensions to the language (2004e, p. 62). Frum argues that the term is however not too bellicose and appeals to history to defend this claim. He says that terrorism is “our Nazi Germany, it’s our Soviet Union, and it has to be dealt with not just as a strategic problem but as a moral problem” (2004e, p. 62). Of course, this explains that Frum coined a term that would remind us of the “Axis powers” and of the way President Reagan referred to the Soviet Union. The term “The Axis of Evil” is however just one of the ways that President Bush creates frames inside listeners’ minds, which I will now explain further.

#### 7.4. Schemas and Frames

As I mentioned earlier, the words “terror” and “terrorists” appear in this speech more than thirty times. Not only are these words repeated to emphasize that President Bush’s mission is to defeat terrorism, they also function as a way of awakening some ideas on terrorism inside the listeners’ minds. When Americans hear the word “terror” after 9/11, most of them will probably get images of the two twin towers in New York City crashing down, people jumping from the 65th floor desperate to save themselves, or images of Osama bin Laden who most people connote with evil itself after 9/11. So, when the president says the words “terror” or “terrorists”, he will most likely awaken images and bad memories inside people’s heads and this way, he will remind them of how brutal

9/11 was and how much the terrorists need to be defeated. This way, the president might get support in his way of conducting the United States' reaction to 9/11. This is what we also know from Entman as "schemas" as clusters of ideas that we have concerning every single word we know.

Eubanks and Schaeffer, however, notice that the word "threat" is being used several times as well, and they claim that the word "terrorism" is substituted by "threat" repeatedly. According to Schaeffer, this means that President Bush is arguing that the United States must not only prevent terrorism - they must also eliminate the threat of terrorism (2004e, p. 54). Eubanks claims that "Bush's promise to eradicate the threat of terrorism, rather than terrorism itself, relies on conceptual metonymy." (2004e, p. 55). Eubanks says that the words "threat" and "terror" share the same conceptual metonymy, and it even shares a double metonymic relationship because terrorism is the prologue to threat and at the same time, threat is an integral part of terrorism because the goal of terrorists is not to make destruction but to create fear (2004e, p. 56). Eubanks believes that President Bush makes use of the relationship between terror and threat because the president believes that wherever there is a threat, there is terror. It can be argued that this notion matches the bipartite worldview presented by President Bush quite well.

In lines 65-66, the president describes the terrorists in an interesting way. He says, "My hope is that all nations will heed our call and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own." Basically, he calls the terrorists "parasites", which is something that most of us associate with something not just negative and uncomfortable but also downright disgusting. We know that parasites cannot live without sucking blood from something else and perhaps President Bush is referring to this; perhaps his point is that the United States cannot just stand by and do nothing because this will only make terrorism thrive in the fear that the American people now have. Furthermore, the president uses the word "eliminate" which only intensifies the meaning of the word "parasites" and makes the word more concrete and evokes images of actual parasites in our minds. We immediately think of the terrorists as small rodents that need to be eliminated and destroyed, which is exactly the frame of mind that President Bush wishes to evoke in order to get support in eliminating the terrorists by conducting the war on terror.

To the American people, the words chosen by President Bush will definitely also awaken feelings and not just horrific images in their minds. Many Americans were personally affected by 9/11 and many know someone who was somehow affected. Even more Americans have been affected later as they have sent their sons and daughters, mothers and fathers to war as a consequence of 9/11. So,

President Bush's words are carefully chosen to awaken both images, memories, and feelings connected to those images and memories in order to bring his audience into the right frame of mind that he needs to persuade them that his plans are wise. It is worth noting that the "parasite" frame and "The Axis of Evil" frame is presented somewhat early in the speech together with detailed and persuasive descriptions of negative properties of the *outgroup* in order to emphasize it and have people remember it. We recognize this as *superstructures* from van Dijk, which tells us something about the overall organization of the discourse.

## 7.5. America's Call to Defend Freedom

In President Bush's State of the Union address from 2002, it is possible to identify some of Lakoff's notions on Republicans as reflecting a certain type of family model. President Bush was a conservative president belonging to the Republican party that is supposed to reflect the morals and values within Lakoff's "Strict Father" family. As we shall see, some of President Bush's utterances match the family model quite well.

There is no doubt that President Bush feels that the United States must act and be steadfast because if they gave up now, they would not be true to one of their most fundamental values; freedom. Also, it is very clear that the president feels that it is America's obligation not only to defend themselves but also to defend the rest of the world. In lines 94-96, the president says, "History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight." Earlier in lines 67-68, he says, "But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will."

We hear it clearly in these lines that America will act no matter what, and they will lead the fight to protect everyone. The president says that it is both the responsibility of the United States to do this - but also a privilege. This matches Lakoff's observation of Republican politicians seeing the United States as a "strict father" who takes the responsibility of showing what is right and what is wrong in this world. It would simply be immoral of them not to do this as they have moral authority. Also, in Lakoff's "Strict Father Model", the world is seen in a bipartite way, which is clearly what President Bush does here as well. As already discussed, *us* and *them* is an ongoing theme in this speech and many more speeches by this president when discussing the war on terror.



Finally, a very significant quote from the speech concerning America's responsibility in this war on terror is in lines 245-246, "In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we have been called to a unique role in human events." Here President Bush says that it is America's call to defend liberty and that this will go down in history. Just before this quote, he brought up religious references and talked about god, and one can wonder if the president is trying to imply that this call came from god since President Bush is such a strong believer. It has later been discussed widely that President Bush is said to have believed that god told him to invade Iraq so here might be an example of this even though he does not say directly here that god gave them that call. Even so, apparently, the president does believe that it is America's call to defend liberty and freedom and this matches Lakoff's notions on the "Strict Father Model" quite well.

According to Lakoff's model, the communication between the father and the kids, the president and the citizens, and finally, between the United States and the world, is one-way. Here in this speech, the communication is also one-way as the president is telling the citizens what the United States must do now. Of course, it would not be possible for citizens to meddle here at all so the situation does not give way for a two-way communication. Indeed, some ordinary citizens have protested against this war on terror but here, it is the president who tells the citizens what to do now. However, the fact that the president uses plural pronouns many times throughout the speech gives an impression that the president sees himself as being with the American people and that he is not telling them what to do, but that this is all something that we have to do together. Of course, the president will lead, which we can gather from his use of singular pronouns at times, but the American people are generally all in this fight for freedom and peace together.

As we already know from Republican politics, Lakoff's "Strict Father Model" also expresses a wish for a reduction on the dependency on the government from the ordinary citizens. President Bush also talks about this in his speech. He first talks about it when he discusses job creation, economy, and taxes. He says, "... the goal is to reduce dependency on government..." (line 167). He mentions it again later when he has returned to talk about the fight for liberty in lines 227-230, "We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance." Here the president lists some values that are important in America but indeed also to Republican voters, and here we also see that privatization of property is important and generally limiting the power of the state.

It can be argued that the Republican president, Bush, expresses his Republican ideals and the “Strict Father” worldview clearly through his discourse and framing. Of course, he also appears as a “soft” president with a great deal of good character and common sense when he appeals to pathos. He may have done this to persuade the people who may not belong to “The Strict Father Model” and who do not see war as a solution to the problem. The Democratic president, Barack Obama, has a different approach than President Bush to the war on terror and a different focus in his rhetoric, which can be found in an analysis of his new strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan from 2009. I will now study this in further detail.

## **8. Analysis of President Obama's Remarks on His New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan**

On March 27, 2009, President Obama held a speech concerning his new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan both in terms of military support and developmental aid from the United States and its allies<sup>7</sup>. This speech was held only two months after President Obama took office, and the speech is marked by a remarkably different approach than the one conducted by the previous administration.

President Obama makes it clear in this speech that he thinks that the previous president, President Bush, and his administration directed too much attention and resources towards Iraq. Now, President Obama is preparing to change this and direct resources at Pakistan and Afghanistan in order to create a better and safer future for the people of these nations.

It can be argued that the values which President Obama talks of in this speech reflect the values that he campaigned for in the presidential elections of 2007/2008 and 2011/2012. It is very obvious in this speech that President Obama wants a completely different approach than the one conducted by President Bush but this was namely also evident in his campaign.

We remember President Bush as a president using the "fighting approach" to conflict resolution where the strategy exactly was to fight the opponent rather than solve the problems or avoid conflicts. According to Karen A. Feste, President Bush's style is "highly assertive and aggressive with minimal cooperativeness." (2011a, p. 200). The strategy of President Obama can be identified as the "problem solving strategy" which has aspects of a "compromising style" with a combination of assertiveness and cooperativeness as Feste has concluded in her analyses of other speeches concerning terror by President Obama (2011a, pp. 225-226).

In my analysis of President Obama's remarks on the new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is possible to detect utterances that support this claim of differences in strategies which Feste has concluded in her book "America Responds to Terrorism – Conflict Resolution Strategies of Clinton, Bush, and Obama".

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<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 5. I will be referring to this appendix in parentheses all through my analysis of President Obama's speech.

## 8.1. Forward

What seems immediately conspicuous in this speech compared to President Bush's State of the Union Speech, is that President Obama appears to have "softer" views on the war on terror than President Bush did. At least he seems to be discussing it in a way that focuses more on the softer values than President Bush did. As mentioned in my analysis of President Bush's speech, the words "terror" and "terrorists" were mentioned repeatedly, and there were examples of how President Bush seemed almost threatening towards the terrorists. He appeared very determined to go after the terrorists and all in all, he expressed a pro-active and sometimes even aggressive approach to defeat the terrorists. President Obama's approach seems less aggressive because he discusses how the United States and its allies can help Pakistan build schools, roads, and hospitals, and how to help Afghanistan reach strength to fend for themselves.

President Obama's choice of words proves this point as well. Words like "allies", "partners", "partner countries", and "friends" appear quite often in this speech which in contrast to Bush's speech reveals a larger focus on the positive. Where President Bush repeatedly used the words "terror" and "terrorists", President Obama uses the words "allies" and "friends", which also expresses a focus on cooperation rather than war. However, it is noticeable though that President Obama says – just like President Bush did several times – "We will defeat you." (line 62). Here we see a president that is also determined to undermine the terrorists that go against the United States and its allies just like the former president. So, while we see President Obama being determined to cooperate for a better future for all, we also see him threatening the terrorists so that there is no doubt that the United States still wishes to fight terrorism. One could say that there seems to be a shift in the main goals for the United States from being on fighting the terrorists to being on development and a better future – even though the United States obviously still wishes to fight terrorism in order to defend their freedom.

President Obama focuses on the softer and positive values in his speech, and we see this when he says, "The people of Pakistan want the same things that we want: an end to terror, access to basic services, the opportunity to live their dreams, and the security that can only come with the rule of law." (lines 72-74). The words "live their dreams" and "security" express positive and uplifting values that are much appreciated in the United States, and it brings connotations to the American dream, which is uplifting and hopeful itself.

Later in the speech when the president talks about the development that the United States will help the Pakistani people with, he says, “I’m also calling on Congress to pass a bipartisan bill co-sponsored by Maria Cantwell, Chris Van Hollen, and Peter Hoekstra that creates opportunity zones in the border regions to develop the economy and bring hope to places plagued with violence.” (lines 100-103). Here the words “opportunity zones” and “hope” reveal the wish the president has for an uplifting future and the focus on a positive outlook is very evident here. Even though the words “opportunity zones” are very abstract and the president does not give a detailed description of what exactly this is, we know immediately that it is something helpful and good for the Pakistani people as we have positive connotations with the word “opportunity”.

There is a great focus on the future and development, and this matches the policies conducted by President Obama. A word like “development” is repeated and proves that what the president wants done are of progressive character. The president also talks about change, “For three years, our commanders have been clear about the resources they need for training. And those resources have been denied because of the war on Iraq. Now, that will change.” (lines 132-133). Here, the president clearly criticizes the former Republican government with Bush as president for not having provided the resources needed. President Obama promises change here, which was also his slogan for his presidential campaign in 2008. It was, “Change We Can Believe In”. As the president keeps talking about development, he also talks about moving forward. In line 179, he says, “Going forward, we will not blindly stay the course.” The word “forward” says a great deal about the progressive character once again, and today, we recognize it from President Obama’s presidential campaign of 2012, where his slogan simply was, “Forward”.

All in all, President Obama chooses many positive words and words that tell us that he focuses on cooperation and an optimistic hope for the future. These are words such as “shared responsibility”, “dialogue”, “cooperation”, “commitment”, “security”, “support”, “reconciliation”, “peace”, and “friendship”, which all are words that can be argued to fit Lakoff’s family model of the “Nurturant Parent” quite well.

## 8.2. President Obama as the “Nurturant Parent”

President Obama is a Democratic president, and Lakoff’s “Nurturant Parent Model” is supposed to reflect the Democratic values and morals. One of the aspects in the “Nurturant Parent Model” is that the world can be made a better place by us as we are born good and therefore, we can make the world better. This notion matches President Obama’s focus on the positive outlook quite well. Also, President Obama proposes bills that are supposed to support actual plans on how to establish a better future for people - by people.

Lakoff says that in the “Nurturant Parent Model”, freedom is a very important value to have in order to be happy, and you cannot have opportunity and prosperity in life without freedom. This fits President Obama’s mission quite well as he wishes for the Afghan and Pakistani people to be free from the Taliban regime so that the “opportunity zones” can be created in order for the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan to thrive and prosper.

Honest and two-way communication is also an aspect of the “Nurturant Parent Model”, which is essential in order to reach trust and good cooperation. Again, this situation does not give way for the listeners to participate in communication with the president so here the president’s job is to inform the people of what is going to happen. Then, it is the president’s task to inform people in such a way that he gains trust from people so they will be cooperative and indeed is the president’s goal also to reach cooperation in order to create good circumstances for the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan. This fits the ideal of having trust and good cooperation in the “Nurturant Parent Model” quite well. And also, it fits the ideal of having cooperation within one’s community and reaching out in the community. If people do not come together to work on better circumstances in Pakistan and Afghanistan, the children of those nations will grow up in war zones, and that is not in anyone’s interest and especially not in a family model like the nurturant one where empathy, protection, and responsibility are significant values.

According to Lakoff, these values also apply to how Democrats see the government’s role in society where the government should protect the citizens. In this case, the government – the president – is initiating a plan to protect the citizens of Afghanistan and Pakistan. This also fits Lakoff’s idea that Democrats see the United States as a nation that wishes to promote cooperation between nations in the world quite well.

### 8.3. Energy, Organization, and Credibility

As any other president, President Obama must appear credible and trustworthy, which is what we also know as ethos, when he addresses the public and especially concerning serious matters as the role of the United States in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the fight of terrorism. Here, the president attempts to show credibility in the way that he initiates the speech by first outlining what he is going to talk about, which is the new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan. Then, he goes on to clarify that there has been done some work with the Afghan and Pakistani governments, NATO allies, and other international organizations to demonstrate that he and his advisors have done their homework. Finally, he acknowledges that many Americans are wondering what the United States is still doing in Afghanistan, and that he will answer that question now, and that he will answer this straightforward (lines 22-34).

This kind of opening signals energy and organization, which is needed in this sort of speech where the president is outlining what is going to happen and what the United States must do now. Right after this introduction in line 35, President Obama says, “So let me be clear: Al Qaeda and its allies -- the terrorists who planned and supported the 9/11 attacks -- are in Pakistan and Afghanistan.” Here the president evidently attempts to be clear and concise in his explanation of what al Qaeda has to do with Pakistan and Afghanistan, and why the United States is still there. After this, he goes on to explain how the future of Afghanistan is inextricably linked to the future of Pakistan. It could be argued that the president here removes all complication from the situation and takes it down on a level that the ordinary American citizen can follow. This is important because the subject is war, and the ordinary American has sons and daughters, fathers and mothers who sacrifice their lives in the war on terror, and it is important to the people who send loved ones overseas that the reason to send them over there is still valid. Also, when the president talks on a level that anyone can follow, he places himself at the same level as the citizens and that is a persuasive strategy in itself.

This way of taking such a complicated issue and attempting to explain it in a non-complicated manner is obviously seen before. One of the presidents who did this was President Nixon who had to argue why he did not choose to end the war in Vietnam after taking over office after President

Johnson<sup>8</sup>. We know this speech as the “Silent Majority” speech held on November 3rd, 1969. Here we also heard a president who started out by outlining what he was going to talk about and then went on to acknowledge that many Americans were uncertain about the policies concerning the Vietnam War that Nixon was conducting. After this, he listed some questions that he believed many Americans had, and then he attempted to answer these. So, in some ways President Obama’s speech reminds us of President Nixon’s speech where both of them have the task of answering the questions that Americans have concerning war and foreign policy issues. Besides answering the questions clearly and in a concise manner, both of them must exude energy and organization to appear credible. The way they initiate their speeches is one way to do this.

Ethos also concerns good character and goodness, which President Obama indeed also makes use of in this speech. We see this especially when he focuses on the softer values. The fact that President Obama focuses primarily on protection and security alongside those soft values shows good character and goodness itself. The president even says, “As president, my greatest responsibility is to protect the American people.” (line 55) Here he clearly represents himself as a good man who lives up to his enormous responsibility of keeping Americans safe. In lines 82-85, he says, “It’s important for the American people to understand that Pakistan needs our help in going after al Qaeda. [...] And that’s why we must focus our military assistance on the tools, training and support that Pakistan needs to root out the terrorists.” Here the president shows good character in the way that he represents America as being a helpful nation that helps protect the Pakistani people from terrorism.

#### 8.4. “We Will Defeat You”

Even though there seems to be a different focus on the issues in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the war on terror in this speech from President Bush’s speech, they do have something in common, which is the discourse that President Bush adopted of *us* and *them*. One of the most apparent examples is the quote that I already discussed which is in line 62 where President Obama says, “We will defeat you.” The thought of *us* and *them* – or rather *us* versus *them* – is very obvious here, and

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 6.



this example is important because it is probably the most obvious example in this speech, and it is very alike many of the quotes in President Bush's speech.

The lines leading up to this one specific example are important as well,

So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and  
focused goal to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and  
Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future.  
That's the goal that must be achieved. That is a cause that could not be more just.  
And to the terrorists who oppose us, my message is the same: We will defeat you.

(Lines 59 – 62)

Here the president claims that the United States will defeat the terrorists, which could be argued to be a rather aggressive claim especially considering the calm tone that otherwise marks this speech. Another noticeable fact here is the sentence, "That is a cause that could not be more just." The reason this is worth noticing is that President Bush used this phrase as well twice in his speech. He said, "Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, [...] Our cause is just, and it continues." (See Appendix 4, lines 34-37). So, here are some aspects of discourse that both presidents share. While they both make threatening comments – President Bush making more than President Obama - they obviously both feel the need to justify their words and actions.

President Obama does not hesitate to mention the bad actions and properties of al Qaeda either. When the president speaks ill of the terrorists, he often uses adjectives that we connote with drama and darkness. In lines 76-81, President Obama tells us what al Qaeda has done of bad things, and he says, "The terrorists within Pakistan's borders are not simply enemies of America or Afghanistan -- they are a grave and urgent danger to the people of Pakistan." (lines 76-77). The words "grave and urgent danger" make an impact as especially the word "danger" is a word that we react to immediately. We know that word from flashing and bright signs that we are supposed to react to and so we most often do. The adjectives "grave" and "urgent" add to the seriousness of the matter. Furthermore, President Obama calls the terrorists "enemies", and we recognize this as *denomination* of van Dijk's theory on IDA.

In the same paragraph, President Obama provides concrete examples of the wrong-doings of the terrorists, which is what we know as *agency* as the president emphasizes the agency of the wrong-doings of the *outgroup*. He says, “Al Qaeda and other violent extremists have killed several thousand Pakistanis since 9/11. They’ve killed many Pakistani soldiers and police. They assassinated Benazir Bhutto. They’ve blown up buildings, derailed foreign investment, and threatened the stability of the state.” (lines 77-80). The president uses the word “killed” twice here and “assassinated” once. Moreover, he uses words as “blown up buildings” - which gives us associations to the Twin Towers in New York City crashing down on September 11 – and “derailed foreign investment” and “threatened the stability of the state”. These are all extremely negative verbs that describe just how bad the terrorists are. Moreover, the president appears credible here because he is able to give concrete examples of what the terrorists are responsible for, and an example like the assassination of Benazir Bhutto is something that people recall from the news so they know that it is true.

There are other examples of President Obama characterizing the terrorists in negative ways. From lines 35 to 54, the president talks about what the terrorists do and what the fatal consequences would be if the terrorists are not stopped immediately. An example is, “And if the Afghan government falls to the Taliban -- or allows al Qaeda to go unchallenged -- that country will again be a base for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can.” (lines 37-39). The notion of *us* and *them* is very obvious here because of the words *our* and *they*, and furthermore, there is no doubt here that the Taliban and al Qaeda are enemies here, and *we* are threatened by *them*. Here the president talks about what the consequences are, but he also mentions what the terrorists already have done from line 43,

They have used this mountainous terrain as a safe haven to hide,  
to train terrorists, to communicate with followers, to plot attacks,  
and to send fighters to support the insurgency in Afghanistan.  
For the American people, this border region has become the  
most dangerous place in the world.

Here the president clearly characterizes the terrorists in a bad way, and he provides several examples of their wrong-doings, which tells us something about the *level of description* as the wrong-doings of the terrorists are described in a detailed manner and we get specific examples.

While President Obama describes the negative actions of the terrorists, the speech is more specifically about the new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, and what the United States will do about the situation. While the president lists what the United States will do, he also provides a picture of the United States as the good-doers who will do what is necessary to help the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan and indeed also the people of the United States. So again, we see the tendency of characterizing *them* negatively and *us* positively.

After listing some of the bad things that the terrorists are responsible for, the president moves on to talk about the clear goal of the United States, which is to "... disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan,..." (lines 59-60). The president does return to criticizing the terrorists while explaining how the United States will reach their goal though. However, while listing how the United States will take action now, the president uses positively loaded words. From line 62, we see words as "stronger", "smarter", and "comprehensive" as description of the new strategy. Then, the president uses words as "enhance", "marshal", "work closely", "integrate", and "efforts" to describe what the United States will do in terms of military assistance, governance, and economic efforts to brighten the future of Pakistan and Afghanistan. President Obama then goes on to talk about the way forward in Pakistan (from line 70). Here he focuses on values that are much appreciated in the United States when he uses words as "forward", "respect", "rich history", "democracy", "dreams", and "security". Basically, what the president here claims is that the Pakistani people want and value the same things as Americans do and by using these words that are definitely positively loaded to most Americans, the president will be more likely to gain support of this plan from ordinary Americans.

Even though President Obama describes the United States in a positive way as a nation that helps their allies and friends who are threatened by terrorism, he does also acknowledge that the United States have made mistakes. When he talks about how there will be a shift in the emphasis of their mission to training and increasing the size of Afghan security forces, he does recognize that the United States have not provided the resourced needed for the past three years. Of course, this was during President Bush's presidency so it is not his own mistakes that President Obama is admitting to here. However, he says, "For three years, our commanders have been clear about the resources

they need for training. And those recourses have been denied because of the war in Iraq. Now, that will change.” (lines 132-133). One could argue that President Obama here accuses the former administration of not providing the resources necessary for training in Afghanistan even though the commanders have clearly reported the need for these resources, and that the former administration has been too caught up with the war in Iraq. Here President Obama promises change on this issue. Later in lines 160-163, President Obama says,

As we provide these resources, the days of unaccountable spending,  
no-bid contracts, and wasteful reconstruction must end.  
So my budget will increase funding for a strong Inspector General  
at both the State Department and USAID, and include robust  
funding for special inspector generals for Afghan Reconstruction.

Again, we see a president accusing the former administration of “unaccountable spending” and “wasteful reconstruction” while he proposes here a better a budget that contains “robust funding”. Even though President Obama is criticizing the Bush administration, this is also an acknowledgement of the fact that the United States has not been perfect at doing their job. However, the criticism of the terrorists is still more extensive and described in much more specific detail than the criticism of the United States in this speech. This also says something about the *level of description*, which we know from van Dijk where the negative actions and properties of the *outgroup* are often described in much more detail than the negative actions of the *ingroup*.

President Obama also clarifies the United States’ goal, which is to “... disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan,...” (lines 59-60) as already mentioned. President Obama also says, “And we will use all elements of our national power to defeat al Qaeda, and to defend America, our allies, and all who seek a better future. Because the United States of America stands for peace and security, justice and opportunity. That is who we are, and that is what history calls on us to do once more.” (lines 214-217). This can be identified as the *goal descriptions* of the *general schema* where once again, the ideological goal is to defend freedom and also opportunity, which is an essential to the American dream. This also says something about the norms and values of the United States, and this can be seen as the topic of the *general schema* called *norm and value descriptions*. President Obama also makes it clear that the United States and their allies are still

threatened by terrorism, and it is exactly the norms and values that make up their identity that is threatened, and this is what we recognize as *self-identity descriptions*.

In order to reach the ideological goal, President Obama asks for help from friends and allies and also from Congress to pass a bill so there can be created opportunity zones in Pakistan. He has ordered the deployment of thousands of troops, and he seeks constructive diplomacy. These are all activities that President Obama wishes for the United States to engage in in order to reach their goals, and we can identify this as *activity descriptions*.

## 8.5. President Obama's Framing

All through my analysis, I have commented on President Obama's choice of words which evoke frames, connotations, and associations in our minds, and generally, he uses words and utterances which create a perception of him as a much "softer" president than President Bush for example<sup>9</sup>. However, of course, President Obama has adopted some of President Bush's discourse as he has inherited many of the problems from the Bush presidency so even though President Obama may seem softer in his choice of words, he also talks of *us* and *them*. Even though I have attempted to comment on President Obama's framing continually, there are two specific frames that I would like to comment on as I believe they stand out.

Just like President Bush called the terrorists "parasites", President Obama calls al Qaeda and its extremist allies "... a cancer that risks killing Pakistan from within" (lines 80-81). So, here we have another frame that evokes other frames in our minds. Both "parasites" and "cancer" are two negative words that we connote with something alarming and threatening. Of course, the word "cancer" seems more wide-ranging as almost every single person in the world is somehow affected by the disease cancer and knows how serious of a matter it is. Not only does the president call the terrorists a cancer, he also draws a parallel between cancer and the terrorists in the way they operate from within and may risk killing from within. There is an enormous focus on the fighting of cancer

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<sup>9</sup> Here it would be interesting to provide an article which discusses President Obama's general rhetoric and discourse to find out if his discourse reveals him as being a "soft" president overall. Finding useful articles that discuss this matter is difficult as most scholars focus on individual speeches or debates during the 2008 presidential election. It has been possible to find one article which discusses President Obama's discourse as being "hopeful"; however, I believe this article lacks proof of its findings (2009a).

in the world and definitely also in the United States so when President Obama calls the terrorists a cancer, he is sure to make an impact as people immediately recognize it.

President Obama also frames when he talks about how the United States must invest in the future of Afghanistan and Pakistan and talks about his budget. He says,

... But make no mistake: Our efforts will fail in Afghanistan and  
Pakistan if we don't invest in their future. And that's why my budget  
includes indispensable investments in our State Department and  
foreign assistance programs. These investments relieve the burden on our troops.  
They contribute directly to security.

(Lines 152-155).

Just like President Bush's term "tax relief" is a frame that makes him a hero who relieves people of the burden of taxes, so are these "indispensable investments" that President Obama talks about here. Here the president says that his budget includes investments that "relieves the burden on our troops", and this way the president is the hero who provided relief for the troops. Here it is the words "relieves the burden" that give us connotations to something nice and something we want during tough times.

As I stated in my introduction to this analysis, Feste believed that President Obama represents a "problem solving strategy" rather than a "fighting approach", and after analyzing this speech in more detail, this seems to be true. President Obama frames his messages in this speech with the help of uplifting and positive words and values, which gives us the idea that he is a problem solver rather than a fighter. So, even though President Obama has adopted some of President Bush's issues and therefore also aspects of his discourse, there are clear differences between the appearances of the two presidents. Perhaps President Obama has chosen the problem solving strategy simply because it fits his character or perhaps he has chosen it to demonstrate that as president he is very different from the former president since it was clear after the election of 2008 that most Americans wanted change. So, it can be argued that from President Obama's discourse and framing in this speech, he appears more as a "nurturant parent" rather than a "strict father".

I will now move on to discuss different aspects of Lakoff's family models as some of these aspects may give us reason to speculate on the validity of this theory when analyzing framing and political morals and values in the United States.

## 9. Discussion

In my analyses of the three presidential speeches, I have included Lakoff's family models as a way of determining which worldview and values the presidents express through their framing and discourse. I found Lakoff's theory of seeing the nation as a family interesting especially because the morals and values that he applies to the two different families actually *can* be identified in the two political parties in American politics. An example is the already used example by President Bush of "tax relief". The word "relief" clearly implies that taxes are a burden according to President Bush and this correlates quite well with the Republican ideal of being freed from the state and pay minimum taxes. It also fits Lakoff's notion that the "strict father" is the government which the children – the citizens – should be independent from.

So, it can be argued that this theory works in many cases, and that it is also extremely relevant in the process of combining discourse and framing with concepts and politics. However, as we saw in the analysis of President Reagan's speech, the theory does not always work as expected because reality is not always as divided as Lakoff demonstrates in his theory, and sometimes even presidents must frame in a way that may not apply to them and their political morals but rather to the people addressed.

The idea that reality is not as divided as Lakoff's theory is, could be an argument for claiming that this theory is weak. Many American families probably live with a mixture of the values presented in each of the two family models as that would simply seem realistic. An example would be that parents in an American family may vote Republican of financial reasons but still raise their children to practice safe sex rather than abstinence, which is a Republican value that President Bush promoted in his State of the Union address in 2004<sup>10</sup>. In reality it must be assumed that it is possible – if not even a tendency – to be living with both conservative and progressive values, which could be a reason to question the validity of this theory.

It can be argued that this theory is *too* divided as the two worldviews presented are not just slightly different – they actually seem to be exact opposites. This also raises the question whether this theory is even remotely realistic as people are not always complete opposites of each other. Of course, Lakoff does take into consideration that some Americans are "undecided", which means

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendix 7, lines 305-307.



that they are not set on a political standpoint. In his book, “Don’t Think of An Elephant”, Lakoff says, “Probably 35-40 percent of people – maybe more these days – have a strict father model governing their politics. Similarly, there are people who have a nurturant view governing their politics, probably another 35 to 40 percent. And then there are all the people in the “middle”.” (2004c, p. 20). So, Lakoff has considered that some people do not live by his two models but he has not done much with this group of people. The question is where these people are in the family model theory - besides “somewhere in the middle” which can be argued to be a rather flighty way of dealing with this group? Lakoff’s theory clearly suggests that we all belong to one of the two models and it seems to suggest that the undecided people who seem to be hovering in-between must flee to one of the two “camps” eventually.

Another possible problem with this theory is that a large group of Americans are actually overlooked in this theory. Not all Americans are part of a family consisting of parents and children as some people live alone all their lives and some couples never have children. As the United States is a huge country with hundreds of millions of citizens, this neglected group of people may actually consist of many people. How are we supposed to understand where they “belong” politically according to this model when they are not even considered and their way of living is not described in any model? Then, of course, it can be argued that many of these people may have grown up in either a “Strict Father” family or a “Nurturant Parent” family and still are affected by this and vote accordingly.

It is publicly known that Lakoff is progressive and then belongs to the “Nurturant Parent” model. Of course this knowledge may lead us to believe that his theory is biased. However, we could also consider his framing when presenting the two family models and speculate if he actually *is* biased. A word like “strict” in the “Strict Father” model can be both a negatively and positively loaded word but often it is negative. This family model also has the view that the world is a dangerous place and that life is therefore difficult. Words like “dangerous” and “difficult” are also negatively loaded, and in his book “Moral Politics”, he says when describing the family model, “... there are dangers and evil lurking everywhere.” (2002, p. 66). Especially the “evil lurking everywhere” part is worth noticing because the word “lurking” only makes it even more creepy. He also focuses on “punishment” and how immorality must be punished. All in all, Lakoff seems to be rather negative in his description of this family model, and it could be argued that he frames this worldview as an unhappy one. Whether Lakoff is biased is up for discussion because even though it could be argued

that he is biased because he provides a negative description of Republicans, we must also consider what we have found in especially President Bush's discourse after 9/11 that the world does seem to be very evil according to him, and we never know when evil strikes, and this matches Lakoff's description of the "Strict Father" model well.

So, there are definitely some aspects of Lakoff's family model theory to consider and question; however, we must also remember that it is merely a theory and theories tend to often be "guidelines" to draw conclusions from. The fact that Lakoff divides the United States up in two very opposite families is interesting and may raise skeptical questions; however, what seems to be clear at this time is that a bipartite worldview seems inevitable. We tend to consider and reflect on ourselves according to and in relation to others, and this is why the discourse of *us* and *them* seems so natural to us and why Lakoff's family models can be a sensible theory to use when analyzing politicians' discourse and from this gain an understanding of politics and worldviews in the United States.

## 10. Reflection

I stated in my introduction that my focus would solely be on the discursive aspects of President Reagan, President Bush, and President Obama's speeches as I find discourse to be significant to study as it is a powerful tool for persuasion. However, I do find more aspects of the speeches both interesting and significant to study as well, such as historical context and political science related topics.

As we have learned when dealing with framing, it is important to understand contexts in order to understand fragments. That is why some kind of background knowledge is always beneficial. When analyzing these speeches that have significant historical background, it could have been interesting to analyze them in a historical context in order to understand the *content* of the speeches even better. Focus would then have been different as it would not have been on rhetorical and discursive aspects but rather on placing these speeches historically and gain an understanding of *why* the presidents chose the strategies they did. This would provide not just a historical aspect to the analyses but also social and political aspects.

It could also have been possible to keep the focus on discourse while analyzing in a historical context. Then, audience and time frames could have been significant to consider. Questions as "How is the America that President Reagan addressed different from the America that President Obama addresses today?" and therefore "Why are their discourses different from each other and what do they share?" could have been interesting to study further. In order to figure this out a consideration of historical events that could have shaped or changed Americans and the American society over time could be done. Furthermore, a consideration of how the Republican and Democratic parties have changed and managed their public discourse hereafter could be relevant.

Moreover, it could be interesting to ask why President Bush's bipartite worldview - that seems much more divided into "good and evil" than the worldview of the other two presidents - was accepted by his audience in 2002, which we know it was to a certain extent as other nations went with the United States to fight the war on terror. Would that sort of discourse - and also strategy - have been accepted today? Even though it has only been roughly 10 years, a lot has changed since then as the incumbent president is attempting to end this war, and he was recently re-elected. A

comparative analysis of the two presidents' discourse and strategy could perhaps provide us with an insight into this matter.

When considering the discourse of American presidents, it could also be relevant to ask why they say what they say *when* they say it. For example, why did President Bush present the frame of "The Axis of Evil" in his State of the Union speech in 2002? Why did he not present this frame earlier in for example his "War on Terror" speech on September 20, 2001, when he declared the war on terror? It must be assumed that timing is an important factor in the strategy making process for politicians just as it is in crisis management and therefore, there must be a reason that President Bush presented this frame when he did.

These are all aspects that would be interesting to study as they may reveal even more about discourse, politics, and strategies. As citizens, it may be beneficial for us to have this insight as the leaders we have elected are the ones who make crucial decisions for us and this way they help shape our society and history.

## 11. Conclusion

As stated in the introduction, the purpose of this study was to clarify how President Reagan, President Bush, and President Obama discursively convey their solutions to the crises, political visions, and their ideologies in the three speeches chosen with the help of theory on IDA, framing, and Lakoff's family models.

What was initially clear was that the three presidents share a bipartite worldview of *us* and *them* in their discourse. President Reagan expresses a bipartite worldview in the way that he provides both a *negative other-description* of the actions and properties of the *outgroup* and a *positive self-description* of the *ingroup*, which is what van Dijk's *Ideological Square* is all about. He talks a great deal about the Berlin Wall and the restrictions that have come with it. We can recognize this as *agency* in van Dijk's theory as the negative actions done by the Soviets are emphasized. President Reagan's *level of description* is rather specific as he uses several negatively loaded words to describe the Communist world. Furthermore, he uses *rhetorical moves* like threefold repetitions to underline both the negative actions of the *outgroup* and the positive actions of the *ingroup*.

President Reagan is also very specific about the positive actions of the *ingroup* where he provides concrete examples of all the good that the United States has done. We can identify this as *activity descriptions* in van Dijk's *general schema*. When President Reagan talks of America's fundamental value of freedom and how the Soviet Union is violating this value, he speaks of *self-identity descriptions* and *norm and value descriptions*.

What was conspicuous in the analysis of this speech was that President Reagan spoke of Republican values while appearing as a "nurturant parent" from Lakoff's family models. President Reagan's focus on cooperation and communication with the Soviets in order to reach freedom and prosperity fits "The Nurturant Parent Model" very well. This is also part of President Reagan's framing as he appears as the one willing to solve problems and cooperate while the Soviets then appear as the bad ones. More specific examples of President Reagan's framing are examples such as describing the Marshall Plan as something that realized a dream where we get associations to the American dream. Another example is when the president describes the Wall – a work of the Soviets – as a scar which gives us connotations to an abnormality and something that should not be there. It may even give us

associations to something painful. So, it could be argued that President Reagan's framing is within his discourse of celebration of *us* and derogation of *them*.

As Rowland and Jones argue, the pragmatic aspects of President Reagan's speech was a tendency because the Reagan administration wished to express that the United States was no threat to the Soviet Union and that they were ready to adapt to changes. Another reason for this type of discourse could also be that President Reagan was speaking before a European audience where the "problem solving president" may be more appealing than an aggressive one, which President Bush appeared as in his State of the Union speech.

A very clear and distinct notion of *us* and *them* seems to be apparent in President Bush's State of the Union address from 2002 as well as it was in his "War on Terror" speech from 2001. We see this especially in his way of addressing the terrorists of 9/11 as "evil" several times in his speech and of course, in his term, "The Axis of Evil". Furthermore, we see it in his *level of description* when providing a *negative other-description* of the terrorists. He provides a long and detailed and also very precise description of their wrong-doings and how evil they are, which we know from van Dijk as *degree of completeness* and *granularity*. President Bush also uses rhetorical moves as anaphoras to emphasize the negative properties of the *outgroup* as well as *denomination* to create distance between *us* and *them* by calling the terrorists an "enemy".

In contrast, he provides a *positive self-description* of the United States where he focuses on the fight for the most fundamental right for all Americans; the right to freedom. So, President Bush speaks ideologically of his own nation and refers to what we can identify as the *general schema* from van Dijk's theory. President Bush refers to *self-identity descriptions*, *activity descriptions*, *goal descriptions*, and *norm and value descriptions* when he claims that the terrorists violate American's right to freedom and when he speaks ideologically of the activities, values, and goals of Americans. In this major gap that President Bush creates between *us* and *them*, we can identify the *position and relation descriptions*.

We have learned that the term "The Axis of Evil" was coined to have theological dimensions, and we also hear President Bush talking of god and giving connotations to the Apocalypse where the good will triumph because god decides this. This only emphasizes President Bush's clear derogation to the *outgroup* and his bipartite worldview of *us* and *them* and good vs. evil. Moreover, "The Axil of Evil" functions like a frame, which gives us connotations to President Reagan's "The

Evil Empire” and the “Axis powers” from World War II. Other frames that President Bush uses to frame his discourse in such a way that it expresses a bipartite worldview are the words “terror”, “terrorists”, “threat”, and finally by comparing the terrorists with parasites that must be eliminated. These frames are presented and emphasized early and we recognize this as *superstructures*.

In contrast to this, President Bush appears as “the good guy” because he praises affected families and the United States military by appealing to pathos. Moreover, he is a good character because he feels for the affected people and this is an appeal to ethos. He also knows his facts and appeals to logos and therefore, he is credible. While being “the good guy”, President Bush also appears determined and as “the strict father” who knows what is best for America and is ready to take up his moral responsibility of leading the way. There is no doubt that President Bush sees this mission of leading the war on terror as “America’s call”. Furthermore, he wishes for a reduction on dependency on government, and these are values that apply to Lakoff’s “Strict Father Model”.

What seems to be highly remarkable in President Bush’s discourse is that he represents himself as a steadfast president who knows what is best for America and is ready to lead the way. To some, he may appear too aggressive. Some people do not believe in war and hold softer values, and this can be why the president chooses to appeal to pathos and with the help of this clarify that their mission is “just”. However, if Lakoff’s family models really do reflect the majority of Republican voters who see the world as divided into two parts of good and evil, it is probably wise of President Bush to do this as well as he must frame according to his voters’ worldview otherwise the persuasion will fail - and we know that it did not fail.

President Obama also expresses a bipartite worldview in his discourse especially in his remarkable quote “We will defeat you”. Moreover, he provides *negative other-description* of the *outgroup* where he also makes use of *denomination* by calling the terrorists “enemies”. He also provides concrete examples of the negative actions of the *outgroup* which we recognize as *agency* in van Dijk’s theory. Also, his *level of description* is detailed and specific. However, he also recognizes the failures of the United States but he indirectly blames them on the former administration, and this gives way for President Obama to present his decent budget that promises “robust funding”. He also gives a *positive self-description* by using positively loaded words to describe what the United States will do to reach their goal of a better future for the Afghan and Pakistani people. Words as “forward”, “stronger”, “smarter”, and “efforts” are used to describe the new strategy that he proposes to reach the goal of a better future. This is also what we recognize as the *activity*

*descriptions* and *goal descriptions* of the *general schema*. President Obama also touches upon the ideological goal of defending freedom and opportunity and we know this as *norm and value descriptions*. Finally, terrorism violates *our* norms and values, according to President Obama and this we know as *self-identity descriptions*.

While providing ideological discourse of the *ingroup*, President Obama also frames himself as a hero when he discusses his budget that relieves the troops of burdens. On the contrary, he frames the terrorists as a cancer that may eventually kill Pakistan from within. So, as with President Reagan, President Obama's framing is within his discourse of celebration of *us* and derogation of *them*.

Furthermore, President Obama uses many positively loaded words as "friends", "allies", "cooperation", "commitment", "security", and "peace" which all help his framing of himself as being a president that focuses on cooperation in order to reach peace. Also, President Obama wishes for a better future and a positive outlook which are values within "The Nurturant Parent Model". President Obama's wish for opportunity, prosperity, and freedom in Afghanistan and Pakistan fit the morals and values in "The Nurturant Parent Model" just as the wish for cooperation between nations to protect the citizens of Afghanistan and Pakistan also apply to the view of the United States as a nation that wishes to promote cooperation between nations in the world.

President Obama clearly also makes use of the notion of *us* and *them* as already explained; however, compared to President Bush, he seems much softer and does not seem to use it to the same great extent. This much softer discourse can be President Obama's way of signaling to the people of the United States and the world that he is indeed different from President Bush, and the people of the United States *did* also vote for change when electing President Obama. Perhaps it was estimated that people sought a more humanitarian and problem solving approach after President Bush, and perhaps this is why President Obama chose the type of discourse that he did.

It is now clear that all three presidents share a divided worldview when addressing these crises that concern other groups of people with different ideologies than those of the United States. *Positive self-description* is a tendency that all three presidents use to frame their own positions as presidents and *negative other-description* is used to frame the other group as wrong-doers. Of course, this is purposely done in order to make positive and great impressions of themselves because if they do not appear as credible and responsible leaders, citizens will vote for new leaders. This is why the study



of political discourse is significant because the politicians are most often the ones who persuade the citizens to choose the leaders that they do, and what critical discourse analyses can do is to reveal the power that is in discourse.

From these three analyses, we cannot conclude that all American presidents reflect on the world as split in two during crises. However, we can conclude that it may be a tendency in their discourse and that America's position has seemed to be very strong and dominating in the world at the times of the speeches chosen for this study, and the presidents also seem to see America's position in the different crises as very significant. Also, it is worth noting that even though the three presidents in these speeches do not speak of *us* and *them* to the same extent and have different visions and goals, they do share the bipartite worldview regardless of their political standpoint and party. This may mean that when it comes to foreign policy issues and crises, American presidents may often see their own country's position as the highest and this may be the reason that their discourse seems to reflect the celebration of *us* and derogation of *them*.

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## Abstract

This Master's Thesis is a study of the discourse of three American presidents during times of crises where the fundamental ideology of living in freedom is threatened. It is a study which takes as its point of departure the assumption that a discourse of *us* and *them* is somewhat inevitable for these presidents. The goal has been to identify how these presidents discursively convey their solutions to the crises, their political visions, and their ideologies mainly with the help of Teun A. van Dijk's sociocognitive approach to critical discourse analysis, which we know as ideological discourse analysis.

The study concerns the Republican president Ronald Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin from 1987 when the Cold War was still happening even four decades after it began. This speech was marked greatly by a wish for freedom from the Communist world. The Republican president George W. Bush's State of the Union speech from 2002 is part of this study as well. This speech was characterized by President Bush's bipartite worldview of good vs. evil where the terrorists of 9/11 with nations as Iraq, Iran, and North Korea constituted "The Axis of Evil" which was a threat to the United States and the ideology of living in freedom. Finally, President Obama's remarks on his new strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan from 2009 is included in the study. This speech was marked by President Obama's focus on hope and reconstruction in Afghanistan and Pakistan in order to help create a better future for the people of these countries as a beginning to end the war on terror. What the presidents share in their discourse is a bipartite worldview of *us* and *them*, which is being identified mainly with the help of ideological discourse analysis.

The study also includes a review of crisis management and political leaders' roles during crises as political leaders often can use crises strategically to their benefit. One way they can do this is through their discourse and framing. An explanation of how information flows from the White House to the citizens with the help of framing is provided as well as an exposition of how frames evoke connotations in our minds. This reveals how persuasive framing is, and it is used to see how President Reagan, President Bush, and President Obama frame their messages. Furthermore, George Lakoff's family models which are supposed to reflect the worldviews of Republicans and Democrats in America is used to see how the presidents express their worldviews.

With the help of crisis management, framing, and ideological discourse analysis, a conclusion as to how these presidents discursively convey their solutions to the crises, their political visions, and ideologies has been made.

# APPENDIX 1

George W. Bush

Address to Joint Session of Congress Following 9/11 Attacks

Delivered September 20, 2001

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground - passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight. We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We've seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers -- in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union -- and it is strong.

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done. I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing "God Bless America." And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering 40 billion dollars to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military. Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle, and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership, and for your service to our country. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico, and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together



37 in a great cause -- so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity  
38 with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

39 On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country.  
40 Americans have known wars -- but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil,  
41 except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war -- but not at the  
42 center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks -- but never  
43 before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day -- and night fell on  
44 a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. Americans have many questions  
45 tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all  
46 points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are some  
47 of the murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and  
48 responsible for bombing the USS Cole. Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal  
49 is not making money; its goal is remaking the world -- and imposing its radical beliefs on people  
50 everywhere.

51 The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim  
52 scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics, a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful  
53 teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all  
54 Americans, and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children.  
55 This group and its leader -- a person named Usama bin Laden -- are linked to many other  
56 organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic  
57 Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They  
58 are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like  
59 Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or  
60 sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

61 The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in  
62 controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world.  
63 Afghanistan's people have been brutalized; many are starving and many have fled. Women are not  
64 allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only  
65 as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

66 The United States respects the people of Afghanistan. After all, we are currently its largest source  
67 of humanitarian aid; but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people,  
68 it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By  
69 aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

70 And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to  
71 United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign  
72 nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists,  
73 diplomats, and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist  
74 training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support  
75 structure, to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps,  
76 so we can make sure they are no longer operating. These demands are not open to negotiation or  
77 discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they  
78 will share in their fate.

79 I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's  
80 practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America  
81 counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of  
82 Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect,  
83 to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many  
84 Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports  
85 them. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every  
86 terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.

87 Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what they see right here in this chamber --  
88 a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms --  
89 our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree  
90 with each other. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as  
91 Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to  
92 drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa. These terrorists kill not merely to  
93 end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows  
94 fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we  
95 stand in their way.

96 We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the  
97 heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their  
98 radical visions -- by abandoning every value except the will to power -- they follow in the path of  
99 fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in  
100 history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this  
101 war? We will direct every resource at our command -- every means of diplomacy, every tool of  
102 intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary  
103 weapon of war -- to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

104 Now this war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of  
105 territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where  
106 no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves  
107 far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but  
108 a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on  
109 TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them  
110 one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we  
111 will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now  
112 has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day  
113 forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United  
114 States as a hostile regime.

115 Our nation has been put on notice: We're not immune from attack. We will take defensive  
116 measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and  
117 agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security.  
118 These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight, I announce the creation of a  
119 Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me -- the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight I  
120 also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a  
121 military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend -- Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge.

122 He will lead, oversee, and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country  
123 against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

124 These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is  
125 to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI  
126 agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our  
127 thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a  
128 message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The  
129 hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. This is not, however, just  
130 America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is  
131 civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and  
132 freedom.

133 We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence  
134 services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations  
135 and many international organizations have already responded -- with sympathy and with support.  
136 Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO  
137 Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all. The civilized  
138 world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own  
139 cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it  
140 can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what? We're not going to  
141 allow it.

142 Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I  
143 know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a  
144 continuing threat. I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have  
145 come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No  
146 one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic  
147 background or religious faith. I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your  
148 contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [libertyunites.org](http://libertyunites.org),  
149 to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

150 The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation,  
151 and I ask you to give it. I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may  
152 accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle. I ask your  
153 continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of  
154 American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard  
155 work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy  
156 before September 11th, and they are our strengths today. And, finally, please continue praying for  
157 the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has  
158 comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

159 Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And  
160 ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have  
161 already done and for what we will do together. Tonight, we face new and sudden national  
162 challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air  
163 marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together

164 to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. We  
165 will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here  
166 at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of  
167 terrorists before they act, and to find them before they strike.

168 We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our  
169 people back to work. Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all  
170 New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's  
171 resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that  
172 we will rebuild New York City.

173 After all that has just passed -- all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with  
174 them -- it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I  
175 know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be  
176 defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be  
177 an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

178 Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have  
179 found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human  
180 freedom -- the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time -- now depends  
181 on us. Our nation, this generation will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future.  
182 We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not  
183 falter, and we will not fail.

184 It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back  
185 to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve  
186 must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened.  
187 We'll remember the moment the news came -- where we were and what we were doing. Some  
188 will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a  
189 voice gone forever.

190 And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World  
191 Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to  
192 her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. I will not forget this  
193 wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in  
194 waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. The course of this conflict  
195 is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been  
196 at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

197 Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice -- assured of the rightness of our cause,  
198 and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and  
199 may He watch over the United States of America. Thank you.

200

201

202 Retrieved on December 13, 2012 from:

203 <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbush911jointsessionspeech.htm>

## APPENDIX 2

Ronald Reagan

Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate delivered June 12, 1987, West Berlin

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you, very much.

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, and speaking to the people of this city and the world at the city hall. Well since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn to Berlin. And today, I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it's our duty to speak in this place of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well; by the feeling of history in this city -- more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer, Paul Linke, understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: "Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin" [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the good will of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic South, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

Yet, it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world.

Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German separated from his fellow men.

34 Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

35 President Von Weizsäcker has said, "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is  
 36 closed." Well today -- today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to  
 37 stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

38 Yet, I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a  
 39 message of triumph.

40 In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find  
 41 devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947  
 42 Secretary of State -- as you've been told -- George Marshall announced the creation of what would become  
 43 known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not  
 44 against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

45 In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall  
 46 Plan. I was struck by a sign -- the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand  
 47 that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the western  
 48 sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A  
 49 strong, free world in the West -- that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic  
 50 giant. Italy, France, Belgium -- virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth;  
 51 the European Community was founded.

52 In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the Wirtschaftswunder.  
 53 Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as  
 54 truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only  
 55 when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders -- the German leaders  
 56 reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in  
 57 West Germany and Berlin doubled.

58 Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of  
 59 any city in Germany: busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading  
 60 lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great  
 61 universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today  
 62 there's abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles -- the wonderful goods of the Kudamm. From devastation,  
 63 from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest  
 64 on earth. Now the Soviets may have had other plans. But my friends, there were a few things the Soviets  
 65 didn't count on: Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, ja, und Berliner Schnauze. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor,  
 66 yes, and a Berliner Schnauze.]

67 In the 1950s -- In the 1950s Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you."

68 But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being  
 69 unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness,  
 70 declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. Even today, the Soviet  
 71 Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great

72 and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the  
73 nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

74 And now -- now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of  
75 freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political  
76 prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some  
77 economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

78 Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures intended to  
79 raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change  
80 and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty --  
81 the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace.

82 There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the  
83 cause of freedom and peace.

84 General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern  
85 Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate.

86 Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.

87 Mr. Gorbachev -- Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

88 I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent, and I pledge to you my  
89 country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion.  
90 So, we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce  
91 arms on both sides.

92 Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of  
93 new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western  
94 alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment (unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a  
95 better solution) -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets  
96 refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counter-  
97 deployment, there were difficult days, days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city; and the  
98 Soviets later walked away from the table.

99 But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest  
100 today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we  
101 remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but  
102 of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

103 As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating  
104 these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons.  
105 And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional  
106 war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

107 While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet  
108 aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United  
109 States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative -- research to base deterrence not on the threat of  
110 offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target  
111 populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world.  
112 But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we  
113 are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty.  
114 When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled; Berlin was  
115 under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And  
116 freedom itself is transforming the globe.

117 In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the  
118 Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a  
119 technological revolution is taking place, a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and  
120 telecommunications.

121 In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of  
122 redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make  
123 fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete.

124 Today, thus, represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to  
125 promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And  
126 surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start.

127 Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full  
128 implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th  
129 anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future.  
130 Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of  
131 Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

132 And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together,  
133 so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of  
134 the world.

135 To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding  
136 ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more  
137 economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central  
138 Europe.

139 With -- With our French -- With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring  
140 international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations  
141 meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control, or other issues that call for international  
142 cooperation.

143 There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be  
144 honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners



145 from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an  
146 authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

147 One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and  
148 you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the  
149 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in  
150 both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to  
151 offer in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West.

152 In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats  
153 -- the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the  
154 challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to  
155 be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that  
156 involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life -- not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin  
157 without being completely disabused of illusions. Something, instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in  
158 Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a  
159 surrounding totalitarian presence, that refuses to release human energies or aspirations, something that  
160 speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says "yes" to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In  
161 a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin -- is "love."

162 Love both profound and abiding.

163 Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and  
164 West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting  
165 the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of  
166 worship an affront.

167 Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the  
168 television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what  
169 they view as the tower's one major flaw: treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of  
170 every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere, that sphere that towers over all Berlin, the  
171 light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship,  
172 cannot be suppressed.

173 As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words  
174 crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner (quote):

175 "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

176 Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall, for it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall  
177 cannot withstand freedom.

178 And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been  
179 here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those  
180 who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of  
181 government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

182 Thank you and God bless you all. Thank you.

183

184

185 Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ronaldreaganbrandenburggate.htm> on  
186 [October 24](http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ronaldreaganbrandenburggate.htm), 2012.

## APPENDIX 3

John F. Kennedy

Ich bin ein Berliner ("I am a 'Berliner'")

Delivered June 26, 1963, West Berlin

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: I am proud to come to this city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolized throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud -- And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who -- who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed.

Two thousand years ago -- Two thousand years ago, the proudest boast was "civis Romanus sum." Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner."

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world.

Let them come to Berlin.

There are some who say -- There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future.

Let them come to Berlin.

And there are some who say, in Europe and elsewhere, we can work with the Communists.

Let them come to Berlin.

And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress.

Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen.

Let them come to Berlin.

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect. But we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in -- to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say on behalf of my countrymen who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from

30 you, that they take the greatest pride, that they have been able to share with you, even from a  
31 distance, the story of the last 18 years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18  
32 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope, and the determination of the city  
33 of West Berlin.

34 While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist  
35 system -- for all the world to see -- we take no satisfaction in it; for it is, as your Mayor has said, an  
36 offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing  
37 husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined  
38 together.

39 What is -- What is true of this city is true of Germany: Real, lasting peace in Europe can never be  
40 assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is  
41 to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned  
42 the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with  
43 good will to all people.

44 You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I  
45 close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the  
46 freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom  
47 everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to  
48 all mankind.

49 Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we  
50 look -- can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this  
51 great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will,  
52 the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines  
53 for almost two decades.

54 All -- All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin.

55 And, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "Ich bin ein Berliner."

56

57 Retrieved on December 13, 2012 from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfkberliner.html>

## APPENDIX 4

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 29, 2002

George W. Bush

Location: District of Columbia, Washington

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our Nation is at war; our economy is in recession; and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet, the state of our Union has never been stronger.

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In 4 short months, our Nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression.

The American flag flies again over our Embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own.

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcomed the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan, Chairman Hamid Karzai.

The last time we met in this Chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today, women are free and are part of Afghanistan's new Government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Dr. Sima Samar.

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. The men and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves, you will not escape the justice of this Nation.

For many Americans, these 4 months have brought sorrow and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: "Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day."

33 Last month, at the grave of her husband, Micheal, a CIA officer and marine who died in Mazar-e-Sharif,  
34 Shannon Spann said these words of farewell, "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. Shannon, I  
35 assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the  
36 debt we owe Micheal and all who gave their lives for freedom.

37 Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears and showed us  
38 the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos where they  
39 laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the  
40 destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear powerplants and public water  
41 facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and  
42 thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

43 What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only  
44 beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's  
45 camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods  
46 of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking  
47 timebombs, set to go off without warning.

48 Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have  
49 been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire  
50 world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. So long as training camps operate, so  
51 long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not and will not allow  
52 it.

53 Our Nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives.  
54 First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And second,  
55 we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons from  
56 threatening the United States and the world.

57 Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least  
58 a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld, including groups like Hamas, Hizballah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-e-  
59 Mohammed, operates in remote jungles and deserts and hides in the centers of large cities.

60 While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in  
61 the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an  
62 American and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian Government, seized terrorists who  
63 were plotting to bomb our Embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of  
64 weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

65 My hope is that all nations will heed our call and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their  
66 countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I  
67 admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. But some governments will be timid in the face of  
68 terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will.

69 Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and  
70 allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September  
71 the 11th, but we know their true nature.

72 North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

73 Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian  
74 people's hope for freedom.

75 Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to  
76 develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already  
77 used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their  
78 dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections, then kicked out the inspectors. This  
79 is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

80 States like these and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the  
81 world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They  
82 could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our  
83 allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be  
84 catastrophic.

85 We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials,  
86 technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy  
87 effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. And all nations should  
88 know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our Nation's security.

89 We'll be deliberate; yet, time is not on our side. I will not wait on events while dangers gather. I will not  
90 stand by as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most  
91 dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.

92 Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch; yet,  
93 it must be and it will be waged on our watch. We can't stop short. If we stop now, leaving terror camps  
94 intact and terrorist states unchecked, our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has  
95 called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's  
96 fight.

97 Our first priority must always be the security of our Nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send  
98 to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we will protect our  
99 homeland; and we will revive our economy.

100 September the 11th brought out the best in America and the best in this Congress. And I join the American  
101 people in applauding your unity and resolve. Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed  
102 toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party. Yet as we act to win the war,  
103 protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as  
104 Democrats but as Americans.

105 It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month, over \$30 million a day,  
106 and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons  
107 defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft  
108 and make our military more agile to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and  
109 women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training, and they also deserve  
110 another pay raise.

111 My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades, because while the price of  
112 freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay.

113 The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our  
114 Nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the  
115 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We  
116 are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad and increased vigilance at home.

117 My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas:  
118 bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop  
119 vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help States and communities  
120 train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. We will improve intelligence collection and sharing,  
121 expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals  
122 and departures of visitors to the United States.

123 Homeland security will make America not only stronger but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from  
124 bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer  
125 neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. And as government works to  
126 better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

127 A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and  
128 passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by Al Qaida and was armed with explosives.  
129 The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome  
130 and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones.

131 Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget  
132 is economic security for the American people. To achieve these great national objectives—to win the war,  
133 protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy—our budget will run a deficit that will be small and  
134 short term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. We have clear  
135 priorities, and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas. We'll  
136 prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession.

137 Americans who have lost their jobs need our help, and I support extending unemployment benefits and  
138 direct assistance for health care coverage. Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks;  
139 they want a steady paycheck. When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can  
140 be summed up in one word: jobs.

141 Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. Republicans and Democrats worked  
142 together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with



143 members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller; Senator Judd Gregg.  
144 And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend Ted Kennedy. [Laughter] I  
145 know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing— [laughter]—but our work  
146 on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results.

147 There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head  
148 Start and early childhood development programs. We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher  
149 training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America, a quality teacher in every  
150 classroom.

151 Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage  
152 conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at  
153 home so America is less dependent on foreign oil.

154 Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to  
155 finally approve trade promotion authority.

156 On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I  
157 urge the Senate to pass this legislation.

158 Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. Last year, some in this Hall thought my tax relief plan was too small;  
159 some thought it was too big. But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief  
160 was just about right. Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the  
161 child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the  
162 future, let's make these tax cuts permanent.

163 The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in  
164 factories and equipment and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake  
165 of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package.

166 Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always  
167 remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job.

168 Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join  
169 me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights, to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health  
170 coverage, to approve an historic increase in the spending for veterans' health, and to give seniors a sound  
171 and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs.

172 A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401(k) and  
173 pension plans. Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing  
174 everything if their company fails. Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure  
175 requirements, corporate America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and  
176 held to the highest standards of conduct.

177 Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must  
178 make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who  
179 choose them.

180 Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy; a  
181 cleaner environment; broader homeownership, especially among minorities; and ways to encourage the  
182 good work of charities and faith-based groups. I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in  
183 the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism.

184 During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in  
185 a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear  
186 and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil.

187 The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve.  
188 As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in  
189 awe of the American people.

190 And I hope you will join me—I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength  
191 and calm and comfort she brings to our Nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush.

192 None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet, after America was attacked,  
193 it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we  
194 are citizens with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the  
195 goods we can accumulate and more about the good we can do.

196 For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new  
197 creed, "Let's roll." In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and  
198 generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We  
199 want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we  
200 must not let this moment pass.

201 My call tonight is for every American to commit at least 2 years, 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime,  
202 to the service of your neighbors and your Nation. Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't  
203 sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in  
204 America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of  
205 need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American  
206 compassion throughout the world.

207 One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and  
208 nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies, volunteers to help police and fire departments,  
209 transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

210 Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children,  
211 especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools.  
212 USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit  
213 more than 200,000 new volunteers.

214 And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will  
215 renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next 5 years, and ask it to join a new  
216 effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world.

217 This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity, a moment we must seize to change our  
 218 culture. Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know  
 219 we can overcome evil with greater good.

220 And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring  
 221 lasting peace. All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated and live free from  
 222 poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed or aspire to servitude or eagerly await the  
 223 midnight knock of the secret police. If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic  
 224 "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich  
 225 history, with its centuries of learning and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and  
 226 justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere.

227 No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing  
 228 our culture. But America will always stand firm for the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity: the rule  
 229 of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice;  
 230 and religious tolerance.

231 America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including  
 232 the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment.  
 233 We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

234 In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia  
 235 and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free  
 236 markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and  
 237 allies from Europe to Asia and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot  
 238 stop the momentum of freedom.

239 The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In  
 240 others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by  
 241 them. We've come to know truths that we will never question: Evil is real, and it must be opposed. Beyond  
 242 all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in  
 243 the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again  
 244 that even in tragedy—especially in tragedy— God is near.

245 In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been  
 246 called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

247 Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and  
 248 death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago on the day of our founding.  
 249 We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life.

250 Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's  
 251 power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

252 Thank you all. May God bless.

253

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255 Retrieved from: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29644> on October 24, 2012.

# APPENDIX 5

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release

March 27, 2009

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

ON A NEW STRATEGY FOR AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

Room 450

Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building

9:40 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Please be seated.

Before I begin today, let me acknowledge, first of all, Your Excellencies, all the ambassadors who are in attendance. I also want to acknowledge both the civilians and our military personnel that are about to be deployed to the region. And I am very grateful to all of you for your extraordinary work.

I want to acknowledge General David Petraeus, who's here, and has been doing an outstanding job at CENTCOM, and we appreciate him. I want to thank Bruce Reidel -- Bruce is down at the end here -- who has worked extensively on our strategic review. I want to acknowledge Karl Eikenberry, who's here, and is our Ambassador-designate to Afghanistan. And to my national security team, thanks for their outstanding work.

Today, I'm announcing a comprehensive, new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan. And this marks the conclusion of a careful policy review, led by Bruce, that I ordered as soon as I took office. My administration has heard from our military commanders, as well as our diplomats. We've consulted with the Afghan and Pakistani governments, with our partners and our NATO allies, and with other donors and international organizations. We've also worked closely with members of Congress here at home. And now I'd like to speak clearly and candidly to the American people.

The situation is increasingly perilous. It's been more than seven years since the Taliban was removed from power, yet war rages on, and insurgents control parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Attacks against our troops, our NATO allies, and the Afghan government have risen steadily. And most painfully, 2008 was the deadliest year of the war for American forces.

32 Many people in the United States -- and many in partner countries that have sacrificed so much -- have a  
33 simple question: What is our purpose in Afghanistan? After so many years, they ask, why do our men and  
34 women still fight and die there? And they deserve a straightforward answer.

35 So let me be clear: Al Qaeda and its allies -- the terrorists who planned and supported the 9/11 attacks --  
36 are in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Multiple intelligence estimates have warned that al Qaeda is actively  
37 planning attacks on the United States homeland from its safe haven in Pakistan. And if the Afghan  
38 government falls to the Taliban -- or allows al Qaeda to go unchallenged -- that country will again be a base  
39 for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can.

40 The future of Afghanistan is inextricably linked to the future of its neighbor, Pakistan. In the nearly eight  
41 years since 9/11, al Qaeda and its extremist allies have moved across the border to the remote areas of the  
42 Pakistani frontier. This almost certainly includes al Qaeda's leadership: Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-  
43 Zawahiri. They have used this mountainous terrain as a safe haven to hide, to train terrorists, to  
44 communicate with followers, to plot attacks, and to send fighters to support the insurgency in Afghanistan.  
45 For the American people, this border region has become the most dangerous place in the world.

46 But this is not simply an American problem -- far from it. It is, instead, an international security challenge of  
47 the highest order. Terrorist attacks in London and Bali were tied to al Qaeda and its allies in Pakistan, as  
48 were attacks in North Africa and the Middle East, in Islamabad and in Kabul. If there is a major attack on an  
49 Asian, European, or African city, it, too, is likely to have ties to al Qaeda's leadership in Pakistan. The safety  
50 of people around the world is at stake.

51 For the Afghan people, a return to Taliban rule would condemn their country to brutal governance,  
52 international isolation, a paralyzed economy, and the denial of basic human rights to the Afghan people --  
53 especially women and girls. The return in force of al Qaeda terrorists who would accompany the core  
54 Taliban leadership would cast Afghanistan under the shadow of perpetual violence.

55 As President, my greatest responsibility is to protect the American people. We are not in Afghanistan to  
56 control that country or to dictate its future. We are in Afghanistan to confront a common enemy that  
57 threatens the United States, our friends and our allies, and the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan who  
58 have suffered the most at the hands of violent extremists.

59 So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle  
60 and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the  
61 future. That's the goal that must be achieved. That is a cause that could not be more just. And to the  
62 terrorists who oppose us, my message is the same: We will defeat you.

63 To achieve our goals, we need a stronger, smarter and comprehensive strategy. To focus on the greatest  
64 threat to our people, America must no longer deny resources to Afghanistan because of the war in Iraq. To  
65 enhance the military, governance and economic capacity of Afghanistan and Pakistan, we have to marshal  
66 international support. And to defeat an enemy that heeds no borders or laws of war, we must recognize  
67 the fundamental connection between the future of Afghanistan and Pakistan -- which is why I've appointed  
68 Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, who is here, to serve as Special Representative for both countries, and to  
69 work closely with General Petraeus to integrate our civilian and military efforts.

70 Let me start by addressing the way forward in Pakistan.

71 The United States has great respect for the Pakistani people. They have a rich history and have struggled  
72 against long odds to sustain their democracy. The people of Pakistan want the same things that we want:  
73 an end to terror, access to basic services, the opportunity to live their dreams, and the security that can  
74 only come with the rule of law. The single greatest threat to that future comes from al Qaeda and their  
75 extremist allies, and that is why we must stand together.

76 The terrorists within Pakistan's borders are not simply enemies of America or Afghanistan -- they are a  
77 grave and urgent danger to the people of Pakistan. Al Qaeda and other violent extremists have killed  
78 several thousand Pakistanis since 9/11. They've killed many Pakistani soldiers and police. They assassinated  
79 Benazir Bhutto. They've blown up buildings, derailed foreign investment, and threatened the stability of  
80 the state. So make no mistake: al Qaeda and its extremist allies are a cancer that risks killing Pakistan from  
81 within.

82 It's important for the American people to understand that Pakistan needs our help in going after al Qaeda.  
83 This is no simple task. The tribal regions are vast, they are rugged, and they are often ungoverned. And  
84 that's why we must focus our military assistance on the tools, training and support that Pakistan needs to  
85 root out the terrorists. And after years of mixed results, we will not, and cannot, provide a blank check.

86 Pakistan must demonstrate its commitment to rooting out al Qaeda and the violent extremists within its  
87 borders. And we will insist that action be taken -- one way or another -- when we have intelligence about  
88 high-level terrorist targets.

89 The government's ability to destroy these safe havens is tied to its own strength and security. To help  
90 Pakistan weather the economic crisis, we must continue to work with the IMF, the World Bank and other  
91 international partners. To lessen tensions between two nuclear-armed nations that too often teeter on the  
92 edge of escalation and confrontation, we must pursue constructive diplomacy with both India and Pakistan.  
93 To avoid the mistakes of the past, we must make clear that our relationship with Pakistan is grounded in  
94 support for Pakistan's democratic institutions and the Pakistani people. And to demonstrate through deeds  
95 as well as words a commitment that is enduring, we must stand for lasting opportunity.

96 A campaign against extremism will not succeed with bullets or bombs alone. Al Qaeda's offers the people  
97 of Pakistan nothing but destruction. We stand for something different. So today, I am calling upon  
98 Congress to pass a bipartisan bill co-sponsored by John Kerry and Richard Lugar that authorizes \$1.5 billion  
99 in direct support to the Pakistani people every year over the next five years -- resources that will build  
100 schools and roads and hospitals, and strengthen Pakistan's democracy. I'm also calling on Congress to pass  
101 a bipartisan bill co-sponsored by Maria Cantwell, Chris Van Hollen and Peter Hoekstra that creates  
102 opportunity zones in the border regions to develop the economy and bring hope to places plagued with  
103 violence. And we will ask our friends and allies to do their part -- including at the donors conference in  
104 Tokyo next month.

105 I don't ask for this support lightly. These are challenging times. Resources are stretched. But the American  
106 people must understand that this is a down payment on our own future -- because the security of America  
107 and Pakistan is shared. Pakistan's government must be a stronger partner in destroying these safe havens,  
108 and we must isolate al Qaeda from the Pakistani people. And these steps in Pakistan are also indispensable

109 to our efforts in Afghanistan, which will see no end to violence if insurgents move freely back and forth  
110 across the border.

111 Security demands a new sense of shared responsibility. And that's why we will launch a standing, trilateral  
112 dialogue among the United States, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Our nations will meet regularly, with  
113 Secretaries Clinton and Secretary Gates leading our effort. Together, we must enhance intelligence sharing  
114 and military cooperation along the border, while addressing issues of common concern like trade, energy,  
115 and economic development.

116 This is just one part of a comprehensive strategy to prevent Afghanistan from becoming the al Qaeda safe  
117 haven that it was before 9/11. To succeed, we and our friends and allies must reverse the Taliban's gains,  
118 and promote a more capable and accountable Afghan government.

119 Our troops have fought bravely against a ruthless enemy. Our civilians have made great sacrifices. Our  
120 allies have borne a heavy burden. Afghans have suffered and sacrificed for their future. But for six years,  
121 Afghanistan has been denied the resources that it demands because of the war in Iraq. Now, we must  
122 make a commitment that can accomplish our goals.

123 I've already ordered the deployment of 17,000 troops that had been requested by General McKiernan for  
124 many months. These soldiers and Marines will take the fight to the Taliban in the south and the east, and  
125 give us a greater capacity to partner with Afghan security forces and to go after insurgents along the  
126 border. This push will also help provide security in advance of the important presidential elections in  
127 Afghanistan in August.

128 At the same time, we will shift the emphasis of our mission to training and increasing the size of Afghan  
129 security forces, so that they can eventually take the lead in securing their country. That's how we will  
130 prepare Afghans to take responsibility for their security, and how we will ultimately be able to bring our  
131 own troops home.

132 For three years, our commanders have been clear about the resources they need for training. And those  
133 resources have been denied because of the war in Iraq. Now, that will change. The additional troops that  
134 we deployed have already increased our training capacity. And later this spring we will deploy  
135 approximately 4,000 U.S. troops to train Afghan security forces. For the first time, this will truly resource  
136 our effort to train and support the Afghan army and police. Every American unit in Afghanistan will be  
137 partnered with an Afghan unit, and we will seek additional trainers from our NATO allies to ensure that  
138 every Afghan unit has a coalition partner. We will accelerate our efforts to build an Afghan army of  
139 134,000 and a police force of 82,000 so that we can meet these goals by 2011 -- and increases in Afghan  
140 forces may very well be needed as our plans to turn over security responsibility to the Afghans go forward.

141 This push must be joined by a dramatic increase in our civilian effort. Afghanistan has an elected  
142 government, but it is undermined by corruption and has difficulty delivering basic services to its people.  
143 The economy is undercut by a booming narcotics trade that encourages criminality and funds the  
144 insurgency. The people of Afghanistan seek the promise of a better future. Yet once again, we've seen the  
145 hope of a new day darkened by violence and uncertainty.



146 So to advance security, opportunity and justice -- not just in Kabul, but from the bottom up in the provinces  
147 -- we need agricultural specialists and educators, engineers and lawyers. That's how we can help the Afghan  
148 government serve its people and develop an economy that isn't dominated by illicit drugs. And that's why  
149 I'm ordering a substantial increase in our civilians on the ground. That's also why we must seek civilian  
150 support from our partners and allies, from the United Nations and international aid organizations -- an  
151 effort that Secretary Clinton will carry forward next week in The Hague.

152 At a time of economic crisis, it's tempting to believe that we can shortchange this civilian effort. But make  
153 no mistake: Our efforts will fail in Afghanistan and Pakistan if we don't invest in their future. And that's  
154 why my budget includes indispensable investments in our State Department and foreign assistance  
155 programs. These investments relieve the burden on our troops. They contribute directly to security. They  
156 make the American people safer. And they save us an enormous amount of money in the long run --  
157 because it's far cheaper to train a policeman to secure his or her own village than to help a farmer seed a  
158 crop -- or to help a farmer seed a crop than it is to send our troops to fight tour after tour of duty with no  
159 transition to Afghan responsibility.

160 As we provide these resources, the days of unaccountable spending, no-bid contracts, and wasteful  
161 reconstruction must end. So my budget will increase funding for a strong Inspector General at both the  
162 State Department and USAID, and include robust funding for the special inspector generals for Afghan  
163 Reconstruction.

164 And I want to be clear: We cannot turn a blind eye to the corruption that causes Afghans to lose faith in  
165 their own leaders. Instead, we will seek a new compact with the Afghan government that cracks down on  
166 corrupt behavior, and sets clear benchmarks, clear metrics for international assistance so that it is used to  
167 provide for the needs of the Afghan people.

168 In a country with extreme poverty that's been at war for decades, there will also be no peace without  
169 reconciliation among former enemies. Now, I have no illusion that this will be easy. In Iraq, we had success  
170 in reaching out to former adversaries to isolate and target al Qaeda in Iraq. We must pursue a similar  
171 process in Afghanistan, while understanding that it is a very different country.

172 There is an uncompromising core of the Taliban. They must be met with force, and they must be defeated.  
173 But there are also those who've taken up arms because of coercion, or simply for a price. These Afghans  
174 must have the option to choose a different course. And that's why we will work with local leaders, the  
175 Afghan government, and international partners to have a reconciliation process in every province. As their  
176 ranks dwindle, an enemy that has nothing to offer the Afghan people but terror and repression must be  
177 further isolated. And we will continue to support the basic human rights of all Afghans -- including women  
178 and girls.

179 Going forward, we will not blindly stay the course. Instead, we will set clear metrics to measure progress  
180 and hold ourselves accountable. We'll consistently assess our efforts to train Afghan security forces and  
181 our progress in combating insurgents. We will measure the growth of Afghanistan's economy, and its illicit  
182 narcotics production. And we will review whether we are using the right tools and tactics to make progress  
183 towards accomplishing our goals.

184 None of the steps that I've outlined will be easy; none should be taken by America alone. The world cannot  
185 afford the price that will come due if Afghanistan slides back into chaos or al Qaeda operates unchecked.  
186 We have a shared responsibility to act -- not because we seek to project power for its own sake, but  
187 because our own peace and security depends on it. And what's at stake at this time is not just our own  
188 security -- it's the very idea that free nations can come together on behalf of our common security. That  
189 was the founding cause of NATO six decades ago, and that must be our common purpose today.

190 My administration is committed to strengthening international organizations and collective action, and that  
191 will be my message next week in Europe. As America does more, we will ask others to join us in doing their  
192 part. From our partners and NATO allies, we will seek not simply troops, but rather clearly defined  
193 capabilities: supporting the Afghan elections, training Afghan security forces, a greater civilian  
194 commitment to the Afghan people. For the United Nations, we seek greater progress for its mandate to  
195 coordinate international action and assistance, and to strengthen Afghan institutions.

196 And finally, together with the United Nations, we will forge a new Contact Group for Afghanistan and  
197 Pakistan that brings together all who should have a stake in the security of the region -- our NATO allies and  
198 other partners, but also the Central Asian states, the Gulf nations and Iran; Russia, India and China. None  
199 of these nations benefit from a base for al Qaeda terrorists, and a region that descends into chaos. All have  
200 a stake in the promise of lasting peace and security and development.

201 That is true, above all, for the coalition that has fought together in Afghanistan, side by side with Afghans.  
202 The sacrifices have been enormous. Nearly 700 Americans have lost their lives. Troops from over 20  
203 countries have also paid the ultimate price. All Americans honor the service and cherish the friendship of  
204 those who have fought, and worked, and bled by our side. And all Americans are awed by the service of  
205 our own men and women in uniform, who've borne a burden as great as any other generation's. They and  
206 their families embody the example of selfless sacrifice.

207 I remind everybody, the United States of America did not choose to fight a war in Afghanistan. Nearly  
208 3,000 of our people were killed on September 11, 2001, for doing nothing more than going about their daily  
209 lives. Al Qaeda and its allies have since killed thousands of people in many countries. Most of the blood on  
210 their hands is the blood of Muslims, who al Qaeda has killed and maimed in far greater number than any  
211 other people. That is the future that al Qaeda is offering to the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan -- a  
212 future without hope or opportunity; a future without justice or peace.

213 So understand, the road ahead will be long and there will be difficult days ahead. But we will seek lasting  
214 partnerships with Afghanistan and Pakistan that promise a new day for their people. And we will use all  
215 elements of our national power to defeat al Qaeda, and to defend America, our allies, and all who seek a  
216 better future. Because the United States of America stands for peace and security, justice and opportunity.  
217 That is who we are, and that is what history calls on us to do once more.

218 Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

219

220 END

221 10:02 A.M. EDT

222

223 Retrieved from: [http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-a-new-strategy-](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-a-new-strategy-afghanistan-and-pakistan?utm_source=wh.gov&utm_medium=shorturl&utm_campaign=shorturl)  
224 [afghanistan-and-pakistan?utm\\_source=wh.gov&utm\\_medium=shorturl&utm\\_campaign=shorturl](http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-a-new-strategy-afghanistan-and-pakistan?utm_source=wh.gov&utm_medium=shorturl&utm_campaign=shorturl) on  
225 October 24, 2012.

## APPENDIX 6

Richard M. Nixon

### The Silent Majority

Delivered November 3, 1969

PRESIDENT NIXON: Good evening, my fellow Americans.

Tonight I want to talk to you on a subject of deep concern to all Americans and to many people in all parts of the world, the war in Vietnam.

I believe that one of the reasons for the deep division about Vietnam is that many Americans have lost confidence in what their Government has told them about our policy. The American people cannot and should not be asked to support a policy which involves the overriding issues of war and peace unless they know the truth about that policy.

Tonight, therefore, I would like to answer some of the questions that I know are on the minds of many of you listening to me.

How and why did America get involved in Vietnam in the first place?

How has this administration changed the policy of the previous Administration?

What has really happened in the negotiations in Paris and on the battlefield in Vietnam?

What choices do we have if we are to end the war?

What are the prospects for peace?

Now let me begin by describing the situation I found when I was inaugurated on January 20: The war had been going on for four years. Thirty-one thousand Americans had been killed in action. The training program for the South Vietnamese was beyond [behind] schedule. Five hundred and forty-thousand Americans were in Vietnam with no plans to reduce the number. No progress had been made at the negotiations in Paris and the United States had not put forth a comprehensive peace proposal.

29 The war was causing deep division at home and criticism from many of our friends, as well as our  
30 enemies, abroad.

31 In view of these circumstances, there were some who urged that I end the war at once by ordering  
32 the immediate withdrawal of all American forces. From a political standpoint, this would have  
33 been a popular and easy course to follow. After all, we became involved in the war while my  
34 predecessor was in office. I could blame the defeat, which would be the result of my action, on  
35 him -- and come out as the peacemaker. Some put it to me quite bluntly: This was the only way to  
36 avoid allowing Johnson's war to become Nixon's war.

37 But I had a greater obligation than to think only of the years of my Administration, and of the next  
38 election. I had to think of the effect of my decision on the next generation, and on the future of  
39 peace and freedom in America, and in the world.

40 Let us all understand that the question before us is not whether some Americans are for peace  
41 and some Americans are against peace. The question at issue is not whether Johnson's war  
42 becomes Nixon's war. The great question is: How can we win America's peace?

43 Well, let us turn now to the fundamental issue: Why and how did the United States become  
44 involved in Vietnam in the first place? Fifteen years ago North Vietnam, with the logistical support  
45 of Communist China and the Soviet Union, launched a campaign to impose a Communist  
46 government on South Vietnam by instigating and supporting a revolution.

47 In response to the request of the Government of South Vietnam, President Eisenhower sent  
48 economic aid and military equipment to assist the people of South Vietnam in their efforts to  
49 prevent a Communist takeover. Seven years ago, President Kennedy sent 16,000 military  
50 personnel to Vietnam as combat advisers. Four years ago, President Johnson sent American  
51 combat forces to South Vietnam.

52 Now many believe that President Johnson's decision to send American combat forces to South  
53 Vietnam was wrong. And many others, I among them, have been strongly critical of the way the  
54 war has been conducted.

55 But the question facing us today is: Now that we are in the war, what is the best way to end it?

56 In January I could only conclude that the precipitate withdrawal of all American forces from  
57 Vietnam would be a disaster not only for South Vietnam but for the United States and for the  
58 cause of peace.

59 For the South Vietnamese, our precipitate withdrawal would inevitably allow the Communists to  
60 repeat the massacres which followed their takeover in the North 15 years before. They then  
61 murdered more than 50,000 people and hundreds of thousands more died in slave labor camps.

62 We saw a prelude of what would happen in South Vietnam when the Communists entered the city  
63 of Hue last year. During their brief rule there, there was a bloody reign of terror in which 3,000  
64 civilians were clubbed, shot to death, and buried in mass graves.

65 With the sudden collapse of our support, these atrocities at Hue would become the nightmare of  
66 the entire nation and particularly for the million-and-a half Catholic refugees who fled to South  
67 Vietnam when the Communists took over in the North.

68 For the United States this first defeat in our nation's history would result in a collapse of  
69 confidence in American leadership not only in Asia but throughout the world.

70 Three American Presidents have recognized the great stakes involved in Vietnam and understood  
71 what had to be done.

72 In 1963 President Kennedy with his characteristic eloquence and clarity said,

73 "We want to see a stable Government there," carrying on the [a] struggle to maintain its national  
74 independence." We believe strongly in that. We are not going to withdraw from that effort. In my  
75 opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but  
76 Southeast Asia. So we're going to stay there."<sup>1</sup>

77 President Eisenhower and President Johnson expressed the same conclusion during their terms of  
78 office.

79 For the future of peace, precipitate withdrawal would be a disaster of immense magnitude. A  
80 nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends. Our defeat and  
81 humiliation in South Vietnam without question would promote recklessness in the councils of  
82 those great powers who have not yet abandoned their goals of world's conquest. This would spark  
83 violence wherever our commitments help maintain the peace -- in the Middle East, in Berlin,  
84 eventually even in the Western Hemisphere. Ultimately, this would cost more lives. It would not  
85 bring peace. It would bring more war.

86 For these reasons I rejected the recommendation that I should end the war by immediately  
87 withdrawing all of our forces. I chose instead to change American policy on both the negotiating  
88 front and the battle front in order to end the war fought on many fronts. I initiated a pursuit for  
89 peace on many fronts. In a television speech on May 14, in a speech before the United Nations, on  
90 a number of other occasions, I set forth our peace proposals in great detail.

91 We have offered the complete withdrawal of all outside forces within one year. We have proposed  
92 a cease fire under international supervision. We have offered free elections under international  
93 supervision with the Communists participating in the organization and conduct of the elections as  
94 an organized political force. And the Saigon government has pledged to accept the result of the  
95 election.

96 We have not put forth our proposals on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. We have indicated that we're  
97 willing to discuss the proposals that have been put forth by the other side. We have declared that  
98 anything is negotiable, except the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own  
99 future.

100 At the Paris peace conference Ambassador Lodge has demonstrated our flexibility and good faith  
101 in 40 public meetings. Hanoi has refused even to discuss our proposals. They demand our  
102 unconditional acceptance of their terms which are that we withdraw all American forces  
103 immediately and unconditionally and that we overthrow the government of South Vietnam as we  
104 leave.

105 We have not limited our peace initiatives to public forums and public statements. I recognized in  
106 January that a long and bitter war like this usually cannot be settled in a public forum. That is why  
107 in addition to the public statements and negotiations, I have explored every possible private  
108 avenue that might lead to a settlement.

109 Tonight, I am taking the unprecedented step of disclosing to you some of our other initiatives for  
110 peace, initiatives we undertook privately and secretly because we thought we thereby might open  
111 a door which publicly would be closed.

112 I did not wait for my inauguration to begin my quest for peace. Soon after my election, through an  
113 individual who was directly in contact on a personal basis with the leaders of North Vietnam, I  
114 made two private offers for a rapid, comprehensive settlement. Hanoi's replies called in effect for  
115 our surrender before negotiations. Since the Soviet Union furnishes most of the military  
116 equipment for North Vietnam, Secretary of State Rogers, my assistant for national security affairs,  
117 Dr. Kissinger, Ambassador Lodge and I personally have met on a number of occasions with  
118 representatives of the Soviet Government to enlist their assistance in getting meaningful  
119 negotiations started. In addition, we have had extended discussions directed toward that same  
120 end with representatives of other governments which have diplomatic relations with North  
121 Vietnam.

122 None of these initiatives have to date produced results. In mid-July I became convinced that it was  
123 necessary to make a major move to break the deadlock in the Paris talks. I spoke directly in this  
124 office, where I'm now sitting, with an individual who had known Ho Chi Minh on a personal basis  
125 for 25 years. Through him I sent a letter to Ho Chi Minh. I did this outside of the usual diplomatic  
126 channels with the hope that with the necessity of making statements for propaganda removed,  
127 there might be constructive progress toward bringing the war to an end.

128 Let me read from that letter to you now:

129

130 Dear Mr. President:

131

132 I realize that it is difficult to communicate meaningfully across the gulf of four years of war. But  
133 precisely because of this gulf I wanted to take this opportunity to reaffirm in all solemnity my  
134 desire to work for a just peace. I deeply believe that the war in Vietnam has gone on too long and  
135 delay in bringing it to an end can benefit no one, least of all the people of Vietnam. The time has  
136 come to move forward at the conference table toward an early resolution of this tragic war. You  
137 will find us forthcoming and open-minded in a common effort to bring the blessings of peace to  
138 the brave people of Vietnam. Let history record that at this critical juncture both sides turned their  
139 face toward peace rather than toward conflict and war.

140

141 I received Ho Chi Minh's reply on August 30, three days before his death. It simply reiterated the  
142 public position North Vietnam had taken at Paris and flatly rejected my initiative. The full text of  
143 both letters is being released to the press.

144 In addition to the public meetings that I have referred to, Ambassador Lodge has met with  
145 Vietnam's chief negotiator in Paris in 11 private sessions. And we have taken other significant  
146 initiatives which must remain secret to keep open some channels of communications which may  
147 still prove to be productive.

148 But the effect of all the public, private, and secret negotiations which have been undertaken since  
149 the bombing halt a year ago, and since this Administration came into office on January 20th, can  
150 be summed up in one sentence: No progress whatever has been made except agreement on the  
151 shape of the bargaining table.

152 Well, now, who's at fault? It's become clear that the obstacle in negotiating an end to the war is  
153 not the President of the United States. It is not the South Vietnamese Government. The obstacle is  
154 the other side's absolute refusal to show the least willingness to join us in seeking a just peace.  
155 And it will not do so while it is convinced that all it has to do is to wait for our next concession, and  
156 our next concession after that one, until it gets everything it wants.

157 There can now be no longer any question that progress in negotiation depends only on Hanoi's  
158 deciding to negotiate -- to negotiate seriously. I realize that this report on our efforts on the  
159 diplomatic front is discouraging to the American people, but the American people are entitled to  
160 know the truth -- the bad news as well as the good news -- where the lives of our young men are  
161 involved.

162 Now let me turn, however, to a more encouraging report on another front. At the time we  
163 launched our search for peace, I recognized we might not succeed in bringing an end to the war  
164 through negotiations. I therefore put into effect another plan to bring peace -- a plan which will  
165 bring the war to an end regardless of what happens on the negotiating front. It is in line with the



166 major shift in U. S. foreign policy which I described in my press conference at Guam on July 25. Let  
167 me briefly explain what has been described as the Nixon Doctrine -- a policy which not only will  
168 help end the war in Vietnam but which is an essential element of our program to prevent future  
169 Vietnams.

170 We Americans are a do-it-yourself people -- we're an impatient people. Instead of teaching  
171 someone else to do a job, we like to do it ourselves. And this trait has been carried over into our  
172 foreign policy. In Korea, and again in Vietnam, the United States furnished most of the money,  
173 most of the arms, and most of the men to help the people of those countries defend their  
174 freedom against Communist aggression.

175 Before any American troops were committed to Vietnam, a leader of another Asian country  
176 expressed this opinion to me when I was traveling in Asia as a private citizen. He said: "When you  
177 are trying to assist another nation defend its freedom, U.S. policy should be to help them fight the  
178 war, but not to fight the war for them."

179 Well in accordance with this wise counsel, I laid down in Guam three principles as guidelines for  
180 future American policy toward Asia. First, the United States will keep all of its treaty commitments.  
181 Second, we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with  
182 us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security. Third, in cases involving other  
183 types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in  
184 accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to  
185 assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense.

186 After I announced this policy, I found that the leaders of the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, South  
187 Korea, other nations which might be threatened by Communist aggression, welcomed this new  
188 direction in American foreign policy.

189 The defense of freedom is everybody's business -- not just America's business. And it is  
190 particularly the responsibility of the people whose freedom is threatened. In the previous  
191 Administration, we Americanized the war in Vietnam. In this Administration, we are Vietnamizing  
192 the search for peace.

193 The policy of the previous Administration not only resulted in our assuming the primary  
194 responsibility for fighting the war, but even more significant did not adequately stress the goal of  
195 strengthening the South Vietnamese so that they could defend themselves when we left.

196 The Vietnamization plan was launched following Secretary Laird's visit to Vietnam in March. Under  
197 the plan, I ordered first a substantial increase in the training and equipment of South Vietnamese  
198 forces. In July, on my visit to Vietnam, I changed General Abrams's orders, so that they were  
199 consistent with the objectives of our new policies. Under the new orders, the primary mission of

200 our troops is to enable the South Vietnamese forces to assume the full responsibility for the  
201 security of South Vietnam. Our air operations have been reduced by over 20 per cent.

202 And now we have begun to see the results of this long-overdue change in American policy in  
203 Vietnam. After five years of Americans going into Vietnam we are finally bringing American men  
204 home. By December 15 over 60,000 men will have been withdrawn from South Vietnam, including  
205 20 percent of all of our combat forces. The South Vietnamese have continued to gain in strength.  
206 As a result, they've been able to take over combat responsibilities from our American troops.

207 Two other significant developments have occurred since this Administration took office. Enemy  
208 infiltration, infiltration which is essential if they are to launch a major attack over the last three  
209 months, is less than 20 percent of what it was over the same period last year. And most important,  
210 United States casualties have declined during the last two months to the lowest point in three  
211 years.

212 Let me now turn to our program for the future. We have adopted a plan which we have worked  
213 out in cooperation with the South Vietnamese for the complete withdrawal of all U.S. combat  
214 ground forces and their replacement by South Vietnamese forces on an orderly scheduled  
215 timetable. This withdrawal will be made from strength and not from weakness. As South  
216 Vietnamese forces become stronger, the rate of American withdrawal can become greater.

217 I have not, and do not, intend to announce the timetable for our program, and there are obvious  
218 reasons for this decision which I'm sure you will understand. As I've indicated on several  
219 occasions, the rate of withdrawal will depend on developments on three fronts. One of these is  
220 the progress which can be, or might be, made in the Paris talks. An announcement of a fixed  
221 timetable for our withdrawal would completely remove any incentive for the enemy to negotiate  
222 an agreement. They would simply wait until our forces had withdrawn and then move in.

223 The other two factors on which we will base our withdrawal decisions are the level of enemy  
224 activity and the progress of the training programs of the South Vietnamese forces. And I am glad  
225 to be able to report tonight progress on both of these fronts has been greater than we anticipated  
226 when we started the program in June for withdrawal. As a result, our timetable for withdrawal is  
227 more optimistic now than when we made our first estimates in June.

228 Now this clearly demonstrates why it is not wise to be frozen in on a fixed timetable. We must  
229 retain the flexibility to base each withdrawal decision on the situation as it is at that time, rather  
230 than on estimates that are no longer valid. Along with this optimistic estimate, I must in all candor  
231 leave one note of caution. If the level of enemy activity significantly increases, we might have to  
232 adjust our timetable accordingly.

233 However, I want the record to be completely clear on one point. At the time of the bombing halt  
234 just a year ago there was some confusion as to whether there was an understanding on the part of

235 the enemy that if we stopped the bombing of North Vietnam, they would stop the shelling of cities  
236 in South Vietnam.

237 I want to be sure that there is no misunderstanding on the part of the enemy with regard to our  
238 withdrawal program. We have noted the reduced level of infiltration, the reduction of our  
239 casualties and are basing our withdrawal decisions partially on those factors. If the level of  
240 infiltration or our casualties increase while we are trying to scale down the fighting, it will be the  
241 result of a conscious decision by the enemy. Hanoi could make no greater mistake than to assume  
242 that an increase in violence will be to its advantage.

243 If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall not  
244 hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation. This is not a threat. This  
245 is a statement of policy which as Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces I am making and  
246 meeting my responsibility for the protection of American fighting men wherever they may be.

247 My fellow Americans, I am sure you can recognize from what I have said that we really only have  
248 two choices open to us if we want to end this war. I can order an immediate precipitate  
249 withdrawal of all Americans from Vietnam without regard to the effects of that action. Or we can  
250 persist in our search for a just peace through a negotiated settlement, if possible, or through  
251 continued implementation of our plan for Vietnamization, if necessary -- a plan in which we will  
252 withdraw all of our forces from Vietnam on a schedule in accordance with our program as the  
253 South Vietnamese become strong enough to defend their own freedom.

254 I have chosen this second course. It is not the easy way. It is the right way. It is a plan which will  
255 end the war and serve the cause of peace, not just in Vietnam but in the Pacific and in the world.

256 In speaking of the consequences of a precipitous withdrawal, I mentioned that our allies would  
257 lose confidence in America. Far more dangerous, we would lose confidence in ourselves. Oh, the  
258 immediate reaction would be a sense of relief that our men were coming home. But as we saw the  
259 consequences of what we had done, inevitable remorse and divisive recrimination would scar our  
260 spirit as a people.

261 We have faced other crises in our history and we have become stronger by rejecting the easy way  
262 out and taking the right way in meeting our challenges. Our greatness as a nation has been our  
263 capacity to do what has to be done when we knew our course was right. I recognize that some of  
264 my fellow citizens disagree with the plan for peace I have chosen. Honest and patriotic Americans  
265 have reached different conclusions as to how peace should be achieved. In San Francisco a few  
266 weeks ago, I saw demonstrators carrying signs reading, "Lose in Vietnam, bring the boys home."  
267 Well, one of the strengths of our free society is that any American has a right to reach that  
268 conclusion and to advocate that point of view.

269 But as President of the United States, I would be untrue to my oath of office if I allowed the policy  
270 of this nation to be dictated by the minority who hold that point of view and who try to impose it  
271 on the nation by mounting demonstrations in the street. For almost 200 years, the policy of this  
272 nation has been made under our Constitution by those leaders in the Congress and the White  
273 House elected by all the people. If a vocal minority, however fervent its cause, prevails over reason  
274 and the will of the majority, this nation has no future as a free society.

275 And now, I would like to address a word, if I may, to the young people of this nation who are  
276 particularly concerned, and I understand why they are concerned, about this war. I respect your  
277 idealism. I share your concern for peace. I want peace as much as you do. There are powerful  
278 personal reasons I want to end this war. This week I will have to sign 83 letters to mothers,  
279 fathers, wives, and loved ones of men who have given their lives for America in Vietnam. It's very  
280 little satisfaction to me that this is only one-third as many letters as I signed the first week in  
281 office. There is nothing I want more than to see the day come when I do not have to write any of  
282 those letters.

283 I want to end the war to save the lives of those brave young men in Vietnam. But I want to end it  
284 in a way which will increase the chance that their younger brothers and their sons will not have to  
285 fight in some future Vietnam some place in the world.

286 And I want to end the war for another reason. I want to end it so that the energy and dedication of  
287 you, our young people, now too often directed into bitter hatred against those responsible for the  
288 war, can be turned to the great challenges of peace, a better life for all Americans, a better life for  
289 all people on this earth.

290 I have chosen a plan for peace. I believe it will succeed. If it does not succeed, what the critics say  
291 now won't matter. Or if it does succeed, what the critics say now won't matter. If it does not  
292 succeed, anything I say then won't matter.

293 I know it may not be fashionable to speak of patriotism or national destiny these days, but I feel it  
294 is appropriate to do so on this occasion. Two hundred years ago this nation was weak and poor.  
295 But even then, America was the hope of millions in the world. Today we have become the  
296 strongest and richest nation in the world, and the wheel of destiny has turned so that any hope  
297 the world has for the survival of peace and freedom will be determined by whether the American  
298 people have the moral stamina and the courage to meet the challenge of free-world leadership.

299 Let historians not record that, when America was the most powerful nation in the world, we  
300 passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions  
301 of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism.

302 So tonight, to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans, I ask for your support. I  
303 pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I

304 have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge. The more support I can  
305 have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed. For the more divided  
306 we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate at Paris.

307 Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand -- North  
308 Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.

309 Fifty years ago, in this room, and at this very desk, President Woodrow Wilson spoke words which  
310 caught the imagination of a war-weary world. He said: "This is the war to end wars." His dream  
311 for peace after World War I was shattered on the hard reality of great power politics. And  
312 Woodrow Wilson died a broken man.

313 Tonight, I do not tell you that the war in Vietnam is the war to end wars, but I do say this: I have  
314 initiated a plan which will end this war in a way that will bring us closer to that great goal to which  
315 -- to which Woodrow Wilson and every American President in our history has been dedicated --  
316 the goal of a just and lasting peace.

317 As President I hold the responsibility for choosing the best path for that goal and then leading the  
318 nation along it.

319 I pledge to you tonight that I shall meet this responsibility with all of the strength and wisdom I  
320 can command, in accordance with your hopes, mindful of your concerns, sustained by your  
321 prayers.

322 Thank you and good night.

323

324 Retrieved on December 13, 2012 from:  
325 <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/richardnixongreatsilentmajority.html>

## APPENDIX 7

George W. Bush

2004 State of the Union Address

Delivered 20 January, 2004

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens:

America this evening is a Nation called to great responsibilities. And we are rising to meet them.

As we gather tonight, hundreds of thousands of American servicemen and women are deployed across the world in the war on terror. By bringing hope to the oppressed, and delivering justice to the violent, they are making America more secure.

Each day, law enforcement personnel and intelligence officers are tracking terrorist threats; analysts are examining airline passenger lists; the men and women of our new Homeland Security Department are patrolling our coasts and borders. And their vigilance is protecting America.

Americans are proving once again to be the hardest working people in the world. The American economy is growing stronger. The tax relief you passed is working.

Tonight, Members of Congress can take pride in the great works of compassion and reform that skeptics had thought impossible. You're raising the standards for our public schools; and you're giving our senior citizens prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

We have faced serious challenges together, and now we face a choice. We can go forward with confidence and resolve, or we can turn back to the dangerous illusion that terrorists are not plotting and outlaw regimes are no threat to us. We can press on with economic growth, and reforms in education and Medicare, or we can turn back to old policies and old divisions.

We've not come all this way -- through tragedy, and trial, and war -- only to falter and leave our work unfinished. Americans are rising to the tasks of history, and they expect the same from us. In their efforts, their enterprise, and their character, the American people are showing that the state of our Union is confident and strong.

Our greatest responsibility is the active defense of the American people. Twenty-eight months have passed since September the 11th, 2001 -- over two years without an attack on American soil -- and it is tempting to believe that the danger is behind us. That hope is understandable,

34 comforting -- and false. The killing has continued in Bali, Jakarta, Casablanca, Riyadh, Mombassa,  
35 Jerusalem, Istanbul, and Baghdad. The terrorists continue to plot against America and the civilized  
36 world. And by our will and courage, this danger will be defeated.

37 Inside the United States, where the war began, we must continue to give our homeland security  
38 and law enforcement personnel every tool they need to defend us. And one of those essential  
39 tools is the PATRIOT Act, which allows Federal law enforcement to better share information, to  
40 track terrorists, to disrupt their cells, and to seize their assets. For years, we have used similar  
41 provisions to catch embezzlers and drug traffickers. If these methods are good for hunting  
42 criminals, they are even more important for hunting terrorists. Key provisions of the PATRIOT Act  
43 are set to expire next year. The terrorist threat will not expire on that schedule. Our law  
44 enforcement needs this vital legislation to protect our citizens. You need to renew the PATRIOT  
45 Act.

46 America is on the offensive against the terrorists who started this war. Last March, Khalid Shaikh  
47 Mohammed, a mastermind of September the 11th, awoke to find himself in the custody of U.S.  
48 and Pakistani authorities. Last August the 11th brought the capture of the terrorist Hambali, who  
49 was a key player in the attack in Indonesia that killed over 200 people. We're tracking al-Qaida  
50 around the world, and nearly two-thirds of their known leaders have now been captured or killed.  
51 Thousands of very skilled and determined military personnel are on the manhunt, going after the  
52 remaining killers who hide in cities and caves, and, one by one, we will bring these terrorists to  
53 justice.

54 As part of the offensive against terror, we are also confronting the regimes that harbor and  
55 support terrorists, and could supply them with nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. The  
56 United States and our allies are determined: We refuse to live in the shadow of this ultimate  
57 danger.

58 The first to see our determination were the Taliban, who made Afghanistan the primary training  
59 base of al-Qaida killers. As of this month, that country has a new constitution, guaranteeing free  
60 elections and full participation by women. Businesses are opening, health care centers are being  
61 established, and the boys and girls of Afghanistan are back in school. With the help from the new  
62 Afghan Army, our coalition is leading aggressive raids against surviving members of the Taliban  
63 and al-Qaida. The men and women of Afghanistan are building a nation that is free, and proud,  
64 and fighting terror -- and America is honored to be their friend.

65 Since we last met in this chamber, combat forces of the United States, Great Britain, Australia,  
66 Poland, and other countries enforced the demands of the United Nations, ended the rule of  
67 Saddam Hussein, and the people of Iraq are free. Having broken the Baathist regime, we face a  
68 remnant of violent Saddam supporters. Men who ran away from our troops in battle are now  
69 dispersed and attack from the shadows.

70 These killers, joined by foreign terrorists, are a serious, continuing danger. Yet we're making  
71 progress against them. The once all-powerful ruler of Iraq was found in a hole, and now sits in a  
72 prison cell. Of the top 55 officials of the former regime, we have captured or killed 45. Our forces  
73 are on the offensive, leading over 1,600 patrols a day, and conducting an average of 180 raids a

74 week. We are dealing with these thugs in Iraq, just as surely as we dealt with Saddam Hussein's  
75 evil regime.

76 The work of building a new Iraq is hard, and it is right. And America has always been willing to do  
77 what it takes for what is right. Last January, Iraq's only law was the whim of one brutal man. Today  
78 our coalition is working with the Iraqi Governing Council to draft a basic law, with a bill of rights.  
79 We're working with Iraqis and the United Nations to prepare for a transition to full Iraqi  
80 sovereignty by the end of June. As democracy takes hold in Iraq, the enemies of freedom will do  
81 all in their power to spread violence and fear. They are trying to shake the will of our country and  
82 our friends, but the United States of America will never be intimidated by thugs and assassins. The  
83 killers will fail, and the Iraqi people will live in freedom.

84 Month by month, Iraqis are assuming more responsibility for their own security and their own  
85 future. And tonight we are honored to welcome one of Iraq's most respected leaders: the current  
86 President of the Iraqi Governing Council, Adnan Pachachi. Sir, America stands with you and the  
87 Iraqi people as you build a free and peaceful nation.

88 Because of American leadership and resolve, the world is changing for the better. Last month, the  
89 leader of Libya voluntarily pledged to disclose and dismantle all of his regime's weapons of mass  
90 destruction programs, including a uranium enrichment project for nuclear weapons. Colonel  
91 Qadhafi correctly judged that his country would be better off, and far more secure, without  
92 weapons of mass murder. Nine months of intense negotiations involving the United States and  
93 Great Britain succeeded with Libya, while 12 years of diplomacy with Iraq did not. And one reason  
94 is clear: For diplomacy to be effective, words must be credible -- and no one can now doubt the  
95 word of America.

96 Different threats require different strategies. Along with nations in the region, we are insisting that  
97 North Korea eliminate its nuclear program. America and the international community are  
98 demanding that Iran meet its commitments and not develop nuclear weapons. America is  
99 committed to keeping the world's most dangerous weapons out of the hands of the most  
100 dangerous regimes.

101 When I came to this rostrum on September 20th, 2001, I brought the police shield of a fallen  
102 officer, my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. I gave to you and to all  
103 Americans my complete commitment to securing our country and defeating our enemies. And this  
104 pledge, given by one, has been kept by many. You in the Congress have provided the resources for  
105 our defense, and cast the difficult votes of war and peace. Our closest allies have been  
106 unwavering. America's intelligence personnel and diplomats have been skilled and tireless.

107 And the men and women of the American military -- they have taken the hardest duty. We've seen  
108 their skill and their courage in armored charges, and midnight raids, and lonely hours on faithful  
109 watch. We have seen the joy when they return, and felt the sorrow when one is lost. I've had the  
110 honor of meeting our servicemen and women at many posts, from the deck of a carrier in the  
111 Pacific, to a mess hall in Baghdad. Many of our troops are listening tonight. And I want you and  
112 your families to know: America is proud of you. And my Administration, and this Congress, will  
113 give you the resources you need to fight and win the war on terror.



114 I know that some people question if America is really in a war at all. They view terrorism more as a  
115 crime, a problem to be solved mainly with law enforcement and indictments. After the World  
116 Trade Center was first attacked in 1993, some of the guilty were indicted and tried and convicted,  
117 and sent to prison. But the matter was not settled. The terrorists were still training and plotting in  
118 other nations, and drawing up more ambitious plans. After the chaos and carnage of September  
119 the 11th, it is not enough to serve our enemies with legal papers. The terrorists and their  
120 supporters declared war on the United States, and war is what they got.

121 Some in this chamber, and in our country, did not support the liberation of Iraq. Objections to war  
122 often come from principled motives. But let us be candid about the consequences of leaving  
123 Saddam Hussein in power. We're seeking all the facts. Already the Kay Report identified dozens of  
124 weapons of mass destruction-related program activities and significant amounts of equipment  
125 that Iraq concealed from the United Nations. Had we failed to act, the dictator's weapons of mass  
126 destruction programs would continue to this day. Had we failed to act, Security Council resolutions  
127 on Iraq would have been revealed as empty threats, weakening the United Nations and  
128 encouraging defiance by dictators around the world. Iraq's torture chambers would still be filled  
129 with victims -- terrified and innocent. The killing fields of Iraq, where hundreds of thousands of  
130 men, women, and children vanished into the sands, would still be known only to the killers. For all  
131 who love freedom and peace, the world without Saddam Hussein's regime is a better and safer  
132 place!

133 Some critics have said our duties in Iraq must be internationalized. This particular criticism is hard  
134 to explain to our partners in Britain, Australia, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Italy,  
135 Spain, Poland, Denmark, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Romania, the Netherlands, Norway, El  
136 Salvador, and the 17 other countries that have committed troops to Iraq. As we debate at home,  
137 we must never ignore the vital contributions of our international partners, or dismiss their  
138 sacrifices. From the beginning, America has sought international support for our\* operations in  
139 Afghanistan and Iraq, and we have gained much support. There is a difference, however, between  
140 leading a coalition of many nations, and submitting to the objections of a few. America will never  
141 seek a permission slip to defend the security of our country.

142 We also hear doubts that democracy is a realistic goal for the greater Middle East, where freedom  
143 is rare. Yet it is mistaken, and condescending, to assume that whole cultures and great religions  
144 are incompatible with liberty and self-government. I believe that God has planted in every human  
145 heart the desire to live in freedom. And even when that desire is crushed by tyranny for decades,  
146 it will rise again.

147 As long as the Middle East remains a place of tyranny, despair, and anger, it will continue to  
148 produce men and movements that threaten the safety of America and our friends. So America is  
149 pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the greater Middle East. We will challenge the enemies  
150 of reform, confront the allies of terror, and expect a higher standard from our friend [sic]. To cut  
151 through the barriers of hateful propaganda, the Voice of America and other broadcast services are  
152 expanding their programming in Arabic and Persian -- and soon, a new television service will begin  
153 providing reliable news and information across the region. I will send you a proposal to double the  
154 budget of the National Endowment for Democracy, and to focus its new work on the development  
155 of free elections and free markets, free press, and free labor unions in the Middle East. And above

156 all, we will finish the historic work of democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq, so those nations can light  
157 the way for others, and help transform a troubled part of the world.

158 America is a Nation with a mission, and that mission comes from our most basic beliefs. We have  
159 no desire to dominate, no ambitions of empire. Our aim is a democratic peace -- a peace founded  
160 upon the dignity and rights of every man and woman. America acts in this cause with friends and  
161 allies at our side, yet we understand our special calling: This great Republic will lead the cause of  
162 freedom.

163 In these last three years, adversity has also revealed the fundamental strengths of the American  
164 economy. We have come through recession, and terrorist attack, and corporate scandals, and the  
165 uncertainties of war. And because you acted to stimulate our economy with tax relief, this  
166 economy is strong, and growing stronger.

167 You have doubled the child tax credit from 500 to a thousand dollars, reduced the marriage  
168 penalty, begun to phase out the death tax, reduced taxes on capital gains and stock dividends, cut  
169 taxes on small businesses, and you have lowered taxes for every American who pays income taxes.

170 Americans took those dollars and put them to work, driving this economy forward. The pace of  
171 economic growth in the third quarter of 2003 was the fastest in nearly 20 years. New home  
172 construction: the highest in almost 20 years. Home ownership rates: the highest ever.  
173 Manufacturing activity is increasing. Inflation is low. Interest rates are low. Exports are growing.  
174 Productivity is high. And jobs are on the rise.

175 These numbers confirm that the American people are using their money far better than  
176 government would have, and you were right to return it.

177 America's growing economy is also a changing economy. As technology transforms the way almost  
178 every job is done, America becomes more productive, and workers need new skills. Much of our  
179 job growth will be found in high-skilled fields like health care and biotechnology. So we must  
180 respond by helping more Americans gain the skills to find good jobs in our new economy.

181 All skills begin with the basics of reading and math, which are supposed to be learned in the early  
182 grades of our schools. Yet for too long, for too many children, those skills were never mastered. By  
183 passing the No Child Left Behind Act, you have made the expectation of literacy the law of our  
184 country. We are providing more funding for our schools -- a 36 percent increase since 2001. We're  
185 requiring higher standards. We are regularly testing every child on the fundamentals. We are  
186 reporting results to parents, and making sure they have better options when schools are not  
187 performing. We are making progress toward excellence for every child in America.

188 But the status quo always has defenders. Some want to undermine the No Child Left Behind Act by  
189 weakening standards and accountability. Yet the results we require are really a matter of common  
190 sense: We expect third graders to read and do math at the third grade level - and that's not asking  
191 too much. Testing is the only way to identify and help students who are falling behind.

192 This Nation will not go back to the days of simply shuffling children along from grade to grade  
193 without them learning the basics. I refuse to give up on any child, and the No Child Left Behind Act  
194 is opening the door of opportunity to all of America's children.

195 At the same time, we must ensure that older students and adults can gain the skills they need to  
196 find work now. Many of the fastest-growing occupations require strong math and science  
197 preparation, and training beyond the high school level. So tonight I propose a series of measures  
198 called Jobs for the 21st Century. This program will provide extra help to middle and high school  
199 students who fall behind in reading and math, expand Advanced Placement programs in low-  
200 income schools, invite math and science professionals from the private sector to teach part-time  
201 in our high schools. I propose larger Pell Grants for students who prepare for college with  
202 demanding courses in high school. I propose increasing our support for America's fine community  
203 colleges. I do so, so they can train workers for industries that are creating the most new jobs. By all  
204 these actions, we will help more and more Americans to join in the growing prosperity of our  
205 country.

206 Job training is important, and so is job creation. We must continue to pursue an aggressive, pro-  
207 growth economic agenda.

208 Congress has some unfinished business on the issue of taxes. The tax reductions you passed are  
209 set to expire. Unless you act -- unless you act -- unless you act, the unfair tax on marriage will go  
210 back up. Unless you act, millions of families will be charged 300 dollars more in Federal taxes for  
211 every child. Unless you act, small businesses will pay higher taxes. Unless you act, the death tax  
212 will eventually come back to life. Unless you act, Americans face a tax increase. What Congress has  
213 given, the Congress should not take away: For the sake of job growth, the tax cuts you passed  
214 should be permanent.

215 Our agenda for jobs and growth must help small business owners and employees with relief from  
216 needless federal regulation, and protect them from junk and frivolous lawsuits.

217 Consumers and businesses need reliable supplies of energy to make our economy run, so I urge  
218 you to pass legislation to modernize our electricity system, promote conservation, and make  
219 America less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

220 My administration is promoting free and fair trade to open up new markets for America's  
221 entrepreneurs and manufacturers and farmers -- to create jobs for American workers. Younger  
222 workers should have the opportunity to build a nest egg by saving part of their Social Security  
223 taxes in a personal retirement account. We should make the Social Security system a source of  
224 ownership for the American people. And we should limit the burden of government on this  
225 economy by acting as good stewards of taxpayers' dollars.

226 In two weeks, I will send you a budget that funds the war, protects the homeland, and meets  
227 important domestic needs, while limiting the growth in discretionary spending to less than 4  
228 percent. This will require that Congress focus on priorities, cut wasteful spending, and be wise  
229 with the People's money. By doing so, we can cut the deficit in half over the next five years.

230 Tonight, I also ask you to reform our immigration laws so they reflect our values and benefit our  
231 economy. I propose a new temporary worker program to match willing foreign workers with  
232 willing employers when no Americans can be found to fill the job. This reform will be good for our  
233 economy because employers will find needed workers in an honest and orderly system. A  
234 temporary worker program will help protect our homeland, allowing Border Patrol and law  
235 enforcement to focus on true threats to our national security.

236 I oppose amnesty, because it would encourage further illegal immigration, and unfairly reward  
237 those who break our laws. My temporary worker program will preserve the citizenship path for  
238 those who respect the law, while bringing millions of hardworking men and women out from the  
239 shadows of American life.

240 Our nation's health care system, like our economy, is also in a time of change. Amazing medical  
241 technologies are improving and saving lives. This dramatic progress has brought its own challenge,  
242 in the rising costs of medical care and health insurance. Members of Congress, we must work  
243 together to help control those costs and extend the benefits of modern medicine throughout our  
244 country.

245 Meeting these goals requires bipartisan effort, and two months ago you showed the way. By  
246 strengthening Medicare and adding a prescription drug benefit, you kept a basic commitment to  
247 our seniors: You are giving them the modern medicine they deserve.

248 Starting this year, under the law you passed, seniors can choose to receive a drug discount card,  
249 saving them 10 to 25 percent off the retail price of most prescription drugs -- and millions of low-  
250 income seniors can get an additional \$600 to buy medicine. Beginning next year, seniors will have  
251 new coverage for preventive screenings against diabetes and heart disease, and seniors just  
252 entering Medicare can receive wellness exams.

253 In January of 2006, seniors can get prescription drug coverage under Medicare. For a monthly  
254 premium of about \$35, most seniors who do not have that coverage today can expect to see their  
255 drug bills cut roughly in half. Under this reform, senior citizens will be able to keep their Medicare  
256 just as it is, or they can choose a Medicare plan that fits them best -- just as you, as members of  
257 Congress, can choose an insurance plan that meets your needs. And starting this year, millions of  
258 Americans will be able to save money tax-free for their medical expenses in a health savings  
259 account.

260 I signed this measure proudly, and any attempt to limit the choices of our seniors, or to take away  
261 their prescription drug coverage under Medicare, will meet my veto.

262 On the critical issue of health care, our goal is to ensure that Americans can choose and afford  
263 private health care coverage that best fits their individual needs. To make insurance more  
264 affordable, Congress must act to address rapidly rising health care costs. Small businesses should  
265 be able to band together and negotiate for lower insurance rates, so they can cover more workers  
266 with health insurance. I urge you to pass association health plans. I ask you to give lower-income  
267 Americans a refundable tax credit that would allow millions to buy their own basic health  
268 insurance.

269 By computerizing health records, we can avoid dangerous medical mistakes, reduce costs, and  
270 improve care. To protect the doctor-patient relationship, and keep good doctors doing good work,  
271 we must eliminate wasteful and frivolous medical lawsuits. And tonight I propose that individuals  
272 who buy catastrophic health care coverage, as part of our new health savings accounts, be allowed  
273 to deduct 100 percent of the premiums from their taxes.

274 A government-run health care system is the wrong prescription.

275 By keeping costs under control, expanding access, and helping more Americans afford coverage,  
 276 we will preserve the system of private medicine that makes America's health care the best in the  
 277 world.

278 We are living in a time of great change -- in our world, in our economy, in science and medicine.  
 279 Yet some things endure -- courage and compassion, reverence and integrity, respect for  
 280 differences of faith and race. The values we try to live by never change. And they are instilled in us  
 281 by fundamental institutions, such as families and schools and religious congregations. These  
 282 institutions, these unseen pillars of civilization, must remain strong in America, and we will defend  
 283 them. We must stand with our families to help them raise healthy, responsible children. When it  
 284 comes to helping children make right choices, there is work for all of us to do.

285 One of the worst decisions our children can make is to gamble their lives and futures on drugs. Our  
 286 government is helping parents confront this problem with aggressive education, treatment, and  
 287 law enforcement. Drug use in high school has declined by 11 percent over the last two years. Four  
 288 hundred thousand fewer young people are using illegal drugs than in the year 2001. In my budget,  
 289 I proposed new funding to continue our aggressive, community-based strategy to reduce demand  
 290 for illegal drugs. Drug testing in our schools has proven to be an effective part of this effort. So  
 291 tonight I proposed an additional \$23 millions [sic] for schools that want to use drug testing as a  
 292 tool to save children's lives. The aim here is not to punish children, but to send them this message:  
 293 We love you, and we don't want to lose you.

294 To help children make right choices, they need good examples. Athletics play such an important  
 295 role in our society, but, unfortunately, some in professional sports are not setting much of an  
 296 example. The use of performance-enhancing drugs like steroids in baseball, football, and other  
 297 sports is dangerous, and it sends the wrong message -- that there are shortcuts to  
 298 accomplishment, and that performance is more important than character. So tonight I call on  
 299 team owners, union representatives, coaches, and players to take the lead, to send the right  
 300 signal, to get tough, and to get rid of steroids now.

301 To encourage right choices, we must be willing to confront the dangers young people face even  
 302 when they're difficult to talk about. Each year, about 3 million teenagers contract sexually-  
 303 transmitted diseases that can harm them, or kill them, or prevent them from ever becoming  
 304 parents. In my budget, I propose a grassroots campaign to help inform families about these  
 305 medical risks. We will double federal funding for abstinence programs, so schools can teach this  
 306 fact of life: Abstinence for young people is the only certain way to avoid sexually-transmitted  
 307 diseases.

308 Decisions children now make can affect their health and character for the rest of their lives. All of  
 309 us -- parents and schools and government -- must work together to counter the negative influence  
 310 of the culture, and to send the right messages to our children.

311 A strong America must also value the institution of marriage. I believe we should respect  
 312 individuals as we take a principled stand for one of the most fundamental, enduring institutions of  
 313 our civilization. Congress has already taken a stand on this issue by passing the Defense of  
 314 Marriage Act, signed in 1996 by President Clinton. That statute protects marriage under federal

315 law as a union of a man and a woman, and declares that one state may not redefine marriage for  
 316 other states.

317 Activist judges, however, have begun redefining marriage by court order, without regard for the  
 318 will of the people and their elected representatives. On an issue of such great consequence, the  
 319 people's voice must be heard. If judges insist on forcing their arbitrary will upon the people, the  
 320 only alternative left to the people would be the constitutional process. Our nation must defend  
 321 the sanctity of marriage.

322 The outcome of this debate is important, and so is the way we conduct it. The same moral  
 323 tradition that defines marriage also teaches that each individual has dignity and value in God's  
 324 sight.

325 It's also important to strengthen our communities by unleashing the compassion of America's  
 326 religious institutions. Religious charities of every creed are doing some of the most vital work in  
 327 our country -- mentoring children, feeding the hungry, taking the hand of the lonely. Yet  
 328 government has often denied social service grants and contracts to these groups, just because  
 329 they have a cross or a Star of David or a crescent on the wall. By executive order, I have opened  
 330 billions of dollars in grant money to competition that includes faith-based charities. Tonight I ask  
 331 you to codify this into law, so people of faith can know that the law will never discriminate against  
 332 them again.

333 In the past, we've worked together to bring mentors to children of prisoners, and provide  
 334 treatment for the addicted, and help for the homeless. Tonight I ask you to consider another  
 335 group of Americans in need of help. This year, some 600,000 inmates will be released from prison  
 336 back into society. We know from long experience that if they can't find work, or a home, or help,  
 337 they are much more likely to commit crime and return to prison. So tonight, I propose a four-year,  
 338 300 million dollar prisoner re-entry initiative to expand job training and placement services, to  
 339 provide transitional housing, and to help newly released prisoners get mentoring, including from  
 340 faith-based groups. America is the land of second chance, and when the gates of the prison open,  
 341 the path ahead should lead to a better life.

342 For all Americans, the last three years have brought tests we did not ask for, and achievements  
 343 shared by all. By our actions, we have shown what kind of nation we are. In grief, we have found  
 344 the grace to go on. In challenge, we rediscovered the courage and daring of a free people. In  
 345 victory, we have shown the noble aims and good heart of America. And having come this far, we  
 346 sense that we live in a time set apart.

347 I've been witness to the character of the people of America, who have shown calm in times of  
 348 danger, compassion for one another, and toughness for the long haul. All of us have been partners  
 349 in a great enterprise. And even some of the youngest understand that we are living in historic  
 350 times. Last month a girl in Lincoln, Rhode Island, sent me a letter. It began, "Dear George W. Bush.  
 351 If there's anything you know, I, Ashley Pearson, age 2, age 10 [sic], can do to help anyone, please  
 352 send me a letter and tell me what I can do to save our country." She added this P.S.: "If you can  
 353 send a letter to the troops, please put, 'Ashley Pearson believes in you.'"

354 Tonight, Ashley, your message to our troops has just been conveyed. And, yes, you have some  
 355 duties yourself. Study hard in school, listen to your mom or dad, help someone in need, and when

356 you and your friends see a man or woman in uniform, say, "thank you." And, Ashley, while you do  
357 your part, all of us here in this great chamber will do our best to keep you and the rest of America  
358 safe and free.

359 My -- My fellow citizens, we now move forward, with confidence and faith. Our nation is strong  
360 and steadfast. The cause we serve is right, because it is the cause of all mankind. The momentum  
361 of freedom in our world is unmistakable -- and it is not carried forward by our power alone. We  
362 can trust in that greater power who guides the unfolding of the years. And in all that is to come,  
363 we can know that His purposes are just and true.

364 May God continue to bless America.

365

366 Retrieved on December 13, 2012 from:  
367 <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2004.htm>