



Political Science Department, International Relations, Linguistics and Communication,  
History of International Relations

## MILITARY SPEECHES:

How to understand the strategic role of semantic elements  
in Military Speeches through the case study of US conflicts  
from 2001 to 2018.

### SUPERVISORS

Prof. Valeria Sh. Kurmakaeva

Prof. Michele Sorice

Prof. Andrea Ungari

### CANDIDATE

Andrea Lambertucci

Stud. N° 629822

Accademic Year 2017/2018

*Ai miei genitori, Valter e Patrizia,  
per tutti i sacrifici che hanno affrontato  
affinché io potessi inseguire i miei sogni.*

*Ai miei nonni, Valentino e Giuseppe,  
che ho sempre sentito vicini,  
ma soprattutto alle mie nonne, Annunziata e Marianna,  
che mi hanno sempre amato per il bambino che ero  
e per l'uomo che sono oggi.*

*A Claudia,  
che mi ha supportato, incoraggiato e spronato  
e che ha reso la mia vita meravigliosamente piena  
di uno splendido amore.*

*Alla mia famiglia.  
E, infine, a tutti coloro che,  
leggendo,  
saranno mossi dalla mia stessa speranza  
per un domani migliore.*

## INDEX

Introduction.

Chapter 1. What we mean with “Military Speech”.

1.1. The Strategic Speech.

1.1.1. Communicative value: lexical and semantic choices in the strategic speech.

1.2. The non-verbal communication.

1.2.1. Communicative value: how can we understand the non-verbal signs?

1.2.2. Analysis of the strategic-psychological factor of the strategic speeches.

1.3. Key Military Speeches and their analysis.

1.3.1. How to analyse Military Speeches.

1.3.2. Categorizing Military Speeches

1.3.3. The approach on the semantic elements.

1.3.4. The approach on the non-verbal elements.

1.4. Efficiency and effects of Military Speeches.

1.5. Research Questions.

Chapter 2. The Case Study.

2.1. Worldwide most relevant conflicts during the period 2001-2018.

2.2. The “Omnipower”.

2.3. Presidents of the United States of America.

2.3.1. George W. Bush.

2.3.2. Barack Obama.

2.3.3. Donald Trump.

2.4. “War to Terror” in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and other states: George W. Bush.

2.4.1. The speech of 9/11.

- 2.4.2. “War on Terror”.
- 2.4.3. Axis of Evil.
- 2.4.4. Ultimatum to Saddam Hussein.
- 2.4.5. Declaration of War.
- 2.4.6. Farewell Speech.
- 2.5. From Nobel Peace Prize to ISIS: Barack Obama.
  - 2.5.1. Nobel Prize for Peace lecture.
  - 2.5.2. Syrian Civil War.
  - 2.5.3. Against ISIS.
  - 2.5.4. Farewell Speech to Media Reporters.
- 2.6. The new trends for USA’s foreign policies: Donald Trump.
  - 2.6.1. Inaugural Speech, “Make America Great Again”.
  - 2.6.2. New Strategy in Afghanistan.
  - 2.6.3. Address to the Congress (State of the Union).
  - 2.6.4. Leader against Leader: Trump vs Kim Jong-Un.
- 2.7. The impact on the Public Sphere.
  - 2.7.1. The role of the new media.

Conclusions.

Bibliography and Linkography.

Appendixes & Annexes.

Special Thanks.

Summary.

## Introduction.

The Military Speech (part of the widest family of strategic speeches), albeit very poorly elaborated, is a subject of utmost interest in semiotic analysis, since it allows to apply to the speeches of political leaders the same structures that can be applied, in semiotic, to the study of the texts.

Our thesis proposes to qualitatively analyse Military Speeches between 2001 and 2017 performed by the three different Presidents of the United States of America. To do this, therefore, we had to try to translate<sup>1</sup> faithfully the speeches of the leaders of the country that played the role of major protagonist in the last two decades, then to study and understand them, analysing the main sentences by emphasis and meaning. Whenever possible, it is advisable to accompany the reading with the reference videos of the aforementioned speeches, which are available in the Appendixes and in the footnotes: a wide analysis like our, in fact, cannot be careful without the direct observation of the effects that some sentences, or even some words, have had on the *feedback*<sup>2</sup> of the recipients of those speeches and on the Speaker itself.

This topic has its own relevance nowadays, because different scholars throughout different countries are trying to elaborate systems of analysis of leaders' speeches, since it is very important to understand the underlying meanings of those speeches, in particular when those speeches are contextualized inside the military context.

Trying to be very clear, we did not find many sources from Russian scholars, but even in Russia many scholars and/or journalists usually try to understand those “non-spoken elements” of the speeches of foreign leaders. This subject, a very specific part of the wider family of the sociology of communication, has been developed in recent years and still it is not recognized as strictly scientific, mainly for two reasons: first, some countries are so powerful in terms of hard power that they do not need to apply a

---

<sup>1</sup> Our mother tongue is Italian, and the translation is useful to not make major mistakes. The readers will never find traces of this translation in our work.

<sup>2</sup> Audience, using the term expressed by the main scholar of this subject: Paul Ekman.

systematic analysis to foreign leaders' Military Speeches; second, trying to understand the underlying meanings of leaders' speeches is a practice, as aforementioned, that some people already exercise, even if not voluntarily or consciously.

For these reasons, we chose to bring this subject, also known as “Qualitative analysis of leader's speeches”, to the attention of the scientific experts who will read our master thesis, trying to give a well-structured system of analysis, a sort of *lingua franca* that could function as common minimal unit of study for these speeches. And that, also because we personally had crucial experiences, working for three months inside the Business Office of the Italian Embassy in the Russian Federation and as a journalist of the sportive daily newspaper “*Il Romanista*”<sup>3</sup>.

The relevance of this subject is really obvious, if we think about an hypothetical meeting between two diplomatic delegates; being able to understand the others beyond the words they tell us (or the words they write) is crucial.

As easily understandable, if we do not develop this kind of system today, in the period of social networks, the next *era* of the communication will bring us new aspects and new issues that we will not be able to manage. This is the time, this is the place, this is the “last call” for the development of a unique common system of qualitative analysis of the leaders' Military Speeches.

First of all, however, the concept of *text* must be introduced, in order to understand whether Military Speeches can be referred to as “texts” and if they can be analysed through semiotic elements and, above all, through the common tools of analysis of the sociology of communication.

«The general vocation of semiotics has induced him to expand the concept of text to make it almost all-encompassing»<sup>4</sup>; so, texts are all those “portions of reality” that are endowed with meaning for someone, with limits that permit to distinguish what is part

---

<sup>3</sup> I have been working in that newsroom since March 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Cosenza, G., (2014) *Introduzione alla Semiotica dei Nuovi Media*. Lecce: Laterza.

of the text and what is not, and which can be divided into discrete units according to hierarchical levels of analysis and separable according to objective criteria<sup>5</sup>.

According to the definition given by Cosenza (2014), a text is a portion of reality that does not uniquely correspond to the common definition that it entrusts to the term. The text is, in fact, a *plot* (texture) consisting of different *elements* (threads), capable of representing different *levels of communication* (concrete-abstract, manifest-hidden, formal-informal). The metaphor of “*text* as a weave” is useful to understand the complexity of the texts themselves and the different ways in which the same elements could be united or fragmented to create texts of a different nature but with the same (or similar) contents<sup>6</sup>.

*De facto*, taking up Cosenza's thesis (2014), it is possible to define as texts, in semiotic perspectives, myths and folklore stories, written texts, visual texts, audio texts, mixed (audio-visual) texts, multimedia texts and, finally, codifications in interpersonal relationships in institutional settings, in formal environments and in non-formal environments.

*Ergo*, where there is communication there is a text. Where there is communication, however, there are several elements to be taken into consideration.

The first attempt to exemplify communication through a mathematical model must be attributed to Claude Elwood Shannon and Warren Weaver, who in 1949 formulated a first known mathematical-informational model:

SOURCE OF INFORMATION – MESSAGE → TRANSMITTER - SIGNAL → RECEIVED SIGNAL (NOISE SOURCE) → RECEIVER - MESSAGE → RECEIVER<sup>7</sup>.

---

<sup>5</sup> *Ivi*: reformulated.

<sup>6</sup> For this metaphor I am grateful to Paolo Peverini, professor of the course “Linguaggi dei Nuovi Media” at LUISS University.

<sup>7</sup> Sorice, M., (2009) *Sociologia dei Mass Media*. Roma: Carocci.

In our discussion we try to analyse in depth the purposes pursued by the *broadcasters* through their *message* and how this *message* was perceived and received by their *receivers*.

Since this is an almost unpublished subject for social science studies, as there is a somewhat residual bibliography on conflict-related speeches, in our thesis we have chosen to incorporate a careful and accurate Linkography, in support of the unsupported amount of sources, to easily find the references and guidelines on which the discussion is based. We believe that it is now necessary to accept the online resources, that are indispensable for scientific analysis, especially in the context of social sciences, as they are sources available to everyone, free of charge, and therefore easily accessible.

Obviously, it is important to analyse the validity of the sources, because internet can easily appear as a double-essence creature: reality and fake-news, scientific websites and pseudo-scientific blogs, forums and propaganda. The reader can trust our thesis because we selected only the most credible and valuable sources on the internet.

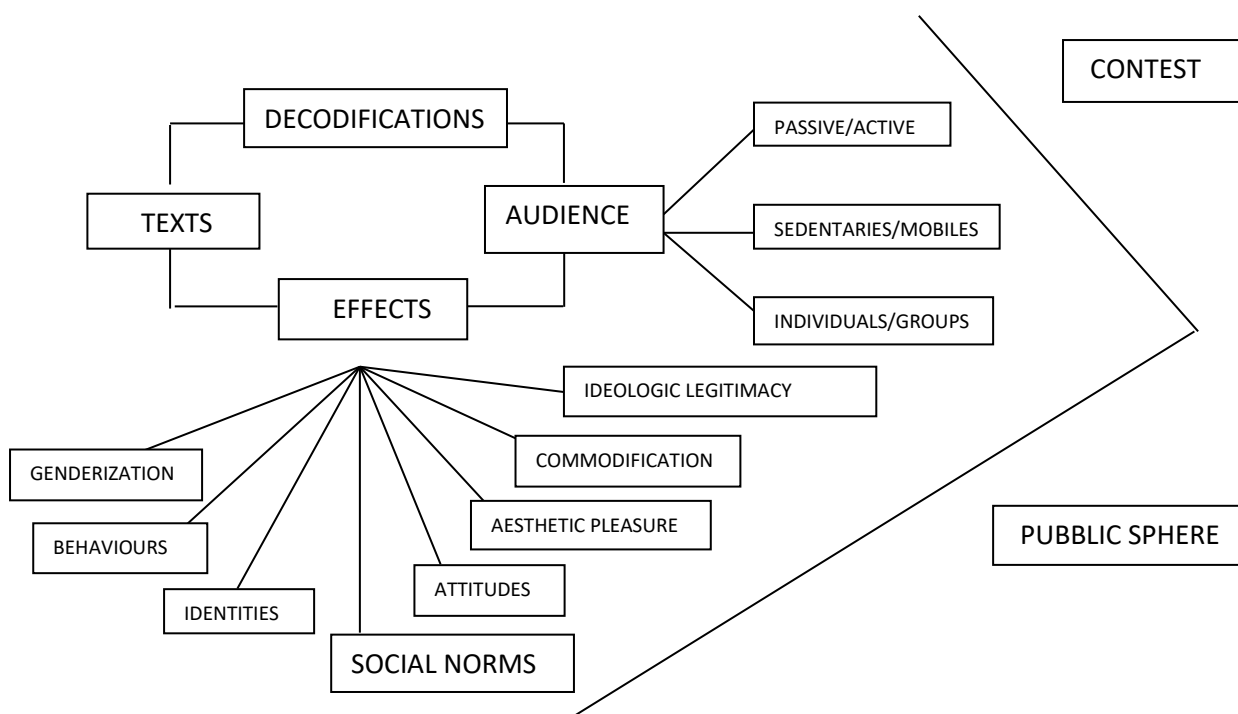
It is very useful, furthermore, to underline that the analysis that had been done is qualitative and not quantitative. Qualitative research<sup>8</sup> is focused on the nature and the essence of the texts, on the phenomena and the symbolic interactionism, on the comprehension, the description and the generation of hypotheses; qualitative research is based on a little, not casual sample and, through an inductive analysis, its purpose is to understand, describe and state effective correspondences between the particular and the universal. In our study we emphasize the elements of *proxemic* and *kinesics* present in the aforementioned speeches: for this very reason it is highly recommended to read this study taking a look at the videos and the materials linked in the Linkography and in the Appendixes & Annexes.

---

<sup>8</sup> Ivi, reformulation from Danemark, Ekstrom, Jacobsen, Karlsson, (2002).



For the analysis, we propose the model of Burton about the influence of the media<sup>9</sup>, trying to apply it, with some variations, to the analysis of the influence of Military Speeches on the *public sphere*<sup>10</sup>:



Therefore, the simplistic model “stimulus-answer” must be overcome, due to the complexity of the presented model. Even more, it is necessary to specify again that, in the cases we took in analysis, it is central the role played by three elements of the communication: *text* (and his *transmitter*), *public sphere* and *effects* on it. In particular, two key effects are taken into account: the capacity of Military Speeches to create a

<sup>9</sup> *Ivi.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ivi.*

public opinion and the effect of ideologic legitimacy that the speech guaranteed to its *transmitter*.

Besides, for the purpose of our study, it is necessary to clarify the historic background and the actors taken into analysis, because the qualitative research is based on a small non-casual sample. The historic background, as aforementioned, is the period between 2001 and 2017, during the numerous armed and diplomatic conflicts that USA engaged against Iraq, Afghanistan, terroristic groups of Islamist matrix<sup>11</sup> and, recently, North Korea. The actors will be presented and described in Chapter 2.

The modern Public Sphere is acting online, so it is very difficult to understand the trends and the tendencies of the public opinion nowadays.

We thought to conclude this introduction with a brief resume of the arguments that we will discuss throughout our thesis.

In Chapter 1, the concept of “Strategic Speech” will be exposed, with references on the lexical and the semantical choices, and their communicative value. Then, explaining the main strategical and psychological factors, we will try to define the “Military Speech” and we will propose our Research Question.

In Chapter 2, we will introduce the historical background, the actors, the leaders and the relevance of the main conflicts of the period between 2001 and 2017 for the US. Then, there will be the qualitative analysis of the most important speeches addressed by the leaders of both countries and terroristic groups, and of their effects on the *public sphere*.

Finally, in the Conclusions, we will present our thesis and the results of our research. We end our brief introduction, useful to read our thesis efficiently and carefully, explaining that this study aims to achieve one purpose that, albeit not simple, seems to be absolutely necessary in the contemporary social and political global context: to understand and to explain why, even nowadays, Military Speeches still have such a

---

<sup>11</sup> We choose to describe as “Islamist”, because we want to preserve the cultural richness and the peaceful message of real Islam, avoiding confusing Islam with Islamism, Islamic people with Islamists.

deep influence on the *public sphere*, even if it is harder to understand compared to the past. Military Speeches have informative value, because the <<information is a performative and manipulator activity>><sup>12</sup> and they cannot be defined, for sure, as a form of communication based on the mutual exchange, the sharing or the interrelation, but as a form of communication based on the transmission of resources and, even more, on the influence. The “bullet theory”<sup>13</sup> defines the communication as the <<inoculation of messages, ideas, orientations on a mass audience considered substantially passive and unable to produce its own elaborations>><sup>14</sup>.

It is not disputable that, in fact, Military Speeches are addressed by a *leadership* that aims to influence the group of reference or the *public sphere* in its entirety: our thesis wants to define the modalities through which this influence manifests itself.

In a world in which mass media and social media are pervasive in the common life, in which multimedia is now an essential measure of the everyday life and in which, unfortunately, the terroristic threat is even more concrete and inescapable (also due to the presence of these groups on the *social web* and on the main media of communications), it is necessary to study and understand the modalities of mass audience communication in the near past, in order to analyse wisely the present and try to lay the bases for a system that, in the future, could avoid the emergence of Leaderships that use hate and war as main keys to achieve their goals.

---

<sup>12</sup> Sorice, M., (2009) *Sociologia dei Mass Media*. Rome: Carocci.

<sup>13</sup> That we do not accept with absolute value, but only with reference to the object of study.

<sup>14</sup> Sorice, M., (2009) *Sociologia dei Mass Media*. Rome: Carocci.

## Chapter 1. What we mean with “Military Speech”.

In order to understand what the Military Speech is, it is necessary to explain what the strategic speech is and the meaning of the term “strategy”.

Oxford dictionary<sup>15</sup> defines /Strategy/<sup>16</sup>, in its extensive and figurative meaning, as «a plan of action designed to achieve a long-term or overall aim»<sup>17</sup>. /Strategy/, in fact, comes from the ancient Greek term στρατηγία, the command of the army, derived from στρατηγός, meaning /Strategist/. Ergo, strategy and strategic speech do not involve only the military sphere, but also the political, economic, social and ludic fields. In fact, in order to actuate a strategy, goals must be prefixed, maintaining respect to the aforementioned rule. Although, in the ludic field, this ethical conduct is respected (for example, in chess), in the political, economic, social, and military sphere, respect for the rules is not pursued slavishly. Strategic discourse, therefore, often becomes a mere expression of the goals to be pursued.

In the military context, however, the strategic discourse assumes a very different form depending on the moment in which it is expressed: at first, in fact, there is the decision (to fight or not to fight), the planning (definition of the general strategy and, sometimes, tactics) and the approach to conflict, which aims to motivate and incite the army to the war or to a single battle.

Thus, the approach to conflict is only a form (albeit relevant), a single aspect that can take on the strategic discourse<sup>18</sup>.

---

<sup>15</sup> We chose to use this dictionary because it is the main source, in our opinion, for the English language.

<sup>16</sup> From Cosenza, G., (2014) *Introduzione alla Semiotica dei Nuovi Media*. Lecce: Laterza. «I took from Eco (1975) the custom to mark in slashes the significant (the sound or the graphic-visive configuration) of a word and in quotes its significance, expediency that was born from the convention, in linguistics, to mark in slashes two phonemes».

<sup>17</sup> Available at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/strategy> (Last Access on 16/10/2017).

<sup>18</sup> In the military field, the main texts of reference are “*The Art of War*” of Sun Tzu, “*Strategikon*” of Maurice, “*The Book of Five Rings*” of Miyamoto Musashi and “*On War*” of Carl von Clausewitz. In the aforementioned texts, however, the Military Speech is only cited or inadequate: this leads to the definition of such discourse as “almost unpublished” for scientific analysis and studies of social sciences.

Also, we should clarify that we are speaking about /Speeches/: /Speeches/ are a form of communication that pretends to be long, full-bodied and coherent, maintaining the focus on the strategic elements that we will analyse further in the next paragraph.

### 1.1. The Strategic Speech.

Strategic discourse is obviously a matter of great importance for our thesis. The purpose of a strategic discourse, its structure and the choices made by those who pronounce those speeches are analysed in the following subsection, attempting to synthesize the most common forms and semantic figures of these expressive manifestations.

In this section, however, we will try to define a timely scheme of strategic discourses, starting from the manifestations we have already discussed at the beginning of the Chapter.

Most importantly, the family of strategic speeches is divided into four main groups: socio-political, economic, military and playful.

First, the socio-political discourses are, in our view, divisible into six subgroups, referring to the social structures of modernity, namely institutions, parties and interest groups (NGOs, pressure groups, lobbies and others): inauguration, demonstration, event, goal (for parties there are often the electoral speeches), comment and, in some cases, termination.

Inauguration speeches are those which aim to sign the start of a brand-new political or social formation. The speech addressed by Silvio Berlusconi (*Italy is the country I love*) on 01/26/1994<sup>19</sup> could be defined as the main inauguration speech in the recent Italian political past.

Demonstration speeches are those which are addressed by group or party leaders during a public manifestation. Examples could be the speeches of unions' leaders during

---

<sup>19</sup> Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWETaMSRG-c> (Last Access on 16/10/2017).

demonstrations; these speeches are usually held with microphones or megaphones due to the uproars of the crowd, and addressed while the leader is among his followers, in order to show and transmit a sense of communion and belonging<sup>20</sup>.

Event speeches are those which are expressed during a particular event that has a relevance for the party or the social group of reference. For example, the speeches that Matteo Renzi, former Italian premier, held during the rallies organized at Leopolda in Florence<sup>21</sup>. This typology of speeches is recurring in the great democracies, as in them both parties and social groups must constantly confront their own supporters and, therefore, arrange aggregation events.

Goal speeches are those that want to remark the aims and the goals to achieve in the short period. This kind of speeches are common during conventions and electoral moments and are the main manifestations of the socio-political speeches. Some recent examples are the speeches of Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, Manuel Rajoy, Matteo Renzi and other political leaders.

Comment speeches are those that aim to underline the positive results of an event that has political relevance. We wrote positive results purposely, because in the political field, as an old Italian proverb says, “*Vincono sempre tutti*” (“They all win at the same time, every time”). A particular exception was the speech addressed by Matteo Renzi after he lost the constitutional referendum in December 2016: that one is still a *comment speech*, but it is about negative results.

Termination speeches, finally, are those who want to express the last words of a social movement or a party which has come to an end, or the exit from the scenes of a leader or relevant political character. This typology of speeches is very important for the political sciences, because it underlines an epochal change in the political fields. One important example of this kind of speeches was the “*Дорогие друзья! Дорогие мои!*”

---

<sup>20</sup> Available at: <http://video.repubblica.it/edizione/roma/roma-movimenti-per-la-casa-sotto-al-campidoglio-raggi-non-ci-ha-ricevuti/246176/246280> (Last Access on 16/10/2017).

<sup>21</sup> Available at: <http://video.repubblica.it/edizione/firenze/renzi-chiude-leopolda-5-il-discorso-integrale/181456/180257> (Last Access on 17/10/2017).

(“*Dear Friends! My dear!*”) by Boris Eltsin<sup>22</sup> that, though born as an *event speech*, developed into a shocking historical change for the Russian Federation.

Second, strategic economic speeches know a similar division of the socio-political ones. This kind of speeches are mainly expressed by leaders of big or medium-big companies, and they gain relevance throughout the huge influence of the person who expresses them. In our opinion, we should divide strategic economic speeches in four subgroups: inauguration, event, comment and, in some cases, termination.

Inauguration speeches are those which aim to sign the start of the activities of a brand-new company or label. Trying to indicate a valid example of these speeches,

Event speeches are those which are expressed during a particular event that has a relevance for the company, and it is often mixed with a speech that wants to promote new products or show the new prospective of the label. For example, the speech held by the leader of Iliad, presenting their new product<sup>23</sup>.

Comment speeches are those that aim to underline the positive results of an event that has relevance for the company, or to explain the position of the label about major issues that involve the company itself. Other comment speeches are the ones that want to diminish the negative impact of some news that could damage the image of the company.

Termination speeches, finally, are those who wants to express the last words of a company which has come to an end, or the exit from the scenes of the CEO or another person relevant in the directory board of the label<sup>24</sup>.

Third, strategic Military Speeches (that are the main subject of our thesis) are divided in three categories: conflict approach speeches, conflict support speeches and conflict closing speeches. Drawing from the vast material collected during the writing of our bachelor dissertation, we can easily expose a definition for these three subcategories.

---

<sup>22</sup> Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vTsqy18Mbvs> (Last Access on 22/08/2018).

<sup>23</sup> Available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B\\_KeXECZ9U4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_KeXECZ9U4) (Last Access on 14/08/2018).

<sup>24</sup> Examples of those speeches are recognizable everywhere and it is useless to report specific ones. Every comment or termination speech is particular, because it refers on specific people or events.

Conflict approach speeches are those speeches of strategic and psychological nature which, expressed by the leader of one or more deployments, follow the decision-making phase and precede the conflict itself; the strategic nature of these speeches is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued; the psychological nature, on the other hand, expresses itself through significant and significative elements that leaders choose to emphasize, on the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of such elements. The conflict approach speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, not just the underlying reasons for the decision to embark on a conflict (or to take part in it), but the very figure of the leader and the value of the established regime within that social group.

Conflict support speeches are those speeches of strategic and psychological nature which, expressed by the leader of one or more deployments, are addressed during the conflict itself; the strategic nature of these speeches is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued and a small resume of the goals already achieved; the psychological nature, on the other hand, expresses itself through significant and significative elements that leaders choose to emphasize, on the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of such elements. The conflict support speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, the underlying reasons for the decision to continue to fight in a conflict and the very figure of the leader and the value of the established regime within that social group.

Conflict closing speeches are those speeches of strategic and psychological nature which, expressed by the leader of one or more deployments, follow the ending phase of a conflict; the strategic nature of these speeches is expressed through the description of the strategic relevance of the goals achieved; the psychological nature, on the other hand, expresses itself through significant and significative elements that leaders choose to emphasize, on the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of such elements. The conflict closing speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and



positive feedback of the social group of reference, not just the validity of the decision to embark on a conflict (or to take part in it), whatever the result could be, but the very figure of the leader and the value of the established regime within that social group.

Fourth, playful speeches, just as Military Speeches, are divided in three categories: we should only replace the term /Conflict/ with the more appropriate /Game/. The ones who usually address these kinds of speeches are the coaches and the leaders: in team sports, leaders are those who have the right charisma to be recognized by other players as the representative of their thoughts, as the example to be followed.

So, we have Game approach speeches, the ones given by the coaches before the sport event. A good example could be taken from the cinema, with the speech “Centimetres” of Al Pacino in “Any Given Sunday”<sup>25</sup>. Even in this kind of speeches, the strategic nature is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued and the psychological nature is expressed through significative elements that the coach or the leader want to emphasize. There is no aim to legitimize the coach, but it is important to motivate the player or the players.

Game support speeches are those speeches that coaches give during rest periods. As for Conflict support speeches, the strategic nature of these speeches is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued and a small resume of the goals already achieved, while the psychological nature, on the other hand, is expressed by the elements underlined by the coach or the leader. A good example could be the speech addressed by Zinedine Zidane during the rest period of 2017 UEFA Champions League final Real Madrid v. Juventus<sup>26</sup>. We cannot indicate as /Speeches/ the little /Directives/ given throughout all the game or the competition, as we cannot name /Speeches/ the /Commands/ given by commanders throughout battles.

Game closing speeches are those speeches that a coach or a leader expresses after the end of the /Game/. This kind of speeches differs from the Conflict closing speeches,

---

<sup>25</sup> Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9CD7uj2TL0> (Last Access on 23/08/2018).

<sup>26</sup> Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHFRm1cd8CU> (Last Access on 23/08/2018).

because there is no need to underline the goals achieved. As we can easily view looking at some real cases, Game closing speeches are divided in three main types, that we could resume with the initials WDL – Won, Drawn, Lost.

When one side wins, everyone inside the team wants to celebrate and, therefore, the speeches are only short euphoric comments on the victory<sup>27</sup>. When there is a draw, the team speaks about a deep analysis of “what we have missed” or “what we could have done in order to win” and there is a wide defence of the tactics practiced during the /Game/. But, when a side loses, leaders of the team should recognize the loss, analysing the reasons behind the defeat, but we have a lot of examples of players/gamers who address the lost to external factors, like referees, supporters, pitches or even climatic conditions<sup>28</sup>. Finally, we should underline the crucial distinctive factor that differs Game closing speeches from Conflict closing speeches: inside a game every coach, player, leader or gamer knows that he/she will have another chance (in the near or in the far future), while no one can be sure to have a second chance after the conclusion of an armed conflict.

#### 1.1.1. Communicative value: lexical and semantic choices in the strategic speech.

Trying only to summarise the number of elements reported above, we should focus on the lexical and the semantic choices that a speaker does during strategic speeches. Or better, what the elements that build the strategic part of a strategic speech are on the lexical side, what the communicative value is and how it can influence the verbal sphere of a strategic speech.

---

<sup>27</sup> Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INMRG221HCU> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

<sup>28</sup> Like Gianluigi Buffon did after the defeat against Real Madrid in the UEFA Champions League Quarterfinals.

While the strategic-psychological factor of these discourses will be analysed later, it is now necessary to understand what systematic use is being made of certain words, parts of specific semantic areas, within strategic discourses.

Regarding the political area, strategic discourses, which we can identify, for example, as the speeches of an election campaign or the speeches that announce a defined program, make extensive use of words referable to the ideology of belonging of the leader/political figure who utters it. *Ergo*, a politician pronounces significant words several times or slogans referable to the ideology of the party, such as /Reformism/ (American Democratic Party), /Conservatism/ (American Republican Party), «All go home!» (Movement 5 Stars), «Podemos» (which has defined the same Spanish PODEMOS party). In the dynamics of political storytelling, in fact, redundancy helps to communicate to an ample sphere of subjects the ideology, to avoid as far as possible the sources of noise, and to facilitate the increase in the engagement rate.

Turning to the economic area, the most significant example of such dynamics is to be found in logos and, above all, in the slogans of commercial brands. In marketing, in fact, it is fundamental for a brand to be able to position its product on the market and, in the communicative logic of new media, to propose new forms of storytelling that are always able to increase the number of consumers loyal to the brand. Thus, managers of large companies use in their speeches a language that combines specialized and sectoral terms with terms of common use, offering redundancy to the slogans of the brand and the common definitions that consumers use to identify themselves with the brand. In this regard, exemplary are the informatic conventions or meetings where major industries announce their new products. Steve Jobs, for example, in his presentations always reiterated his intent to create user-friendly, innovative products able to bring the consumer to the centre of the experience that the product could offer him<sup>29</sup>.

---

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZLLT66rqII> (Last Access on 13/04/2016).

In the military area, however, we refer to keywords like the /Victory/, the /Homeland/, the /People/, combining terms that rely on the sense of belonging to a specific social group or terms that recall values commonly recognized as fundamental; not only that, often (as we shall see) episodes and heroes of the past are scientifically re-proposed in military strategic discourses, as if to provide a source of inspiration for the camps.

In all strategic discourses, whether political, economic or military, the lowest common denominator is the attack on the opponent/enemy. The competitor (we prefer to use a neutral term) is defined as the /Other/, the one who must be defeated, overcome or annihilated. This is because it takes note of a fundamental and unavoidable dynamic in the human mind: often a social group is able to self-distinguish itself more easily when one is already able to distinguish a /He/ or a /Their/, an individual or a social group that is clearly /Different/, /Other/, and perceived as /Opponent/ or /Enemy/.

Since this last specification might seem superfluous for the purposes of our discussion, it is necessary, at this point, to understand the objectives of the strategic discourse, analysing the intrinsic strategic and psychological factors of these discourses, in order to define Military Speeches in a comprehensive manner. We should now focus on the conflicts, bearing in mind the causes and, above all, the purposes of this type of communication, analysing the fundamentals of non-verbal communication.

## 1.2. The non-verbal communication.

Communication can be defined, in a broad and generic sense, as the transmission of something to others<sup>30</sup> or, in the proper sense, as the sharing of some material and spiritual content, or the complex relationship between people who establish dependency, participation and understanding, one-sided or reciprocal.

In the scientific field, the common definition of communication is that of “a process consisting in the exchange of messages, through a channel and according to a code,

---

<sup>30</sup> <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/communication> (Last Access on 21/04/2018).

between a system (animal, man, machine, etc.) and another of the same or different nature”.

However, the concept of communication can take on different definitions based on the nature of communication<sup>31</sup>:

1. Communication as a contact.
2. Communication as a transfer of resources and influence.
3. Communication as a passage of information.
4. Communication as a sharing.
5. Communication as an inference.
6. Communication as an exchange.
7. Communication as a social relationship.
8. Communication as an interpretation.

As already mentioned, for the subject matter examined, communication will be analysed as the transfer of resources and influence, as inference and passage of information (unambiguous communication between the top and the down, between the leader and the mass).

It should be stressed, however, that communication undergoes further analytical divisions. In fact, communication is not only verbal (or written), expressed by the sender through linguistic signals, but can also be non-verbal.

Non-verbal communication, in fact, can be defined as the set of extralinguistic (mimic, kinesics, tactile, etc.) signals of information or meaning in human or animal relationships; in particular, animal communication (or biocommunication) is the intraspecific transmission of information related to the search for food, to courtship, to defence, etc., realized through signals of various kinds (postural, tactile, olfactory, chemical, electrical, thermal, etc.).

To analyse the approach to conflict completely, therefore, it is important for me to analyse the extra-linguistic forms of communication, focusing on non-verbal

---

<sup>31</sup> Sorice, M., (2009) *Sociologia dei Mass Media*. Roma: Carocci.

communication signals (usual and/or exceptional) expressed by the leaders we have examined.

The extralinguistic signals, during the communication, are different and are categorized as elements of gestures, kinesics and proxemics. Gestures are the complex of those signs that, in the conversation, accompanies or replaces articulated language. Kinesics is the study of motion phenomena. Proxemics is the study of the distance that the issuer chooses to establish between itself and the recipient, or between itself and the objects that surround it, while communicating a message.

Therefore, if it is necessary, for the purposes of an efficient analysis of communication, to study also the phenomena defined as “non-verbal”, it is also necessary to study the expressions, which we can define as the union of gestures, movements and positions, voluntary and involuntary, which accompany or replace articulated language.

Therefore, the strategic discourses of the leaders will be studied exhaustively, both from a verbal and non-verbal and expressive point of view.

The strategic discourse is, as already mentioned, an important form of political discourse. However, it is necessary to make a brief analysis of the pre-modern political communication here, assuming the political communication of the post-war years as such.

Political communication of pre-modern age was characterized by:

- Diffuse policy: no publicity, small groups of volunteers in close contact with the voters.
- No coordination: no centralized communication line.
- Assistance of communication professionals: politicians rely solely on their own means.
- Non-mediated communication: the media report political activities, without analysing and / or discussing them.
- Campaign defined over time: political communication is tactical in nature and defined in a given time frame, such as elections.

This last element turns out to be the most interesting, because it explains how politics (and therefore its leaders) were, in those years, based on the “physical” encounter and on tactics. In modern communication, instead, we note the birth of the strategic dimension, with the abandonment of “tactical attitudes (and also a substantial improvisation) of the past in favour of strategic logics”<sup>32</sup>.

When analysing the approaches to the conflict, therefore, it must be assumed that, at that time, the communication was somewhat improvised, extraneous to predetermined strategic logics or tending to effects on the medium to long term; despite the political communication has changed over the years, although someone may raise doubts about the validity of this research, it is our intent to provide the reader an exhaustive socio-political and cultural framework of the period between 2001 and 2018. Only in this way, it will be possible to understand how this analysis is valid and necessary to effectively study Military Speeches of contemporary leaders, as well as those of the leaders of the past. The case study, in fact, was chosen because it occurred at a crucial period in the history of humanity: a period of joint and great changes that could mark the transition between two different epochs, for approaches and purposes pursued, of political communication.

#### 1.2.1. Communicative value: how can we understand the non-verbal signs?

We should be honest, understanding the non-verbal signs of communication is not so simple. Everyone who wants to approach this science should know that these kinds of analysis are based on two main instruments: the scholars and the softwares.

The scholars are the ones who should analyse the communication with the elements they have studied. The softwares are the basic instruments that support the scholars.

Trying to exemplify this concept, we should think about photography. The photographer is an expert who has studied lights, shadows, colours, contrasts,

---

<sup>32</sup> Sorice, M., (2013) *La comunicazione politica*. Roma: Carocci. Citazione da Norris, P., (1997)

brightness and a lot of skills that allow him to capture the best moment to take a photo. The softwares are the camera, the easel, the photo filters and the lenses.

Now we should think about the scholars who study socio-political, economic or Military Speeches. The scholars have studied proxemics, kinesics, gestures, macro- and micro-expressions. The softwares they use are a crucial support for their studies, like a perfect videomaking program that allows to super slow mote a video, or a program that allows to understand the speech bending. Scholars cannot do their studies without technology if they want to be punctual and precise<sup>33</sup>.

So, the question is: how can we understand the non-verbal signs of communication? The answer is simple. We must watch the videos. In the case we do not have any videos we should use the polygraph<sup>34</sup> to analyse voice's inflections.

Anyway, we will explain deeper the methodological approach on the non-verbal elements during Chapter 1.3.4., where we will focus on the specific details of the analysis.

### 1.2.2. Analysis of the strategic-psychological factor of the strategic speeches.

The strategic speeches, and in particular Military Speeches, must also be defined on the basis of their intrinsic purpose; a teleological definition, however, would be meaningless if we do not analyse primarily the psychological and strategic factors that drive to formulate these discourses.

First of all, during the period under review, as mentioned, the logic of political communication followed a univocal direction, which brought the message from the leader to the public sphere according to a *Top-Down* model. The model is the same of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when it comes to military sphere; we do not have to make the mistake

---

<sup>33</sup> I am personally thankful to my friend Zein R. Abbas for this example. The one I wrote is a remediation from an example he used during an interview.

<sup>34</sup> I usually use a rudimentary polygraph named PREVARICATOR, but anyone can use another polygraph.



to think that social networks have changed this model. Political communication did change thanks to social networks, but military communication has remained the same<sup>35</sup>. Secondly, as it will be observed in Chapter 2, the positions taken by the leaders towards the mass is always the same. One-to-all, one-to-many, top-down: different ways to describe the same model.

Military Speeches should be framed in a historical, political, social and cultural context; only through this preliminary identification it would be possible to analyse the effectiveness of such discourses and the possible influence they have on the creation of a public opinion<sup>36</sup>.

For this reason, in Chapter 2, the historical and political references of the analysed leaders will always be indicated, and we will try to reconstruct the social and cultural context that is the background to the historical situation of the US and to the ideology to which the leader refers.

In fact, it is our conviction that the communicative combination of manifest elements in verbal form and subliminal elements in non-verbal form is the basis of strategic discourses, as well as the most effective form for convincing the mass (social group of reference), for the positive affirmation of their ideologies and for the legitimization of the leadership.

This motivational thrust emphasizes the psychological nature of such discourses, since they try to induce in the Audience the will to undertake a conflict. To do this, as already said, it is necessary that the discourse highlights issues that the social group of reference perceives as close (like the /Homeland/), important (the /Freedom/), necessary (the /Victory/) or common (historical, political, cultural, but above all social background). The strategic factor, however, should be found in the list of objectives that the Leader proposes to his own deployment. Although it is clear how the theme of /Victory/ is common in all these speeches, we should try to understand the complementary

---

<sup>35</sup> Even if Trump seems able to declare war on Twitter.

<sup>36</sup> An approach that could be defined as “combined functionalist and structural-organizational”.

objectives that one intends to pursue, such as the destruction of the enemy army or the liberation/conquest of certain territories.

In fact, although the case study we propose is an example of the modalities of expression assumed by these discourses and the different models of communication underlying them, it would be interesting to analyse in this way also Military Speeches of other relevant historical periods of the far past, albeit with a limited approach to semiotic and limited synesthetic analysis.

Finally, it is necessary to provide a preliminary practical definition of “Military Speeches”, which can be useful as a reference for the analysis we are going to tackle. It is our opinion, in fact, that definitions are an indispensable tool for memorizing concepts.

Military Speeches are strategic and psychological discourses that, expressed by the leader of one or more sides, occur during a war or a conflict and could have three main implementation phases, depending on the moment in which they take place: approach, support, conclusion. The strategic nature of these discourses is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued (or that had been pursued); the psychological nature, on the other hand, is expressed through significant relevant elements that leaders choose to emphasize, by the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of these elements. Military Speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, not only the motivations behind the decision to undertake a conflict (or to take part, or to exit, etc.), but the figure of the leader and the value of the regime established within that social group<sup>37</sup>.

### 1.3. Key Military Speeches and their analysis.

---

<sup>37</sup> In our case study: the Federal democratic constitutional republic of the United States of America.

The crucial question now is: how can we recognize a “key Military Speech” from the whole group of Military Speeches?

Obviously, sometimes it is difficult to understand what is important while you are living it. Trying to make a simple example, we should think about something that is very important for our lives. The graduation day is obviously recognizable as very important, as the first day of school, but there a lot of events during our lives that we cannot recognize instantly as crucial moments.

At the same level, sometimes it is really very difficult to understand if (keeping the strategic criteria that we have discussed as valid) a political speech is actually relevant *for* the military sphere or if, simply, it refers *to* the military sphere in order to validate elements of the discourse itself or in order to affirm the leadership of the politician who expresses it.

The answer to the question asked above, however, could be simpler than you think, especially if you have the means and the elements to analyse the speeches in a critical way, extrapolating the strategic (verbal communication) and the kinesics, proxemic and expressive elements (non-verbal communication).

So, we introduce three preliminary questions that we will answer in the Conclusions:

- a. Is it possible to instantly categorize a speech as “military”?
- b. Is it possible, then, to instantly categorize a discourse as a “key Military Speech”?
- c. How can we recognize a “key Military Speech” from the whole group of Military Speeches?

In this part of our thesis, we do not need to give an exhaustive answer to the questions above, but we should only remark their preliminary importance for our dissertation. If we focus our minds on the period of the Cold War, or on the period of the Vietnam War, we could easily understand that those three questions were the basic questions for every politburo in the world. Those questions were the same questions asked by the heads of the CIA, the KGB, or the United States Department of State.

In every time and in every place, it has always been, it is and always will be fundamental to be able to understand and anticipate the moves of our opponents. The principal aim of this thesis, as we said before, is to demonstrate that we effectively can anticipate our opponents' moves because every word of ours and every gesture of ours can betray our true thoughts. Knowing how to use this kind of science could have avoided some conflicts and, perhaps, even the most atrocious conflict in the history of humankind.

Now we just have to ask ourselves four methodological and procedural problems, which will be analysed in the next four paragraphs.

Given that we have understood that we are witnessing a key military discourse, we must now understand how to analyse it, how to categorize it and what approach to have towards semantic elements and non-verbal elements.

#### 1.3.1. How to analyse Military Speeches.

The analysis of Military Speeches is based on ten main steps, which we have developed over the years to perfect the techniques we have available.

First: we have to take the video or the registration of the Speech (if available) or at least a registration or a transcript.

Second: we collect the widest possible range of information regarding the person who is pronouncing the Military Speech (Rumour)<sup>38</sup>.

Third: we collect the widest possible range of information regarding the conflicts and the socio-political situation (Background).

Fourth: we prepare a table that we divide into two sections (Communicative Spheres and Elements).

---

<sup>38</sup> The personal background of the speaker or the one of the social group is fundamental for our analysis. For example, F.D. Roosevelt was heavily disabled and his peculiar oratory characteristics are justified by his disability.

Fifth: we divide the Communicative Spheres into 2 macro categories (Verbal and Non-verbal). We further divide Non-verbal into 4 micro categories (Proxemic, Kinesics, Phonetic Flexions and Expressions). For Phonetic Flexions we should use the polygraph<sup>39</sup>.

Sixth: we divide the Elements into 2 categories (Normal and Keys).

Seventh: we analyse the Speech, filling the table.

Eight: we collect the widest possible range of information regarding the effects of the Speech on the Public Sphere.

Ninth: we write a brief “Evaluation of the Speech”, in which we state if the Speech is indeed a Military Speech and its category (Categorization), if the Speech is sincere or if it has a hidden significant. Above all, we should be able to define if the Speech is effective as a Military Speech or if it is a failure<sup>40</sup>.

Tenth: we should check our analysis twice and, if possible, confront our conclusions with other students, in order to control our results.

---

<sup>39</sup> A normal software in our case, but with money and investments we could create a more specific study.

<sup>40</sup> This part is not important for a scholar study, because we will not give advices to any “client”. We reported this ninth point only for completeness of information.

This is a sample of our analysis:

---

Name – Surname, “Title of the Speech”.

Rumour:

Background:

			<b>ELEMENTS</b>	
			<i>NORMAL</i>	<i>KEYS</i>
<b>COMMUNICATIVE SPHERES</b>	<i>VERBAL</i>			
	<i>NON- VERBAL</i>	<i>PROXEMIC</i>		
		<i>KINESIC</i>		
		<i>PHONETIC FLEXIONS</i>		
		<i>EXPRESSIONS</i>		

Effects on the Public Sphere:

Evaluation:

---

### 1.3.2. Categorizing Military Speeches.

As stated at the ninth point of our procedural analysis of Military Speeches, after the analysis of the elements of the different communicative spheres we should categorize the speech. As we have stated in “Chapter 1.1. The Strategic Speech” above, there are three main categories of Military Speeches, that refer to the moment when they are pronounced: Approach, Support, Closing.

We will not write again the differences between these three categories, but we need to state in mind that they are not “fixed” categories. In the current world it is rare to witness a Conflict Approach Speech, because it is very unpopular to openly declare

war against others<sup>41</sup>. At the same time, it is also rare to view a Conflict Closing Speech, because no one wants to admit its loss. The most common Military Speech is the Conflict Support Speech, mainly for two relevant reasons: first, the Support to the Conflict does not need an imbalance with respect to the politically-correct position that is assumed today by political leaders (Obama won a Nobel Peace Prize and has nevertheless waged war against other countries); second, to support a conflict does not include the personal opinion to favour the conflict or the intention to start one, or worse the shame of having to admit a defeat. Therefore, it is no wonder that those we will analyse in “Chapter 2. The Case Study” will mainly be Conflict Support Speeches.

### 1.3.3. The approach on the semantic elements.

We should think that we have to analyse every single word of a discourse as an element. If we were able to distinguish key words within a discourse, we could first categorize these discourses and then study the effects that such words want to generate in the Audience. This step is essential. As can be deduced from the table in point 1.3.1, we must divide the verbal elements into two groups: Normal and Keys. Normal are those elements that do not influence the aims of the discourse: those elements, although they may seem important to the ear of any listener, could actually be omitted from the speech itself, without this having a minor effect on the subject or on the Audience. Instead, the Key elements are, with regard to verbal communication, those that perform the function of directing the audience towards the reactions desired by the Speaker. To give a short example, think of the speech that Hitler pronounced at the Reichstag on September 1, 1939: speaking of /Poland/, although it may seem relevant, is not a key element of the speech, because the same reaction would have happened talking about any other /Enemy/. If desired, one could put in the table /Poland/ within the family of the Normal elements, while /Enemy/ within the Key elements. But what is

---

<sup>41</sup> Categories are necessary for the academic study.

the real semantic element that can be found in Hitler's speech when he speaks about Poland? The /Defence/ of the German people, and therefore the non-guilty and inevitable aggression towards the Poles<sup>42</sup>.

The /Defence/ is one of those key semantic elements within the Conflict Approach Speeches, since the deliberate aggression of a sovereign state is commonly recognized as wrong, while the defence of one country's own boundaries and territory is admissible.

Or think about another key factor of the strategic speeches: the omission. Steve Jobs, during his last speeches, has never mentioned the /Opponents/. Why? Because inside the business it is known as a golden rule a famous Italian proverb that states "Any exposure's good exposure". So, the omission, although part of the non-verbal communication, is a key factor of the verbal elements. When we will recognize an omission, we will put a "star" ("\*") after the semantic elements' bars. So, as in the example of Steve Jobs, we will write as key verbal elements the term /Opponents/\*.

This is just a graphic convention, but it is important to state every single aspect of our approach before the analysis of the strategic speech: the Codex itself is a key aspect of the Communication<sup>43</sup>.

Codex of Communication is fundamental for our analysis<sup>44</sup>. We are always communicating something, but the Codex allows the Sender and the Receiver to understand the Message.

We conclude this paragraph with this example. During the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, Tommie Smith and John Carlos (two American runners) rose their fists on the podium of the 200 meters competition. In the same years, in a large part of the

---

<sup>42</sup> Justifications are normal elements of the Conflict Approach Speeches.

<sup>43</sup> We will not use it in our study, as the omissions are part of more in-depth investigations by specially constituted special bodies (public or private investigative bodies). Even here, we have reported it only for completeness, because we are explaining this innovative method of analysis for strategic discourse.

<sup>44</sup> During my experience as an intern at the Italian Embassy I understood that time and space are very important to understand the significance of a word, a gesture, a movement.



world, that gesture meant to greet a communist comrade. In particular, Tommie Smith, having the right glove, rose his right fist. Not a communist gesture. But their fists were not greeting any communist comrade, their gesture was the symbol of the “Black Panthers’ protest” that was exploding in the US during those years. After that gesture, Smith and Carlos have lived struggled lives, being persecuted by the F.B.I. in the US. That symbol had a significance for all the Afro-Americans. Someone, in Italy, should have waited the commentator’s explanation that day. The Codex allowed the Senders (Smith and Carlos) to communicate a precise Message (“Fight!”) to their Audience, to their Receivers (the Afro-Americans).

#### 1.3.4. The approach on the non-verbal elements.

In this same way we should approach the non-verbal elements. But, in this case, our approach should be divided into 4 classes (as seen in the table in Chapter 1.3.1.):

**PROXEMIC** – We should analyse every gesture and then study the effects that such gestures want to generate in the Audience.

**KINESIC** - We should analyse every movement and then study the effects that such movements want to generate in the Audience.

**PHONETIC FLEXIONS** – We should analyse the polygraph, in order to understand if there are phonetic flexions and underline the possible “stressful words”. Stressful words are those words that provoke a phonetic deep/high flexion. Studying the personal and social background of a Speaker, we could understand if a flexion is caused by stress or simply by the emotional meaning that the word has inside the Speaker’s mind.

**EXPRESSIONS** - We should analyse every facial expression and then try to explain what that expression could mean.

Last two points are deeply correlated to the words expressed by the Speaker of the speech, while the first two elements could be analysed with the volume turned off<sup>45</sup>.

---

<sup>45</sup> Obviously, last two points cannot be applied to the analysis of far past’s military or strategic speeches.

As stated in PHONETIC FLEXIONS above, we should study the personal and social background. What does it mean? Very simple, this is the basis of non-verbal communication's analysis: first, we must collect every element of the Speaker's background that could influence gestures, movements, flexions and expressions during the speech; then, we must collect every element of the background of the Speaker's social context that could, as well, influence gestures, movements, flexions and expressions during the speech. These elements have the same meaning, inside the non-verbal communication, of the Codex for the verbal communication.

#### 1.4. Efficiency and effects of Military Speeches.

This is a crucial step in our analysis. Is it possible to analyse efficiency and effects (on the Public Sphere) of Military Speeches?

The answer can only be given at the end of our study, but for the moment we think it is right to answer that the analysis of the effects of a speech is prepared primarily by watching the press.

During the studies that have anticipated this, we have seen that the press is the primary source of resources to understand if a speech has had effect and, above all, what kind of effect. The reactions of the press are obviously diversified: there is a huge difference between the perceptions of the "internal" press (aka, "national") and those of the "external" press (aka, "foreign").

But analysing a different historical period compared to those of our previous studies, we can no longer rely only on the press. Information and communication have changed over the years and, in addition to the press, we must also involve "media" and "social media" in our analysis.

During the case study, we will analyse the speeches of George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump. As for President Bush, we can limit ourselves to the press and

television (American “networks”)<sup>46</sup>, but with Obama and Trump the world of social networks and a different political narrative come inside the game, and it will be essential to analyse these spheres.

One of the goals of this study, as will be read in Chapter 1.5., is to demonstrate that there are substantial communicative differences between the “pre-social world” and the “social world”, and that new forms of communication are evolving and perfecting during time, because there cannot be a univocal theory for communication on social media, being the socials themselves “creatures without shape”.

The analysis of the effectiveness of a Military Speech, at the time of the printed paper, was prepared on the “titles” and on the “front pages” of national and foreign newspapers. In the same way, at the time of the television, one could analyse the effect of a discourse from the narrative modalities used during the newscasts. Today, however, we can try to analyse the “*sentiment*” through a search on the keywords used on Twitter (hashtags, catchphrases and MEMEs), because President Trump taught the world that you can write a Military Speech in just 280 characters.

Since we will analyse two different communicative periods, in Chapter 2.7. we will have two sub-Chapters: 2.7.1. for the analysis of the “conventional” media, 2.7.2. for the analysis of social media.

## 1.5. Research Question.

We have reached the conclusion of our Chapter 1. and start again from the exact same question that we asked ourselves at the beginning: What do we mean with Military Speeches?

In the first part of the Chapter we tried to give an answer, analysing the Strategic Speeches and their families, trying to implement this explanation with fundamental elements deriving from semiotics and the study of non-verbal communication. Not only

---

<sup>46</sup> With the internal press that is usually in favour and the foreign one that is usually divided in pros and cons.

that, we have also tried to understand how we intend to prepare a scientific study of Military Speeches that we exposed in the introductory chapter of this study, outlining a table and explaining step by step how it is possible to crumble a discussion to analyse it under different lenses and different points of view.

Now, however, we must explain what we want to demonstrate through this innovative study. Although chapter 1.5. is called “Research Question”, it would be more appropriate to use the plural, as the questions that need to be asked are many and many, above all, are the objectives we want to pursue in this study.

So, let’s try to branch out the long list of our questions:

1. Is it possible to recognize Military Speeches?
2. Is it possible to draw a specific “doctrine” of a State’s foreign policies?
3. Is it right to define the United States’ attitude as the one of an “omnipower” in the field of the foreign policies?
4. Is it possible to identify Military Speeches as the “main aspects” of the foreign policy of a State?
5. Is it possible to scientifically analyse Military Speeches?
6. Is it possible to identify specific key words?
7. Is it right to draw semiotic fields that unify different key words?
8. Is it right to analyse the verbal communication directly in the original language, without any translation?
9. Is it right to analyse the non-verbal communication’s aspects of Military Speeches?
10. Is it possible to identify specific non-verbal communication’s aspect throughout different speeches, spoken in different times and political frameworks?
11. Is it possible to analyse the efficiency and the effects of Military Speeches?
12. Is it right to state that this study could be a fundamental step towards the implementation of the semiotics’ and non-verbal communications’ elements inside the field of the Political Sciences?

13. Is it right, in conclusion, to state that: “Knowing this possible application of psychology, semiotic analysis and non-verbal communication’s study could avoid conflicts and wars, letting the world understand before the belligerent intentions of a State or of any other actor inside the international arena”?

## Chapter 2. The Case Study.

### 2.1. Worldwide most relevant conflicts during the period 2001-2018.

Worldwide most relevant conflicts during the period between 2001 and 2018 have always seen United States as the main character. As we will explain in the next Chapter (2.2.) US' attitude could be defined as “omnipower”: a mixture of omnipresence and rough military and diplomatic attitude throughout all the regional sub-systems among the world.

During this period the United States have had three different Presidents: George W. Bush (2001-2009), Barack Obama (2009-2017) and Donald Trump (2017-present).

In Chapter 2.3. we will analyse the lives of these Presidents, because it is important for our analysis to deeply know the cultural, social and political background of the Speaker of a Military Speech.

We selected three main military topics for our study, each one referred to one President:

1. “War to Terror” in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and other states (George W. Bush): this conflict will be studied during Chapter 2.4., through the analysis of four speeches:

- a. The speech held after the horrible events of 9/11;
- b. The speech that configured the “infamous Axis of Evil”;
- c. The famous “Ultimatum” sent to Saddam Hussein;
- d. The speech we decided to call “Addresses to the Congress”, a typical example of Conflict support Speeches.

2. From Nobel Peace Prize to ISIS (Barack Obama): during Obama's presidency we wanted to underline the progressive alignment of the “revolutionary” President, from the position of “Yes, we can” to the second “War to Terror”. The study will be presented through the analysis of four key speeches:

- a. Nobel Peace Prize lecture;
- b. Speech about the Syrian Civil War (2011-present);
- c. Speech against ISIS;

d. Speech of Farewell to Media Reporters.

3. The new trends for USA's foreign policies (Donald Trump): the current President hasn't started any conflict (for the moment), but has changed US' position about global economy and US' attitude towards regional sub-systems. For these reasons, we decided to analyse three main "aspects" of his (at the moment) two-years-long presidency:

a. The role of Twitter;

b. The relationship with Kim Jong-Un;

c. "America First" campaign (customs duties and troop withdrawal from conflicts in the Middle East).

Living in the era of the social media, we will use them in order to analyse the impact on the Public Sphere of the abovementioned speeches (and, sometimes, *tweets*). Chapter 2.7. will be divided in two parts: 2.7.1. The media (newspapers, magazines, online journals) and 2.7.2. The social media (Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and more). As stated before, we should start our deep analysis of US' foreign policy and military attitude from the explanation of the provocative definition "omnipower", because in our opinion nothing will ever change the American will to be omnipresent and omnipotent in all the regional sub-systems.

## 2.2. The "Omnipower".

Over time, many authors have tried to define the foreign policy strategy of the US, but only a few of them have managed to capture in their analysis some important aspects of the essence of the American power. In order to introduce the benchmarking of supporting thesis and antithesis to our purpose, in this chapter some of the most popular definitions that have had fortune in the academic environment will be reported.

As we find in the article *The Lonely Superpower* by Samuel P. Huntington, «Richard N. Haass has argued that the United States should act as a global sheriff, rounding up

“posses” of other states to handle major international issues as they arise<sup>47</sup>». Moreover, in the same article, quoting Mandela’s statement «most of the world [...] does not want the US to be its policeman»<sup>48</sup>, Huntington seems to implicitly recognize the definition of American global strategy as the “Lone Sheriff”<sup>49</sup> of the international arena.

However, the definition of US as a “Lone Sheriff” did not have as much success as other theories. Just to make an example, in a brilliant article on the role theory and the leadership theory, Leslie Wehner suggests that the all-pervasive power of the US is a derivative of a “role” as hegemonic power recognized by the other major powers: so, the predominant role of the United States as leader of the international community would be due to a “consensual hegemony” process<sup>50</sup>.

It is obvious that this definition is in some way linkable to the “polar division” of the world, basilar definition in the sphere of the international relations. Only to emphasize the influence that this definition still has nowadays, in a seminar of *Le Monde Diplomatique* in 2010, Dominique Vidal exposes how the world, after the fall of the “bipolar” system in 1991, is now coming to a “multipolar” system, passing through a phase of “unipolar” system dominated by the US superpower<sup>51</sup>.

Later we will proceed to explain how “consensual hegemony” and the notion of unipolar system can be interconnected with the view of «[...] “democratic unipolarity” as the preferable way for self-organization of the international system»<sup>52</sup>. In fact, the

---

<sup>47</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. The Lonely Superpower // Foreign Affairs. Vol. 78. No. 2. (March/April 1999). URL: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/54797/samuel-p-huntington/the-lonely-superpower>

<sup>48</sup> Remediation from: Huntington, Samuel P. The Lonely Superpower // Foreign Affairs. Vol. 78. No. 2. (March/April 1999). URL: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/54797/samuel-p-huntington/the-lonely-superpower>

<sup>49</sup> *Ivi*.

<sup>50</sup> Wehner, Leslie. Roles and Actions of Leadership – Brazil and South American others. // Godehart, N. and Naders, D. Regional Powers and Regional Orders. Routledge, 2011. P. 144-145.

<sup>51</sup> The whole seminar is translated in Italian by Silvia Dotti and available online at the cache: <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:5M6E9a46zcMJ:www.lucianabenincaso.it/Dal%2520mondo%2520bipolare%2520a%2520quello%2520multipolare.docx+&cd=4&hl=it&ct=clnk> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).

<sup>52</sup> Bugaturov, Alexei. The Syndrome of “Absorption” in International Politics // Melvin, A. IU. and Shackleina, T. Russian Foreign Policy in Transition: Concepts and Realities. Central European University Press, New York, 2005. P. 294.



Western powers seem to align themselves under the sphere of influence of the US, recognized as “champion of democracy”<sup>53</sup> and as the founder of the liberal globalization based on the “Anglo-Protestant culture”<sup>54</sup> (or “Anglo-American” in the definition of Michael Novak)<sup>55</sup>.

As will be widely reported in “Chapter 2”, US nationalists see USA as the “chosen nation” and, using this unilateral investiture (that should come from God<sup>56</sup>), they believe to retain the right to regulate the world according to their own vision.

However, we think that the most suitable definition of the attitude adopted by the US foreign policy is that given by Jeffrey W. Legro as “omnipower”, because that definition is able to exert in a single word the conduct, the behaviour and the mission that the US intend to pursue in global politics today. But what is the meaning of being an “omnipower”?

According to the words of Legro: «The United States has been referred to as the world’s only “hyperpower”. Yet this term does not actually capture the role of the United States today. [...] It is not only strong, it is everywhere»<sup>57</sup>.

Therefore, unfortunately it is necessary to exclude other definitions given by most relevant authors of the subject, because the behaviour of the US on the world stage can only be understood partially if we label them as “hyperpower” or “Chosen nation”, as “Lone Sheriff” or “main pole” in the world.

Moreover, only in the light of this consideration it is possible to analyse the situation in world politics nowadays, because the US is indeed the omnipower, omnipresent and all-encompassing that seeks to regulate by its own perspective and vision the difficult

---

<sup>53</sup> We wanted to bring this definition of America, so dear to the Italian press, to make the idea of ideological submission that the Western world proves to have towards the US.

<sup>54</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. *Dead Souls* // *The National Interest*. No. 75. (Spring 2004). P. 5-18.

<sup>55</sup> Novak, Michael. *Further Reflections on Ethnicity*. Jednota Press, Middletown, PA, 1977. P. 26.

<sup>56</sup> We took this idea from parts of this brilliant analysis: Lieven, Anatol. *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism*. 1<sup>st</sup> Oxford University pbk. Ed. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005. P. 19-47.

<sup>57</sup> Legro, Jeffrey W. *The Omnipower – The U.S. and the Regional Others*. // Godehart, N. and Naders, D. *Regional Powers and Regional Orders*. Routledge, 2011. P. 175.

interactions between the great powers, regional subsystems that they regulate and each actor in the international scene.

Truly, only Legro defines in his work the US as the omnipower, while all the others, as we have seen, try to draw the idea and the conception of US hegemony through other definitions or circumlocutions. However, it remains that, in the background of all these works, there is a common shared vision of the United States as the only major power in the international arena nowadays. Not only that, many of those authors who do not go into risky US expansionist attitude definitions, suggest in some parts of their works that they understood deeply what kind of invasive and pervasive weight the Stars and Stripes have within international relations and within the nuclei that make up International Relations (“IRs”).

For example, the author of *America Right or Wrong*, Anatol Lieven, explains this feeling of supremacy in a very effective part of his article on US nationalism: «Underlying the nationalism not only of the American Right, but of American culture in general, is a belief that America has been specially “chosen” and is therefore, in the words of former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, the “indispensable nation”—whether chosen by God, by “Destiny”, by “History” or simply marked out for greatness and leadership by the supposed possession of the greatest, most successful, oldest and most developed form of democracy»<sup>58,59</sup>.

Although this extract may already reveal that the theses of the writer are well founded and find multiple feedbacks in reality, it is useful to implement and support those theses with the help of other experts. In fact, it is necessary that the readers understand that, despite the fact that US proposes transversely its model as that of the nation appointed by God and as the only entitled to monitor the fate of the world, it is also transverse in

---

<sup>58</sup> Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright Interview on NBC-TV “The Today Show” with Matt Lauer Columbus, Ohio, February 19, 1998.

<sup>59</sup> Lieven, Anatol. *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism*. 1<sup>st</sup> Oxford University pbk. Ed. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005. P. 32.

the academic world the perception that this manifestation of power is now a tattered legacy of an arrogant and far too intrusive power in international affairs.

As already mentioned earlier, Leslie Wehner, in his famous essay on the theories of the role and leadership, explained that: «Leadership as a role cannot exist if there is not an other (alter) that plays the part of role-sender<sup>60</sup> and if there are not expectations that emerge during this process of discursive co-constitution between leaders and the different type of followers or non-followers»<sup>61</sup>.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand what the real perception of these roles is on the international stage today. In fact, in the light of the above, are lifted two main pragmatic questions: who are these non-followers and how, above all, may they oppose the role of leader that followers (of very high specific weight, such as Western nations) recognize in the US?

Later, we will explain how the omnipresence is only one aspect (albeit significant) of the American omnipower, but for the moment it is useful to leave the essays of prominent authors to focus on the official documents of the US government<sup>62</sup>, in order to understand what they think the US is actually from the American point of view and what strategy they want to implement in order to maintain their role as first world power.

To do this, we will analyse the strategic documents (called “National Security Strategy”) since 1987 and the statements of the newly elected President Donald Trump, so as to prove conclusively that the desire to maintain hegemony and omnipotence is actually transversal into the mindset of the US.

---

<sup>60</sup> Nabers, Dirk. *Punishment, Power and Subjectivity*. Blackwell Publishing LTD, Oxford, 2010.

<sup>61</sup> Wehner, Leslie. *Roles and Actions of Leadership – Brazil and South American others*. // Godehart, N. and Naders, D. *Regional Powers and Regional Orders*. Routledge, 2011. P. 139.

<sup>62</sup> Those online resources are available at the website of the White House and are the main resources that are used to understand the strategies and the purposes of United States towards the years. A complete archive is available also at: <http://nssarchive.us/> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).

From Ronald Reagan's document of 1987 until George H. W. Bush's document of 1991<sup>63,64,65,66</sup>, so contemporarily to the crisis and the fall of the Soviet Union, other pole of the bipolar system of the Cold War, the intent of being the omnipower does not seem to be so stressed, while giving ample space to the increase of the influence in the space of nations aligned with the US and the fight against the threat of the USSR.

Especially, in the document by Reagan's administration of 1987 it is written (P. 5) that the US wanted to «resolve peacefully disputes» and, a few lines later, «To neutralize the efforts of the Soviet Union to increase its influence in the world and weaken the links between the USSR and its client states in the Third World»<sup>67</sup>. Then, in 1988, US remarked their strategy of maintaining strategic military deterrence (P. 13-15)<sup>68</sup>.

With Bush's administration, the document of 1990<sup>69</sup> has changed and reformed the strategic direction of the country: there was no more «East-West context» (P. 9), but the US could open their visions to other regions of the world, which in that moment had the chance to realign themselves. Nevertheless, in the 1991's document<sup>70</sup>, the first sprouts of the actual and contemporary strategy begin to appear, because in his opening speech (P. V) the President talks about the «New World Order» and about the «extraordinary possibility to fruition» that were opening up for the US.

---

<sup>63</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1987. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1987.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).

<sup>64</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1988. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1988.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).

<sup>65</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1990. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1990.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).

<sup>66</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1991. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1991.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).

<sup>67</sup> Look at Footnote n° 63.

<sup>68</sup> Look at Footnote n° 64.

<sup>69</sup> Look at Footnote n° 65.

<sup>70</sup> Look at Footnote n° 66.

Besides, in the 1997 document of the Clinton administration<sup>71</sup> there are all the elements of the omnipotent and omnipresent strategy of the US: «[...] the community of democratic nations is growing», «[...] both our domestic strength and our leadership abroad are essential to advancing our goal of a safer, more prosperous America», «[...] enhance our security with effective diplomacy and with military forces that are ready to fight and win» are the strong phrases that one can find in the very first lines of the document.

For what is written above, it is quite obvious that it was certainly not George W. Bush's administration to enlarge the expansionist manoeuvres and the idea of "democratic imperialism"<sup>72</sup> of the US.

After the terroristic attacks of 9/11, the National Security Strategy of 2002<sup>73</sup> was the declaration of war against the terrorists and the groups that use terrorism to achieve their goals. It is possible to read (P. 29) that, for Bush's administration, it was «(the time to reaffirm the essential role of American military strength» and, in order to make this, US must: «assure our allies and friends; dissuade future military competition; deter threats against U.S. interests, allies, and friends; and decisively defeat any adversary if deterrence fails».

The 2006's document implemented the statements of the previous one. In fact, in the preface the two main pillars of American strategy are explained clearly: firstly «promoting freedom, justice and human dignity – working to end tyranny, to promote effective democracies [...]», and secondly «confronting the challenges of our time by leading a growing community of democracies»<sup>74</sup>.

---

<sup>71</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1997. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1997.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).

<sup>72</sup> Giovannini, Fabio. L' imperialismo democratico. Uomini e teorie della dottrina Bush per il dominio del mondo. Datanews, Roma, 2003.

<sup>73</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2002. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016). P. 29.

<sup>74</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2006. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016). Preface.

The new democratic administration at the White House with Barack Hussein Obama seemed to be the first step for the evolution of the US “democratic imperialism”<sup>21</sup> towards a more comprehensive and collaborative vision of international relations. But the new administration, in the strategic document of 2010, demonstrated the same vision of the old and previous one. In fact, since the preface, it is possible to find written references to the holy mission of the US, to the leading-role of US in world politics and a non-subtle allusion to the “services” of their old allies<sup>75</sup>.

Even more, on the first page of the overview it is written: «Our national security strategy is, therefore, focused on renewing American leadership so that we can more effectively advance our interests in the 21<sup>st</sup> century»<sup>76</sup>. And also: «This international order will support our interests, but it is also an end that we seek in its own right»<sup>77</sup>.

On the contrary, the later document of the Obama administration in 2016 only refines the previous, demarking itself for the declaration of how US will lead the world in the near future: «[...] we will lead with purpose, [...] we will lead with strength, [...] we will lead by example, [...] we will lead with capable partners, [...] we will lead with all the instruments of U.S. power, [...] we will lead with a long-term prospective»<sup>78</sup>.

We consider this last document in two complementary ways: firstly, it is an affirmation of outrageously disproportionate power and, secondly, it is badly inconsistent with the acts of the following months, as the bombing in Yemen and Syria do not prove a “long-term prospective”.

---

<sup>75</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2010. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016). Preface. The explicit words were: «strengthening those old alliances that have served us so well».

<sup>76</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2010. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016). P. 1.

<sup>77</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2010. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016). P. 5.

<sup>78</sup> National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2015. <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016). P. 2-5.

But now, taking a look at the electoral online platform of the neo-elected president Donald J. Trump, we can read that one of the main points in foreign policy is «end the current strategy of nation-building and regime change»<sup>79</sup>. Nevertheless, it is badly conflicting with the statement written on the 41<sup>st</sup> page of the Republican Party 2016 Platform: «Tyranny and injustice thrive when America is weakened. The oppressed have no greater ally than a confident and determined United States, backed by the strongest military on the planet»<sup>80</sup>.

Only the future will allow us to be able to clearly understand the intentions, the visions and the values that will carry the administration of Donald Trump, whose election seemed to jeopardize the internal stability of the United States of America.

Despite what has been said so far, some relevant personalities of American politics have expressed, over time, some antithetical theories trying to overcome the conception of the United States as a grim hegemonic power in the world and as a dystopian omnipower.

This is the case of the famous phrase that Hillary Clinton took from a false quote<sup>81</sup> attributed to the French historian and political scientist Alexis de Tocqueville in her speech at the Democratic National Convention<sup>82</sup> on July 2016: «America is great because America is good». Clearly, this sentence is actually quite partisan and biased, especially if said by an American political who is running for the White House.

It is also compulsory to reject the opinion of some analysts that tried to describe the US foreign policy as “accommodation”<sup>83</sup>, because the US will appreciate

---

<sup>79</sup> Confront on the online resource of <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/policies/foreign-policy-and-defeating-isis/> (Last Access on 27/11/2016).

<sup>80</sup> Confront on the online resource of [https://prod-cdn-static.gop.com/media/documents/DRAFT\\_12\\_FINAL\[1\]-ben\\_1468872234.pdf](https://prod-cdn-static.gop.com/media/documents/DRAFT_12_FINAL[1]-ben_1468872234.pdf) (Last Access on 27/11/2016).

<sup>81</sup> Why is it false? Confront at <http://www.weeklystandard.com/world-leaders-normalize-fidel-castro/article/2005556> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).

<sup>82</sup> Confront at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=soAgvHSfAxo> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).

<sup>83</sup> For the terms confront: Accommodating rising powers. Past, present, and future // ed. by T.V. Paul. Cambridge university press, Cambridge, 2016. Ch. 1. P. 3-7.

accommodating “rising powers” only when they prove to be in line with the democratic dynamic and when they manifest the will to absorb the “Anglo-American” values.

Regretfully, while our purpose was to implement and complete the whole analysis also with some antithetical ideas, it should be admitted that, exception made only for some negligible websites<sup>84</sup> findable on the internet and for some catchphrases of American politicians, it is quite impossible to find relevant theses that support the idea of the US as not being the main global hegemonic power nowadays.

Moreover, it is also clear that to regret the pervasive and influent role of US as the omnipower in world politics is not only senseless, but mindless, and for this there is no scholar who tried to do so.

In the light of what was already mentioned above, it is now perfectly clear that the main strategy in the US foreign policy is not only the omnipresence. In fact, in order to achieve the specific goal of being the omnipower in the world order nowadays, it is not enough to be omnipresent and omnipotent, because it could happen that a power emerges and is able to be a serious threat to American hegemony.

From the historical lesson of the Roman Empire, in fact, one can easily understand how the hegemony is not the supreme element ensuring the omnipower to perpetrate its supremacy in time.

Therefore, we would like to describe now a brief theory about the American strategy in foreign policy that, in light of what has been analysed before, seems more appropriate to interpret the American desire to “eliminate threats” for its leadership.

The best definition of US foreign policy is, taking a look at all the evidences and the theoretical definitions above, “*nip in the bud*”. With this term we want to indicate the

---

<sup>84</sup> Only to make an example: <http://www.littlethings.com/america-is-the-best-hands-down-if-you-disagree-then-you-can-just-get-on-out/> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).



tactic of taking care of strangling, by all means, every great power<sup>85</sup> in order to prevent an ascent of them on the international stage.

Unfortunately, we consider useless to look with vacuous hopes to the new Trump's administration and to the new Republican establishment, as from 1945 onwards the American foreign policy has repeatedly demonstrated supreme intent of not only being the omnipower, but to "*nip in the bud*" any attempts of other states to rise to power, especially if not aligned to American canons and if not willing to recognize the US dominance.

Finally, to briefly summarize the ideas presented in this section, it is necessary to remember that:

1. The US is the omnipower and it wants to be so.
2. The US, through the internal nationalism and the external ideological imposition, wants to be the main decision maker in world politics.
3. The US has created a network of alliances moulded on the "Anglo-American values". Nevertheless, the US considers the "international society" (from the definition of Hedley Bull, a British scholar) not as a group of allies, but as a group of vassals.
4. The vision of the US as the only country who deserves the hegemony over the world is so pervasive in the American ideology that it is quite impossible to think that they will ever change (despite changes of presidents, parties, government departments and establishments).
5. Most important, their omnipotence is the result of their omnipresence and of the subtle tactic of nipping in the bud all the other non-aligned raising powers.
6. The United States is therefore the undisputed leader of the world and it will remain so as long as the other powers, not least those who are now placed at the

---

<sup>85</sup> Shakleina, Tatiana. A Russian Perspective on the twenty-first Century Challenges / Challenge and Change. // Noonan N.C. and Nadkami, V. // Global threats and the state in twenty-first century international politics. Macmillan, 2016. P. 38.

level of vassals, will decide to overthrow the “brainwashing under freedom”<sup>86</sup> and will begin to work together for a future in which every State will be the master of his destiny and will not respond to the dictates of a pervasive omnipower.

### 2.3. Presidents of the United States of America.

It is useful, at this time, to remember this: every single US President has different attitudes towards the field of foreign policies but has the same identical goal: to promote the American omnipower in each regional sub-system all over the world.

During this case-study, as abovementioned, we will analyse three different Presidents. Before we start, there is one last recommendation we should give to our readers. This science has a lot of fields of possible application, and Paul Ekman used it in order to reveal the lies. The study of micro-expression was also used by Darwin, because he wanted to demonstrate the connection between mankind and animals. Also, rhetoric studies could be applied in order to understand what the most functional semantic fields are.

Thousands of possible applications, as said. But we would like to think that our study would be applied in order to give a useful instrument to all the diplomats, because understanding lies is not only useful but crucial in the field of international relations. We would like to think that, in the future, peace and order could be preserved using our method of analysis.

#### 2.3.1. George W. Bush<sup>87</sup>.

---

<sup>86</sup> From the brilliant definition of Avram Noam Chomsky.

<sup>87</sup> This paragraph is based on the informations found at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-W-Bush> (Last Access on 14/06/2018), <https://www.biography.com/people/george-w-bush-9232768> (Last Access on 14/06/2018), <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/president/biography.html> (Last Access on 15/06/2018), <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0124133/bio> (Last Access on 15/06/2018), <http://www.notablebiographies.com/Br->

George Walker Bush was born on July 6, 1946, in New Haven, Connecticut and is the first of the six children of the 41<sup>st</sup> US President George H. Bush and of his wife Barbara Pierce.

At 15 years old, Bush moved to Texas and then he went to Massachusetts to study at the Phillips Academy in Andover. His academic career continued in Yale. He never was an excellent student and occasionally was a troublemaker, though very popular among his fellow colleagues (he became the Head of the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity and a member of the Skull & Bones secret society).

From 1968 to 1974 he served at the Texas Air National Guard, in order to avoid the embarkment for Vietnam and the call to the arms. In 1975 he graduated at the Harvard Business School.

He had problems with alcohol before meeting his wife Laura. In 1978 he lost the race for Congress for just 6,000 votes. Later, he joined the Methodist Church and thanks to Rev. Billy Graham he overcame his problems with alcohol.

In 1994 he became the Governor of Texas with 53% of the votes. In 2000, Bush ran for the US Presidency against the Democratic candidate Al Gore. Bush had 246 electoral votes and Gore had 255, with 270 needed to win. Florida's 25 electoral votes were held in the balance where several counties reported problems with balloting. After more than a month of recounts and legal manoeuvres, the U.S. Supreme Court gave George Bush the victory. Though Gore lost the election in the Electoral College (271 to 266) he received over 543,000 more popular votes than Bush, a result that further

---

[Ca/Bush-George-W.html](#) (Last Access on 15/06/2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/24/books/review/george-w-bush-biography-by-jean-edward-smith.html> (Last Access on 15/06/2018), <http://www.presidentialpetmuseum.com/presidents/43gb/> (Last Access on 14/06/2018), <http://biographics.org/george-w-bush-biography-americas-43rd-president/> (Last Access on 14/06/2018).

complicated Bush's victory. The main problem was that the Governor of Florida, at that time, was the brother of George W. Bush, Jeb Bush<sup>88</sup>.

### 2.3.2. Barack Obama<sup>89</sup>.

Barack Hussein Obama II was born on August 4, 1961, in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Obama's father, Barack Obama Sr., was born of Luo ethnicity in Nyanza Province, Kenya. Obama Sr. grew up herding goats in Africa and, eventually earned a scholarship that allowed him to leave Kenya and pursue his dreams of going to college in Hawaii. While studying at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Obama Sr. met fellow student Ann Dunham, and they married on February 2, 1961. Barack was born six months later. As a child, Obama Jr. did not have a relationship with his father. In 1964, in fact, Obama Sr. returned to Kenya.

In 1965, Dunham married Lolo Soetoro, a University of Hawaii student from Indonesia, where the family later moved. Several incidents in Indonesia left Dunham afraid for her son's safety and education so, at the age of 10, Obama was sent back to Hawaii to live with his maternal grandparents. His mother and half-sister later joined them.

Obama graduated with academic honours in 1979. He belongs to the Trinity United Church of Christ.

---

<sup>88</sup> Many controversies about Bush's life and presidency are exposed in the highest-income documentary movie of all time: *Fahrenheit 9/11*, by Michael Moore, produced by Dog Eat Dog Films and Fellowship Adventure Group, USA 2004.

<sup>89</sup> This paragraph is based on the informations found at: <https://www.biography.com/people/barack-obama-12782369> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm1682433/bio> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Barack-Obama> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), <https://www.biographyonline.net/politicians/american/barack-obama.html> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), <https://www.hellomagazine.com/profiles/barack-obama/> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/barack-obama/> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), <https://millercenter.org/president/obama/life-before-the-presidency> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=o000167> (Last Access on 16/08/2018), video at <http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/shows/list/dreams-obama/> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).

After high school, Obama studied at Occidental College in Los Angeles for two years. He then transferred to Columbia University in New York City, graduating in 1983 with a degree in political science. After working in the business sector for two years, Obama moved to Chicago in 1985. There, he worked on the impoverished South Side as a community organizer for low-income residents in the Roseland and the Altgeld Gardens communities. Obama then entered Harvard Law School in 1988.

That next year Obama joined the Chicago law firm of Sidley Austin as a summer associate and it was there he met Michelle Robinson. Not long after, the couple began dating. In February 1990, Obama was elected the first African-American editor of the Harvard Law Review. He graduated *magna cum laude* from Harvard Law in 1991. After law school, Obama returned to Chicago to practice as a civil rights lawyer with the firm of Miner, Barnhill & Galland. He also taught constitutional law part-time at the University of Chicago Law School between 1992 and 2004—first as a lecturer and then as a professor—and helped organize voter registration drives during Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign.

In 1992, he and Michelle were married.

He ran as a Democrat and won the election in 1996 for the Illinois State Senate.

Following the 9/11 attacks in 2001, Obama was an early opponent of President George W. Bush's push to go to war with Iraq. Obama was still a State senator when he spoke against a resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq during a rally at Chicago's Federal Plaza in October 2002.

In his Presidential run in 2008 he gained the 52.9% of the votes against the Republican candidate John McCain, becoming the first Afro-American President in the United States history.

He won the elections with the revolutionary use of social media, and a campaign that changed the modern concept of electoral challenge and the way to think about politics

### 2.3.3. Donald Trump<sup>90</sup>.

Donald Trump was born on June 14, 1946, in New York, son of an important entrepreneur, Fred Trump, who helped him during the first years of his career. He attended the New York Military Academy since the age of 13. He entered Fordham University and two years later he transferred to the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania, from which he graduated in 1968 with a degree in economics. During his years at college, Trump secured education deferments for the Vietnam War draft and ultimately a “one-year medical deferment” after he graduated. In 1977 Trump married Ivana Zelnickova, a Czech model, with whom he had three children—Donald, Jr., Ivanka, and Eric—before the couple divorced in 1992. Trump married the American actress Marla Maples after she gave birth to Trump’s fourth child, Tiffany, in 1993. Their marriage ended in divorce in 1999. In 2005 Trump married the Slovene model Melania Knauss, and their child, Barron, was born the following year. Melania Trump became first lady of the United States upon her husband’s inauguration in 2017.

He was also a TV showman in the US version of the reality “The Apprentice”.

Trump was active in politics. From the 1980s he periodically mused in public about running for president, but those moments were widely downplayed in the press as publicity stunts. In 1999 he switched his voter registration from Republican to the

---

<sup>90</sup> This paragraph is based on the informations found at: <https://www.biography.com/people/donald-trump-9511238> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donald-Trump> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <http://www.notablebiographies.com/St-Tr/Trump-Donald.html> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/donald-trump-3378.php> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.biographyonline.net/business/donald-trump.html> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0874339/bio> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/people/donald-j-trump/> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.trump.com/biography/> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.thoughtco.com/donald-trump-profile-4024748> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/donald-trump-2016-campaign-biography-psychology-history-barrett-hurt-dantiono-blair-obrien-213835> (Last Access on 13/06/2018), <http://www.who2.com/bio/donald-trump/> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).

Reform Party and established a presidential exploratory committee. Though he ultimately declined to run in 2000, he set forth his socially liberal and economically conservative political views in *"The America We Deserve"* (2000). Trump later rejoined the Republican Party, and he maintained a high public profile during the 2012 presidential election. Though he did not run for office at that time, he gained much attention for repeatedly questioning whether Pres. Barack Obama was a natural-born U.S. citizen.

In June 2015 Trump announced that he would be a candidate in the US 2016 presidential election of 2016.

He became the Republican candidate for the election, and he had to face Hillary Clinton, the Democratic candidate.

Trump continued, during all the time of his run for the White House, to make controversial and apparently impromptu comments via Twitter and in other forums that embarrassed the Republican establishment and seriously disrupted his campaign. He drew particular criticism for a series of negative comments about women.

The Trump campaign received a boost when FBI director James Comey notified Congress that the bureau was reviewing a trove of e-mails from an unrelated case that appeared to be relevant to its earlier investigation of Clinton. Trump seized on the announcement as vindication of his charge that Clinton was crooked. Six days later, Comey announced that the new e-mails contained no evidence of criminal activity. But the electorate had already decided.

Trump won the electoral college vote by 304 to 227, and thereby the presidency, he lost the nationwide popular vote by more than 2.8 million (after the election, Trump claimed without evidences that 3 to 5 million people had voted for Clinton illegally). He never dropped the aggressive use of Twitter and other social medias.

2.4. "War to Terror" in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and other states: George W. Bush.

Now we will finally start our analysis of Military Speeches of George W. Bush, stating in mind the news and the facts of his biography reported in Chapter 2.3.1.

Mainly, it is important to remember three main aspects of Bush's background: he was a privileged child, he had problems with alcohol and he lost his first political election (and controversially won the Presidential election in 2001).

#### 2.4.1. The Speech of 9/11<sup>91</sup>.

The speech is opened by a /Good Evening/ and the gesture that means "opening": the speaker opens his hands. Normally this gesture could be used to underline the expression "So here we are". Then, the hands return in their normal position, united and crossed, and they will not move until the end of the speech. This position of the body, with the crossed hands, is typically used by a speaker that believes to be under-attack from somebody, that thinks to be under pressure.

We can notice that the speech starts with the anaphora /Today/ and almost every line is opened by a significant word: /Thousands/, /This/, /These/, /Our/, /I/, /Tonight/, /None/ and many more. This is a common habit throughout all the speeches of the US Presidents. Other rhetorical figures often used by the Presidents during Military Speeches are climaxes (mainly ascendant), metaphors, similitudes and common phrases taken from the military sphere.

When Bush says /Mothers/ and /Dads/ (0:25) he bends his head to the right, as he would underline the expression. The same slight movement he does when he wants to underline the word /Thousands/ (0:29). From that moment on, the gesture is repeated many times. This slight bend of the head is done by the speaker when he wants to reassure himself.

---

<sup>91</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=XbqCquDI4k4> (Last Access on 24/08/2018)

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.



«/Thousands/ of /Lives/ were suddenly ended by /Evil/, despicable acts of /Terror/». Starting from this phrase we can analyse the common habit in Military Speeches to talk about enemies as an absolute /Evil/. As we have seen several times during the analysis of the conflict approach speeches during the Second World War, this practice manages to convince those who listen to the need to wage war against this “evil” and to the fact that the Audience itself represents the /Good/: we could define it as “rhetoric of the crusaders”.

He moves the head, as he would like to say “Yes” when he speaks about US as a /Great/ /Nation/ (1:04). And then, he uses two metaphoric phrases to support the affirmation abovementioned: «Terrorist /Attacks/ can shake the /Foundations/ of our biggest /Buildings/, but /They/ [in this case the pronoun is deliberately used for its possible reference to both the /Attacks/ and the /Enemies/] cannot touch the /Foundation/ of /America/». /America/ is a powerful word in the US’ rhetoric: it means /Home/ and /Land/, it can indicate the sum of aspirations, dreams and thoughts of the US’ citizens: a common practice for the powerful countries, but /America/ is intended as /Strong/, /Powerful/ and /Dominant/. Italy, for example, is often understood as a country that fights with few means against powerful countries: the Italian national anthem refers to a period known as “Risorgimento”, when Italians should free their own country from invaders. Italian anthem is itself a Conflict Approach Speech (mostly if we consider all the three stanzas), while the Russian anthem is a eulogy to the beauty and purity of a nation whose citizens can be proud of. The American national anthem, vice versa, is a eulogy to the “light” represented by the “nation of the freemen” for the world. If someone wants to understand the way of thinking of a determinate nation, it is important to analyse the words of its national anthem.

At 1:06, we can notice another uncommon movement: he makes a protrusion with his tongue. Tongue’s protrusion is a common gesture for anthropomorphic primates and it is usually associated to cognitive states of disagreement, disbelief, sadness, uncertainty or anxiety. Probably, the speaker is disagreeing with the concept he expressed before

or, seen the context of the speech, we could assume that Bush has a state of anxiety and sadness.

After /Freedom/ (1:26) he shakes his head. Maybe he already knows who is responsible for the terroristic attack and what US did in order to provoke that attack. When he says «/Our/ /Military/ is /Powerful/», again he rapidly shakes his head (1:56); probably he doubts his own words. In that very moment, the most powerful army in the world was facing a threat never faced before. That is why, through the analysis of the vocal flexions, we can understand that Bush was very anxious speaking about the possibility of further /Attacks/ to /America/.

At 3:15, after his greetings to the world's leaders for their assistance and their condolences, he does another strange protrusion with his tongue. This underlines our opinion about his feelings during this speech: he is deeply sad and in a state of anxiety. Considering this anxiety, he makes a mistake, at 4:03, with the word /Enemy/: this has already happened at 0:40 when he has spoken about the «Big structures that collapsed». «The members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks» and «On behalf of the /American/ /People/» are two important phrases: Bush is the /People/ and the /Nation/. United States President represents the incarnation of all the virtues Americans recognize in their concept of State.

As said before, he tries to be immovable with his shoulders and his body, in order to force himself to maintain the calm as long as possible.

Towards the end of the speech, Bush increases the use of metaphors and rhetoric expressions. Also, Bush starts to use a lot of religious figures.

Even through his voice it is possible to understand that he is victim of anxiety. Bush is really nervous when he has to speak about the events of that horrible day for his country. He usually leans on his elbows on the desk of the Oval Office of the White House. He is in the top-position for all the Americans and he uses this common belief to give himself strength. He usually moves his head to the right, his strong side, because (as said above) he needs to reassure himself.

Through this speech we can easily draw a generic overview of Bush's rhetorical capacities: he is not a perfect orator, but he uses a mixture of skills taken from proxemic, kinesics and phonetic, in order to hide his weakness and to show himself as stronger as he could.

As abovementioned, for US Presidents it is very important to use a religious reference, at least at the end of the speech. All the speeches end with a common formula: «/Thank You/, /Good Night/, and /God/ /Bless/ /America/». This reference is absolutely generic. /God/ is not the Christian (Protestant, Puritan, Mormon or Catholic one), but is a common denominator that implies every possible superior force believed by the citizens. Obviously, when the reference to God is more specific (like the quote of the Salm 23 in this speech) it is quite fundamental to refer to the Christian Bible, seen as the basic book of the shared beliefs for the American citizens.

Finally, I think it is important to analyse the phrase: «/America/ has stood down /Enemies/ /Before/ [claims a “glorious past”], and /We/ will do so /This/ /Time/». This phrase expresses unity and refers to the past and to the future designing a dominant role for /America/. This kind of expressions is very common throughout all the US rhetoric and we will analyse deeper these aspects at the end of our analysis of Military Speeches.

#### 2.4.2. “War on Terror”<sup>92</sup>.

In this speech we have an Audience that is immediate and direct, the Congress. So, we can watch and analyse Bush's use of the crowd and the effect that the crowd has on him.

---

<sup>92</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzObOl4tQxM> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

The gestures, initially, are the same of the 9/11 Speech: his arms are leaning on the reading desk, his hands are crossed (but not as strict as in the abovementioned speech) and his body tries to be immovable.

His face is more relaxed. As a good orator (as all the US Presidents should be) he tries to speak with different people among the Audience, in order to do not seem static.

Let us start with the analysis from a rather ambiguous semiotic element. Bush uses three languages to indicate the three main monotheistic religions: English for Christianity, Hebrew for Judaism and Arabic for Muslims. The generalization is absolutely wrong, because except for the Hebrew the other two languages do not correspond absolutely to a religion. Wanting to talk about a possible relationship between creed and language we should combine Latin with the Christian religion (mainly the Catholic one), but there would be no way to set up a common language for all Muslims, who are spread all over the world and are very numerous. Obviously, the Classical Arabic is the language in which the Koran was written, but not for this it is possible to delineate a *koinè* (common language) among the idioms (ranging from Persian to Turkish, from the dialects of Northern Nigeria to those of Indonesia). At 2:23, when he says «It is strong», referring to the State of the Union, he turns his shoulder and his body about 20 degrees, showing his right side to the Audience and, with the typical gesture the speakers use to impose a clarification (thumb and forefinger are united, forming a ring, and the other three fingers are tensed; hand is posed horizontally and is shaken many times, with a movement that could start from the forearm or from the wrist), he mimes the movement of a chopper.

Bush, sometimes, shows himself as deeply convinced of his words. For example, at 3:22, when he speaks about /Justice/ that «will be done», he does a clear gesture of affirmation with his head. Obviously, saying «/We/ bring /Our/ /Enemies/ to /Justice/ or bring /Justice/ to /Our/ /Enemies/» is a very strong and powerful phrase, full of rhetorical elements. Not only that. Few minutes later he says, «On behalf of the /American/ /People/», as to state that he is the impersonation of America itself and

knows very well what Americans really want: his words are an expression of common thought (a tactic used very often by political leaders).

This speech was surely prepared in details and the difference with the improvisation of 9/11's one is clear: Bush uses, during the address to the Congress, premeditated pauses. As in the case of the pause, used in order to create suspense throughout the Audience, that he poses between the phrases «America has no more trusted friend» and «Than Great Britain». Also, we could notice a typical gesture of gratitude when he says the word /Friend/: lips tighten and thin, shrinking back, while the chin raises and lasts (6:18). Then comes a call to the only other attack occurred on American soil, that of 1941 in Pearl Harbour: the historical recall serves to inform the common citizen of the seriousness of the act against the United States and at the same time can reassure Americans that an event like this happens only once every hundred years or so.

Semiotically speaking, the speech is divided following a journalistic scheme. In the first part there is the introduction, then we have the “5 Ws” questions. Except for “Where”, because it is clear that the conflict will be fought in Afghanistan, we could find the four questions: “Who”, “Why”, “How” (we will fight them/we will win them), “What” (expects us). All the questions are posed as if they come directly from the American people, with the formula: «/Americans/ are asking...».

Who? Al-Qaeda. Why? Because they hate how we live in freedom. How will we fight them and how will we win them? We will direct every resource at our command to the destruction and to the defeat of the global terror network. What will expect us? You must continue to support us, and we will win. They are the evil, the darkness, we are the good, the light.

As you can read above, we tried to summarize the semiotic elements of this speech in brief. Bush tries to explain the framework of a war, but his rhetoric does not seem to be directed to common people. In fact, the simplistic way in which he tries to explain the framework is ridiculously naïve, seeming to be intended for an Audience of children of the first class.

At 10:18, when Bush condemns Talibans' /Regime/ in Afghanistan, he closes his fist, posing the thumb above (and not around), in order to affirm the sense of strong condemnation. Before, underlining that the US was (and is) the first source of aid for Afghanistan, he has repeated an oscillation with the right hand. At 11:17, Bush starts his list of diktats to the Talibans' regime, underlined by his left hand. Considering that Bush is a naturally right-handed person, every gesture he makes with his left side could be understood as a sign of weakness.

The Audience never misses the opportunity to give Bush a standing ovation.

When Bush says the phrase «Found, stopped and /Defeated/» (at 14:18) he underlines his words with the right hand. Considering what has been mentioned above, this phrase could be intended as something Bush deeply believes as true and/or necessary. In fact, his vocal flexion is absolutely calm and normal.

At 23:28, Bush reaffirms his power, saying «/We/ will not permit it», advancing with the bust and making a grin with his lips: this gesture, that we inherited from the primates, means the will of the speaker (or the dominant exemplar of the race in nature) to affirm his superiority above the others. A movement he repeats when (at 31:32) he says «/We/ will not fail». The analysis of his vocal flexions makes us understand that he is tranquil and calm while pronouncing these parts of the speech (probably, he had prepared them in advance).

At the end of the speech, assuming he had done a “good job”, Bush is visibly more relaxed, and he makes a strange gesture (a very colloquial one), underlining with his right hand the phrase «A /Task/ that does not end». This is one of those cases in which the situation, the words and the gestures collide, giving to a careful Audience a strange feeling.

It has nothing to do with the speech, but we must underline that the music that starts at the end of the speech is absolutely inapposite, while Bush is greeting the people of the first lines.

To the end of the speech, we have an ascendant climax of rhetorical figures, of important semantical words and Bush starts his references to God. This is a perfect

sample of how his rhetoric is poor of innovations: since the start of his political career, Bush has never changed his way of holding a speech and has always touched the same semantic areas.

#### 2.4.3. Axis of Evil<sup>93</sup>.

At 0:43 Bush starts with his fist. He uses this strong gesture to affirm the words he is saying: «Our State of the Union has never been stronger». This gesture will be used again at the end of the speech when Bush states that «/Evil/ is near». Clearly, considering the poor use Bush makes of this gesture, the US President uses it only when he wants to affirm something that the Audience must believe as true.

Through the analysis of his vocal flexions, we can recognize stressful variations in his voice while speaking about /America/ that would help Afghanistan, one of US /Enemy/, to reconstruct the /Nation/ in the near /Future/; probably, Bush knows that this is not true.

«/You/ will not escape from the /Justice/ of /Our/ /Nation/», a phrase he recites while his right hand is perpendicular to the reading desk, beating his hand repeatedly on the desk in order to underline the importance of that statement. For all the Americans (as explained in the Chapter “Omnipower”) it is fundamental to affirm the role of the United States as the sole world’s omnipower (5:00).

Also, Bush uses many expressions that refer to the semantic area of despair. He uses commonplaces, brief images of pain, so as to affirm the dismay felt by people in the face of the acts of violence suffered by America in the recent months.

At 7:07, Bush justifies the /War/, using the common and highly recognizable arguments of the Just War Theory, posing the basis for the accuses that he wants to move to the United States’ enemies: he says «/Our/ discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed /Our/

---

<sup>93</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RHxw8UFNCdo> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

worst /Fears/». While Bush is reciting these words, anyway, he breaks his rhetorical position: his eyes lose for few seconds every reference.

On the other hand, at 7:57, he states: «/Our/ /War/ has just begun», miming the opening of a dossier. He is breaking up, because he is clearly feeling anxiety, but in this case the words he speaks and the gestures he makes are coherent.

This speech could be described as a strange mixture of a Conflict Support Speech and a Conflict Approach Speech, especially for those /Enemies/ that America is still not fighting openly: North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

During this part of the speech his left shoulder is often higher than the right one, his hands cannot be stopped, and his eyebrows rapidly change position, frowning and spreading his forehead. All of those movements are directed to the Audience: Bush is (desperately) trying to convince his interlocutors of the true nature of his words.

At 9:08, the phrase «/We/ must not and /We/ cannot allow this» is underlined by a gesture with the right hand that indicates downwards. This gesture is used to point out something that is important both for the speaker and for the listener.

When Bush lists the Weapons of Mass Destruction (“WsMD”) held by the enemies, he anticipates with his sight his head’s movement. This expression betrays the words: the speaker is assaulted by uncertainty and doubt about the rightness of his words. Probably he knows that he is lying, so his eyes try to catch, before the head, the reaction (hoping that it is a positive one) of the Audience. This incoherence is repeated many times from 12:49 onwards.

During the applause (9:38 onwards), Bush rubs the thumb and the forefinger of his right hand. This gesture is an expression of deep doubt, so Bush is confirming us that he does not think that his words are true. It is also a gesture that usually expresses uncertainty.

At 10:26, Bush expresses complacency when says «/America/ is acting in other parts too!». His complacency is expressed by his smirk: Americans are deeply pleased when they can affirm their omnipower.



The most important part of the speech is obviously the “Axis of Evil” portion. But, keeping in mind what we have written above, we would notice that he underlines this expression with a gesture made with his left hand. So, he is probably expressing his weakness. In fact, while he threatens with /Actions/ and /War/ he does his usual gestures and uses a peremptory tone of voice. So, Bush is quiet when he talks about war (he's sure of his war power), but he's afraid when he has to tease a possible enemy. As said above, this speech could be intended as a Conflict Support Speech in the Afghanistan war perspective, or as a Conflict Approach Speech in the Iraq war one. At 18:40, when he says that /Militaries/ deserve the best equipment and an increase of the wages, again he rubs the thumb and the forefinger of his right hand. After a long digression in which Bush speaks about the economic and social situation in the US (we will not analyse this part), he comes back to the conflicts and he expresses complacency again when he states that his administration is «erasing old /Rivalries/». He says that America is working with Russia, China and India, together with friends and allies from all over the world, because «The /Forces of Terror/ cannot stop the momentum of /Freedom/».

Towards the end of the speech, as always, Bush tries to put /God/ inside his speech, giving to the Almighty God the role of protector of the righteous and, therefore, of the Americans. This is real if we look at the statement he does: «/God/ is near».

Incomprehensibly, Bush smiles when he says, «Especially is /Tragedy/» at 46:00, but he smiles again when he states that US' victory will be the «/Victory/ of the /Liberty/». Maybe, being at the end of the speech, this smile is a way to self-help and self-relax after a long and, in all probability, very tiring and very stressful speech.

#### 2.4.4. Ultimatum to Saddam Hussein<sup>94</sup>.

---

<sup>94</sup> Speech available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vr7OKqgTb\\_o](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vr7OKqgTb_o) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

This speech has no Audience. It is one of the typical speeches that US Presidents give from the White House, but not from the Oval Office. Bush stands in front of a reading desk. The tone is more relaxed than the one used during the abovementioned speeches, but here again the hands betray a state of anxiety, even if they are not fully visible due to the position of the camera and the form of the reading desk.

At 1:52, when he speaks about the use of weapons against civilians made by the Iraqi government, the eyes blink many times the eyelids: this is a clear sign that the speaker is rejecting what he is saying.

In our point of view, one of the most significant examples of the importance of this study, mainly in the proxemic area, could be found in this speech made by George W. Bush. In fact, the crucial moment of this speech is when, at 4:40, the President moves away, almost imperceptibly, from the reading desk, after saying that «No /Nation/ can say that Iraq has no /WsMD/». This is a key moment, because it could be possible to understand, or at least to reasonably question, the actual veracity of the accusations moved by United States to Iraq. For two minutes, Bush's vocal flexions are unnaturally high (joy, satisfaction, positive emotions) and low (stress, preoccupation, negative emotions).

At 7:05, when he says «The /Tyrant/ will soon be gone», he lowers the right eyebrow: lowered eyebrows may also indicate annoyance, perhaps effectively saying that the speaker is very displeased, and that he does not want to look at the listener. Also, lowered eyebrows are a sign of a dominant person. But in this case, the involuntary movement is asymmetrical: asymmetric movements of the facial muscles always indicate doubt, anxiety or uncertainty. On the other hand, his vocal flexions are incredibly high, expression of joy or satisfaction.

Another curious part of the speech is when Bush says «You must not destroy your oil facilities» (at 7:58). In this case, the inclination of the head to the right is probably underlining his disagreement in having to say something that clearly reveals Americans' real intentions. In fact, the International Community often accused the US, at that time, because many countries believed that Americans' only interest in Iraq

involved the use of oil facilities. Again, this suspicious inclination of the head to the right is visible at 10:53, when Bush says «/We/ will do it, because it will be worse to not do it».

In the Bachelor Thesis we made, one important part was the critic to the political approach that Chamberlain (UK Prime Minister) had with Adolf Hitler before the Second World War. From that time onwards, “appeasement” is a word that means “weaknesses” and indicates a government that does not want (or has not the ability) to take a decision. Even in this speech of George W. Bush, he is forced to critique the appeasement policy. At 11:30, when he says that «/Appeasement/ would be wrong» his facial expression betrays that he disagrees with this concept. As said before, probably Bush is a political leader that is proud of the power of his nation, but (considering his background) he terribly fears the war.

In the last part, full of rhetorical references, he relaxes as someone who is pleased to be able to finally speak about something that he perfectly knows: or because it is the part of the speech that prepared better, or because all these words are part of a well-established linguistic *koinè*, to which all Presidents rely.

Many words serve to oppose ideals of freedom (/Freedom/ - /Liberty/ - /Democracy/) with ideals of oppression (/Regime/ - /Aggression/ - /Tyrant/), and to design a vast sphere of semiotic elements as: /Country/, /Goal/, /Time/, /Power/, /Human/, /Hate/, /Violence/, /Defend/, /People/, /Future/, /Allies/, /Responsibility/ (these ones are all together in the last seconds of the speech). In particular, it is important to underline the intensity of some parts of this speech, as the phrase «/War/ has no certainty, except the certainty of /Sacrifice/» or the statement «/We/ are /Peaceful/ /People/, yet /We/’re not fragile /People/».

In the very end, as always, Bush wishes /God/ to bless /America/.

#### 2.4.5. Declaration of War<sup>95</sup>.

---

<sup>95</sup> Speech available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BwxI\\_l84dc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BwxI_l84dc) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

Semiotically speaking, we are facing a clear example of a Conflict Approach Speech. That is the reason why Bush uses a lot of semantic elements and traces the line of sharp demarcation between what is good (America and its allies, bearers of peace and driven by a just cause) and what is bad (the Iraqi tyrant and his followers, oppressors of his own people).

In this speech, his vocal flexions are very low. Obviously, he is declaring war against an enemy, so we could easily understand why his voice expresses a lot of low flexions (that mean anxiety and preoccupation).

At 0:28, when he finished the first phrase «/Military/ operations to /Disarm/ Iraq, to /Free/ its /People/ and to /Defend/ the /World/ from grave /Danger/», Bush involuntary contracts the left temple's muscle. From the studies we made before, the contraction of the temples is a signal of aggressiveness, but the asymmetries are always a signal of uncertainty: Bush is stressed by the situation, has a problem with other countries (at that time many of them refused to participate in the military operations), so it could be possible that his temples showed an anger that Bush wanted to hide.

After saying «/Campaign/» (0:43), Bush protrudes his tongue. The “concerted campaign” is probably not-so-concerted in Bush’ mind (in fact, at the end of the speech he says «It will not be a /Campaign/ of half measures»), so the tongue mimes the rejection of the idea. Even if mentioned above, tongue’s protrusion has not always the same meaning. Sometimes it could be a signal of anxiety, sometimes a signal of aggressiveness, sometimes (and this is the case) it could be a signal of rejection (simulating the act of throwing out something we disliked). Again, this protrusion is visible at 3:36, after he says «so that /We/ do not have to meet it later [...] on the streets of /Our/ cities»: probably, speaking of this dystopic scenario made him wince.

At 2:42, when he expresses his hope that the militaries would return safely and soon at home, he feels a strong sense of remorse: the sides of the mouth are lowered (as when

---

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

sad), the protrusion of the tongue adds the element of rejection towards the words spoken (in this case it is a clear symptom of discomfort and uncertainty) and the eyebrows make the temple frown. This remorse is repeated at the end of the speech when the tongue's protrusion anticipates the phrase (at 4:17) «And all who /Defend/ /Her/».

#### 2.4.6. Farewell Speech<sup>96</sup>.

Even in his “farewell speech”, Bush has the chance to give military advices and to analyse the path of his Presidency, one of the most troubled of the American recent history. Doing this, the President does not forget to use the usual “magic words”, which are part of that univocal and concerted corpus which all US Presidents draw from. The semantic elements of his speech are always the same, his gestures are always quite similar, and his tone never changes. He knows he is not the best orator in the world, so he uses common and easy techniques that reassure him and do not allow him to fail. At 2:13, when he starts to speak about the 9/11 events, he crosses his hands in order to give himself security and self-awareness.

When he says «/We/ made /War/ against /Terrorists/ and against who supported /Them/», at 3:38, Bush waves his body and moves his facial muscles assuming an expression of doubt. Just to be clear, we should focus on the (anyway remote) probability that sometimes these expressions are made because the Speaker has difficulty in reading what is written on the teleprompter.

At 8:42 he passes his tongue on his lips while speaking of the consequences of being the sole Omnipower: this expression emulates on a little scale the gesture of licking our own moustaches in front of a prey. It is a gesture we borrowed from the predators (felines and canids).

---

<sup>96</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-NKIEKmcX8> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

The expression of remorse when he says «If /America/ does not l-lo-lead the /Cause/ of /Freedom/, that /Cause/ will not be led» (at 9:27) is not referred to what he has said but to the fact that he had an uncertainty while saying one of the most significant sentences of his speech.

In the end, the reference to God and the wish to receive his grace cannot be lacking. Much has been written about the relationship that Americans have with God and with religion, some have even advanced esoteric and mystery hypotheses on this essential link between US institutions and religious background: in our opinion, as already explained, the most plausible is what defines this continuous call to a higher power as an element of union between all American citizens. The entrusting of the souls and bodies of all Americans to a God (which is not specified if Christian, Hebrew or Muslim), allows everyone to identify with the values and the pillars of the community, which come from the distant past of the pioneers. The Puritans who founded the first colonies of the United States.

## 2.5. From Nobel Peace Prize to ISIS: Barack Obama.

Now we are going to analyse the most significant speeches of Barack Obama. As was done for George W. Bush, it is very useful to keep in mind, during the analysis, three main factors of the background of the first Afro-American US President: Obama is a left-handed, he grew up in a stimulating cultural environment and had a brilliant political career, which led him in a short time to be the main candidate for a possible presidency of the democratic party.

### 2.5.1. Nobel Prize for Peace lecture<sup>97</sup>.

---

<sup>97</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AORo-YEXxNQ> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

Obama is the most famous political leader of these first twenty years of the century and one of the most prepared and skilled orators of this age. The first speech we will analyse is the lecture he made when he won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2009. He had been the US President only for a few months and the world was waiting for his words, hoping that finally the US would abandon their aspirations of being the sole Omnipower of the world. But the reality was different.

Obviously, the lecture is due to the assignment of an individual award. Ergo, as a representative of a people and a leader of a nation, Obama frequently uses the personal pronoun /I/. This choice, however, is not limited to this speech. Obama, compared to many of his predecessors, knows the value of the individuality of his person and, often, uses the pronoun /I/ instead of /We/ to emphasize the high value that the individual has within a complex system, as well as to increase that Cult of Personality that has been created over the years around his figure.

At 2:25 Obama does not seem calm when he says he is /Commander in Chief/ of the /US/ /Army/, but he reiterates with firm tone that /America/ did not seek the /Conflicts/. Starting from this point, the lecture could be intended as the explanation of the partial continuation of the same doctrine the US applied on the foreign affairs since the Second World War: that is why it is important, in this study, to analyse this speech.

As the most important orator of the Ancient Greece, Demosthenes, he knows perfectly how to control his expressions. That's why, at 5:37, he has the instinct to protrude his tongue, but he is able to stop himself. Even if he stops, we can understand that he rejects what he says: «The /World/ needs institutions to prevent another /World War/».

From 6:20 to 6:56 (when he says «rightfully /Proud/») he makes a studied and thoughtful use of gestures, which consistently accompany the words he uses. Obviously, considering Obama's background, he is not the kind of person who is "proud" to make war against others. And this misbelief becomes evident when, at 6:57, he frowns, lowers the inner sides of the eyebrows, closes the eyes, raises the lips, lowering the outer sides, and raises (and protrudes) the chin: clear expression of sadness and repentance.

Semiotically speaking, this speech is very different from the ones we have analysed before. Obama is speaking to an Audience that is very prepared and has a very high cultural level: for this reason, it often uses words belonging to a more pompous register, which do not correspond to those normally used during the strategic speeches of political and military leaders. That is the reason why high-calibre figures (such as Martin Luther King) are often mentioned in the speech, why more complex rhetorical figures are used, such as anaphors, incisions, digressions, hyperboles, climaxes and why are often made brief and concise calls to historical events that a prepared and acculturated Audience can immediately comprehend.

At 8:27 he protrudes the tongue after he says the word /War/. We could opt for one of the following three options: maybe Obama does not like to speak about war, maybe he is reluctant to speak about this subject in this context or maybe he is ashamed of what he is saying. We would opt for a mixture of the first and the third options, because an orator as prepared as Obama could not be anxious for the context that surrounds him as he speaks.

One of the main rhetorical skills of Obama is the gesture of the thumb, stuck in the curved forefinger, which overhangs the fist, that moves with a vertical undulation (almost like the judge beating with the hammer). This gesture is made in order to avoid pointing with the finger to indicate: this gesture is commonly considered a lack of style. At 8:47 he misses the conjunction of the fingers (maybe because he does this gesture with right hand, and Obama is a left-handed); his words have a hesitation (in the tone) because of the sense of loss caused by the error in gesticulating. At 8:56, in order to reacquire his self-awareness, after a phrase said with the right tone and with the right cadence, he protrudes his chin: this gesture means he wants to challenge the listeners and it is a common movement made by someone who wants to reaffirm his superiority. A movement with the head that means superiority that is revived when he says, at 11:07, that US are the sole /Superpower/ of the /World/.

Starting from 11:35, his gestures are coherent with his words, but the rhythm of his discourse makes us understand that this part of the speech has been well-prepared



before. This part wants to convince the Audience of the goodness of the American actions, of the validity of the US model and of the need, in the past as in the present as in the future, for the world to face a gradual and unstoppable process of Americanization and democratization of peoples. For this reason, semantically, we resort to the use of the theory of “Just War”, because we must be able to justify every conflict from the perspective that the Americans have always acted knowingly, without ever wanting to take advantage of a conflict for reasons that they were not the good of the world or of all humanity.

This lecture is mainly about the theory of “just war”. We will not analyse in depth our points of view about this theory, but we can understand what Obama’s point of view is. When he says «So yes. The instruments of /War/ do have a role in maintaining the /Peace/», he protrudes his tongue. As said many times yet, this gesture is a common sign of disagreement, because the speaker is anxious and uncertain about the words he said.

At 14:42, after he said /Self-Defence/, referring to the events that followed the attacks of 9/11, we should think that his movement with tongue, chin and throat is a simulation of forced swallowing: in this case he is forced to swallow a truth that he deeply hoped that never happened.

Our facial expressions are more complex than the ones used by the animals. Even if we said many times that tongue’s protrusion could indicate a stressful state of mind inside the speaker, at 15:29 Obama uses it in another way: he dries his tongue. Obama is used to long and complex speeches, but the tongue is very stressed, because he has to maintain a plausible tone of voice: this time he is not going against his words («/Self-Defence/ or /Defence/ of a /Country/ against an /Aggressor/»).

At 17:09 it is clear that his naturalness in gesticulating far exceeds the impudence of Bush: Obama hits the microphone and does not break down, continuing to speak with absolute control.

Obviously, not only the tongue is stressed after a long speech. Our mind cannot maintain the absolute control above our involuntary movements for such a long time. So, at 18:40, when he says «/I/ believe» he shakes his head as if to say “no”.

From 20:00 onwards, explaining how it could be possible in the future to avoid wars, he assumes the behaviour of a preacher. The preacher is an important figure in the life of the Afro-American community. Probably, Obama is not a top-practicing believer, but when he speaks as a preacher he reunites himself with that figure that others expect from him. Certainly not to make a parallel between the figures, but during the period that preceded the Second World War, Germans and Italians expected from their leaders (Hitler and Mussolini) that they were strong and determined men: for this reason, they had those positions strutting and those peremptory and decisive gestures. The greatest speakers in history have always tried to understand what people expected from them and, having obtained this information, they tried to shape their rhetoric and their movements around that idealized figure that the people had of them. That's why often Obama speaks as an Afro-American preacher, that is why Obama can be described as one of the best orators of the last 50 years.

This part is also very important for the analysis of words and semantic expressions that are used. Obama declares that to build a just and lasting peace, we need:

1. To develop alternatives to /Violence/;
2. To increase efforts for /Disarmament/ nuclear;
3. To increase efforts to prevent /Genocide/, /Repressions/ and /Crimes/ against human beings throughout the /World/;
4. To guarantee the /Freedom/ of speech and /Cult/;
5. To guarantee civil and political /Rights/.

In a somewhat ambiguous passage (given what was said just before), Obama says «/America/ has never fought a /War/ against a /Democracy/»,

At 36:36, during the standing ovation, he tries to repress anxiety and anguish: Obama, as we will see later, literally hates the thought of having to make war, the remote possibility of being objectively responsible for the death of someone. Being forced to

make an apology of the war, proposing discourses belonging to the “Just War Theory”, has certainly placed him in a state of profound malaise.

Since it is the only discourse, among those analysed in our study, which is not pronounced to refer mainly to Americans, this is also the only one that does not end with the formula «Thank /You/ and may /God/ bless /America/».

Regarding vocal flexions, Obama is a great orator and, probably, he also knows how to control his tone of voice. In this speech, prepared well in advance and tried several times with the members of his staff, Obama maintains an average high tone, which provokes in the Audience a sense of trust and tranquillity. This tone is the one that is used on average by American Christian preachers, because as previously said the high tone (not a scream, it is good to specify) is a sign for men that the person speaking is feeling positive emotions, like joy, satisfaction or enthusiasm.

#### 2.5.2. Syrian Civil War<sup>98</sup>.

What we have just stated before is right and just for the Obama of the first mandate. Sadly, it is deeply wrong for the Obama of the second mandate. During his second mandate, Obama had to face multiple threats for the United States: only to nominate the principal ones we should nominate the Syrian Civil War, ISIS, North Korea and Yemen.

His address to the nation is a very different speech from the Nobel Prize lecture we have analysed before. During this speech, Obama seems visibly angry and shaken. It can be noticed mainly from the eyes: the half-closed eyelids are a clear sign of aggression and anger. The angry reaction of Obama could easily lead back to the aversion he feels towards the war and every war and that we have analysed in his

---

<sup>98</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbIrm42zYTU> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

background. Also, in the vocal flexions we can perceive Obama's anxiety: the voice is deeper and has a lot of very low points.

More specifically, at 2:31, when he says «/Nobody/ can doubt that chemical /Weapons/ were used in /Syria/», Obama makes a little grimace with his lower lip: lowering the lower lip is a sign of repentance. We could only make some hypotheses: maybe Obama knows that he is accusing Bashar Al-Assad as Bush had accused Saddam Hussein (so his repentance is due to having done the same action as his predecessor, who he had so much criticized) or he knows that his accusation is far from the truth of the facts. Equally, he pulls the lower lip inward when, at 3:38, he talks about the use of Sarin gas in Syria: another evident manifestation of his repentance.

How could it be possible? How could such a good and experienced speaker betray his true thoughts with such obvious signals? This is the deepest reason of our study (and of the analysis of these key discourses in recent history): none of us can hide these microexpressions, our brain continuously processes information, and the truth will always be revealed in some way. Obama is trying a very usual oratory manoeuvre for him: he tries to manipulate the attention of his audience through a prolonged targeted gesticulation.

Semiotically speaking, the discourse follows some prefigured guidelines and makes a wise and calculated use of emotionally strong words falling into particularly effective semantic areas (such as /Humanity/ - /Children/, /People/, /Men/, /Women/ - and /War/ - /Attack/, /Weapons/, /Kill/, /Death/). Not only; like many other discourses of this kind, which seem to explain to Americans why it would be right to attack war against a certain "enemy", a predetermined pattern is followed, beginning with a brief historical account and arriving at the advancement of a hypothesis of war action, passing through a quick and simplistic account of the positions of the allies and the rival powers, the reasons why we must act and the reasons why it would be better not to act (often downloading the weight of the atrocities suffered by the people during the conflicts passed to the Presidents who they were at the time in command of the army)

and, above all, of the reasons why all Americans must unite in this hour and at this moment against the common enemy.

At 6:03, when he concludes his opinions he affirms that, in order to proceed, he will need the Congress' consensus. Obama takes a rageful posture: his hands are broken apart; one shoulder is clearly ahead of the other and the facial expression is clearly full of anger. He already knows that Americans who voted for him will not forgive this act of war aggression. That is why he bites his lip when he says "popular" (at 6:42): this is another expression of repentance.

And through the end of the speech the stress upraises. At 10:31 Obama says «/People/ wrote me that we must not be the /World/'s /Police/» and makes an expression that could be intended as a request for the Audience: "What can I do?". We could think, from this passage, that his decision to attack Syria was forced by others, maybe someone inside his cabinet.

The justification for this "forced" decision is the usual doctrine of the Omnipower, which claims that America is omnipresent and omnipotent in the world. For this doctrine, Americans are in danger when there is some kind of conflict around the world. That is why he makes clear movements with his head towards the camera, trying to convince the Audience: this kind of movements are typical of the people that are not convinced of the words that they are expressing.

### 2.5.3. Against ISIS<sup>99</sup>.

This speech is a very significant oratory test to analyse Obama's rhetorical skills. By breaking it down in some phases, we could find some semiotic expedients typical of the Conflict Approach Speeches: first of all a recap of the historical situation has led to the current situation, then the ideology of the enemy is broken down (to reveal all

---

<sup>99</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KvRd17vXaXM> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

the falsehoods and lies), later we try to delineate a figure of the enemy that is similar to that which was assumed by the monster Hydra in the myth (the more we try to destroy it, the more it is strengthened), then we move on to list the main points of the strategy that we intend to use (or that has already begun to be used) and the role of allies and diplomacy within the possible conflict; finally, the strength and power of one's own ideal, of one's own nation, the goodness of one's decisions and, in the case of the United States, the responsibility that derives from being the sole Omnipower is reaffirmed.

When he says «If /You/ threaten /America/ /You/ will find no safe /Heavens/» at 5:32 he takes a breath that is a clear lie detector. Obama knows that his second mandate is ruining the high reputation he had before, so this breath could be intended as a self-stabilizing involuntary gesture.

In this speech, Obama's voice flexions follow the path of the ones of the previous speech that we called "Syrian Civil War": they show a lot of low points, a symptom of stress and anxiety.

From 6:40 onwards, Obama breaks his eyes position, which no longer follow the camera in a coherent manner, because it is very stressful to sustain that the US does not want ISIS, but «will train the Syrian opposition», because the Obama administration does not like Assad.

During this speech, Obama is very angry, but he tries to maintain his own composure, since he has to explain to the Americans what ISIS is: for this reason, we can define this discourse as "didactic". But this composure has its own contraindications: at 9:54, for example, Obama says «/We/ had /Success/ in Yemen and Somalia», but he has a hesitation on the word success. Since we know that the US has not been absolutely successful in the two countries mentioned by Obama, it is obvious that this is a detector of a clear lie.

Obama's biggest problem, during his second mandate, was the bad relationship he had with Russia. The United States obtained from its allies the political isolation, on the International Arena, of Russia, justifying this motion of ouster with the charge of

deliberate aggression of the Russians against the Ukrainian people. This is not the suitable seat where we could discuss this complex story, but considering what we have stated in the Chapter 2.2. “The Omnipower”, how could the US ever accuse others of deliberate acts of aggression? Obviously, this is a rhetorical question.

From 13:00 onwards, the words and the expressions are totally invented. As said above, this is a “didactic speech” and, therefore, it is directed to a vast Audience: the common people. Speeches that are directed to common people are different from other speeches: first, they are full of semantic elements that everyone could understand, and second, many elements are totally invented, like phantasy stories for children that are narrated in order to teach something.

#### 2.5.4. Farewell Speech to the Media Reporters<sup>100</sup>.

This speech is almost a comedy – but the American tradition expects it to be so. We analysed it (not in depth) mainly because it is representative of Obama’s rhetoric art. As one of the main orator of the last 50 years, the former US President was an innovator.

It is not a central part of the speech, but it must be recorded and emphasized as Obama tries to download, using irony, on his successor his responsibility for not having closed Guantanamo: he will be able to do it because «knows a thing or two about running waterfront properties into the ground». Obviously, there are no explicit references to wars, ISIS, the failures of his administration in domestic and foreign politics: Bush had spent his last year in office trying to explain the reason for some “distortions” in the results obtained by the various conflicts where the Americans had taken part, Obama does not even talk about it.

During the speech we could find three main innovative aspects of his speeches:

---

<sup>100</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NxFkEj7KPC0> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

1. MEMEs: It is visible since the start of the speech. Obama uses photos and videoclips to arouse laughter in the Audience. A MEME is an expression that is very common nowadays. It indicates an element of a culture or of a behavioural system transmitted from one individual to others by imitation. Mainly, the abovementioned system is the habitat of the social networks and the web.

2. Pop culture's quotes: "Obama out" refers to the phrase "Kobe out" that the famous basketball player Kobe Bryant said when he retired from his professional career<sup>101</sup>.

3. Pop culture elements: Obama uses references to TV series, cinema, sport, music and torments become popular among the average audience (not only MEMEs, but also and above all famous videos of YouTube and key events of the American television). We will deepen this argument in the Chapter 2.7. "Social Media", but it was important to underline the main elements of this iconic manifestation of Obama's rhetorical art.

## 2.6. The new trends for USA's foreign policies: Donald Trump.

Now we move our analysis to Donald Trump. In order to better understand his attitude during his strategic and Military Speeches, some preliminary remarks are necessary. His father helped him throughout his career due to the fact that he was an already affirmed businessman, and for this reason he was a privileged child. However, he received the tough education of a military academy since a very young age, and this is why his attitude is so strong, rude and aggressive.

### 2.6.1. Inaugural Speech, "Make America Great Again"<sup>102</sup>.

---

<sup>101</sup> Available at: <http://www.espn.com/video/clip?id=15200904> (Last Access on 23/08/2018).

<sup>102</sup> Speech available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7q7rArw8HLo> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.



Donald Trump is not a politician. He never was and, in a certain way, he will never be a common politician. His gestures are typical of a businessman and, therefore, are casual movements with the hand and the body, made in order to match his words. His rhetoric, moreover, is full of common places and hyperboles, seeming to be intended more for an Audience of buyers and investors more than citizens and voters.

During his inaugural speech, Trump seems several times, in the first minutes, to seek the consent of the vast Audience he is speaking to (especially at 1:57 and at 6:35, where we can see his typical expression of self-conviction).

The analysis of the vocal flexions shows us that Trump cannot maintain a unique tone: the current US President is prey to his emotions and, for this, we can see a swing of low and high tones. In these cases, we cannot speak of manifestations of joy or anxiety: more simply, the Speaker is a person who speaks following an “emotional frenzy” that does not allow him to maintain a normal tone.

Therefore, in our opinion, the most important elements of his speeches are words. With Trump the populist<sup>103</sup> current arrives in America, which has many elements in common, especially in rhetoric, with the extremisms of the first half of the last century. As a good populist leader, Trump often uses images that are comprehensible to most people in his speeches, and especially in this inaugural speech he tries to make people understand how, from now on, Americans (the people, the humblest people) will regain power from their hands of Washington politicians and bureaucrats, corrupted by greed and by the obsessive search for ever greater power.

Also, with Trump we find the use of the ascending Climax that Bush made (the one immediately understandable, full of repetitions), the wide use of anaphors (mainly with personal pronouns) and slogans that serve to introduce whole parts of the speech (such as «The time for empty talk is over»). Moreover, we return to citing the Bible as a unique source of wisdom. Obama did not disdain to cite the wisdom of the biblical text,

---

<sup>103</sup> Russian political-cultural movement, which developed between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th, aspiring to a sort of rural socialism, in opposition to the tsarist bureaucracy and Western industrialism. Today used to indicate any political movement directed to the demagogic exaltation of the qualities and capacities of the popular classes.

but he accompanied these quotations with other sockets from illustrious authors of American and world culture and literature. Trump instead, like Bush, returns to talk about God and the Bible, replacing the authors' maxims with illustrative stories drawn (but mostly invented) from the everyday life of «normal American compatriots».

When he talks about crime and the plans of his administration to fight it, he inspires deeply and pulls up his chest (at 5:41): this is the first gesture of aggression that we can analyse in one of his speeches. Trump is extremely aggressive, both in words and in gestures and movements. He is a resolute man, who also for his personal background is used to winning, to be right about his rivals, and for this he always proves himself strutting and extremely convinced of his actions and his words.

At 8:41, Trump repeated two times in succession «/America/ first» (one of his slogans) with a peremptory tone. Its turning is a natural and spontaneous inclination. Obviously, we can say this by having analysed his personal history and having already stated that he is not a true politician and, for this reason, his rhetoric must not and cannot be analysed according to the standard canons we use for normal politicians.

Another sign of aggression and manifestation of superiority can be seen at 9:14, when he thins the lips, frowns and slightly protrudes the chin: this expression was typical of Benito Mussolini, who accompanied it with his tight fists on the side because, given his short height, he wanted to prove bigger than he was.

At 11:02, before saying «/We/ will shine for /Everyone/ to follow» he pushes himself with his shoulders, arching his chest in a fraction of a second and then pushing him out, almost as if to give himself security: this in our opinion, this signal should be interpreted as a detector of an element of the discourse in which the speaker firmly believes, but who is not convinced that he can achieve. In fact, at 11:06, when he finished the above sentence, he uses both his hands to gesticulate. In the Anglo-Saxon culture, where gestures are not considered as an honest signal of words (as it happens in Italian culture and in Mediterranean cultures in general), making an unconscious and unexpected gesture with both hands may indicate an immediate release of the tension accumulated while the speaker was speaking.

Moreover, from 11:15 to 11:26, when he speaks about Islamic radicalism, his gestures are disorientated, confused and puzzled, symptom of aggressivity and rage. Also, at 12:24, he says “unstoppable” with a strong and peremptory, moving towards the microphones, with the same expression of aggressivity made before.

His aggression, however, must often clash with the awareness of exaggeration: at 12:34, for example, when he says «/We/ are protected» he gives with his shoulders a settling movement, which as at 11:02 is needed to give himself security in something that is said without conviction and without absolute certainty.

Towards the end of the speech, it relaxes its tension by spreading its tongue and breaking its facial expressions (at 15:44). The newfound tranquillity allows him, at 16:19, to mimic with his hands the gesture of the slogan: to underline a meaningful phrase with a gesture and a consistent expression is an unequivocal signal of the manifestation of the tranquillity of the Speaker.

#### 2.6.2. New Strategy in Afghanistan<sup>104</sup>.

In this speech we notice a bit of tiredness: it is possible to note, comparing this discourse with that held during the day of its inauguration, that the tone of the voice and the posture seem much more sluggish. Trump seems devoid of energy, fatigued and often seems to be pushing, almost supporting himself, with the reading desk.

Trump will use, during the speech, the usual highly recognizable elements of his rhetoric: a mixture of populism and republican oratory, full of references to American patriotic values and a wide use of the semantic areas typical of the conflict approaching discourses (semantic areas that are challenged through words belonging to a very low linguistic register: ex. /America/, /Loyalty/, /Love/, /Family/, /People/ and /Patriotism/).

---

<sup>104</sup> Speech available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EiUjcu\\_Dw0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EiUjcu_Dw0) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

At 0:59, when he names the /Server Members/ present in front of him, also considering his various conflicts with some members of the military body, he assumes his typical proud and impertinent expression, full of aggressiveness towards the listeners.

Distraction during the recitation of a speech is not a very common practice during strategic and/or military talks (also considering the importance of matter), but Trump is overwhelmed by fatigue and, above all, is not a true political or military leader. Thus, at 3:40, we can clearly see a particular expression, which seems to suggest that a memory has crossed his mind as he says «/Love/ for /America/ requires /Love/ for /All/ of /Its/ [Trump does not use /Her/ as Bush did] /People/». Given the high number of key words and semantic areas touched by his words, we can only make assumptions. We believe it is more likely to interpret this “memory” as a quick association of an idea with the word /Love/, given Trump's sentimental background, which we could define as “turbulent”.

Trump explains America's new war strategy. First, «/Our/ /Nation/ must seek an /Honourable/ and enduring /Outcome/ worth of the tremendous /Sacrifices/ that have been made». Second, America will not make a rapid exit from the conflict (critics for Obama's decision to withdraw from Iraq). There would also be a third part of the strategy, but Trump simply says that Afghanistan and its region represent an immense threat to America: for this reason, it seemed appropriate to eliminate this topic from the list of planned actions from Trump's “new American war strategy”.

Again at 10:00, we can see that another memory has gone through his thoughts, given the sudden snapshot made with his eyes and eyebrows: this memory reappears when he thinks about the contrast, certainly not peaceful, between Pakistan and India. Probably the memory that crosses his mind comes from some reports that his office has given him on the situation of relations between the two countries: he knows that even there he will have to put his hand to find a solution.

From 4:54 onwards, Trump fills with rage. Obviously, as we had already said for Obama, one of the winning points of his election campaign was his manifesto «Every decision will be made for the good of /America/», and therefore fears the repercussions

this speech will have, where it clearly announces that the US war in Afghanistan will not be terminated, but that only strategic approaches will change. When he names words that are part of large, significant semantic areas (such as /Afghanistan/, /Allies/, /Enemies/, /Victory/, and others) his face fills with grimaces that betray the attempt to suppress anger, aggression, and fear of not being believed.

Also, Trump's "new American war strategy" provides a mixture of old elements of hard power (deterrence and threat) and new elements contrary to the rules of common use in the international environment (the use of unanticipated surprise attacks<sup>105</sup>. Trump's justification is resumable with the phrase «/Our/ /Troops/ will /Fight/ to /Win/».

Not only that, at 9:15 it is clear that, with an expression of the face, seeks compliance from the audience, as if he wanted to ask, "Do you understand?". Then follow, as always, different expressions and bodily attitudes typical of aggression: at 10:40 after /Win/, at 11:40 after /Ideology/, at 12:10 after «/We/ will /Defeat/ /Them/», At 13:30 when he says «/Our/ /Enemies/ will never know when /We/ will /Attack/ /Them/» and at 2:35 when he says «Eternal /Peace/». But Trump is above all very sincere: when he speaks of victory is because he seriously thinks that, through the new strategies he intends to develop and implement, it is possible to effectively achieve the results sought by his administration.

Furthermore, Trump often assumes an expression of firmness and pride. We can find an example at 17:30, when he says, «We will give you the opportunity to apply strategies effectively and do it quickly», while addressing the American military. At this point, his speech assumes the features of a Conflict Support Speech: Trump incites troops, encourages the military for their efforts and tries to convince them that from now on everything will be easier.

---

<sup>105</sup> Which among other things is an element attributable to the threat, since any country that deviates from the line indicated by the US could suddenly be attacked by the greatest war power in the world.

Another important element of this discourse is that Trump reiterates twice that the policy of “exporting democracy” in other countries of the world will no longer be applied by America. It is precisely for this reason that this discourse was taken from us in analysis: it could be the first historical step towards overcoming the Omnipower doctrine pursued by Americans since the beginning of the First World War.

At 18:47, moreover, we can see an expression of relief when he speaks of the liberation of Mosul, Iraq, from the ISIS troops who had occupied the city. And then, at 8:08, Trump shows a grin full of satisfaction and complacency when he reports his success in convincing the allies to pay more money for the common defence.

Trump is not only sincere, but as Bush and Obama did before, he is very angry when he thinks about how many American soldiers died in Afghanistan (or in other conflicts, in general). In fact, towards the end of his speech, we can see strong regret and a (failed) attempt to conceal anger when he talks about how many Americans died to conduct military operations in Afghanistan in the recent past.

### 2.6.3. Address to the Congress (State of the Union)<sup>106</sup>.

In this discourse, the longest we will analyse from Donald Trump, is very often denoted pride for the results achieved, aggressiveness towards opponents and complacency for the ovations that the Audience (especially the members of the congress coming from the Republican party): in fact, he often applauds to the left, giving the back to the representatives of the democratic party, as if to emphasize that these successes are the sole merit of his party and his trusted men. As you can also see at 22:13, Trump does not disdain the opportunity to throw “arrows” to the Democrats, insinuating that they are not patriotic.

---

<sup>106</sup> Speech available at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=43&v=53tqxdYlspg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=43&v=53tqxdYlspg) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).

The written speech is available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

During this long speech, however, Trump often seems worried and often turns his gaze upwards, towards his left: this is an element of noise, since Melania is sitting there. The relationship between the President of the United States and his First Lady will not be the object of our analysis, but the pressure that the presence of Melania involves for Trump makes us easily understand that the relationship between them is not idyllic.

For the purposes of our analysis, this discourse becomes more interesting towards the last third. At 58:00, in fact, Trump begins to explain the military strategy adopted by his administration and assumes the usual postural and facial attitude of aggression and superiority. He is used to using aggression to be right of his interlocutors and in this talk he also uses it as a means of convincing some of his political opponents.

Trump is not a war lover, nor a person who likes to talk about war (even if he is so rude and aggressive with his interlocutors). That is why at 59:27 he barely restrains his anger while admitting that he is not yet able to dismantle the nuclear arsenals. But he immediately returns proud and arrogant when, at 1:00:00, he announces that in one year his administration has freed almost 100% of the territories occupied by ISIS and when, at 1:06:25, presenting to the Congress the new military doctrine that will be applied by his administration, implies a harsh criticism of its predecessors and puts unlimited trust in American capabilities.

At 1:07:39, when he energetically asks people to stop helping the countries' enemies, it is quite easy to understand that in the head of Trump the word /Enemy/ is not referring only to all those who are against the Americans in the war sense, but also to all those who do not share the ideas of the US or who simply do not think like him.

Towards the end of the speech, at 1:09:00, he again assumes an aggressive expression when he talks about the agreement with Iran and when he says he had to re-impose sanctions against Cuba and Venezuela (critical of the initiatives undertaken by the Obama administration). But Trump, as mentioned, is not only critical of his predecessors: at 1:10:10 demonstrates aggression even in speaking of US allies (which, remember, for him do not do enough).

Last, at 1:14:20, Trump climbs on a speech that, as we saw with Obama, is shamelessly altered and simplified. Unlike Obama, however, we must assume that Trump has incorporated and internalized it in this form, since it betrays no particular signals of doubt.

All the speech is pervaded of a pompous American-centric rhetoric. We always touch the same elements and the same semantic areas, almost like “ring” formulas. In particular, the very last part of the discourse is full of dull patriotic references (the Audience starts the «USA! USA! USA!» chorus, too).

#### 2.6.4. Leader against Leader: Trump vs Kim Jong-Un<sup>107</sup>.

In this meeting with the North Korean leader (which can be described as a particular form of Conflict Ending Speech), Trump demonstrates all his hardness and determination. He also demonstrates all his sincere esteem towards his collaborators, praising them many times.

You can also see, in the exchanges with Kim, that he is a man who enjoys the successes of his negotiations, is pleased to get results where others have failed before. Trump is an aggressive man and strongly convinced of the validity of his ideas, his ideals and his values. His very personal and self-referential Cult of Personality can be easily identified when he places his signature on the documents<sup>108</sup>.

Trump's signature indicates the love and dedication that the President of the United States has in writing his own name. The angles of his letters denote, according to the studies of calligraphy, the hardness and firmness of his convictions. Trump also takes a long time to sign, almost as if it was of fundamental importance to affix every meticulous detail with care: his name is the most important thing that will be visible in that entire sheet.

---

<sup>107</sup> Video available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQMdRERSlqg> (Last Access on 26/08/2018).

<sup>108</sup> <https://qz.com/891546/donald-trump-official-signature-trump-takes-a-tediously-long-time-to-sign-his-name/> (Last Access on 26/08/2018).



In every single speech, Trump has fluctuating vocal flexions. This prevents us from advancing hypotheses concerning his state of mind and, as we have seen, we must follow what is said and how (non-verbal elements) is said.

## 2.7. The impact on the Public Sphere.

We have seen, during our analysis of the Conflict Approach Speeches during the Second World War, that military discourse has a certain importance in the creation of a public opinion. Although it has been noted that the rhetoric of these discourses has remained almost unchanged (compare Franklin D. Roosevelt's statement of war against the Japanese empire) traditional media, compared to the 1930s and 40s, have changed profoundly.

In particular, the press has been “outclassed” by television, which has redefined the standards of journalistic narration. In fact, more or less since the '70s, it is impossible to think that the columns of the Washington Post have something that has not already been transmitted by a newscast. As in many other fields, America is the first place of application of some trends that will soon become worldwide. In fact, even in Italy since the 90s it has become essential to use news programs to receive information.

The medium preferred by users all over the world, during the first Bush administration, was television, in which information and in-depth programs were offered daily (on different networks), as well as talk shows where top experts in politics, economics, war and international relations were confronted with the most recent and burning issues.

The Public Sphere, in 1930, was thus directed towards an opinion. Why this? Mainly for two reasons: the first is that the rate of literacy at the time was remarkably low and therefore only the upper classes could understand the concepts expressed by the printed paper of the time and the second is that television is a more immediate medium capable to relate an information provider with a potentially huge and vast audience.

As for newspapers, it is not true that they have been outclassed. Obviously, newspapers are going through a period of crisis, especially in Europe, but only because today,

compared to 1930 or 1990, there are also and above all smartphones and social networks, a combination that in this decade has become the main source of information for the mass.

In the US, the newspapers' answer was smart and brilliant. Immediately online real parallel portals created by the main newspapers have spread, beginning to exploit the Internet to increase revenues, increasing advertising and developing multiple content (galleries, photo-news, flash news) that could not find space on the columns of the magazines. In Italy, albeit with a decade of delay, the main newspapers are moving in the same direction and today there are more editors dedicated exclusively to the web area of a newspaper than to the paper area.

Inspired by our experience with a sports newspaper, we can report the average attendance data of the site, the traffic sources and the slow but gradual increase in the number of users<sup>109</sup>.

As clearly visible from the data, two/third of the traffic is from cellular phones and smartphones, 27% from computers and only 5% from other sources of the internet. In order to make an appropriate comparison, the analysed newspaper prints and sells around 1.000 copies per day but arrived at more than 110.000 online visuals on 24th of July (a percentage increase of 10,900%).

### 2.7.1. The role of the new media.

As mentioned earlier, the new wave of information in the third millennium has gathered on its way the technological innovation of social networks, creating new media that are today omnipervasive in our lives. No one, in fact, can say that he/she has never seen on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram or even Snapchat any reference to links, channels and portals that can be linked to some informative bodies. Now a user cannot distinguish

---

<sup>109</sup> Screen of data available in the Appendixes & Annexes.

where the flow of information begins and where it ends, because the user is involved at an almost subliminal level.

And the potential of social networks had not escaped Barack Obama and his staff, who exploited these media (then in the early days) to conduct an innovative campaign, able to make the former US President the most “followed” man in the world during his presidency.

Obama was able to exploit communication techniques (until then only experimental) for his advantage. There are countless studies that demonstrate the effect that his photos had: those photos often portrayed him as a common man emotionally involved by passions and strong feelings. The image he gave of himself and his family (perfect, united, irreproachable, with every member that is free and independent, as the true model of the American family dictates), as well as his ability to interact on the web with users who asked him questions or asked for explanations. Obama managed to convince the Americans that the White House was few blocks away from their houses, brought politics closer to the people and made people aware of what was happening in Washington's palaces. For this reason, Obama is (and will remain) one of the greatest politicians of this historical period, because he managed to channel an innovative message, a “narration of the leader” never seen before in the political sphere, in a medium (the social networks' arena) never used before in history as a vehicle for electoral campaign.

Coming after Obama, Trump could not avoid using Twitter and social networks in general. We can safely say that the use that the current President of the US makes of social media is completely unreasonable. On Twitter, he is famous for his aggressive utterances (such as «I have a bigger button on my desk» that he had addressed to Kim Jong-Un in response to his threats of using nuclear warheads), his unmotivated criticism for journalists or politicians. Many times, it was proved that his critics were completely unrelated to the real events and even his proclamations, made through just under 280 characters, many times were proved as completely false. Many could say that Trump's behaviour is dictated by the absence of a real social media manager

(probably Obama had three or four maximum experts of the communicative techniques on the social networks) and this is probably part of the truth. Trump addresses his Audience in a direct, resolute and aggressive way, as he does in his live speeches: as in Europe, so in America, the populism of the third millennium feeds on the aggression and on the affirmation of the superiority of the social group of belonging, with the only difference that today the internet allows such a linguistic violence to be perpetrated with a power and a communicative speed that is thousand times greater than the one of the '30s of the last century.

## Conclusions.

Before listing our conclusions, it will be good to summarize the main points that led us to try to give an answer to our multiple Research Questions.

Firstly, we assumed that it was necessary to introduce this omnicomprehensive analysis of Military Speeches in the field of Political Sciences and International Relations. If we do not develop this kind of system today, in the period of social networks, the next *era* of the communication will bring us new aspects and new issues that we will not be able to manage. This is the time, this is the place, this is the “last call” for the development of a unique common system of qualitative analysis of the leaders’ strategic and Military Speeches.

Furthermore, in a world in which mass media and social media are pervasive in the common life, in which multimedia is now an essential measure of the everyday life and in which, unfortunately, the terroristic threat is even more concrete and inescapable (also due to the presence of these groups on the *social web* and on the main media of communications), it is necessary to study and understand the modalities of mass audience communication in the near past, in order to analyse wisely the present and try to lay the bases for a system that, in the future, could avoid the emergence of Leaderships that use hate and war as main keys to achieve their goals.

Secondly, we stated that it was necessary to categorize the strategic and Military Speeches, and we tried to summarize their main aspects.

Strategic Military Speeches are divided in three categories: Conflict Approach Speeches, Conflict Support Speeches and Conflict Closing Speeches. Drawing from the vast material collected during the writing of our bachelor dissertation, we can easily expose a definition for these three subcategories.

Conflict Approach Speeches are those speeches of strategic and psychological nature which, expressed by the leader of one or more deployments, follow the decision-making phase and precede the conflict itself; the strategic nature of these speeches is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued; the psychological

nature, on the other hand, expresses itself through significant and significative elements that leaders choose to emphasize, on the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of such elements. The Conflict Approach Speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, not just the underlying reasons for the decision to embark on a conflict (or to take part in it), but the very figure of the leader and the value of the established regime within that social group.

Conflict Support Speeches are those speeches of strategic and psychological nature which, expressed by the leader of one or more deployments, are addressed during the conflict itself; the strategic nature of these speeches is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued and a small resume of the goals already achieved; the psychological nature, on the other hand, expresses itself through significant and significative elements that leaders choose to emphasize, on the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of such elements. The Conflict Support Speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, the underlying reasons for the decision to continue to fight in a conflict and the very figure of the leader and the value of the established regime within that social group.

Conflict Closing Speeches are those speeches of strategic and psychological nature which, expressed by the leader of one or more deployments, follow the ending phase of a conflict; the strategic nature of these speeches is expressed through the description of the strategic relevance of the goals achieved; the psychological nature, on the other hand, expresses itself through significant and significative elements that leaders choose to emphasize, on the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of such elements. The Conflict Closing Speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, not just the validity of the decision to embark on a conflict (or to take part in it), whatever the result could be, but the very figure of the leader and the value of the established regime within that social group.

Thirdly, we wanted to emphasize the importance of non-verbal aspects of communication, because it is through these elements of a strategic discourse that we believe it is possible to understand the true intentions of a leader, a commander, a company or a social group.

The extralinguistic signals, during the communication, are different and are categorized as elements of gestures, kinesics and proxemics. Gestures are the complex of those signs that, in the conversation, accompanies or replaces articulated language. Kinesics is the study of motion phenomena. Proxemics is the study of the distance that the issuer chooses to establish between itself and the recipient, or between itself and the objects that surround it, while communicating a message. Therefore, if it is necessary, for the purposes of an efficient analysis of communication, to study also the phenomena defined as “non-verbal”, it is also necessary to study the expressions, which we can define as the union of gestures, movements and positions, voluntary and involuntary, which accompany or replace articulated language.

Therefore, the strategic discourses of the leaders have been studied exhaustively, both from a verbal and non-verbal and expressive point of view.

Fourthly, we gave a procedural definition of Military Speeches, in order to categorize them before analysing those of our Case Study.

Military Speeches are strategic and psychological discourses that, expressed by the leader of one or more sides, occur during a war or a conflict and could have three main implementation phases, depending on the moment in which they take place: approach, support, conclusion. The strategic nature of these discourses is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued (or that had been pursued); the psychological nature, on the other hand, is expressed through significant relevant elements that leaders choose to emphasize, by the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of these elements. Military Speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, not only the motivations behind the decision to undertake a conflict (or to take part, or to exit, etc.),

but the figure of the leader and the value of the regime established within that social group<sup>110</sup>.

So, we can now propose our conclusions.

In every time and in every place, it has always been, it is and always will be fundamental to be able to understand and anticipate the moves of our opponents. The principal aim of this thesis, as we said before, is to demonstrate that we effectively can anticipate our opponents' moves because every word of ours and every gesture of ours can betray our true thoughts. Knowing how to use this kind of science could have avoided some conflicts and, perhaps, even the most atrocious conflict in the history of mankind. Now we have all the elements to try and give an answer to the many Research Questions we have posed in Chapter 1.5. To proceed with order, we summarize them hereafter:

1. Is it possible to recognize Military Speeches?
2. Is it possible to draw a specific “doctrine” of a State’s foreign policies?
3. Is it right to define the United States’ attitude as the one of an “omnipower” in the field of the foreign policies?
4. Is it possible to identify Military Speeches as the “main aspects” of the foreign policy of a State?
5. Is it possible to scientifically analyse Military Speeches?
6. Is it possible to identify specific key words?
7. Is it right to draw semiotic fields that unify different key words?
8. Is it right to analyse the verbal communication directly in the original language, without any translation?
9. Is it right to analyse the non-verbal communication’s aspects of Military Speeches?
10. Is it possible to identify specific non-verbal communication’s aspect throughout different speeches, spoken in different times and political frameworks?

---

<sup>110</sup> In our case study: the Federal democratic constitutional republic of the United States of America.



11. Is it possible to analyse the efficiency and the effects of Military Speeches?
12. Is it right to state that this study could be a fundamental step towards the implementation of the semiotics' and non-verbal communications' elements inside the field of the Political Sciences?
13. Is it right, in conclusion, to state: "Knowing this possible application of psychology, semiotic analysis and non-verbal communication's study could avoid conflicts and wars, letting the world understand before the belligerent intentions of a State or of any other actor inside the international arena"?

First of all, we have explained that there is a substantial difference between strategic discourses and we have categorized them according to a scheme that is as coherent and exhaustive as possible. Therefore, we have tried to demonstrate with semiotic analysis that there are specific elements that can allow rapid and immediate recognition of a military discourse. *Ergo*, we can sentence that it is actually possible to recognize Military Speeches.

The second question we have posed ourselves is about the possibility for the scholars to draw a specific "doctrine" of a State's foreign policies. Then, we asked ourselves whether it would be right to define the United States' attitude in the field of foreign policy as the one of an "Omnipower". Here too we have to confirm: for us, it is possible to do it, particularly in this era of communication, where the necessary official documents are easily traceable online, as the most popular insights and even scholar studies are difficult to find otherwise. During our dissertation we have amply demonstrated that the most appropriate definition for the US foreign policy is to be found in the intent, transversal for all the American post-war administrations, to be omnipresent and omnipotent in all the regional subsystems of the world. We expressed this attitude with the expression "Omnipower", a label as good as real that perfectly describes US will to be the most powerful State that decides the cultural, economic and above all political fate of the entire planet. *Ergo*, we can sentence that it is actually possible to draw a specific "doctrine" of a State's foreign policy and that is right to

define the US doctrine through the American attitude of acting as the world's sole Omnipower.

Military Speeches have been studied by us in this thesis with the oratory manifestations of three US presidents. In Chapter 1.5., we wondered if it was possible to identify them as “main aspects” of the foreign policy of a state, in this case we should give a negative answer to our question. From what we have learned during the analysis of our case study, differently from the perspective in the Second World War, military discourses are no longer a “main aspect”, but simply a normal aspect of a State's foreign policy. Nowadays, influenced by what happened during the Second World War, the main aspect of a State's foreign policy is diplomacy, and political leaders act in this field as silent puppeteers. Military Speeches are given only when extremely necessary, that is when all the other means of resolving international disputes have failed. Military Speeches, therefore, remain the main and tougher manifestation of the foreign policy of a State, but their nature nowadays makes them almost impossible to be heard in many countries, like Italy, which does not undertake independent military initiatives. On the other hand, however, it is still possible to scientifically analyse Military Speeches (and the strategic speeches, in general), just as we have done for the ones of the Second World War, but with the advantage of having many audio-visual materials for all the oratory events and a vast multitude of potentials deriving from the software that have been developed in the last two years.

We should confirm that it is actually possible to identify specific key words and to draw vast semiotic fields that unify them. We should state that the analysis of the non-verbal communication's aspects of Military Speeches is not only just and scientifically valid, but also conceptually necessary, because if performed according to the canons and methodologies expressed in Chapter 1. they can be decisive to understand the real meaning of some expressions of the Speaker and, therefore, more in general, the real intentions and the true thoughts of a political and military leader.

Then we arrive to the answer of two of the main questions we have posed ourselves and that concern the methodology and the field of our analysis: the rightness of

analysing the verbal communication directly in the original language without any translation and the possibility of identifying specific non-verbal communication's aspects throughout different speeches spoken in different times and political frameworks.

The answer to the first question is positive, while for the second one we need to make some considerations. As far as the linguistic question is concerned, we find that the analysis of strategic discourses should be carried out through the original language of the discourses themselves, since any translation would dismantle that complex apparatus of meaningful constructs that the speaker tried to use: the real meanings of words, rhetorical figures and even syntactic constructs used would be lacking. To do this work and this analysis it is necessary that the student has one of these two qualities: either he knows the language used by the Speaker, or he tries to approach that language with extreme calm, being helped by dictionaries and other scholars that know the nuances of meaning of that language (for example, in our three-year thesis we analysed a speech by Stalin when we were not even able to read the Cyrillic, but with the help of some scholars who knew the Russian perfectly we were able to understand the hidden meaning of the expressions used by the Soviet leader).

On the other hand, in order to answer the second question, as mentioned, two different factors must be analysed. First, we firmly believe in Darwinian evolutionary theory and, for this, a large part of this study must give credit to Darwin and his insights about the correlation between the expressions of man and animals. According to this theory man is nothing but a particularly evolved mammal, which derives from monkeys developed over millions of years: and as mammals, and especially monkeys, we can categorize the emotions and the expressions of those emotions in a scientific way. Obviously, it is good to remember, the factors that lead to a certain expression in man are innumerable and infinitely more than in a primate or in another mammal: a dog expresses sadness because he feels a great sense of frustration, and so also a chimpanzee, but man can express sadness because his mind has been crossed by a melancholy thought for a moment. For this, as we had established in Chapter 1. talking

about the methodology to use, it is always good to double check your analysis several times and, if possible, compare it with the one of other scholars, in order to rely on people who are not affected by our own biases and from our own degrees of sensitivity. Second, however traceable to a common species, every human individual develops his own complex of gestures and expressions. For example, Obama points out in a very strange way, with the curved forefinger surrounding his thumb, while Trump uses neat gestures and aggressive expressions, and Bush always tries to keep calm crossing his hands. The Obama one is artificially created and is a characteristic of one of the best orators of the last 50 years, but for all the other gestures, postures and facial expressions Obama is just like Trump and Bush: they are all traits inherited from our primate ancestors, which we cannot control, but which we can choose. Some are chosen for us by our culture (for example, the Italians gesticulate a lot, sometimes they speak only through gestures, like the American Indians), others are chosen by them directly, even unconsciously sometimes, because they are part of the definition process of our personal identity. So yes, it is possible to identify specific non-verbal communication's aspects throughout different speeches, but we must remember that every Speaker is an individual, influenced by his own culture and his own beliefs of what is right and what is not, having his own specific pack of gestures and expressions: the scholar's work is to identify, understand and explain this pack, in order to make possible a punctual analysis of his speeches.

Moving on to the last three Research Questions we had set ourselves, we have to take a look at the number 11: is it possible to analyse the efficiency and the effects of Military Speeches?

Incredible to say, but no. With the advent of social media and new forms of interaction and communication, it is no longer possible to understand the real perception that the people have of political events and military demonstrations. For example, it is absolutely not true that public opinion was outraged by Trump's "scrappy" past, something that traditional media (newspapers and television) had declared during the election campaign. Trump, in fact, won the elections, just as the British chose to leave

Europe, the right-wing coalition in Italy did not reach 40% and much more. In the last five years history continues to repeat itself: in our vision, the common intelligentsia that dominates traditional media has totally lost control over the real perception of the audience, which is created and formed online, on social networks. Many people openly declare (especially in Italy) to mainly inform themselves, if not exclusively, through social networks, often relying only on the titles and the “launches” (technical journalistic term) that they can see. The problem, in this case, is that widespread misinformation creates a distortion within Western democracies, with voters who often do not know the reality of the facts and vote according to convictions deriving from fake news (often, as in the case of Boldrini, real slanders). In our opinion, there is no way to solve this distortion. During our bachelor thesis, we analysed how the Conflict Approach Speeches could effectively create a public Opinion, which can be analysed through newspaper headlines. This is because, following the dynamics of the time, the newspapers were written by a cultural elite that addressed their own social group. This group, given the confidence that the “lower classes” placed in its capacity for analysis and discernment, influenced the thought of society, moved by the truth of the facts (or, in the despotic and dictatorial regimes, by the truth built by the ruling group). Every regime has its own distortions, but those of our times do not allow us to analyse effectively the influence, the effects and the efficiency itself of Military Speeches among the Public Sphere.

In the end, we would try to explain why this study could represent a fundamental step towards the implementation of the semiotics’ and non-verbal communications’ elements inside the field of the Political Sciences. From our point of view, this field of study is one of the highest that can be followed, since international relations have always existed and will always continue to exist. One of the oldest professions in the world is that of the ambassador, and also thanks to the art of relations between different and alien groups, it has been possible to evolve our species from small groups of anthropomorphic primates to men with reason and intellect that live in the great metropolises of this world. This study is all that is missing in this course of study: that

is, a scientific and anthropocentric analysis of the interrelational skills of men, a proof that it is possible to understand and analyse the real aspirations that move human beings as individuals within the international arena. The study of political and military leaders, their backgrounds, their biases, their facial expressions, their gestures and their vocal tones can be the basis for a more in-depth step. We firmly believe that a subject like this, which owes much to the intuitions of an American psychologist, Paul Ekman, and who is able to unite the same psychology with elements of political philosophy, history of international relations, sociology and anthropology, is fundamental within a course of International Relations, as well as in a course of Governance & Global Affairs. Students capable of recognizing facial expressions, gestures, proxemics, vocal flexions, semiotics and their meaning could have enormous advantages in the development of timely analyses of political events and possible forecasts of future political scenarios in the international arena.

Therefore, it is right to state that “knowing this possible application of psychology, semiotic analysis and non-verbal communication’s study could avoid conflicts and wars, letting the world understand in advance the belligerent intentions of a State or of any other actor inside the international arena”.

During our bachelor thesis we analysed the semiotic elements of the speeches of different leaders of different countries. In this study, otherwise, we presented the speeches of three leaders of the same country. Now we have the elements to draw some brief conclusions. First of all, we must report the same categorization as semantic elements:

- a) /Victory/: seen as the main goal from each deployment that take part to the conflict. Obviously, each deployment starts a conflict with the goal to achieve /Victory/.
- b) /Resistance/: that is important inside the speeches of those who approach the conflict for defensive reasons, because they are attacked by an /Enemy/.
- c) /Courage/: essential element to incite deployments.
- d) /Freedom/: main reason to fight, because it is sustained that /Freedom/ could be reached only through the /Victory/.

- e) /Past/: to encourage deployments it is necessary to cite the /Past/, often to point out acts of /Courage/ that, in situations of extreme danger, had marked the /People/'s success.
- f) /Heroes/: in the same way, often are pointed out the /Heroes/ that are commonly recognized by the /People/ as /Heroes/ of the /Homeland/.
- g) /Homeland/: seen as the incarnation of the fatherland's soul that must be defended. /Homeland/ is an element that transcends singles and unifies deployments, as much as /Victory/ and the necessity of /Freedom/.
- h) /People/: incarnation of the inseparable unity of the deployment, having a common historical, social, political and cultural background that delivers to the leader a unitary corpus of significant elements which can be used inside his speeches.
- i) /Enemies/: the /Others/, the /Opponents/, /They/. While the words that can be used to represent /Enemies/ could change, /Enemy/ is a central theme inside Military Speeches.
- l) /Peace/: that often is pointed out as the main goal that had been searched in the period before the outbreak of the "inevitable" conflict.
- m) /God/: the element that transcends every other element, extern and extraneous from the human logics, bringing the victory to the ones who fight for a right cause.
- n) /Conflict/: another significant element could be the /Conflict/ itself, but its omission is a common element inside Military Speeches; maybe «Absence, more acute presence» (Attilio Bertolucci).

Secondly, we should underline a crucial aspect: the main semantic elements in Military Speeches have not changed during the time. From the Conflict Approach Speeches of the Second World War up to the Military Discourse of the Case Study examined by us during this thesis, the semantic areas of reference have remained unchanged. The difference lies in the use that is made of these semantic areas, but it is a complex difference. In fact, there is no difference in the use of these semantic areas in the speeches analysed in this thesis and the speech of F. D. Roosevelt that we analysed in the bachelor thesis.

Thirdly, continuing on the same line, there is not much difference in the attitude of President Roosevelt and that of the presidents analysed in our case study under the profile of the non-verbal communication.

So, we can conclude that:

- 1- The rhetoric of American leaders (Presidents, mainly) has remained unchanged over time. We have reason to believe that such rhetoric is now codified and commonly recognized as immutable. As was the rhetoric used by Roman emperors or the British royal family (in the imperial period), some semantic areas are used and remain unchanged over the centuries.
- 2- As for the rhetoric, even the gestures, the proxemic and the kinesics of the US Presidents remained unchanged over time. This does not negate the process of “adaptation” that these semiotic elements have been confronting over time with new technologies (television, mass media, social media). We have reason to believe that, even in the near future, both verbal communication and non-verbal communication of American leaders will adapt to new technologies.
- 3- Assuming that American rhetoric has remained unchanged over time, and that it is still difficult for many chancelleries, to anticipate and predict the intentions of the Omnipower, it is even more difficult to understand why it has not been thought, in the past, to delineate a possible method of analysis like the one proposed in our study.

Our main purpose was to prepare ourselves as a first step towards the study and analysis of strategic and military discourses, and in particular to the study and analysis of discourses related to conflicts, because it is important, in the light of the tensions present today in international relations, to understand and categorize the characteristic elements of these discourses, so as to be able to recognize which oratory expressions can lead to the outbreak of a conflict.

After all, the typical elements of military discourse, as mentioned, are so recognizable as to be implicitly the basis of paramanifestations of this kind of strategic and military oratory: examples of such paramanifestations can be found in some famous films,



videogames, science fiction books or even in any national anthems. In light of this, in fact, it was obvious to wonder why there were no studies concerning this matter, which can be defined as a manifestation of human communication that men themselves, as a species, implicitly recognize, but who have never wanted to categorize and to catalogue.

While we were preparing to study this intriguing subject, we were moved by the hope of being able to provide a valid method of analysis for strategic discourses, for too long ignored by semiotic studies. Today, however, arrived at the conclusion of our thesis, we are moved by the belief that in the future, if these studies were deepened and if this subject was given space within the courses of International Relations, we could prevent some of the disastrous consequences that entail conflicts, or even prevent the outbreak of the same conflicts.

So, we conclude our study with a quote from one of the most outstanding figures that ever lived on this planet, Mahatma Ghandi, and that perfectly fits our intentions: “The future depends on what we do in the present”.

## Bibliography and Linkography.

- Accommodating rising powers. Past, present, and future // ed. by T.V. Paul. Cambridge university press, Cambridge, 2016. Ch. 1. P. 3-7.
- Aldobrandini, G., (2009) The Wishful Thinking. Roma: LUISS University Press.
- Arendt, H., (1951) L'Origine del Totalitarismo. Einaudi.
- Beccaria, G. L., (2004) Dizionario di Linguistica. Einaudi.
- Bugaturov, Alexei. The Syndrome of "Absorption" in International Politics // Melvin, A. IU. and Shakleina, T. Russian Foreign Policy in Transition: Concepts and Realities. Central European University Press, New York, 2005. P. 294.
- Cialdini, R., (2012) Le Armi della Persuasione. Come e perché si finisce col dire di sì. Milano: Giunti.
- Cicerone, Orator, III, 5.
- Corrao, F., (2015) Islam, Religione e Politica. Roma: LUISS University Press.
- Cosenza, G., (2014) Introduzione alla Semiotica dei Nuovi Media. Lecce: Laterza.
- Cosenza, G., (2014) Introduzione alla Semiotica dei Nuovi Media. Lecce: Laterza.
- Cotta, M., Della Porta, D., e Morlino, M., (2001) Scienza Politica. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Di Nuoscio, E., (2006) Il Mestiere dello Scienziato Sociale. Napoli: Liguori Editore.
- Ekman, P., (1989) I Volti della Menzogna. Milano: Giunti.
- Faber, C., (2000) The American Presidents Ranked by Performance. Jefferson: McFarland & Company.
- Fahrenheit 9/11, by Michael Moore, produced by Dog Eat Dog Films and Fellowship Adventure Group, USA 2004.

- Garzanti, Enciclopedia Universale.
- Giovannini, F., (2003) L' imperialismo democratico. Uomini e teorie della dottrina Bush per il dominio del mondo. Datanews, Roma.
- <http://biographics.org/george-w-bush-biography-americas-43rd-president/> (Last Access on 14/06/2018).
- <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=o000167> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- [http://estriemaestri.altervista.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/slide\\_linguaggio\\_del\\_corpo.pdf](http://estriemaestri.altervista.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/slide_linguaggio_del_corpo.pdf) (Last Access on 21/07/2018).
- <http://nssarchive.us/> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).
- <http://video.repubblica.it/edizione/firenze/renzi-chiude-leopolda-5-il-discorso-integrale/181456/180257> (Last Access on 17/10/2017).
- <http://video.repubblica.it/edizione/roma/roma-movimenti-per-la-casa-sotto-al-campidoglio-raggi-non-ci-ha-ricevuti/246176/246280> (Last Access on 16/10/2017).
- <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:5M6E9a46zcMJ:www.lucianabenincaso.it/Dal%2520mondo%2520bipolare%2520a%2520quello%2520multipolare.docx+&cd=4&hl=it&ct=clnk> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).
- <http://www.espn.com/video/clip?id=15200904> (Last Access on 23/08/2018).
- <http://www.littlethings.com/america-is-the-best-hands-down-if-you-disagree-then-you-can-just-get-on-out/> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).
- <http://www.notablebiographies.com/Br-Ca/Bush-George-W.html> (Last Access on 15/06/2018).
- <http://www.notablebiographies.com/St-Tr/Trump-Donald.html> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- [http://www.onaire.eu/parlando\\_di/linguaggio\\_del\\_corpo/linguaggio\\_del\\_corpo.html](http://www.onaire.eu/parlando_di/linguaggio_del_corpo/linguaggio_del_corpo.html) (Last Access on 17/07/2018)

- <http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/shows/list/dreams-obama/> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- <http://www.presidentialpetmuseum.com/presidents/43gb/> (Last Access on 14/06/2018).
- <http://www.weeklystandard.com/world-leaders-normalize-fidel-castro/article/2005556> (Last Access on 26/11/2016).
- <http://www.who2.com/bio/donald-trump/> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/communication> (Last Access on 21/04/2018).
- <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/strategy> (Access on 16/10/2017).
- <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/president/biography.html> (Last Access on 15/06/2018).
- <https://millercenter.org/president/obama/life-before-the-presidency> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- [https://prod-cdn-static.gop.com/media/documents/DRAFT\\_12\\_FINAL\[1\]-ben\\_1468872234.pdf](https://prod-cdn-static.gop.com/media/documents/DRAFT_12_FINAL[1]-ben_1468872234.pdf) (Last Access on 27/11/2016).
- <https://qz.com/891546/donald-trump-official-signature-trump-takes-a-tediously-long-time-to-sign-his-name/> (Last Access on 26/08/2018).
- <https://www.biography.com/people/barack-obama-12782369> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- <https://www.biography.com/people/donald-trump-9511238> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.biography.com/people/george-w-bush-9232768> (Last Access on 14/06/2018).
- <https://www.biographyonline.net/business/donald-trump.html> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.biographyonline.net/politicians/american/barack-obama.html> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).

- <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Barack-Obama> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Donald-Trump> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-W-Bush> (Last Access on 14/06/2018).
- <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/policies/foreign-policy-and-defeating-isis/> (Last Access on 27/11/2016).
- <https://www.hellomagazine.com/profiles/barack-obama/> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0124133/bio> (Last Access on 15/06/2018).
- <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0874339/bio> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm1682433/bio> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/24/books/review/george-w-bush-biography-by-jean-edward-smith.html> (Last Access on 15/06/2018).
- <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/donald-trump-2016-campaign-biography-psychology-history-barrett-hurt-dantiono-blair-obrien-213835> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/donald-trump-3378.php> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.thoughtco.com/donald-trump-profile-4024748> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.trump.com/biography/> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).
- <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/barack-obama/> (Last Access on 16/08/2018).
- <https://www.whitehouse.gov/people/donald-j-trump/> (Last Access on 13/06/2018).

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=XbqCquDl4k4> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=43&v=53tqxdYlspg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=43&v=53tqxdYlspg) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EiUjcu\\_Dw0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EiUjcu_Dw0) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZLLT66rqlI> (Last Access on 13/04/2016).
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BwxI\\_184dc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5BwxI_184dc) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7q7rArw8HLo> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AORo-YEXxNQ> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B\\_KeXECZ9U4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_KeXECZ9U4) (Last Access on 14/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWETaMSRG-c> (Last Access on 16/10/2017).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-NKlEKmcX8> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQMdRERSlqg> (Last Access on 26/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KvRd17vXaXM> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1NMRG221HCU> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NxFkEj7KPC0> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9CD7uj2TL0> (Last Access on 23/08/2018).

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RHxw8UFNCdo> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=soAgvHSfAxo> (Last access on 26/11/16).
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vr7OKqqTb\\_o](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vr7OKqqTb_o) (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vTsqy18Mbvs> (Last access on 22/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WbIrm42zYTU> (Last Access on 24/08/2018)
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHFRm1cd8CU> (Last Access on 23/08/2018).
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zzObOl4tQxM> (Last Access on 24/08/2018).
- Huntington, Samuel P. Dead Souls // The National Interest. No. 75. (Spring 2004). P. 5-18.
- Huntington, Samuel P. The Lonely Superpower // Foreign Affairs. Vol. 78. No. 2. (March/April 1999). URL: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/54797/samuel-p-huntington/the-lonely-superpower>.
- Legro, Jeffrey W. The Omnipower – The U.S. and the Regional Others. // Godehart, N. and Naders, D. Regional Powers and Regional Orders. Routledge, 2011. P. 175.
- Lieven, Anatol. America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism. 1st Oxford University pbk. Ed. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005. P. 19-47.
- Lieven, Anatol. America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism. 1st Oxford University pbk. Ed. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005. P. 32.
- Maurice, “Strategikon”.

- Musashi, M., “The Book of Five Rings”.
- Nabers, Dirk. Punishment, Power and Subjectivity. Blackwell Publishing LTD, Oxford, 2010.
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1987. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1987.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1988. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1988.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1990. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1990.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1991. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1991.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 1997. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1997.pdf> (Last Access on 25/11/2016).
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2002. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf> (Last access on 25/11/16). P. 29.
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2006. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2002.pdf> (Last access on 25/11/16). Preface.
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2010. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf> (Last access on 25/11/16). Preface.



- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2010. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf> (Last access on 25/11/16). P. 1.
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2010. <http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2010.pdf> (Last access on 25/11/16). P. 5.
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America. The White House. Washington. D.C., 2015. <http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf> (Last access on 25/11/16). P. 2-5.
- Novak, Michael. Further Reflections on Ethnicity. Jednota Press, Middletown, PA, 1977. P. 26.
- Ovsienko, J. G., (2013) Il Russo, Corso Base. Roma: Il Punto Editoriale.
- Pellicani, L., (2002) Dalla Società Chiusa alla Società Aperta. Soveria Mannelli:
- Popper, K. R., (1994) Tutta la Vita è Risolvere Problemi. South Croydon Surrey: Karl Popper Estate c/o Melitta Mew.
- Rocher, G., (1992) Introduzione alla Sociologia Generale. Gallarate: SugarCo Edizioni.
- Sabbatucci, G., e Vidotto, V., (2009) Storia Contemporanea: il Novecento. Roma e Bari: Laterza.
- Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright Interview on NBC-TV “The Today Show” with Matt Lauer Columbus, Ohio, February 19, 1998.
- Shackleina, Tatiana. A Russian Perspective on the twenty-first Century Challenges / Challenge and Change. // Noonan N.C. and Nadkarni, V. // Global threats and the state in twenty-first century international politics. Macmillan, 2016. P. 38.
- Smith, W., Chase, J., & Lieblach, A. K. (1974). Tongue showing: A facial display of humans and other primate species. *Semiotica*, 11(3), 201-246.
- Sorice, M., (2009) Sociologia dei Mass Media. Roma: Carocci.

- Sorice, M., (2013) La comunicazione politica. Roma: Carocci.
- Sun Tzu, “The Art of War”.
- Treccani, Enciclopedia.
- Universo, Enciclopedia.
- von Clausewitz, C., “On War”.
- Wehner, Leslie. Roles and Actions of Leadership – Brazil and South American others. // Godehart, N. and Naders, D. Regional Powers and Regional Orders. Routledge, 2011. P. 144-145.
- Wehner, Leslie. Roles and Actions of Leadership – Brazil and South American others. // Godehart, N. and Naders, D. Regional Powers and Regional Orders. Routledge, 2011. P. 139.

## Appendixes & Annexes.

### The speech of 9/11.

Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts.

The victims were in airplanes or in their offices -- secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers. Moms and dads. Friends and neighbours.

Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.

The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed. Our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation.

Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.

America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature, and we responded with the best of America, with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbours who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, D.C., to help with local rescue efforts.

Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow.

Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business as well.

The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources for our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

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

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time.

None of us will ever forget this day, yet we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night. And God bless America.

War on Terror

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 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 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 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 in a great cause.

I'm so honoured the British prime minister had crossed an ocean to show his unity with America.

Thank you for coming, friend.

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the centre of a great city on a peaceful morning.

Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on thousands of civilians.

All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, ``Who attacked our country?"

The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are some of the murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al Qaeda is to terror what the Mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money, its goal is remaking the world and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics; a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam.

The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader, a person named Osama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries.

They are recruited from their own nations and neighbourhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of Al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan we see Al Qaeda's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized, many are starving and many have fled.

Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan--after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid--but we condemn the Taliban regime.

It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists.

By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder. And tonight the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban.

Deliver to United States authorities all of the leaders of Al Qaeda who hide in your land.

Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country.

Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. And hand over every terrorist and every person and their support structure to appropriate authorities.

Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion.

The Taliban must act and act immediately.

They will hand over the terrorists or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah.

The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself.

The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends.

Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them.

Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there.

It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.

Americans are asking ``Why do they hate us?"

They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us because we stand in their way.



We're not deceived by their pretenses to piety.

We have seen their kind before. They're the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way to where it ends in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking, "How will we fight and win this war?"

We will direct every resource at our command--every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war--to the destruction and to the defeat of the global terror network.

Now, this war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes visible on TV and covert operations secret even in success.

We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place until there is no refuge or no rest.

And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation in every region now has a decision to make: Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.

From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Our nation has been put on notice, we're not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans.

Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security.

These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight, I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight, I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge.

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

These measures are essential. The only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it and destroy it where it grows.

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents, to intelligence operatives, to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers.

And tonight a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I have called the armed forces to alert, and there is a reason.

The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom.

This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask and we will need the help of police forces, intelligence service and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded with sympathy and with support--nations from Latin America to Asia to Africa to Europe to the Islamic world.

Perhaps the NATO charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all. The civilized world is rallying to America's side.

They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror unanswered can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments.

And you know what? We're not going to allow it.

Americans are asking, ``What is expected of us?"

I ask you to live your lives and hug your children.

I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America and remember why so many have come here. We're in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [Libertyunites.org](http://Libertyunites.org), to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it. I ask for your patience with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity; they did not touch its source.

America is successful because of the hard work and creativity and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11, and they are our strengths today.

And finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do.

And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

Tonight we face new and sudden national challenges.

We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights and take new measures to prevent hijacking.

We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying with direct assistance during this emergency.

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home.

We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act and to find them before they strike.

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy and put our people back to work.

Tonight, we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers, Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress and these two leaders to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

After all that has just passed, all the lives taken and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear.

Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them.

As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror. This will be an age of liberty here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment.

Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depends on us.

Our nation, this generation, will lift the dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter and we will not fail.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines and that is good.

Even grief recedes with time and grace.

But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day and to whom it happened. We will remember the moment the news came, where we were and what we were doing.

Some will remember an image of a fire or story or rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this. It is the police shield of a man named George Howard who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others.

It was given to me by his mom, Arlene (ph), as a proud memorial to her son. It is my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end.

I will not forget the wound to our country and those who inflicted it. I will not yield, I will not rest, I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come.

In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom and may he watch over the United States of America.

Thank you.

Axis of Evil

Mr Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens. As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilised 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 four 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 will be partners in rebuilding that country, and this evening we welcome 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, Doctor 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 seven thousand miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountain tops and in caves, you will not escape the justice of this nation.  
'Sorrow and pain'

For many Americans, these four 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 someday."

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and marine who died in Mazar-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper fi [Latin abbreviation: "Always faithful"], my love." Shannon is with us tonight.

Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.

'Worst fears'

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and show us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos where they laugh about the loss of innocent life.

And the depth of their hatred is equalled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities; detailed instructions for making chemical weapons; surveillance maps of American cities; and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. 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, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs - set to go off without warning.

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. These enemies view the entire world as the battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbour

terrorists, freedom is at risk - and America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it.

Our nation will continue to be steadfast, and patient, and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. 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.

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

'Terrorist parasites'

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages.

Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian Government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

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

'Axis of evil'

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction.

Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.



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

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

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

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

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

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch, yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

We cannot stop short. If we stopped now, leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked, our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight.

Budget

Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war, we will protect our homeland, and we will revive our economy. September 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress, and I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve.

Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I am a proud member of my party - yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act first and foremost not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month - over \$30m a day - and we must be prepared for future operations.

Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace ageing aircraft and make our military more agile to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, and the best training - and they also deserve another pay raise.

My budget includes the largest increase in defence 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.

#### Homeland security

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack.

Time and distance from the events of September 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence.

We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We will increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States.

Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but in many ways better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health; stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighbourhoods; stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs.

And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens. A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al-Qaeda, and was armed with explosives. The people on that airplane were alert, and as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives - and tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones.

'Small deficit'

Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people.

To achieve these great national objectives - to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalise our economy - our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short term so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible way. We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We will prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession.

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

Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so no child in America will be left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties - Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller, Senator Judd Gregg - and I was so proud of our work I even had nice things to say about my friend Ted Kennedy. The folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't quite believe it, but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results.

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

#### Tax cut

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

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Humbled and privileged'

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

During these last few months, I have 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.

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

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

'New culture of responsibility'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace. All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated and live free from poverty and violence. No people on earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic street greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the sceptics look to Islam's own rich history - with its centuries of learning, and tolerance, and progress.

'Erasing old rivalries'

America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture - but America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable 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.

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world - including the Islamic world - because we have a greater objective than

eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

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

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them.

We've come to know truths that we will never question: Evil is real, and it must be opposed.

Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honour, and it is stronger than cynicism. Many have discovered again that even in tragedy - especially in tragedy - God is near.

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

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

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

Thank you, and God bless.



## Ultimatum to Saddam Hussein

My fellow citizens, events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision. For more than a decade, the United States and other nations have pursued patient and honorable efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime without war. That regime pledged to reveal and destroy all its weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

Since then, the world has engaged in 12 years of diplomacy. We have passed more than a dozen resolutions in the United Nations Security Council. We have sent hundreds of weapons inspectors to oversee the disarmament of Iraq. Our good faith has not been returned.

The Iraqi regime has used diplomacy as a ploy to gain time and advantage. It has uniformly defied Security Council resolutions demanding full disarmament. Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived. Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again -- because we are not dealing with peaceful men.

Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised. This regime has already used weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people.

The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East. It has a deep hatred of America and our friends. And it has aided, trained and harbored terrorists, including operatives of al Qaeda.

The danger is clear: using chemical, biological or, one day, nuclear weapons, obtained with the help of Iraq, the terrorists could fulfill their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country, or any other.

The United States and other nations did nothing to deserve or invite this threat. But we will do everything to defeat it. Instead of drifting along toward tragedy, we will set a

course toward safety. Before the day of horror can come, before it is too late to act, this danger will be removed.

The United States of America has the sovereign authority to use force in assuring its own national security. That duty falls to me, as Commander-in-Chief, by the oath I have sworn, by the oath I will keep.

Recognizing the threat to our country, the United States Congress voted overwhelmingly last year to support the use of force against Iraq. America tried to work with the United Nations to address this threat because we wanted to resolve the issue peacefully. We believe in the mission of the United Nations. One reason the UN was founded after the second world war was to confront aggressive dictators, actively and early, before they can attack the innocent and destroy the peace.

In the case of Iraq, the Security Council did act, in the early 1990s. Under Resolutions 678 and 687 - both still in effect - the United States and our allies are authorized to use force in ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. This is not a question of authority, it is a question of will.

Last September, I went to the U.N. General Assembly and urged the nations of the world to unite and bring an end to this danger. On November 8, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, finding Iraq in material breach of its obligations, and vowing serious consequences if Iraq did not fully and immediately disarm.

Today, no nation can possibly claim that Iraq has disarmed. And it will not disarm so long as Saddam Hussein holds power. For the last four-and-a-half months, the United States and our allies have worked within the Security Council to enforce that Council's long-standing demands. Yet, some permanent members of the Security Council have publicly announced they will veto any resolution that compels the disarmament of Iraq. These governments share our assessment of the danger, but not our resolve to meet it. Many nations, however, do have the resolve and fortitude to act against this threat to peace, and a broad coalition is now gathering to enforce the just demands of the world. The United Nations Security Council has not lived up to its responsibilities, so we will rise to ours.

In recent days, some governments in the Middle East have been doing their part. They have delivered public and private messages urging the dictator to leave Iraq, so that disarmament can proceed peacefully. He has thus far refused. All the decades of deceit and cruelty have now reached an end. Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours. Their refusal to do so will result in military conflict, commenced at a time of our choosing. For their own safety, all foreign nationals - including journalists and inspectors - should leave Iraq immediately.

Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast, and I have a message for them. If we must begin a military campaign, it will be directed against the lawless men who rule your country and not against you. As our coalition takes away their power, we will deliver the food and medicine you need. We will tear down the apparatus of terror and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is prosperous and free. In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture chambers and rape rooms. The tyrant will soon be gone. The day of your liberation is near.

It is too late for Saddam Hussein to remain in power. It is not too late for the Iraqi military to act with honor and protect your country by permitting the peaceful entry of coalition forces to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. Our forces will give Iraqi military units clear instructions on actions they can take to avoid being attacked and destroyed. I urge every member of the Iraqi military and intelligence services, if war comes, do not fight for a dying regime that is not worth your own life.

And all Iraqi military and civilian personnel should listen carefully to this warning. In any conflict, your fate will depend on your action. Do not destroy oil wells, a source of wealth that belongs to the Iraqi people. Do not obey any command to use weapons of mass destruction against anyone, including the Iraqi people. War crimes will be prosecuted. War criminals will be punished. And it will be no defense to say, "I was just following orders."

Should Saddam Hussein choose confrontation, the American people can know that every measure has been taken to avoid war, and every measure will be taken to win it.

Americans understand the costs of conflict because we have paid them in the past. War has no certainty, except the certainty of sacrifice.

Yet, the only way to reduce the harm and duration of war is to apply the full force and might of our military, and we are prepared to do so. If Saddam Hussein attempts to cling to power, he will remain a deadly foe until the end. In desperation, he and terrorists groups might try to conduct terrorist operations against the American people and our friends. These attacks are not inevitable. They are, however, possible. And this very fact underscores the reason we cannot live under the threat of blackmail. The terrorist threat to America and the world will be diminished the moment that Saddam Hussein is disarmed.

Our government is on heightened watch against these dangers. Just as we are preparing to ensure victory in Iraq, we are taking further actions to protect our homeland. In recent days, American authorities have expelled from the country certain individuals with ties to Iraqi intelligence services. Among other measures, I have directed additional security of our airports, and increased Coast Guard patrols of major seaports. The Department of Homeland Security is working closely with the nation's governors to increase armed security at critical facilities across America.

Should enemies strike our country, they would be attempting to shift our attention with panic and weaken our morale with fear. In this, they would fail. No act of theirs can alter the course or shake the resolve of this country. We are a peaceful people - yet we're not a fragile people, and we will not be intimidated by thugs and killers. If our enemies dare to strike us, they and all who have aided them, will face fearful consequences.

We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater. In one year, or five years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over. With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest. We choose to meet that threat now, where it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities.

The cause of peace requires all free nations to recognize new and undeniable realities. In the 20th century, some chose to appease murderous dictators, whose threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war. In this century, when evil men plot chemical, biological and nuclear terror, a policy of appeasement could bring destruction of a kind never before seen on this earth.

Terrorists and terror states do not reveal these threats with fair notice, in formal declarations - and responding to such enemies only after they have struck first is not self-defense, it is suicide. The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein now.

As we enforce the just demands of the world, we will also honor the deepest commitments of our country. Unlike Saddam Hussein, we believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty. And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation. The United States, with other countries, will work to advance liberty and peace in that region. Our goal will not be achieved overnight, but it can come over time. The power and appeal of human liberty is felt in every life and every land. And the greatest power of freedom is to overcome hatred and violence, and turn the creative gifts of men and women to the pursuits of peace.

That is the future we choose. Free nations have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent. And tonight, as we have done before, America and our allies accept that responsibility.

Good night, and may God continue to bless America.

Declaration of war

"My fellow citizens. At this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.

"On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign.

"More than 35 countries are giving crucial support from the use of naval and air bases to help with intelligence and logistics to deployment of combat units.

"Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honour of serving in our common defence.

"To all the men and women of the United States armed forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well placed.

"The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honourable and decent spirit of the American military.

"In this conflict America faces an enemy that has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality.

"Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military. A final atrocity against his people.

"I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm.

"A campaign on the harsh terrain of the nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict and helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.

"We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilisation and for the religious faiths they practise.

"We have no ambition in Iraq except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.

"I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon.

"Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent.

"For your sacrifice you have the gratitude and respect of the American people and you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.

"Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly, yet our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder.

"We will meet that threat now with our army, air force, navy, coastguard and marines so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of firefighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

"Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force and I assure you this will not be a campaign of half measures and we will accept no outcome but victory.

"My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.

"May God bless our country and all who defend her."

## Farewell Speech

Thank you.

Fellow citizens, for eight years it has been my honor to serve as your President. The first decade of this new century has been a period of consequence, a time set apart. Tonight, with a thankful heart, I have asked for a final opportunity to share some thoughts on the journey that we have traveled together and the future of our nation.

Five days from now, the world will witness the vitality of American democracy. In a tradition dating back to our founding, the presidency will pass to a successor chosen by you, the American people. Standing on the steps of the Capitol will be a man whose history reflects the enduring promise of our land. This is a moment of hope and pride

for our whole nation. And I join all Americans in offering best wishes to President-elect Obama, his wife, Michelle, and their two beautiful girls.

Tonight, I am filled with gratitude to Vice President Cheney and members of my Administration; to Laura, who brought joy to this house and love to my life; to our wonderful daughters, Barbara and Jenna; to my parents, whose examples have provided strength for a lifetime. And above all, I thank the American people for the trust you have given me. I thank you for the prayers that have lifted my spirits. And I thank you for the countless acts of courage, generosity, and grace that I have witnessed these past eight years.

This evening, my thoughts return to the first night I addressed you from this House, September the 11th, 2001. That morning, terrorists took nearly 3,000 lives in the worst attack on America since Pearl Harbor. I remember standing in the rubble of the World Trade Center three days later, surrounded by rescuers who had been working around the clock. I remember talking to brave souls who charged through smoke-filled corridors at the Pentagon and to husbands and wives whose loved ones became heroes aboard Flight 93. I remember Arlene Howard, who gave me her fallen son's police shield as a reminder of all that was lost. And I still carry his badge. As the years passed, most Americans were able to return to life much as it had been before 9/11. But I never did. Every morning, I received a briefing on the threats to our nation. I vowed to do everything in my power to keep us safe.

Over the past seven years, a new Department of Homeland Security has been created. The military, the intelligence community, and the FBI have been transformed. Our nation is equipped with new tools to monitor the terrorists' movements, freeze their finances, and break up their plots. And with strong allies at our side, we have taken the fight to the terrorists and those who support them. Afghanistan has gone from a nation where the Taliban harbored Al Qaeda and stoned women in the streets to a young democracy that is fighting terror and encouraging girls to go to school. Iraq has gone from a brutal dictatorship and a sworn enemy of America to an Arab democracy at the heart of the Middle East and a friend of the United States.



There's legitimate debate about many of these decisions. But there can be little debate about the results. America has gone more than seven years without another terrorist attack on our soil. This is a tribute to those who toil night and day to keep us safe -- law enforcement officers, intelligence analysts, homeland security and diplomatic personnel, and the men and women of the United States Armed Forces.

Our nation is blessed to have citizens who volunteer to defend us in this time of danger. I have cherished meeting these selfless patriots and their families. And America owes you a debt of gratitude. And to all our men and women in uniform listening tonight: There has been no higher honor than serving as your Commander in Chief.

The battles waged by our troops are part of a broader struggle between two dramatically different systems. Under one, a small band of fanatics demands total obedience to an oppressive ideology, condemns women to subservience, and marks unbelievers for murder. The other system is based on the conviction that freedom is the universal gift of Almighty God and that liberty and justice light the path to peace.

This is the belief that gave birth to our nation, and in the long run, advancing this belief is the only practical way to protect our citizens. When people live in freedom, they do not willingly choose leaders who pursue campaigns of terror. When people have hope in the future, they will not cede their lives to violence and extremism. So around the world, America is promoting human liberty, human rights, and human dignity. We're standing with dissidents and young democracies, providing AIDS medicine to dying patients -- to bring dying patients back to life, and sparing mothers and babies from malaria. And this great republic, born alone in liberty, is leading the world toward a new age when freedom belongs to all nations.

For eight years, we've also strived to expand opportunity and hope here at home. Across our country, students are rising to meet higher standards in public schools. A new Medicare prescription drug benefit is bringing peace of mind to seniors and the disabled. Every taxpayer pays lower income taxes. The addicted and suffering are finding new hope through faith-based programs. Vulnerable human life is better protected. Funding for our veterans has nearly doubled. America's air and water and

lands are measurably cleaner. And the Federal bench includes wise new members like Justice Sam Alito and Chief Justice John Roberts.

When challenges to our prosperity emerged, we rose to meet them. Facing the prospect of a financial collapse, we took decisive measures to safeguard our economy. These are very tough times for hardworking families, but the toll would be far worse if we had not acted. All Americans are in this together. And together, with determination and hard work, we will restore our economy to the path of growth. We will show the world once again the resilience of America's free enterprise system.

Like all who have held this office before me, I have experienced setbacks. And there are things I would do differently if given the chance. Yet I've always acted with the best interests of our country in mind. I have followed my conscience and done what I thought was right. You may not agree with some of the tough decisions I have made. But I hope you can agree that I was willing to make the tough decisions.

The decades ahead will bring more hard choices for our country, and there are some guiding principles that shape -- should shape our course. While our nation is safer than it was seven years ago, the gravest threat to our people remains another terrorist attack. Our enemies are patient and determined to strike again. America did nothing to seek or deserve this conflict, but we have been given solemn responsibilities, and we must meet them. We must resist complacency. We must keep our resolve. And we must never let down our guard.

At the same time, we must continue to engage the world with confidence and clear purpose. In the face of threats from abroad, it can be tempting to seek comfort by turning inward. But we must reject isolationism and its companion, protectionism. Retreating behind our borders would only invite danger. In the 21st century, security and prosperity at home depend on the expansion of liberty abroad. If America does not lead the cause of freedom, that cause will not be led.

As we address these challenges -- and others we cannot foresee tonight -- America must maintain our moral clarity. I've often spoken to you about good and evil, and this has made some uncomfortable. But good and evil are present in this world, and between

the two there can be no compromise. Murdering the innocent to advance an ideology is wrong every time, everywhere. Freeing people from oppression and despair is eternally right. This nation must continue to speak out for justice and truth. We must always be willing to act in their defense and to advance the cause of peace.

President Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." As I leave the House he occupied two centuries ago, I share that optimism. America is a young country, full of vitality, constantly growing and renewing itself. And even in the toughest times, we lift our eyes to the broad horizon ahead.

I have confidence in the promise of America because I know the character of our people. This is a nation that inspires immigrants to risk everything for the dream of freedom. This is a nation where citizens show calm in times of danger and compassion in the face of suffering. We see examples of America's character all around us. And Laura and I have invited some of them to join us in the White House this evening.

We see America's character in Dr. Tony Recasner, a principal who opened a new charter school from the ruins of Hurricane Katrina. We see it in Julio Medina, a former inmate who leads a faith-based program to help prisoners returning to society. We see it in Staff Sergeant Aubrey McDade, who charged into an ambush in Iraq and rescued three of his fellow Marines.

We see America's character in Bill Krissoff, a surgeon from California. His son Nathan, a Marine, gave his life in Iraq. When I met Dr. Krissoff and his family, he delivered some surprising news: He told me he wanted to join the Navy Medical Corps in honor of his son. This good man was 60 years old -- 18 years above the age limit. But his petition for a waiver was granted, and for the past year he has trained in battlefield medicine. Lieutenant Commander Krissoff could not be here tonight, because he will soon deploy to Iraq, where he will help save America's wounded warriors and uphold the legacy of his fallen son.

In citizens like these, we see the best of our country -- resilient and hopeful, caring and strong. These virtues give me an unshakable faith in America. We have faced danger

and trial, and there's more ahead. But with the courage of our people and confidence in our ideals, this great nation will never tire, never falter, and never fail.

It has been the privilege of a lifetime to serve as your President. There have been good days and tough days. But every day I have been inspired by the greatness of our country and uplifted by the goodness of our people. I have been blessed to represent this nation we love. And I will always be honored to carry a title that means more to me than any other: citizen of the United States of America.

And so, my fellow Americans, for the final time: Good night.

May God bless this House and our next President.

And may God bless you and our wonderful country.

Thank you.

OBAMA

Nobel Prize for Peace Lecture

Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, distinguished members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, citizens of America, and citizens of the world: I receive this honor with deep gratitude and great humility. It's an award that speaks to our highest aspirations -- that for all the cruelty and hardship of our world, we are not mere prisoners of fate. Our actions matter, and can bend history in the direction of justice.

And yet, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the considerable controversy that your generous decision has generated. In part, this is because I am at the beginning, and not the end, of my labors on the world stage. Compared to some of the giants of history who've received this prize -- Schweitzer and King, Marshall and Mandela -- my accomplishments are slight. And then there are the men and women around the world who've been jailed and beaten in the pursuit of justice; those who toil in humanitarian organizations to relieve suffering; the unrecognized millions whose quiet acts of

courage and compassion inspire even the most hardened cynics. I cannot argue with those who find these men and women -- some known, some obscure to all but those they help -- to be far more deserving of this honor than I. But perhaps the most profound issue surrounding my receipt of this prize is the fact that I am the Commander-in-Chief of the military of a nation in the midst of two wars. One of these wars is winding down. The other is a conflict that America did not seek, one in which we are joined by 42 other countries -- including Norway -- in an effort to defend ourselves and all nations from further attacks. Still, we are at war. And I am responsible<sup>1</sup> for the deployment of thousands of young Americans to battle in a distant land. Some will kill; and some will be killed. And so I come here with an acute sense of the costs of armed conflict -- filled with difficult questions about the relationship between war and peace, and our effort to replace one with the other.

Now these questions are not new. War, in one form or another, appeared with the first man. At the dawn of history, its morality was not questioned; it was simply a fact, like drought or disease -- the manner in which tribes and then civilizations sought power and settled their differences.

And over time, as codes of law sought to control violence within groups, so did philosophers and clerics and statesmen seek to regulate the destructive power of war. The concept of a "just war" emerged, suggesting that war is justified only when certain conditions were met: if it is waged as a last resort or in self-defense; if the force used is proportional; and if, whenever possible, civilians are spared from violence. Of course, we know that for most of history, this concept of "just war" was rarely observed. The capacity of human beings to think up new ways to kill one another proved inexhaustible, as did our capacity to exempt from mercy those who look different or pray to a different God. Wars between armies gave way to wars between nations -- total wars in which the distinction between combatant and civilian became blurred. In the span of 30 years, such carnage would twice engulf this continent. And while it's hard to conceive of a cause more just than the defeat of the Third Reich and

the Axis powers, World War II was a conflict in which the total number of civilians who died exceeded the number of soldiers who perished. In the wake of such destruction, and with the advent of the nuclear age, it became clear to victor and vanquished alike that the world needed institutions to prevent another world war. And so a quarter century after the United States Senate rejected the League of Nations -- an idea for which Woodrow Wilson received this prize -- America led the world in constructing an architecture to keep the peace: a Marshall Plan, and a United Nations; mechanisms to govern the waging of war, treaties to protect human rights, prevent genocide, restrict the most dangerous weapons. In many ways, these efforts succeeded. Yes, terrible wars have been fought, and atrocities committed. But there has been no Third World War. The Cold War ended with jubilant crowds dismantling a wall. Commerce has stitched much of the world together. Billions have been lifted from poverty. The ideals of liberty and self-determination, equality, and the rule of law have haltingly advanced. We are the heirs of the fortitude and foresight of generations past, and it is a legacy for which my own country is rightfully proud.

And yet, a decade into a new century, this old architecture is buckling under the weight of new threats. The world may no longer shudder at the prospect of war between two nuclear superpowers, but proliferation may increase the risk of catastrophe. Terrorism has long been a tactic, but modern technology allows a few small men with outsized rage to murder innocents on a horrific scale. Moreover, wars between nations have increasingly given way to wars within nations. The resurgence of ethnic or sectarian conflicts; the growth of secessionist movements, insurgencies, and failed states -- all these things have increasingly trapped civilians in unending chaos. In today's wars, many more civilians are killed than soldiers; the seeds of future conflict are sown, economies are wrecked, civil societies torn asunder, refugees amassed, children scarred. I do not bring with me today a definitive solution to the problems of war. What I do know is that meeting these challenges will require the same vision, hard work, and persistence of those men and women who acted so boldly decades ago. And

it will require us to think in new ways about the notions of "just war" and the imperatives of a just peace. We must begin by acknowledging a hard truth: We will not eradicate violent conflict in our lifetimes. There will be times when nations, acting individually or in concert, will find the use of force not only necessary but morally justified. I make this statement mindful of what Martin Luther King Jr. said in this same ceremony years ago: "Violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem. It merely creates new and more complicated ones." As someone who stands here as a direct consequence of Dr. King's life work, I am living testimony to the moral force of non-violence. I know there's nothing weak, nothing passive, nothing naïve in the creed and lives of Gandhi and King. But as a head of state sworn to protect and defend my nation, I cannot be guided by their examples alone. I face the world as it is and cannot stand idle in the face of threats to the American people. For make no mistake: Evil does exist in the world. A non-violent movement could not have halted Hitler's armies. Negotiations cannot convince al Qaeda's leaders to lay down their arms. To say that force may sometimes be necessary is not a call to cynicism. It is a recognition of history, the imperfections of man, and the limits of reason. I raise this point, I begin with this point because in many countries there is a deep ambivalence about military action today -- no matter what the cause. And at times, this is joined by a reflexive suspicion of America, the world's sole military superpower.

Yet, the world must remember that it was not simply international institutions -- not just treaties and declarations -- that brought stability to a post-World War II world. Whatever mistakes we have made, the plain fact is this: The United States of America has helped underwrite global security for more than six decades with the blood of our citizens and the strength of our arms. The service and sacrifice of our men and women in uniform has promoted peace and prosperity from Germany to Korea, and enabled democracy to take hold in places like the Balkans. We have borne this burden not because we seek to impose our will. We have done so out of enlightened self-interest -- because we seek a better future for our children and grandchildren, and

we believe that their lives will be better if others' children and grandchildren can live in freedom and prosperity. So yes, the instruments of war do have a role to play in preserving the peace. And yet this truth must coexist with another: that no matter how justified, war promises human tragedy. The soldier's courage and sacrifice is full of glory -- expressing devotion to country, to cause, to comrades in arms. But war itself is never glorious; and we must never trumpet it as such. So part of our challenge is reconciling these two seemingly irreconcilable truths: that war is sometimes necessary; and war at some level is an expression of human folly. Concretely, we must direct our effort to the task that President Kennedy called for long ago. "Let us focus," he said, "on a more practical, more attainable peace, based not on a sudden revolution in human nature but on a gradual evolution in human institutions."

A gradual evolution of human institutions.

What might this evolution look like?

What might these practical steps be?

To begin with, I believe that all nations, strong and weak alike, must adhere to standards that govern the use of force. I, like any head of state, reserve the right to act unilaterally if necessary to defend my nation. Nevertheless, I am convinced that adhering to standards, international standards, strengthens those who do and isolates and weakens those who don't.

The world rallied around America after the 9/11 attacks and continues to support our efforts in Afghanistan, because of the horror of those senseless attacks and the recognized principle of self-defense. Likewise, the world recognized the need to confront Saddam Hussein when he invaded Kuwait -- a consensus that sent a clear message to all about the cost of aggression. Furthermore, America -- in fact, no nation -- can insist that others follow the rules of the road if we refuse to follow them ourselves. For when we don't, our actions appear arbitrary and undercut the legitimacy of future interventions, no matter how justified.



And this becomes particularly important when the purpose of military action extends beyond self-defense or the defense of one nation against an aggressor. More and more, we all confront difficult questions about how to prevent the slaughter of civilians by their own government, or to stop a civil war whose violence and suffering can engulf an entire region. I believe that force can be justified on humanitarian grounds, as it was in the Balkans, or in other places that have been scarred by war. Inaction tears at our conscience and can lead to more costly intervention later. That's why all responsible nations must embrace the role that militaries with a clear mandate can play to keep the peace. America's commitment to global security will never waver. But in a world in which threats are more diffuse and missions more complex America cannot act alone. America alone cannot secure the peace. This is true in Afghanistan. This is true in failed states like Somalia, where terrorism and piracy is joined by famine and human suffering. And sadly, it will continue to be true in unstable regions for years to come.

The leaders and soldiers of NATO countries, and other friends and allies, demonstrate this truth through the capacity and courage they've shown in Afghanistan. But in many countries, there is a disconnect between the efforts of those who serve and the ambivalence of the broader public. I understand why war is not popular, but I also know this: The belief that peace is desirable is rarely enough to achieve it.

Peace requires responsibility.

Peace entails sacrifice.

That's why NATO continues to be indispensable. That's why we must strengthen U.N. and regional peacekeeping, and not leave the task to a few countries. That's why we honor those who return home from peacekeeping and training abroad to Oslo and Rome, to Ottawa and Sydney, to Dhaka and Kigali. We honor them not as makers of war, but as -- of wagers -- but as wagers of peace. Let me make one final point about the use of force. Even as we make difficult decisions about going to war, we must also think clearly about how we fight it. The Nobel Committee recognized this truth in

awarding its first prize for peace to Henry Dunant -- the founder of the Red Cross, and a driving force behind the Geneva Conventions.

Where force is necessary, we have a moral and strategic interest in binding ourselves to certain rules of conduct. And even as we confront a vicious adversary that abides by no rules, I believe the United States of America must remain a standard bearer in the conduct of war. That is what makes us different from those whom we fight. That is a source of our strength. That is why I prohibited torture. That is why I ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed. And that is why I have reaffirmed America's commitment to abide by the Geneva Conventions. We lose ourselves when we compromise the very ideals that we fight to defend. And we honor -- we honor those ideals by upholding them not when it's easy, but when it is hard.

I've spoken at some length to the question that must weigh on our minds and our hearts as we choose to wage war. But let me now turn to our effort to avoid such tragic choices, and speak of three ways that we can build a just and lasting peace.

First, in dealing with those nations that break rules and laws, I believe that we must develop alternatives to violence that are tough enough to actually change behavior. For if we want a lasting peace, then the words of the international community must mean something. Those regimes that break the rules must be held accountable. Sanctions must exact a real price. Intransigence must be met with increased pressure -- and such pressure exists only when the world stands together as one. One urgent example is the effort to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, and to seek a world without them. In the middle of the last century, nations agreed to be bound by a treaty whose bargain is clear: All will have access to peaceful nuclear power; those without nuclear weapons will forsake them; and those with nuclear weapons will work towards disarmament. I am committed to upholding this treaty. It is a centerpiece of my foreign policy. And I'm working with President Medvedev to reduce America and Russia's nuclear stockpiles. But it is also incumbent upon all of us to insist that nations like Iran and North Korea do not game the system. Those who claim to respect international law

cannot avert their eyes when those laws are flouted. Those who care for their own security cannot ignore the danger of an arms race in the Middle East or East Asia. Those who seek peace cannot stand idly by as nations arm themselves for nuclear war.

The same principle applies to those who violate international laws by brutalizing their own people. When there is genocide in Darfur, systematic rape in Congo, repression in Burma -- there must be consequences. Yes, there will be engagement. Yes, there will be diplomacy. But there must be consequences when those things fail. And the closer we stand together, the less likely we will be faced with the choice between armed intervention and complicity in oppression. This brings me to a second point: the nature of the peace that we seek. For peace is not merely the absence of visible conflict. Only a just peace based on the inherent rights and dignity of every individual can truly be lasting. It was this insight that drove drafters of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights after the Second World War. In the wake of devastation, they recognized that if human rights are not protected, peace is a hollow promise.

And yet, too often these words are ignored. For some countries, the failure to uphold human rights is excused by the false suggestion that these are somehow Western principles, foreign to local cultures or stages of a nation's development. And within America, there's long been a tension between those who describe themselves as realists or idealists -- a tension that suggests a stark choice between the narrow pursuit of interests or an endless campaign to impose our values around the world. I reject these choices. I believe that peace is unstable where citizens are denied the right to speak freely or worship as they please; choose their own leaders or assemble without fear. Pent-up grievances fester, and the suppression of tribal and religious identity can lead to violence. We also know that the opposite is true. Only when Europe became free did it finally find peace. America has never fought a war against a democracy, and our closest friends are governments that protect the rights of their citizens. No matter

how callously defined, neither America's interests -- nor the world's -- are served by the denial of human aspirations.

So even as we respect the unique culture and traditions of different countries, America will always be a voice for those aspirations that are universal. We will bear witness to the quiet dignity of reformers like Aung Sang Suu Kyi, to the bravery of Zimbabweans who cast their ballots in the face of beatings, to the hundreds of thousands who have marched silently through the streets of Iran. It is telling that the leaders of these governments fear the aspirations of their own people more than the power of any other nation. And it is the responsibility of all free people and free nations to make clear that these movements -- these movements of hope and history -- they have us on their side.

Let me also say this: The promotion of human rights cannot be about exhortation alone. At times, it must be coupled with painstaking diplomacy. I know that engagement with repressive regimes lacks the satisfying purity of indignation. But I also know that sanctions without outreach -- condemnation without discussion -- can carry forward only a crippling status quo. No repressive regime can move down a new path unless it has the choice of an open door. In light of the Cultural Revolution's horrors, Nixon's meeting with Mao appeared inexcusable -- and yet it surely helped set China on a path where millions of its citizens have been lifted from poverty and connected to open societies. Pope John Paul's engagement with Poland created space not just for the Catholic Church, but for labor leaders like Lech Walesa. Ronald Reagan's efforts on arms control and embrace of perestroika not only improved relations with the Soviet Union, but empowered dissidents throughout Eastern Europe. There's no simple formula here. But we must try as best we can to balance isolation and engagement, pressure and incentives, so that human rights and dignity are advanced over time. Third, a just peace includes not only civil and political rights -- it must encompass economic security and opportunity. For true -- true peace is not just freedom from fear, but freedom from want. It is undoubtedly true that development rarely takes root without security; it is also true that security does not exist where

human beings do not have access to enough food, or clean water, or the medicine and shelter they need to survive. It does not exist where children can't aspire to a decent education or a job that supports a family. The absence of hope can rot a society from within. And that's why helping farmers feed their own people, or nations educate their children and care for the sick, is not mere charity. It's also why the world must come together to confront climate change. There is little scientific dispute that if we do nothing, we will face more drought, more famine, more mass displacement -- all of which will fuel more conflict for decades. For this reason, it is not merely scientists and environmental activists who call for swift and forceful action. It's military leaders in my own country and others who understand our common security hangs in the balance. Agreements among nations. Strong institutions. Support for human rights. Investments in development. All these are vital ingredients in bringing about the evolution that President Kennedy spoke about. And yet, I do not believe that we will have the will, the determination, the staying power, to complete this work without something more; and that's the continued expansion of our moral imagination -- an insistence that there's something irreducible that we all share. As the world grows smaller, you might think it would be easier for human beings to recognize how similar we are -- to understand that we're all basically seeking the same things, that we all hope for the chance to live out our lives with some measure of happiness and fulfillment for ourselves and our families. And yet, somehow, given the dizzying pace of globalization, the cultural leveling of modernity, it perhaps comes as no surprise that people fear the loss of what they cherish in their particular identities -- their -- their race, their tribe, and perhaps most powerfully their religion. In some places, this fear has led to conflict. At times, it even feels like we're moving backwards. We see it in the Middle East, as the conflict between Arabs and Jews seems to harden. We see it in nations that are torn asunder by tribal lines.

And most dangerously, we see it in the way that religion is used to justify the murder of innocents by those who have distorted and defiled the great religion of Islam, and

who attacked my country from Afghanistan. These extremists are not the first to kill in the name of God. The cruelties of the Crusades are amply recorded. But they remind us that no Holy War can ever be a just war. For if you truly believe that you are carrying out divine will, then there is no need for restraint -- no need to spare the pregnant mother, or the medic, or the Red Cross worker, or even a person of one own's [sic] faith.

Such a warped view of religion is not just incompatible with the concept of peace, but I believe it's incompatible with the very purpose of faith: For the one rule that lies at the heart of every major religion is that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Adhering to this law of love has always been the core struggle of human nature. For we are fallible. We make mistakes, and fall victim to the temptations of pride, and power, and sometimes evil. Even those of us with the best of intentions will at time[s] fail to right the wrongs before us.

But we do not have to think that human nature is perfect for us to still believe that the human condition can be perfected. We do not have to live in an idealized world to still reach for those ideals that will make it a better place. The non-violence practiced by men like Gandhi and King may not have been practical or possible in every circumstance, but the love that they preached -- their fundamental faith in human progress -- that must always be the North Star that guides us on our journey. For if we lose that faith -- if we dismiss it as silly or naïve; if we divorce it from the decisions that we make on issues of war and peace -- then we lose what's best about humanity. We lose our sense of possibility. We lose our moral compass. Like generations have before us, we must reject that future. As Dr. King said at this occasion so many years ago, "I refuse to accept despair as the final response to the ambiguities of history. I refuse to accept the idea that the 'isness' of man's present condition makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal 'oughtness' that forever confronts him." Let us reach for the world that ought to be -- that spark of the divine that still st[i]rs within each of our souls.

Somewhere today, in the here and now, in the world as it is, a soldier sees he's outgunned, but stands firm to keep the peace. Somewhere today, in this world, a young protestor awaits the brutality of her government, but has the courage to march on. Somewhere today, a mother facing punishing poverty still takes the time to teach her child, scrapes together what few coins she has to send that child to school -- because she believes that a cruel world still has a place for that child's dreams.

Let us live by their example. We can acknowledge that oppression will always be with us, and still strive for justice. We can admit the intractability of depravation, and still strive for dignity. Clear-eyed, we can understand that there will be war, and still strive for peace. We can do that -- for that is the story of human progress; that's the hope of all the world; and at this moment of challenge, that must be our work here on Earth.

Thank you very much.

## Syrian Civil War

My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about Syria -- why it matters, and where we go from here.

Over the past two years, what began as a series of peaceful protests against the repressive regime of Bashar al-Assad has turned into a brutal civil war. Over 100,000 people have been killed. Millions have fled the country. In that time, America has worked with allies to provide humanitarian support, to help the moderate opposition, and to shape a political settlement. But I have resisted calls for military action, because we cannot resolve someone else's civil war through force, particularly after a decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The situation profoundly changed, though, on August 21st, when Assad's government gassed to death over a thousand people, including hundreds of children. The images from this massacre are sickening: Men, women, children lying in rows, killed by poison gas. Others foaming at the mouth, gasping for breath. A father clutching his dead children, imploring them to get up and walk. On that terrible night, the world saw

in gruesome detail the terrible nature of chemical weapons, and why the overwhelming majority of humanity has declared them off-limits -- a crime against humanity, and a violation of the laws of war.

This was not always the case. In World War I, American GIs were among the many thousands killed by deadly gas in the trenches of Europe. In World War II, the Nazis used gas to inflict the horror of the Holocaust. Because these weapons can kill on a mass scale, with no distinction between soldier and infant, the civilized world has spent a century working to ban them. And in 1997, the United States Senate overwhelmingly approved an international agreement prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, now joined by 189 governments that represent 98 percent of humanity.

On August 21st, these basic rules were violated, along with our sense of common humanity. No one disputes that chemical weapons were used in Syria. The world saw thousands of videos, cell phone pictures, and social media accounts from the attack, and humanitarian organizations told stories of hospitals packed with people who had symptoms of poison gas.

Moreover, we know the Assad regime was responsible. In the days leading up to August 21st, we know that Assad's chemical weapons personnel prepared for an attack near an area where they mix sarin gas. They distributed gasmasks to their troops. Then they fired rockets from a regime-controlled area into 11 neighborhoods that the regime has been trying to wipe clear of opposition forces. Shortly after those rockets landed, the gas spread, and hospitals filled with the dying and the wounded. We know senior figures in Assad's military machine reviewed the results of the attack, and the regime increased their shelling of the same neighborhoods in the days that followed. We've also studied samples of blood and hair from people at the site that tested positive for sarin.

When dictators commit atrocities, they depend upon the world to look the other way until those horrifying pictures fade from memory. But these things happened. The facts cannot be denied. The question now is what the United States of America, and the international community, is prepared to do about it. Because what happened to



those people -- to those children -- is not only a violation of international law, it's also a danger to our security.

Let me explain why. If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons. As the ban against these weapons erodes, other tyrants will have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas, and using them. Over time, our troops would again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battlefield. And it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons, and to use them to attack civilians.

If fighting spills beyond Syria's borders, these weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel. And a failure to stand against the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction, and embolden Assad's ally, Iran -- which must decide whether to ignore international law by building a nuclear weapon, or to take a more peaceful path.

This is not a world we should accept. This is what's at stake. And that is why, after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national security interests of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through a targeted military strike. The purpose of this strike would be to deter Assad from using chemical weapons, to degrade his regime's ability to use them, and to make clear to the world that we will not tolerate their use.

That's my judgment as Commander-in-Chief. But I'm also the President of the world's oldest constitutional democracy. So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes, I believed it was right, in the absence of a direct or imminent threat to our security, to take this debate to Congress. I believe our democracy is stronger when the President acts with the support of Congress. And I believe that America acts more effectively abroad when we stand together.

This is especially true after a decade that put more and more war-making power in the hands of the President, and more and more burdens on the shoulders of our troops, while sidelining the people's representatives from the critical decisions about when we use force.

Now, I know that after the terrible toll of Iraq and Afghanistan, the idea of any military action, no matter how limited, is not going to be popular. After all, I've spent four and a half years working to end wars, not to start them. Our troops are out of Iraq. Our troops are coming home from Afghanistan. And I know Americans want all of us in Washington -- especially me -- to concentrate on the task of building our nation here at home: putting people back to work, educating our kids, growing our middle class. It's no wonder, then, that you're asking hard questions. So let me answer some of the most important questions that I've heard from members of Congress, and that I've read in letters that you've sent to me.

First, many of you have asked, won't this put us on a slippery slope to another war? One man wrote to me that we are "still recovering from our involvement in Iraq." A veteran put it more bluntly: "This nation is sick and tired of war."

My answer is simple: I will not put American boots on the ground in Syria. I will not pursue an open-ended action like Iraq or Afghanistan. I will not pursue a prolonged air campaign like Libya or Kosovo. This would be a targeted strike to achieve a clear objective: deterring the use of chemical weapons, and degrading Assad's capabilities. Others have asked whether it's worth acting if we don't take out Assad. As some members of Congress have said, there's no point in simply doing a "pinprick" strike in Syria.

Let me make something clear: The United States military doesn't do pinpricks. Even a limited strike will send a message to Assad that no other nation can deliver. I don't think we should remove another dictator with force -- we learned from Iraq that doing so makes us responsible for all that comes next. But a targeted strike can make Assad, or any other dictator, think twice before using chemical weapons.

Other questions involve the dangers of retaliation. We don't dismiss any threats, but the Assad regime does not have the ability to seriously threaten our military. Any other retaliation they might seek is in line with threats that we face every day. Neither Assad nor his allies have any interest in escalation that would lead to his demise. And our

ally, Israel, can defend itself with overwhelming force, as well as the unshakeable support of the United States of America.

Many of you have asked a broader question: Why should we get involved at all in a place that's so complicated, and where -- as one person wrote to me -- "those who come after Assad may be enemies of human rights?"

It's true that some of Assad's opponents are extremists. But al Qaeda will only draw strength in a more chaotic Syria if people there see the world doing nothing to prevent innocent civilians from being gassed to death. The majority of the Syrian people -- and the Syrian opposition we work with -- just want to live in peace, with dignity and freedom. And the day after any military action, we would redouble our efforts to achieve a political solution that strengthens those who reject the forces of tyranny and extremism.

Finally, many of you have asked: Why not leave this to other countries, or seek solutions short of force? As several people wrote to me, "We should not be the world's policeman."

I agree, and I have a deeply held preference for peaceful solutions. Over the last two years, my administration has tried diplomacy and sanctions, warning and negotiations -- but chemical weapons were still used by the Assad regime.

However, over the last few days, we've seen some encouraging signs. In part because of the credible threat of U.S. military action, as well as constructive talks that I had with President Putin, the Russian government has indicated a willingness to join with the international community in pushing Assad to give up his chemical weapons. The Assad regime has now admitted that it has these weapons, and even said they'd join the Chemical Weapons Convention, which prohibits their use.

It's too early to tell whether this offer will succeed, and any agreement must verify that the Assad regime keeps its commitments. But this initiative has the potential to remove the threat of chemical weapons without the use of force, particularly because Russia is one of Assad's strongest allies.

I have, therefore, asked the leaders of Congress to postpone a vote to authorize the use of force while we pursue this diplomatic path. I'm sending Secretary of State John Kerry to meet his Russian counterpart on Thursday, and I will continue my own discussions with President Putin. I've spoken to the leaders of two of our closest allies, France and the United Kingdom, and we will work together in consultation with Russia and China to put forward a resolution at the U.N. Security Council requiring Assad to give up his chemical weapons, and to ultimately destroy them under international control. We'll also give U.N. inspectors the opportunity to report their findings about what happened on August 21st. And we will continue to rally support from allies from Europe to the Americas -- from Asia to the Middle East -- who agree on the need for action.

Meanwhile, I've ordered our military to maintain their current posture to keep the pressure on Assad, and to be in a position to respond if diplomacy fails. And tonight, I give thanks again to our military and their families for their incredible strength and sacrifices.

My fellow Americans, for nearly seven decades, the United States has been the anchor of global security. This has meant doing more than forging international agreements - - it has meant enforcing them. The burdens of leadership are often heavy, but the world is a better place because we have borne them.

And so, to my friends on the right, I ask you to reconcile your commitment to America's military might with a failure to act when a cause is so plainly just. To my friends on the left, I ask you to reconcile your belief in freedom and dignity for all people with those images of children writhing in pain, and going still on a cold hospital floor. For sometimes resolutions and statements of condemnation are simply not enough.

Indeed, I'd ask every member of Congress, and those of you watching at home tonight, to view those videos of the attack, and then ask: What kind of world will we live in if the United States of America sees a dictator brazenly violate international law with poison gas, and we choose to look the other way?

Franklin Roosevelt once said, “Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged.” Our ideals and principles, as well as our national security, are at stake in Syria, along with our leadership of a world where we seek to ensure that the worst weapons will never be used.

America is not the world’s policeman. Terrible things happen across the globe, and it is beyond our means to right every wrong. But when, with modest effort and risk, we can stop children from being gassed to death, and thereby make our own children safer over the long run, I believe we should act. That’s what makes America different. That’s what makes us exceptional. With humility, but with resolve, let us never lose sight of that essential truth.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

## Against ISIS

My fellow Americans, tonight I want to speak to you about what the United States will do with our friends and allies to degrade and ultimately destroy the terrorist group known as ISIL.

As Commander-in-Chief, my highest priority is the security of the American people. Over the last several years, we have consistently taken the fight to terrorists who threaten our country. We took out Osama bin Laden and much of al Qaeda's leadership in Afghanistan and Pakistan. We've targeted al Qaeda's affiliate in Yemen, and recently eliminated the top commander of its affiliate in Somalia. We've done so while bringing more than 140,000 American troops home from Iraq, and drawing down our forces in Afghanistan, where our combat mission will end later this year. Thanks to our military and counterterrorism professionals, America is safer.

Still, we continue to face a terrorist threat. We can't erase every trace of evil from the world, and small groups of killers have the capacity to do great harm. That was the case before 9/11, and that remains true today. And that's why we must remain vigilant

as threats emerge. At this moment, the greatest threats come from the Middle East and North Africa, where radical groups exploit grievances for their own gain. And one of those groups is ISIL -- which calls itself the "Islamic State."

Now let's make two things clear: ISIL is not "Islamic." No religion condones the killing of innocents. And the vast majority of ISIL's victims have been Muslim. And ISIL is certainly not a state. It was formerly al Qaeda's affiliate in Iraq, and has taken advantage of sectarian strife and Syria's civil war to gain territory on both sides of the Iraq-Syrian border. It is recognized by no government, nor by the people it subjugates. ISIL is a terrorist organization, pure and simple. And it has no vision other than the slaughter of all who stand in its way.

In a region that has known so much bloodshed, these terrorists are unique in their brutality. They execute captured prisoners. They kill children. They enslave, rape, and force women into marriage. They threatened a religious minority with genocide. And in acts of barbarism, they took the lives of two American journalists -- Jim Foley and Steven Sotloff.

So ISIL poses a threat to the people of Iraq and Syria, and the broader Middle East -- including American citizens, personnel and facilities. If left unchecked, these terrorists could pose a growing threat beyond that region, including to the United States. While we have not yet detected specific plotting against our homeland, ISIL leaders have threatened America and our allies. Our Intelligence Community believes that thousands of foreigners -- including Europeans and some Americans -- have joined them in Syria and Iraq. Trained and battle-hardened, these fighters could try to return to their home countries and carry out deadly attacks.

I know many Americans are concerned about these threats. Tonight, I want you to know that the United States of America is meeting them with strength and resolve. Last month, I ordered our military to take targeted action against ISIL to stop its advances. Since then, we've conducted more than 150 successful airstrikes in Iraq. These strikes have protected American personnel and facilities, killed ISIL fighters, destroyed weapons, and given space for Iraqi and Kurdish forces to reclaim

key territory. These strikes have also helped save the lives of thousands of innocent men, women and children.

But this is not our fight alone. American power can make a decisive difference, but we cannot do for Iraqis what they must do for themselves, nor can we take the place of Arab partners in securing their region. And that's why I've insisted that additional U.S. action depended upon Iraqis forming an inclusive government, which they have now done in recent days. So tonight, with a new Iraqi government in place, and following consultations with allies abroad and Congress at home, I can announce that America will lead a broad coalition to roll back this terrorist threat.

Our objective is clear: We will degrade, and ultimately destroy, ISIL through a comprehensive and sustained counterterrorism strategy.

First, we will conduct a systematic campaign of airstrikes against these terrorists. Working with the Iraqi government, we will expand our efforts beyond protecting our own people and humanitarian missions, so that we're hitting ISIL targets as Iraqi forces go on offense. Moreover, I have made it clear that we will hunt down terrorists who threaten our country, wherever they are. That means I will not hesitate to take action against ISIL in Syria, as well as Iraq. This is a core principle of my presidency: If you threaten America, you will find no safe haven.

Second, we will increase our support to forces fighting these terrorists on the ground. In June, I deployed several hundred American servicemembers to Iraq to assess how we can best support Iraqi security forces. Now that those teams have completed their work — and Iraq has formed a government — we will send an additional 475 servicemembers to Iraq. As I have said before, these American forces will not have a combat mission — we will not get dragged into another ground war in Iraq. But they are needed to support Iraqi and Kurdish forces with training, intelligence and equipment. We'll also support Iraq's efforts to stand up National Guard Units to help Sunni communities secure their own freedom from ISIL's control.

Across the border, in Syria, we have ramped up our military assistance to the Syrian opposition. Tonight, I call on Congress again to give us additional authorities and

resources to train and equip these fighters. In the fight against ISIL, we cannot rely on an Assad regime that terrorizes its own people -- a regime that will never regain the legitimacy it has lost. Instead, we must strengthen the opposition as the best counterweight to extremists like ISIL, while pursuing the political solution necessary to solve Syria's crisis once and for all.

Third, we will continue to draw on our substantial counterterrorism capabilities to prevent ISIL attacks. Working with our partners, we will redouble our efforts to cut off its funding; improve our intelligence; strengthen our defenses; counter its warped ideology; and stem the flow of foreign fighters into and out of the Middle East. And in two weeks, I will chair a meeting of the U.N. Security Council to further mobilize the international community around this effort.

Fourth, we will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to innocent civilians who have been displaced by this terrorist organization. This includes Sunni and Shia Muslims who are at grave risk, as well as tens of thousands of Christians and other religious minorities. We cannot allow these communities to be driven from their ancient homelands.

So this is our strategy. And in each of these four parts of our strategy, America will be joined by a broad coalition of partners. Already, allies are flying planes with us over Iraq; sending arms and assistance to Iraqi security forces and the Syrian opposition; sharing intelligence; and providing billions of dollars in humanitarian aid. Secretary Kerry was in Iraq today meeting with the new government and supporting their efforts to promote unity. And in the coming days he will travel across the Middle East and Europe to enlist more partners in this fight, especially Arab nations who can help mobilize Sunni communities in Iraq and Syria, to drive these terrorists from their lands. This is American leadership at its best: We stand with people who fight for their own freedom, and we rally other nations on behalf of our common security and common humanity.

My Administration has also secured bipartisan support for this approach here at home. I have the authority to address the threat from ISIL, but I believe we are



strongest as a nation when the President and Congress work together. So I welcome congressional support for this effort in order to show the world that Americans are united in confronting this danger.

Now, it will take time to eradicate a cancer like ISIL. And any time we take military action, there are risks involved — especially to the servicemen and women who carry out these missions. But I want the American people to understand how this effort will be different from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. It will not involve American combat troops fighting on foreign soil. This counterterrorism campaign will be waged through a steady, relentless effort to take out ISIL wherever they exist, using our air power and our support for partner forces on the ground.

This strategy of taking out terrorists who threaten us, while supporting partners on the front lines, is one that we have successfully pursued in Yemen and Somalia for years. And it is consistent with the approach I outlined earlier this year: to use force against anyone who threatens America's core interests, but to mobilize partners wherever possible to address broader challenges to international order.

My fellow Americans, we live in a time of great change. Tomorrow marks 13 years since our country was attacked. Next week marks six years since our economy suffered its worst setback since the Great Depression. Yet despite these shocks, through the pain we have felt and the grueling work required to bounce back, America is better positioned today to seize the future than any other nation on Earth.

Our technology companies and universities are unmatched. Our manufacturing and auto industries are thriving. Energy independence is closer than it's been in decades. For all the work that remains, our businesses are in the longest uninterrupted stretch of job creation in our history. Despite all the divisions and discord within our democracy, I see the grit and determination and common goodness of the American people every single day — and that makes me more confident than ever about our country's future.

Abroad, American leadership is the one constant in an uncertain world. It is America that has the capacity and the will to mobilize the world against terrorists. It is America

that has rallied the world against Russian aggression, and in support of the Ukrainian peoples' right to determine their own destiny. It is America — our scientists, our doctors, our know-how — that can help contain and cure the outbreak of Ebola. It is America that helped remove and destroy Syria's declared chemical weapons so that they can't pose a threat to the Syrian people or the world again. And it is America that is helping Muslim communities around the world not just in the fight against terrorism, but in the fight for opportunity, and tolerance, and a more hopeful future.

America, our endless blessings bestow an enduring burden. But as Americans, we welcome our responsibility to lead. From Europe to Asia, from the far reaches of Africa to war-torn capitals of the Middle East, we stand for freedom, for justice, for dignity. These are values that have guided our nation since its founding.

Tonight, I ask for your support in carrying that leadership forward. I do so as a Commander-in-Chief who could not be prouder of our men and women in uniform — pilots who bravely fly in the face of danger above the Middle East, and servicemembers who support our partners on the ground.

When we helped prevent the massacre of civilians trapped on a distant mountain, here's what one of them said: "We owe our American friends our lives. Our children will always remember that there was someone who felt our struggle and made a long journey to protect innocent people."

That is the difference we make in the world. And our own safety, our own security, depends upon our willingness to do what it takes to defend this nation and uphold the values that we stand for — timeless ideals that will endure long after those who offer only hate and destruction have been vanquished from the Earth.

May God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

New techniques of communication

Obama out

[Entrance music: "Cups (Pitch Perfect's When I'm Gone)" by Anna Kendrick.]

President Obama: You can't say it, but you know it's true.

Good evening, everybody.

Everybody: Good evening.

It is an honor to be here at my last -- and perhaps the last -- White House Correspondents' Dinner.

You all look great.

The end of the Republic has never looked better!

I do apologize. I know I was a little late tonight. I was running on "CPT" -- which stands for "Jokes That White People Should Not Make

Racist Joke from Hillary Clinton and Bill De Blasio

Mason: Got it.

President Obama: Anyway! Here we are. My eighth and final appearance at this unique event. And I am excited. If this material works well, I'm going to use it at Goldman Sachs next year. Earn me some serious Tubmans.



That's right.

My brilliant and beautiful wife, Michelle, is here tonight.



She looks so happy to be here. That's called practice -- it's like learning to do three-minute planks. She makes it look easy now.

Next year at this time, someone else will be standing here in this very spot, and it's anyone's guess who she will be. But standing here, I can't help but be reflective, a little sentimental. Eight years ago, I said it was time to change the tone of our politics. In hindsight, I clearly should have been more specific.

Eight years ago, I was a young man, full of idealism and vigor, and look at me now. I am gray and grizzled, just counting down the days 'til my death panel. Hillary once questioned whether I'd be ready for a 3 a.m. phone call -- now I'm awake anyway because I've got to go to the bathroom. I'm up.

In fact, somebody recently said to me, "Mr. President, you are so yesterday. Justin Trudeau has completely replaced you: He's so handsome; he's so charming; he's the future."



And I said, "Justin, just give it a rest." I resented that.

Meanwhile, Michelle has not aged a day. The only way you can date her in photos is by looking at me.

Take a look.



Here we are in 2008.



Here we are a few years later.



And this one is from two weeks ago.

So time passes. In just six short months, I will be officially a lame duck, which means Congress now will flat-out reject my authority. And Republican leaders won't take my phone calls. And this is going to take some getting used to, it's really going to -- it's a curve ball. I don't know what to do with it.

Of course, in fact, for months now congressional Republicans have been saying there are things I cannot do in my final year. Unfortunately, this dinner was not one of them. But on everything else, it's another story. And you know who you are, Republicans. In fact, I think we've got Republican Senators Tim Scott and Cory Gardner, they're in the house, which reminds me -- Security, bar the doors! Judge Merrick Garland, come on out, we're going to do this right here, right now. It's like "The Red Wedding."

But it's not just Congress. Even some foreign leaders, they've been looking ahead, anticipating my departure. Last week, Prince George showed up to our meeting in his bathrobe.



That was a slap in the face. A clear breach in protocol. Although while in England I did have lunch with Her Majesty, the Queen, took in a performance of Shakespeare, hit the links with David Cameron. (Just in case anybody is still debating whether I'm black enough, I think that settles the debate.)

I won't lie -- look, this is a tough transition. It's hard. Key staff are now starting to leave the White House.

Even reporters have left me:

Savannah Guthrie, she's left the White House Press Corps to host the Today show.

Norah O'Donnell left the briefing room to host CBS This Morning.

Jake Tapper left journalism to join CNN.



But the prospect of leaving the White House is a mixed bag. You might have heard that someone jumped the White House fence last week, but I have to give Secret Service credit -- they found Michelle, brought her back; she's safe back at home now. It's only nine more months, baby. Settle down.

And yet, somehow, despite all this, despite the churn, in my final year, my approval ratings keep going up. The last time I was this high, I was trying to decide on my major.

And here's the thing: I haven't really done anything differently. So it's odd. Even my aides can't explain the rising poll numbers -- what has changed, nobody can figure it out.



Puzzling....

Anyway, in this last year I do have more appreciation for those who have been with me on this amazing ride, like one of our finest public servants, Joe Biden. God bless him. Love that guy. I love Joe Biden -- I really do. And I want to thank him for his friendship, for his counsel, for always giving it to me straight, for not shooting anybody in the face. Thank you, Joe.

Also, I would be remiss -- let's give it up for our host, Larry Wilmore. Also known as one of the two black guys [along with Trevor Noah] who is not Jon Stewart. You're the South African guy, right? I love Larry. And his parents are here, who are from Evanston, which is a great town.

I also would like to acknowledge some of the award-winning reporters that we have with us here tonight. Rachel McAdams. Mark Ruffalo. Liev Schreiber. Thank you all for everything that you've done. I'm just joking. As you know, *Spotlight* is a film, a movie about investigative journalists with the resources and the autonomy to chase down the truth and hold the powerful accountable. Best fantasy film since *Star Wars*. Look -- that was maybe a cheap shot.

I understand the news business is tough these days, it keeps changing all the time. Every year at this dinner, somebody makes a joke about BuzzFeed, for example, changing the media landscape. And every year, the Washington Post laughs a little bit less hard. Kind of a silence there. Especially at the Washington Post table.

GOP Chairman Reince Priebus is here as well. Glad to see you that you feel that you've earned a night off. Congratulations on all your success. The Republican Party, the nomination process -- it's all going great. Keep it up.

Kendall Jenner is also here. And we had a chance to meet her backstage -- she seems like a very nice young woman. I'm not exactly sure what she does, but I am told that my Twitter mentions are about to go through the roof.

Helen Mirren is here tonight. I don't even have a joke here. I just think Helen Mirren is awesome. She's awesome.

Sitting at the same table, I see Mike Bloomberg. Mike, a combative, controversial New York billionaire is leading the GOP primary and it is not you. That's has to sting a little bit. Although it's not an entirely fair comparison between you and The Donald. After all, Mike was a big-city mayor. He knows policy in depth. And he's actually worth the amount of money that he says he is.

What an election season. For example, we've got the bright new face of the Democratic Party here tonight -- Mr. Bernie Sanders! There he is -- Bernie! Bernie, you look like a million bucks. Or to put it in terms you'll understand, you look like 37,000 donations of 27 dollars each.

A lot of folks have been surprised by the Bernie phenomenon, especially his appeal to young people. But not me, I get it. Just recently, a young person came up to me and said she was sick of politicians standing in the way of her dreams. As if we were actually going to let Malia go to Burning Man this year. That was not going to happen. Bernie might have let her go. Not us.

I am hurt, though, Bernie, that you've distancing yourself a little from me. I mean, that's just not something that you do to your comrade.



Bernie's slogan has helped his campaign catch fire among young people. "Feel the Bern." Feel the Bern -- it's a good slogan.

Hillary's slogan has not had the same effect. Let's see this.





Look, I've said how much I admire Hillary's toughness, her smarts, her policy chops, her experience. You've got to admit it, though, Hillary trying to appeal to young voters is a little bit like your relative just signed up for Facebook: "Dear America, did you get my poke?" "Is it appearing on your wall?" "I'm not sure I am using this right. Love, Aunt Hillary." It's not entirely persuasive.

Meanwhile, on the Republican side, things are a little more -- How should we say this? -- a little more "loose." Just look at the confusion over the invitations to tonight's dinner. Guests were asked to check whether they wanted steak or fish, but instead, a whole bunch of you wrote in: Paul Ryan. That's not an option, people. Steak or fish. You may not like steak or fish -- but that's your choice.

Meanwhile, some candidates aren't polling high enough to qualify for their own joke tonight.



The rules were well-established ahead of time.

And then there's Ted Cruz. Ted had a tough week. He went to Indiana -- Hoosier country -- stood on a basketball court, and called the hoop a "basketball ring." What else is in his lexicon? Baseball sticks? Football hats? But sure, I'm the foreign one.

Well, let me conclude tonight on a more serious note. I want to thank the Washington press corps, I want to thank Carol for all that you do. The free press is central to our democracy, and -- nah, I'm just kidding! You know I've got to talk about Trump! Come on! We weren't just going to stop there. Come on.

Although I am a little hurt that he's not here tonight. We had so much fun the last time. And it is surprising. You've got a room full of reporters, celebrities, cameras, and he says no? Is this dinner too tacky for The Donald? What could he possibly be doing instead? Is he at home, eating a Trump Steak -- tweeting out insults to Angela Merkel? What's he doing?

The Republican establishment is incredulous that he is their most likely nominee -- incredulous, shocking. They say Donald lacks the foreign policy experience to be President. But, in fairness, he has spent years meeting with leaders from around the world: Miss Sweden, Miss Argentina, Miss Azerbaijan.

And there's one area where Donald's experience could be invaluable -- and that's closing Guantanamo. Because Trump knows a thing or two about running waterfront properties into the ground.

All right, that's probably enough. I mean, I've got more material -- no, no, I don't want to spend too much time on The Donald. Following your lead, I want to show some restraint. Because I think we can all agree that from the start, he's gotten the appropriate amount of coverage, befitting the seriousness of his candidacy.

I hope you all are proud of yourselves. The guy wanted to give his hotel business a boost, and now we're praying that Cleveland makes it through July.

Mm-mm-mm. Hmm.

As for me and Michelle, we've decided to stay in D.C. for a couple more years. Thank you. This way, our youngest daughter can finish up high school, Michelle can stay closer to her plot of carrots. She's already making plans to see them every day. Take a look.



But our decision has actually presented a bit of a dilemma because, traditionally, Presidents don't stick around after they're done. And it's something that I've been brooding about a little bit. Take a look.

## VIDEO

I am still waiting for all of you to respond to my invitation to connect on LinkedIn. But I know you have jobs to do, which is what really brings us here tonight.

I know that there are times that we've had differences, and that's inherent in our institutional roles -- it's true of every President and his press corps. But we've always shared the same goal -- to root our public discourse in the truth; to open the doors of this democracy; to do whatever we can to make our country and our world more free and more just. And I've always appreciated the role that you have all played as equal partners in reaching these goals.

And our free press is why we once again recognize the real journalists who uncovered a horrifying scandal and brought about some measure of justice for thousands of victims throughout the world. They are here with us tonight -- Sacha Pfeiffer, Mike Rezendes, Walter Robinson, Matt Carroll, and Ben Bradlee, Jr. Please give them a big round of applause.

Our free press is why, once again, we honor Jason Rezaian. As Carol noted, last time this year, we spoke of Jason's courage as he endured the isolation of an Iranian prison. This year, we see that courage in the flesh and it's a living testament to the very idea of a free press, and a reminder of the rising level of danger, and political intimidation, and physical threats faced by reporters overseas. And I can make this commitment that as long as I hold this office, my Administration will continue to fight for the release of American journalists held against their will -- and we will not stop until they see the same freedom as Jason had.

At home and abroad, journalists like all of you engage in the dogged pursuit of informing citizens, and holding leaders accountable, and making our government of the people possible. And it's an enormous responsibility. And I realize it's an enormous challenge at a time when the economics of the business sometimes incentivize speed

over depth; and when controversy and conflict are what most immediately attract readers and viewers.

The good news is there are so many of you that are pushing against those trends. And as a citizen of this great democracy, I am grateful for that. For this is also a time around the world when some of the fundamental ideals of liberal democracies are under attack, and when notions of objectivity, and of a free press, and of facts, and of evidence are trying to be undermined. Or, in some cases, ignored entirely.

And in such a climate, it's not enough just to give people a megaphone. And that's why your power and your responsibility to dig and to question and to counter distortions and untruths is more important than ever. Taking a stand on behalf of what is true does not require you shedding your objectivity. In fact, it is the essence of good journalism. It affirms the idea that the only way we can build consensus, the only way that we can move forward as a country, the only way we can help the world mend itself is by agreeing on a baseline of facts when it comes to the challenges that confront us all.

So this night is a testament to all of you who have devoted your lives to that idea, who push to shine a light on the truth every single day. So I want to close my final White House Correspondents' Dinner by just saying thank you. I'm very proud of what you've done. It has been an honor and a privilege to work side by side with you to strengthen our democracy.

And with that, I just have two more words to say —

Obama out.

Make America great again! America First!

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: Thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together we will determine the

course of America and the world for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

Every four years we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power; and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you. Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the people.

For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs. And while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land. That all changes starting right here and right now -- because this moment is your moment. It belongs to you. It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration. And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people. January 20th, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

Everyone is listening to you now. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves.

These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public, but for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system flush with cash but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one nation, and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams. And their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry, subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own, and spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.

We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon. One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world. But that is the past and now we are looking only to the future.

We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power: From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it's going to be only America first.

America first.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from

the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down.

America will start winning again, winning like never before.

We will bring back our jobs.

We will bring back our borders.

We will bring back our wealth.

And we will bring back our dreams.

We will build new roads and highways and bridges and airports and tunnels and railways all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: Buy American; and hire American. We will seek friendship and good will with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.

We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example -- we will shine -- for everyone to follow. We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other.

When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

The Bible tells us how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity.

We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear. We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and most importantly, we will be protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving. We will no longer accept politicians, who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining but never doing anything about it.

The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action. Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a [n]ew millennium ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries, and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget -- that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms. And we all salute the same great American flag.

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the wind-swept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky. They fill their heart with the same dreams. And they are infused with the breath of life by the same Almighty Creator.

So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words: You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together we will make America strong again.

We will make America wealthy again.

We will make America proud again.

We will make America safe again.

And, yes, together, we will make America great again!

Thank you. God bless you and God bless America!

Afghanistan



Vice President Pence, Secretary of State Tillerson, members of the Cabinet, General Dunford, Deputy Secretary Shanahan, and Colonel Duggan. Most especially, thank you to the men and women of Fort Myer and every member of the United States military at home and abroad.

We send our thoughts and prayers to the families of our brave sailors who were injured and lost after a tragic collision at sea, as well as to those conducting the search and recovery efforts.

I am here tonight to lay out our path forward in Afghanistan and South Asia. But before I provide the details of our new strategy, I want to say a few words to the servicemembers here with us tonight, to those watching from their posts, and to all Americans listening at home.

Since the founding of our republic, our country has produced a special class of heroes whose selflessness, courage, and resolve is unmatched in human history.

American patriots from every generation have given their last breath on the battlefield for our nation and for our freedom. Through their lives -- and though their lives were cut short, in their deeds they achieved total immortality.

By following the heroic example of those who fought to preserve our republic, we can find the inspiration our country needs to unify, to heal, and to remain one nation under God. The men and women of our military operate as one team, with one shared mission, and one shared sense of purpose.

They transcend every line of race, ethnicity, creed, and color to serve together -- and sacrifice together -- in absolutely perfect cohesion. That is because all servicemembers are brothers and sisters. They're all part of the same family; it's called the American family. They take the same oath, fight for the same flag, and live according to the same law. They are bound together by common purpose, mutual trust, and selfless devotion to our nation and to each other.

The soldier understands what we, as a nation, too often forget that a wound inflicted upon a single member of our community is a wound inflicted upon us all. When one

part of America hurts, we all hurt. And when one citizen suffers an injustice, we all suffer together.

Loyalty to our nation demands loyalty to one another. Love for America requires love for all of its people. When we open our hearts to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice, no place for bigotry, and no tolerance for hate.

The young men and women we send to fight our wars abroad deserve to return to a country that is not at war with itself at home. We cannot remain a force for peace in the world if we are not at peace with each other.

As we send our bravest to defeat our enemies overseas -- and we will always win -- let us find the courage to heal our divisions within. Let us make a simple promise to the men and women we ask to fight in our name that, when they return home from battle, they will find a country that has renewed the sacred bonds of love and loyalty that unite us together as one.

Thanks to the vigilance and skill of the American military and of our many allies throughout the world, horrors on the scale of September 11th -- and nobody can ever forget that -- have not been repeated on our shores.

But we must also acknowledge the reality I am here to talk about tonight: that nearly 16 years after September 11th attacks, after the extraordinary sacrifice of blood and treasure, the American people are weary of war without victory. Nowhere is this more evident than with the war in Afghanistan, the longest war in American history -- 17 years.

I share the American people's frustration. I also share their frustration over a foreign policy that has spent too much time, energy, money, and most importantly lives, trying to rebuild countries in our own image, instead of pursuing our security interests above all other considerations.

That is why, shortly after my inauguration, I directed Secretary of Defense Mattis and my national security team to undertake a comprehensive review of all strategic options in Afghanistan and South Asia.

My original instinct was to pull out -- and, historically, I like following my instincts. But all my life I've heard that decisions are much different when you sit behind the desk in the Oval Office; in other words, when you're President of the United States. So I studied Afghanistan in great detail and from every conceivable angle. After many meetings, over many months, we held our final meeting last Friday at Camp David, with my Cabinet and generals, to complete our strategy. I arrived at three fundamental conclusions about America's core interests in Afghanistan.

First, our nation must seek an honorable and enduring outcome worthy of the tremendous sacrifices that have been made, especially the sacrifices of lives. The men and women who serve our nation in combat deserve a plan for victory. They deserve the tools they need, and the trust they have earned, to fight and to win.

Second, the consequences of a rapid exit are both predictable and unacceptable. 9/11, the worst terrorist attack in our history, was planned and directed from Afghanistan because that country was ruled by a government that gave comfort and shelter to terrorists. A hasty withdrawal would create a vacuum that terrorists, including ISIS and al Qaeda, would instantly fill, just as happened before September 11th.

And, as we know, in 2011, America hastily and mistakenly withdrew from Iraq. As a result, our hard-won gains slipped back into the hands of terrorist enemies. Our soldiers watched as cities they had fought for, and bled to liberate, and won, were occupied by a terrorist group called ISIS. The vacuum we created by leaving too soon gave safe haven for ISIS to spread, to grow, recruit, and launch attacks. We cannot repeat in Afghanistan the mistake our leaders made in Iraq.

Third and finally, I concluded that the security threats we face in Afghanistan and the broader region are immense. Today, 20 U.S.-designated foreign terrorist organizations are active in Afghanistan and Pakistan -- the highest concentration in any region anywhere in the world.

For its part, Pakistan often gives safe haven to agents of chaos, violence, and terror. The threat is worse because Pakistan and India are two nuclear-armed states whose tense relations threaten to spiral into conflict. And that could happen.

No one denies that we have inherited a challenging and troubling situation in Afghanistan and South Asia, but we do not have the luxury of going back in time and making different or better decisions. When I became President, I was given a bad and very complex hand, but I fully knew what I was getting into: big and intricate problems. But, one way or another, these problems will be solved -- I'm a problem solver -- and, in the end, we will win.

We must address the reality of the world as it exists right now -- the threats we face, and the confronting of all of the problems of today, and extremely predictable consequences of a hasty withdrawal.

We need look no further than last week's vile, vicious attack in Barcelona to understand that terror groups will stop at nothing to commit the mass murder of innocent men, women and children. You saw it for yourself. Horrible.

As I outlined in my speech in Saudi Arabia three months ago, America and our partners are committed to stripping terrorists of their territory, cutting off their funding, and exposing the false allure of their evil ideology.

Terrorists who slaughter innocent people will find no glory in this life or the next. They are nothing but thugs, and criminals, and predators, and -- that's right -- losers. Working alongside our allies, we will break their will, dry up their recruitment, keep them from crossing our borders, and yes, we will defeat them, and we will defeat them handily.

In Afghanistan and Pakistan, America's interests are clear: We must stop the resurgence of safe havens that enable terrorists to threaten America, and we must prevent nuclear weapons and materials from coming into the hands of terrorists and being used against us, or anywhere in the world for that matter.

But to prosecute this war, we will learn from history. As a result of our comprehensive review, American strategy in Afghanistan and South Asia will change dramatically in the following ways:

A core pillar of our new strategy is a shift from a time-based approach to one based on conditions. I've said it many times how counterproductive it is for the United States

to announce in advance the dates we intend to begin, or end, military options. We will not talk about numbers of troops or our plans for further military activities.

Conditions on the ground -- not arbitrary timetables -- will guide our strategy from now on. America's enemies must never know our plans or believe they can wait us out. I will not say when we are going to attack, but attack we will.

Another fundamental pillar of our new strategy is the integration of all instruments of American power -- diplomatic, economic, and military -- toward a successful outcome. Someday, after an effective military effort, perhaps it will be possible to have a political settlement that includes elements of the Taliban in Afghanistan, but nobody knows if or when that will ever happen. America will continue its support for the Afghan government and the Afghan military as they confront the Taliban in the field.

Ultimately, it is up to the people of Afghanistan to take ownership of their future, to govern their society, and to achieve an everlasting peace. We are a partner and a friend, but we will not dictate to the Afghan people how to live, or how to govern their own complex society. We are not nation-building again. We are killing terrorists.

The next pillar of our new strategy is to change the approach and how to deal with Pakistan. We can no longer be silent about Pakistan's safe havens for terrorist organizations, the Taliban, and other groups that pose a threat to the region and beyond. Pakistan has much to gain from partnering with our effort in Afghanistan. It has much to lose by continuing to harbor criminals and terrorists.

In the past, Pakistan has been a valued partner. Our militaries have worked together against common enemies. The Pakistani people have suffered greatly from terrorism and extremism. We recognize those contributions and those sacrifices.

But Pakistan has also sheltered the same organizations that try every single day to kill our people. We have been paying Pakistan billions and billions of dollars at the same time they are housing the very terrorists that we are fighting. But that will have to change, and that will change immediately. No partnership can survive a country's harboring of militants and terrorists who target U.S. servicemembers and officials. It is time for Pakistan to demonstrate its commitment to civilization, order, and to peace.

Another critical part of the South Asia strategy for America is to further develop its strategic partnership with India -- the world's largest democracy and a key security and economic partner of the United States. We appreciate India's important contributions to stability in Afghanistan, but India makes billions of dollars in trade with the United States, and we want them to help us more with Afghanistan, especially in the area of economic assistance and development. We are committed to pursuing our shared objectives for peace and security in South Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific region.

Finally, my administration will ensure that you, the brave defenders of the American people, will have the necessary tools and rules of engagement to make this strategy work, and work effectively and work quickly.

I have already lifted restrictions the previous administration placed on our warfighters that prevented the Secretary of Defense and our commanders in the field from fully and swiftly waging battle against the enemy. Micromanagement from Washington, D.C. does not win battles. They are won in the field drawing upon the judgment and expertise of wartime commanders and frontline soldiers acting in real time, with real authority, and with a clear mission to defeat the enemy.

That's why we will also expand authority for American armed forces to target the terrorist and criminal networks that sow violence and chaos throughout Afghanistan. These killers need to know they have nowhere to hide; that no place is beyond the reach of American might and Americans arms. Retribution will be fast and powerful.

As we lift restrictions and expand authorities in the field, we are already seeing dramatic results in the campaign to defeat ISIS, including the liberation of Mosul in Iraq.

Since my inauguration, we have achieved record-breaking success in that regard. We will also maximize sanctions and other financial and law enforcement actions against these networks to eliminate their ability to export terror. When America commits its warriors to battle, we must ensure they have every weapon to apply swift, decisive, and overwhelming force.

Our troops will fight to win. We will fight to win. From now on, victory will have a clear definition: attacking our enemies, obliterating ISIS, crushing al Qaeda, preventing the Taliban from taking over Afghanistan, and stopping mass terror attacks against America before they emerge.

We will ask our NATO allies and global partners to support our new strategy with additional troop and funding increases in line with our own. We are confident they will. Since taking office, I have made clear that our allies and partners must contribute much more money to our collective defense, and they have done so.

In this struggle, the heaviest burden will continue to be borne by the good people of Afghanistan and their courageous armed forces. As the prime minister of Afghanistan has promised, we are going to participate in economic development to help defray the cost of this war to us.

Afghanistan is fighting to defend and secure their country against the same enemies who threaten us. The stronger the Afghan security forces become, the less we will have to do. Afghans will secure and build their own nation and define their own future. We want them to succeed.

But we will no longer use American military might to construct democracies in faraway lands, or try to rebuild other countries in our own image. Those days are now over. Instead, we will work with allies and partners to protect our shared interests. We are not asking others to change their way of life, but to pursue common goals that allow our children to live better and safer lives. This principled realism will guide our decisions moving forward.

Military power alone will not bring peace to Afghanistan or stop the terrorist threat arising in that country. But strategically applied force aims to create the conditions for a political process to achieve a lasting peace.

America will work with the Afghan government as long as we see determination and progress. However, our commitment is not unlimited, and our support is not a blank check. The government of Afghanistan must carry their share of the military, political,

and economic burden. The American people expect to see real reforms, real progress, and real results. Our patience is not unlimited. We will keep our eyes wide open.

In abiding by the oath I took on January 20th, I will remain steadfast in protecting American lives and American interests. In this effort, we will make common cause with any nation that chooses to stand and fight alongside us against this global threat. Terrorists take heed: America will never let up until you are dealt a lasting defeat.

Under my administration, many billions of dollars more is being spent on our military. And this includes vast amounts being spent on our nuclear arsenal and missile defense.

In every generation, we have faced down evil, and we have always prevailed. We prevailed because we know who we are and what we are fighting for.

Not far from where we are gathered tonight, hundreds of thousands of America's greatest patriots lay in eternal rest at Arlington National Cemetery. There is more courage, sacrifice, and love in those hallowed grounds than in any other spot on the face of the Earth.

Many of those who have fought and died in Afghanistan enlisted in the months after September 11th, 2001. They volunteered for a simple reason: They loved America, and they were determined to protect her.

Now we must secure the cause for which they gave their lives. We must unite to defend America from its enemies abroad. We must restore the bonds of loyalty among our citizens at home, and we must achieve an honorable and enduring outcome worthy of the enormous price that so many have paid.

Our actions, and in the months to come, all of them will honor the sacrifice of every fallen hero, every family who lost a loved one, and every wounded warrior who shed their blood in defense of our great nation. With our resolve, we will ensure that your service and that your families will bring about the defeat of our enemies and the arrival of peace.



We will push onward to victory with power in our hearts, courage in our souls, and everlasting pride in each and every one of you.

Thank you. May God bless our military. And may God bless the United States of America.

Thank you very much. Thank you.

Address to the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States, and my fellow Americans:

Less than one year has passed since I first stood at this podium, in this majestic chamber, to speak on behalf of the American People -- and to address their concerns, their hopes, and their dreams. That night, our new Administration had already taken very swift action. A new tide of optimism was already sweeping across our land. Each day since, we have gone forward with a clear vision and a righteous mission -- to make America great again for all Americans.

Over the last year, we have made incredible progress and achieved extraordinary success. We have faced challenges we expected, and others we could never have imagined. We have shared in the heights of victory and the pains of hardship. We have endured floods and fires and storms. But through it all, we have seen the beauty of America's soul, and the steel in America's spine.

Each test has forged new American heroes to remind us who we are, and show us what we can be.

We saw the volunteers of the "Cajun Navy," racing to the rescue with their fishing boats to save people in the aftermath of a totally devastating hurricane.

We saw strangers shielding strangers from a hail of gunfire on the Las Vegas strip.

We heard tales of Americans like Coast Guard Petty Officer Ashlee Leppert, who is here tonight in the gallery with Melania. Ashlee was aboard one of the first helicopters on the scene in Houston during the Hurricane Harvey. Through 18 hours of wind and

rain, Ashlee braved live power lines and deep water to help save more than 40 lives. Ashlee, we all thank you. Thank you very much.

We heard about Americans like firefighter David Dahlberg. He's here with us also. David faced down walls of flame to rescue almost 60 children trapped at a California summer camp threatened by those devastating wildfires.

To everyone still recovering in Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands -- everywhere -- we are with you, we love you, and we always will pull through together, always.

Thank you to David and the brave people of California. Thank you very much, David. Great job.

Some trials over the past year touched this chamber very personally. With us tonight is one of the toughest people ever to serve in this House -- a guy who took a bullet, almost died, and was back to work three and a half months later: the legend from Louisiana, Congressman Steve Scalise. I think they like you, Steve.

We're incredibly grateful for the heroic efforts of the Capitol Police officers, the Alexandria Police, and the doctors, nurses, and paramedics who saved his life and the lives of many others; some in this room.

In the aftermath -- yes, yes -- In the aftermath of that terrible shooting, we came together, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as representatives of the people. But it is not enough to come together only in times of tragedy. Tonight, I call upon all of us to set aside our differences, to seek out common ground, and to summon the unity we need to deliver for the people. This is really the key. These are the people we were elected to serve.

(Thank you.) [off mic]

Over the last year, the world has seen what we always knew: that no people on Earth are so fearless or daring or determined as Americans. If there is a mountain, we climb it. If there's a frontier, we cross it. If there's a challenge, we tame it. If there's an opportunity, we seize it.<sup>1</sup> So let's begin tonight by recognizing that the state of our

Union is strong because our people are strong. And together, we are building a safe, strong, and proud America.

Since the election, we have created 2.4 million new jobs, including -- including 200,000 new jobs in manufacturing alone. Tremendous numbers. After years and years of wage stagnation, we are finally seeing rising wages.

Unemployment claims have hit a 45-year low. It's something I'm very proud of. African American unemployment stands at the lowest rate ever recorded. And Hispanic American unemployment has also reached the lowest levels in history.

Small-business confidence is at an all-time high. The stock market has smashed one record after another, gaining 8 trillion dollars, and more, in value in just this short period of time. The great news -- The great news for Americans' 401(k), retirement, pension, and college savings accounts have gone through the roof.

And just as I promised the American people from this podium 11 months ago, we enacted the biggest tax cuts and reforms in American history.

Our massive tax cuts provide tremendous relief for the middle class and small business. To lower tax rates for hardworking Americans, we nearly doubled the standard deduction for everyone. Now, the first 24,000 dollars earned by a married couple is completely tax-free. We also doubled the child tax credit. A typical family of four making 75,000 dollars will see their tax bill reduced by 2,000 dollars, slashing their tax bill in half.

In April, this will be the last time you will ever file under the old and very broken system, and millions of Americans will have more take-home pay starting next month -- a lot more.

We eliminated an especially cruel tax that fell mostly on Americans making less than 50,000 dollars a year, forcing them to pay tremendous penalties simply because they couldn't afford government-ordered health plans. We repealed the core of the disastrous Obamacare. The individual mandate is now gone. Thank heaven.

We slashed the business tax rate from 35 percent all the way down to 21 percent, so American companies can compete and win against anyone else anywhere in the

world. These changes alone are estimated to increase average family income by more than 4,000 dollars -- a lot of money. Small businesses have also received a massive tax cut, and can now deduct 20 percent of their business income.

Here tonight are Steve Staub and Sandy Keplinger of Staub Manufacturing, a small, beautiful business in Ohio. They've just finished the best year in their 20-year history. Because of tax reform, they are handing out raises, hiring an additional 14 people, and expanding into the building next door. Good feeling.

One of Staub's employees, Corey Adams, is also with us tonight. Corey is an all-American worker. He supported himself through high school, lost his job during the 2008 recession, and was later hired by Staub, where he trained to become a welder. Like many hardworking Americans, Corey plans to invest his tax cut raise into his new home and his two daughters' education.

Corey, please stand. And he's a great welder. I was told that by the man that owns that company that's doing so well. So congratulations, Corey.

Since we passed tax cuts, roughly three million workers have already gotten tax cut bonuses -- many of them thousands and thousands of dollars per worker. And it's getting more every month, every week. Apple has just announced it plans to invest a total of 350 billion dollars in America, and hire another 20,000 workers. And just a little while ago, ExxonMobil announced a 50 billion dollar investment in the United States, just a little while ago.

This, in fact, is our new American moment. There has never been a better time to start living the American Dream.

So to every citizen watching at home tonight, no matter where you've been, or where you've come from, this is your time. If you work hard, if you believe in yourself, if you believe in America, then you can dream anything; you can be anything; and together, we can achieve absolutely anything.

Tonight, I want to talk about what kind of future we're going to have, and what kind of a nation we're going to be. All of us, together, as one team, one people, and one American family can do anything.

We all share the same home, the same heart, the same destiny, and the same great American flag.

Together, we are rediscovering the American way. In America, we know that faith and family -- not government and bureaucracy -- are the center of American life. The motto is, "In God We Trust."

And we celebrate our police, our military, and our amazing veterans as heroes who deserve our total and unwavering support.

Here tonight is Preston Sharp, a 12-year-old boy from Redding, California, who noticed that veterans' graves were not marked with flags on Veterans Day. He decided all by himself to change that, and started a movement that has now placed 40,000 flags at the graves of our great heroes. Preston, a job well done.

Young patriots, like Preston, teach all of us about our civic duty as Americans. And I met Preston a little while ago, and he is something very special -- that I can tell you. Great future. Thank you very much for all you've done, Preston. Thank you very much. Preston's reverence for those who have served our nation reminds us of why we salute our flag, why we put our hands on our hearts for the Pledge of Allegiance -- -- and why we proudly stand for the National Anthem.

Americans love their country, and they deserve a government that shows them the same love and loyalty in return. For the last year, we have sought to restore the bonds of trust between our citizens and their government.

Working with the Senate, we are appointing judges who will interpret the Constitution as written, including a great new Supreme Court justice, and more circuit court judges than any new Administration in the history of our country.

We are totally defending our Second Amendment, and have taken historic actions to protect religious liberty.

And we are serving our brave veterans, including giving our veterans choice in their healthcare decisions. Last year, Congress also passed, and I signed, the landmark VA Accountability Act. Since its passage, my Administration has already removed more

than 1,500 VA employees who failed to give our veterans the care they deserve. And we are hiring talented people who love our VETS as much as we do.

And I will not stop until our veterans are properly taken care of, which has been my promise to them from the very beginning of this great journey.

All Americans deserve accountability and respect, and that's what we are giving to our wonderful heroes, our veterans. Thank you.

So, tonight, I call on Congress to empower every Cabinet Secretary with the authority to reward good workers and to remove federal employees who undermine the public trust or fail the American people.

In our drive to make Washington accountable, we have eliminated more regulations in our first year than any Administration in the history of our country.

We have ended the war on American energy, and we have ended the war on beautiful clean coal. We are now very proudly an exporter of energy to the world.

In Detroit, I halted government mandates that crippled America's great, beautiful autoworkers so that we can get Motor City revving its engines again. And that's what's happening. Many car companies are now building and expanding plants in the United States -- something we haven't seen for decades. Chrysler is moving a major plant from Mexico to Michigan. Toyota and Mazda are opening up a plant in Alabama -- a big one. And we haven't seen this in a long time. It's all coming back.

Very soon, auto plants and other plants will be opening up all over our country. This is all news Americans are totally unaccustomed to hearing. For many years, companies and jobs were only leaving us, but now they are roaring back. They're coming back. They want to be where the action is. They want to be in the United States of America. That's where they want to be.

Exciting progress is happening every single day. To speed access to breakthrough cures and affordable generic drugs, last year the FDA approved more new and generic drugs and medical devices than ever before in our country's history.

We also believe that patients with terminal conditions, and terminal illness, should have access to experimental treatment immediately that could potentially save their lives.

People who are terminally ill should not have to go from country to country to seek a cure. I want to give them a chance right here at home. It's time for Congress to give these wonderful, incredible Americans the right to try.

One of my greatest priorities is to reduce the price of prescription drugs. In many other countries, these drugs cost far less than what we pay in the United States. And it's very, very unfair. That is why I have directed my Administration to make fixing the injustice of high drug prices one of my top priorities for the year. And prices will come down substantially. Watch.

America has also finally turned the page on decades of unfair trade deals that sacrificed our prosperity and shipped away our companies, our jobs, and our wealth. Our nation has lost its wealth, but we're getting it back so fast. The era of economic surrender is totally over. From now on, we expect trading relationships to be fair and, very importantly, reciprocal.

We will work to fix bad trade deals and negotiate new ones. And they'll be good ones, but they'll be fair. And we will protect American workers and American intellectual property through strong enforcement of our trade rules.

As we rebuild our industries, it is also time to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure.

America is a nation of builders. We built the Empire State Building in just one year. Isn't it a disgrace that it can now take 10 years just to get a minor permit approved for the building of a simple road? I am asking both parties to come together to give us safe, fast, reliable, and modern infrastructure that our economy needs and our people deserve.

Tonight, I'm calling on Congress to produce a bill that generates at least 1.5 trillion dollars for the new infrastructure investment that our country so desperately needs. Every federal dollar should be leveraged by partnering with state and local governments and, where appropriate, tapping into private sector investment to permanently fix the infrastructure deficit. And we can do it.

Any bill must also streamline the permitting and approval process, getting it down to no more than two years, and perhaps even one. Together, we can reclaim our great building heritage.

We will build gleaming new roads, bridges, highways, railways, and waterways all across our land. And we will do it with American heart, and American hands, and American grit.

We want every American to know the dignity of a hard day's work. We want every child to be safe in their home at night. And we want every citizen to be proud of this land that we all love so much. We can lift our citizens from welfare to work, from dependence to independence, and from poverty to prosperity.

As -- As tax cuts create new jobs, let's invest in workforce development and let's invest in job training, which we need so badly. Let's open great vocational schools so our future workers can learn a craft and realize their full potential. And let's support working families by supporting paid family leave.

As America regains its strength, opportunity must be extended to all citizens. That is why this year we will embark on reforming our prisons to help former inmates who have served their time get a second chance at life.

Struggling communities, especially immigrant communities, will also be helped by immigration policies that focus on the best interests of American workers and American families.

For decades, open borders have allowed drugs and gangs to pour into our most vulnerable communities. They've allowed millions of low-wage workers to compete for jobs and wages against the poorest Americans. Most tragically, they have caused the loss of many innocent lives.

Here tonight are two fathers and two mothers: Evelyn Rodriguez, Freddy Cuevas, Elizabeth Alvarado, and Robert Mickens. Their two teenage daughters -- Kayla Cuevas and Nisa Mickens -- were close friends on Long Island. But in September 2016, on the eve of Nisa's 16th Birthday -- such a happy time it should have been -- neither of them



came home. These two precious girls were brutally murdered while walking together in their hometown.

Six members of the savage MS-13 gang have been charged with Kayla and Nisa's murders. Many of these gang members took advantage of glaring loopholes in our laws to enter the country as illegal, unaccompanied alien minors, and wound up in Kayla and Nisa's high school.

Evelyn, Elizabeth, Freddy, and Robert: Tonight, everyone in this chamber is praying for you. Everyone in America is grieving for you. Please stand. Thank you very much. I want you to know that 320 million hearts are right now breaking for you. We love you. Thank you.

While we cannot imagine the depths of that kind of sorrow, we can make sure that other families never have to endure this kind of pain.

Tonight, I am calling on Congress to finally close the deadly loopholes that have allowed MS-13, and other criminal gangs, to break into our country. We have proposed new legislation that will fix our immigration laws and support our ICE and Border Patrol agents -- these are great people; these are great, great people -- that work so hard in the midst of such danger so that this can never happen again.

The United States is a compassionate nation. We are proud that we do more than any other country anywhere in the world to help the needy, the struggling, and the underprivileged all over the world. But as President of the United States, my highest loyalty, my greatest compassion, my constant concern is for America's children, America's struggling workers, and America's forgotten communities. I want our youth to grow up to achieve great things. I want our poor to have their chance to rise.

So, tonight, I am extending an open hand to work with members of both parties, Democrats and Republicans, to protect our citizens of every background, color, religion, and creed. My duty, and the sacred duty of every elected official in this chamber, is to defend Americans, to protect their safety, their families, their communities, and their right to the American Dream. Because Americans are dreamers too.

Here tonight is one leader in the effort to defend our country, Homeland Security Investigations Special Agent Celestino Martinez. He goes by “DJ” and “CJ.” He said, “Call me either one.” So we’ll call you “CJ.” Served 15 years in the Air Force before becoming an ICE agent and spending the last 15 years fighting gang violence and getting dangerous criminals off of our streets. Tough job.

At one point, MS-13 leaders ordered CJ’s murder. And they wanted it to happen quickly. But he did not cave to threats or to fear. Last May, he commanded an operation to track down gang members on Long Island. His team has arrested nearly 400, including more than 220 MS-13 gang members.

And I have to tell you, what the Border Patrol and ICE have done -- we have sent thousands and thousands and thousands of MS-13 horrible people out of this country or into our prisons.

So I just want to congratulate you, CJ. You’re a brave guy. Thank you very much.

And I asked CJ, “What’s the secret?” He said, “We’re just tougher than they are.” And I like that answer. Now let’s get Congress to send you -- and all of the people in this great chamber have to do it; we have no choice. CJ, we’re going to send you reinforcements, and we’re going to send them to you quickly. It’s what you need.

Over the next few weeks, the House and Senate will be voting on an immigration reform package. In recent months, my Administration has met extensively with both Democrats and Republicans to craft a bipartisan approach to immigration reform. Based on these discussions, we presented Congress with a detailed proposal that should be supported by both parties as a fair compromise, one where nobody gets everything they want, but where our country gets the critical reforms it needs and must have.

Here are the four pillars of our plan: The first pillar of our framework generously offers a path to citizenship for 1.8 million illegal immigrants who were brought here by their parents at a young age. That covers almost three times more people than the previous Administration covered. Under our plan, those who meet education and work requirements, and show good moral character, will be able to become full citizens of the United States over a 12-year period.

The second pillar fully secures the border. That means building a great wall on the southern border, and it means hiring more heroes, like CJ, to keep our communities safe. Crucially, our plan closes the terrible loopholes exploited by criminals and terrorists to enter our country, and it finally ends the horrible and dangerous practice of catch and release.

The third pillar ends the visa lottery, a program that randomly hands out green cards without any regard for skill, merit, or the safety of American people. It's time to begin moving towards a merit-based immigration system, one that admits people who are skilled, who want to work, who will contribute to our society, and who will love and respect our country.

The fourth and final pillar protects the nuclear family by ending chain migration. Under the current broken system, a single immigrant can bring in virtually unlimited numbers of distant relatives. Under our plan, we focus on the immediate family by limiting sponsorships to spouses and minor children. This vital reform is necessary, not just for our economy, but for our security and for the future of America. In recent weeks, two terrorist attacks in New York were made possible by the visa lottery and chain migration. In the age of terrorism, these programs present risks we can just no longer afford.

It's time to reform these outdated immigration rules, and finally bring our immigration system into the 21st century.

These four pillars represent a down-the-middle compromise, and one that will create a safe, modern, and lawful immigration system.

For over 30 years, Washington has tried and failed to solve this problem. This Congress can be the one that finally makes it happen.

Most importantly, these four pillars will produce legislation that fulfills my ironclad pledge to sign a bill that puts America first. So let's come together, set politics aside, and finally get the job done.

These reforms will also support our response to the terrible crisis of opioid and drug addiction. Never before has it been like it is now. It is terrible. We have to do something

about it. In 2016, we lost 64,000 Americans to drug overdoses -- 174 deaths per day; 7 per hour. We must get much tougher on drug dealers and pushers if we are going to succeed in stopping this scourge.

My Administration is committed to fighting the drug epidemic and helping get treatment for those in need, for those who have been so terribly hurt. The struggle will be long and it will be difficult, but as Americans always do -- in the end, we will succeed. We will prevail.

As we have seen tonight, the most difficult challenges bring out the best in America. We see a vivid expression of this truth in the story of the Holets family of New Mexico. Ryan Holets is 27 years old, an officer with the Albuquerque Police Department. He's here tonight with his wife Rebecca. Thank you, Ryan.

Last year, Ryan was on duty when he saw a pregnant, homeless woman preparing to inject heroin. When Ryan told her she was going to harm her unborn child, she began to weep. She told him she didn't know where to turn, but badly wanted a safe home for her baby.

In that moment, Ryan said he felt God speak to him: "You will do it, because you can." He heard those words. He took out a picture of his wife and their four kids. Then, he went home to tell his wife Rebecca. In an instant, she agreed to adopt. The Holets named their new daughter Hope. Ryan and Rebecca, you embody the goodness of our nation. Thank you. Thank you, Ryan and Rebecca.

As we rebuild America's strength and confidence at home, we are also restoring our strength and standing abroad.

Around the world, we face rogue regimes, terrorist groups, and rivals like China and Russia that challenge our interests, our economy, and our values. In confronting these horrible dangers, we know that weakness is the surest path to conflict, and unmatched power is the surest means to our true and great defense.

For this reason, I am asking Congress to end the dangerous defense sequester and fully fund our great military.

As part of our defense, we must modernize and rebuild our nuclear arsenal, hopefully never having to use it, but making it so strong and so powerful that it will deter any acts of aggression by any other nation or anyone else.

Perhaps someday in the future, there will be a magical moment when the countries of the world will get together to eliminate their nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, we are not there yet, sadly.

Last year, I also pledged that we would work with our allies to extinguish ISIS from the face of the Earth. One year later, I am proud to report that the coalition to defeat ISIS has liberated very close to 100 percent of the territory just recently held by these killers in Iraq and in Syria and in other locations, as well. But there is much more work to be done. We will continue our fight until ISIS is defeated.

Army Staff Sergeant Justin Peck is here tonight. Near Raqqa, last November, Justin and his comrade, Chief Petty Officer Kenton Stacy, were on a mission to clear buildings that ISIS had rigged with explosive so that civilians could return to that city hopefully soon, and hopefully safely.

Clearing the second floor of a vital hospital, Kenton Stacy was severely wounded by an explosion. Immediately, Justin bounded into the booby-trapped and unbelievably dangerous and unsafe building, and found Kenton, but in very, very bad shape. He applied pressure to the wound and inserted a tube to reopen an airway. He then performed CPR for 20 straight minutes during the ground transport, and maintained artificial respiration through two and a half hours and through emergency surgery.

Kenton Stacy would have died if it were not for Justin's selfless love for his fellow warrior. Tonight, Kenton is recovering in Texas. Raqqa is liberated. And Justin is wearing his new Bronze Star, with a "V" for "valor." Staff Sergeant Peck, all of America salutes you.

Terrorists who do things like place bombs in civilian hospitals are evil. When possible, we have no choice but to annihilate them. When necessary, we must be able to detain and question them. But we must be clear: Terrorists are not merely criminals. They are

unlawful enemy combatants. And when captured overseas, they should be treated like the terrorists they are.

In the past, we have foolishly released hundreds and hundreds of dangerous terrorists, only to meet them again on the battlefield -- including the ISIS leader, al-Baghdadi, who we captured, who we had, who we released.

So today, I'm keeping another promise. I just signed, prior to walking in, an order directing Secretary Mattis, who is doing a great job, thank you -- to reexamine our military detention policy and to keep open the detention facilities in Guantanamo Bay. I am asking Congress to ensure that, in the fight against ISIS and al Qaeda, we continue to have all necessary power to detain terrorists, wherever we chase them down, wherever we find them. And in many cases, for them, it will now be Guantanamo Bay. At the same time, as of a few months ago, our warriors in Afghanistan have new rules of engagement.

Along with their heroic Afghan partners, our military is no longer undermined by artificial timelines, and we no longer tell our enemies our plans.

Last month, I also took an action endorsed unanimously by the U.S. Senate just months before. I recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Shortly afterwards, dozens of countries voted in the United Nations General Assembly against America's sovereign right to make this decision. In 2016, American taxpayers generously sent those same countries more than \$20 billion in aid.

That is why, tonight, I am asking Congress to pass legislation to help ensure American foreign-assistance dollars always serve American interests, and only go to friends of America, not enemies of America.

As we strengthen friendships all around the world, we are also restoring clarity about our adversaries.

When the people of Iran rose up against the crimes of their corrupt dictatorship, I did not stay silent. America stands with the people of Iran in their courageous struggle for freedom.

I am asking Congress to address the fundamental flaws in the terrible Iran nuclear deal.

My Administration has also imposed tough sanctions on the communist and socialist dictatorships in Cuba and Venezuela.

But no regime has oppressed its own citizens more totally or brutally than the cruel dictatorship in North Korea. North Korea's reckless pursuit of nuclear missiles could very soon threaten our homeland. We are waging a campaign of maximum pressure to prevent that from ever happening.

Past experience has taught us that complacency and concessions only invite aggression and provocation. I will not repeat the mistakes of past Administrations that got us into this very dangerous position.

We need only look at the depraved character of the North Korean regime to understand the nature of the nuclear threat it could pose to America and to our allies.

Otto Warmbier was a hardworking student at the University of Virginia -- and a great student he was. On his way to study abroad in Asia, Otto joined a tour to North Korea. At its conclusion, this wonderful young man was arrested and charged with crimes against the state. After a shameful trial, the dictatorship sentenced Otto to 15 years of hard labor, before returning him to America last June, horribly injured and on the verge of death. He passed away just days after his return.

Otto's wonderful parents, Fred and Cindy Warmbier, are here with us tonight, along with Otto's brother and sister, Austin and Greta. Please. Incredible people. You are powerful witnesses to a menace that threatens our world, and your strength truly inspires us all. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Tonight, we pledge to honor Otto's memory with total American resolve. Thank you. Finally, we are joined by one more witness to the ominous nature of this regime. His name is Mr. Ji Seong-ho.

In 1996, Seong-ho was a starving boy in North Korea. One day, he tried to steal coal from a railroad car to barter for a few scraps of food, which were very hard to get. In the process, he passed out on the train tracks, exhausted from hunger. He woke up as a train ran over his limbs. He then endured multiple amputations without anything to dull

the pain or the hurt. His brother and sister gave what little food they had to help him recover and ate dirt themselves, permanently stunting their own growth.

Later, he was tortured by North Korean authorities after returning from a brief visit to China. His tormentors wanted to know if he'd met any Christians. He had -- and he resolved, after that, to be free.

Seong-ho traveled thousands of miles on crutches all across China and Southeast Asia to freedom. Most of his family followed. His father was caught trying to escape and was tortured to death.

Today he lives in Seoul, where he rescues other defectors, and broadcasts into North Korea what the regime fears most: the truth. Today, he has a new leg. But, Seong-ho, I understand you still keep those old crutches as a reminder of how far you've come. Your great sacrifice is an inspiration to us all. Please. Thank you. Seong-ho's story is a testament to the yearning of every human soul to live in freedom.

It was that same yearning for freedom that nearly 250 years ago gave birth to a special place called America. It was a small cluster of colonies caught between a great ocean and a vast wilderness. It was home to an incredible people with a revolutionary idea: that they could rule themselves; that they could chart their own destiny; and that, together, they could light up the entire world.

That is what our country has always been about. That is what Americans have always stood for, always strived for, and always done.

Atop the dome of this Capitol stands the Statue of Freedom. She stands tall and dignified among the monuments to our ancestors who fought, and lived, and died to protect her. Monuments to Washington, and Jefferson, and Lincoln, and King. Memorials to the heroes of Yorktown and Saratoga; to young Americans who shed their blood on the shores of Normandy and the fields beyond; and others, who went down in the waters of the Pacific and the skies all over Asia.

And freedom stands tall over one more monument: this one. This Capitol -- this living monument -- this is the moment to the American people.



Audience: USA! USA! USA!

President Trump: We're a people whose heroes live not only in the past, but all around us, defending hope, pride, and defending the American way.

They work in every trade. They sacrifice to raise a family. They care for our children at home. They defend our flag abroad. And they are strong moms and brave kids. They are firefighters, and police officers, and border agents, medics, and Marines. But above all else, they are Americans. And this Capitol, this city, this nation, belongs entirely to them.

Our task is to respect them, to listen to them, to serve them, to protect them, and to always be worthy of them.

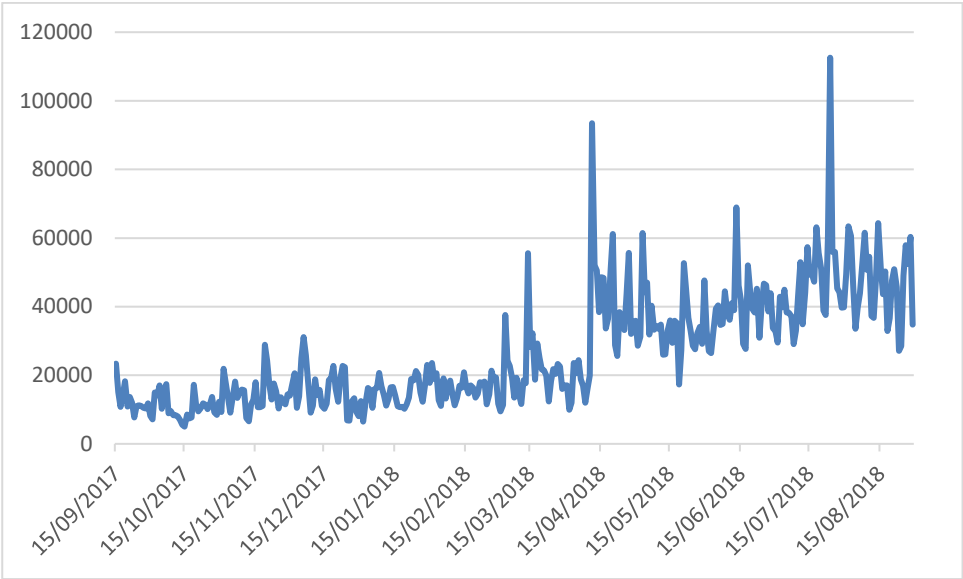
Americans fill the world with art and music. They push the bounds of science and discovery. And they forever remind us of what we should never, ever forget: The people dreamed this country. The people built this country. And it's the people who are making America great again.

As long as we are proud of who we are and what we are fighting for, there is nothing we cannot achieve. As long as we have confidence in our values, faith in our citizens, and trust in our God, we will never fail.

Our families will thrive. Our people will prosper. And our nation will forever be safe and strong and proud and mighty and free.

Thank you. And God bless America. Goodnight.

Data of *Il Romanista*'s website.



## Special Thanks.

I would also like to thank my best friends, who came to visit me in Russia and with whom I lived some of the most important moments of my life: Fabio Napolitano, Francesco Felle, Eugenio Santacroce and Vincent Esposto.

My dear friend Marco Guarino, with whom I spent my university years.

I also want to thank my Double Degree companions in Russia: a special thank to Rebecca Ciavari and my Syrian friends Muzayan Jamil and Zein R. Abbas.

## Summary.

Our thesis aimed at demonstrating that, through the analysis of Military Speeches, it will be possible, in the near future, to prevent the outbreak of a conflict, or the exacerbation of relations between two or more states. Not only that, our thesis also had theoretical purposes, such as demonstrating that the *modus operandi* used (created by us through a targeted evolution of the methods of qualitative analysis) was valid for the study of strategic discourses.

Firstly, we assumed that it was necessary to introduce this omnicomprehensive analysis of Military Speeches in the field of Political Sciences and International Relations. If we do not develop this kind of system today, in the period of social networks, the next *era* of the communication will bring us new aspects and new issues that we will not be able to manage. This is the time, this is the place, this is the “last call” for the development of a unique common system of qualitative analysis of the leaders’ strategic and Military Speeches.

Furthermore, in a world in which mass media and social media are pervasive in the common life, in which multimedia is now an essential measure of the everyday life and in which, unfortunately, the terroristic threat is even more concrete and inescapable (also due to the presence of these groups on the *social web* and on the main media of communications), it is necessary to study and understand the modalities of mass audience communication in the near past, in order to analyse wisely the present and try to lay the bases for a system that, in the future, could avoid the emergence of Leaderships that use hate and war as main keys to achieve their goals.

Secondly, we stated that it was necessary to categorize the strategic and Military Speeches, and we tried to summarize their main aspects.

Strategic Military Speeches are divided in three categories: Conflict Approach Speeches, Conflict Support Speeches and Conflict Closing Speeches.

Thirdly, we wanted to emphasize the importance of the non-verbal aspects of communication, because it is through these elements of a strategic discourse that we

believe it is possible to understand the true intentions of a leader, a commander, a company or a social group.

The extralinguistic signals, during the communication, are different and are categorized as elements of gestures, kinesics and proxemics.

Gestures are the complex of those signs that, in the conversation, accompanies or replaces articulated language. Kinesics is the study of motion phenomena. Proxemics is the study of the distance that the issuer chooses to establish between itself and the recipient, or between itself and the objects that surround it, while communicating a message. Therefore, if it is necessary, for the purposes of an efficient analysis of communication, to study also the phenomena defined as “non-verbal”, it is also necessary to study the expressions, which we can define as the union of gestures, movements and positions, voluntary and involuntary, which accompany or replace articulated language.

Therefore, the strategic discourses of the leaders have been studied exhaustively, both from a verbal and non-verbal and expressive point of view, through an innovative method of analysis we developed.

The analysis of Military Speeches is based on ten main steps, which we have been developed over the years to perfect the techniques we have available:

- 1) we have to take the video or the registration of the Speech (if available) or at least a registration or a transcript.
- 2) we collect the widest possible range of information regarding the person who is pronouncing the Military Speech (Rumour)<sup>111</sup>.
- 3) we collect the widest possible range of information regarding the conflicts and the socio-political situation (Background).
- 4) we prepare a table that we divide into two sections (Communicative Spheres and Elements).

---

<sup>111</sup> The personal background of the speaker or the one of the social group is fundamental for our analysis. For example, F.D. Roosevelt was heavily disabled and his peculiar oratory characteristics are justified by his disability.

5) we divide the Communicative Spheres into 2 macro categories (Verbal and Non-verbal). We further divide Non-verbal into 4 micro categories (Proxemic, Kinesics, Phonetic Flexions and Expressions). For Phonetic Flexions we should use the polygraph.

6) we divide the Elements into 2 categories (Normal and Keys).

7) we analyse the Speech, filling the table.

8) we collect the widest possible range of information regarding the effects of the Speech on the Public Sphere.

9) we write a brief “Evaluation of the Speech”, in which we state if the Speech is indeed a Military Speech and its category (Categorization), if the Speech is sincere or if it has a hidden significant. Above all, we should be able to define if the Speech is effective as a Military Speech or if it is a failure.

10) we should check our analysis twice and, if possible, confront our conclusions with other students, in order to control our results.

Fourthly, we gave a procedural definition of Military Speeches, in order to categorize them before analysing those of our Case Study. Military Speeches are strategic and psychological discourses that, expressed by the leader of one or more sides, occur during a war or a conflict and could have three main implementation phases, depending on the moment in which they take place: approach, support, conclusion. The strategic nature of these discourses is expressed through the description of the objectives to be pursued (or that had been pursued); the psychological nature, on the other hand, is expressed through significant relevant elements that leaders choose to emphasize, by the theme of the highly emotional or motivational nature of these elements. Military Speeches aim to legitimize, through the immediate and positive feedback of the social group of reference, not only the motivations behind the decision to undertake a conflict (or to take part, or to exit, etc.), but the figure of the leader and the value of the regime established within that social group<sup>112</sup>. So, we can now propose our conclusions. In

---

<sup>112</sup> In our case study: the Federal democratic constitutional republic of the United States of America.

every time and in every place, it has always been, it is and always will be fundamental to be able to understand and anticipate the moves of our opponents. The principal aim of this thesis, as we said before, is to demonstrate that we effectively can anticipate our opponents' moves because every word of ours and every gesture of ours can betray our true thoughts. We think that knowing how to use this kind of science could have avoided some conflicts and, perhaps, even the most atrocious conflict in the history of mankind.

Our Case Study is represented by the main Military Speeches of the US Presidents in the period between 2001 and 2018.

Now we have all the elements to try and give an answer to the many Research Questions we have posed in Chapter 1.5.:

- 
1. Is it possible to recognize Military Speeches?
  2. Is it possible to draw a specific “doctrine” of a State’s foreign policies?
  3. Is it right to define the United States’ attitude as the one of an “omnipower” in the field of the foreign policies?
  4. Is it possible to identify Military Speeches as the “main aspects” of the foreign policy of a State?
  5. Is it possible to scientifically analyse Military Speeches?
  6. Is it possible to identify specific key words?
  7. Is it right to draw semiotic fields that unify different key words?
  8. Is it right to analyse the verbal communication directly in the original language, without any translation?
  9. Is it right to analyse the non-verbal communication’s aspects of Military Speeches?
  10. Is it possible to identify specific non-verbal communication’s aspect throughout different speeches, spoken in different times and political frameworks?
  11. Is it possible to analyse the efficiency and the effects of Military Speeches?

12. Is it right to state that this study could be a fundamental step towards the implementation of the semiotics' and non-verbal communications' elements inside the field of the Political Sciences?
13. Is it right, in conclusion, to state: "Knowing this possible application of psychology, semiotic analysis and non-verbal communication's study could avoid conflicts and wars, letting the world understand before the belligerent intentions of a State or of any other actor inside the international arena"?
- 

First of all, we have explained that there is a substantial difference between the strategic discourses and we have categorized them according to a scheme that is as coherent and exhaustive as possible. Therefore, we have tried to demonstrate with semiotic analysis that there are specific elements that can allow rapid and immediate recognition of a military discourse. *Ergo*, we can sentence that it is actually possible to recognize Military Speeches.

The second question we have posed ourselves is about the possibility for the scholars to draw a specific "doctrine" of a State's foreign policies. Then, we asked ourselves if it would be right to define the United States' attitude in the field of foreign policy as the one of an "Omnipower". Here too we have to confirm: for us, it is possible to do it, particularly in this era of communication, where the necessary official documents are easily traceable online, as the most popular insights and even scholar studies are difficult to find otherwise. During our dissertation we have amply demonstrated that the most appropriate definition for the US foreign policy is to be found in the intent, transversal for all the American post-war administrations, to be omnipresent and omnipotent in all the regional subsystems of the world. We expressed this attitude with the expression "Omnipower", a label as good as real that perfectly describes the US will to be the most powerful State that decides the cultural, economic and above all political fate of the entire planet. *Ergo*, we can sentence that it is actually possible to draw a specific "doctrine" of a State's foreign policy and that is right to define the US doctrine through the American attitude of acting as the world's sole Omnipower.



Military Speeches have been studied by us in this thesis with the oratory manifestations of three US presidents. In Chapter 1.5., we wondered if it was possible to identify them as “main aspects” of the foreign policy of a state, in this case we should give a negative answer to our question. From what we have learned during the analysis of our case study, differently from the perspective in the Second World War, military discourses are no longer a “main aspect”, but simply a normal aspect of a State's foreign policy. Nowadays, influenced by what happened during the Second World War, the main aspect of a State's foreign policy is diplomacy, and political leaders act in this field as silent puppeteers. Military Speeches are given only when extremely necessary, that is when all the other means of resolving international disputes have failed. Military Speeches, therefore, remain the main and tougher manifestation of the foreign policy of a State, but their nature nowadays makes them almost impossible to be heard in many countries, like Italy, which does not undertake independent military initiatives. On the other hand, however, it is still possible to scientifically analyse Military Speeches (and the strategic speeches, in general), just as we have done for the ones of the Second World War, but with the advantage of having many audio-visual materials for all the oratory events and a vast multitude of potentials deriving from the software that have been developed in the last two years.

We should confirm that it is actually possible to identify specific key words and to draw vast semiotic fields that unify them. We should state that the analysis of the non-verbal communication's aspects of Military Speeches is not only just and scientifically valid, but also conceptually necessary, because if performed according to the canons and methodologies expressed in Chapter 1. they can be decisive to understand the real meaning of some expressions of the Speaker and, therefore, more in general, the real intentions and the true thoughts of a political and military leader.

Then we arrive to the answer of two of the main questions we have posed ourselves and that concern the methodology and the field of our analysis: the rightness of analysing the verbal communication directly in the original language without any translation and the possibility of identifying specific non-verbal communication's

aspects throughout different speeches spoken in different times and political frameworks.

The answer to the first question is positive, while for the second one we need to make some considerations. As far as the linguistic question is concerned, we find that the analysis of strategic discourses should be carried out through the original language of the discourses themselves, since any translation would dismantle that complex apparatus of meaningful constructs that the speaker tried to use: the real meanings of words, rhetorical figures and even syntactic constructs used would be lacking. To do this work and this analysis it is necessary that the student has one of these two qualities: either he knows the language used by the Speaker, or he tries to approach that language with extreme calm, being helped by dictionaries and other scholars that know the nuances of meaning of that language (for example, in our three-year thesis we analysed a speech by Stalin when we were not even able to read the Cyrillic, but with the help of some scholars who knew the Russian perfectly we were able to understand the hidden meaning of the expressions used by the Soviet leader).

On the other hand, in order to answer the second question, as mentioned, two different factors must be analysed. First, we firmly believe in Darwinian evolutionary theory and, for this, a large part of this study must give credit to Darwin and his insights about the correlation between the expressions of man and animals. According to this theory man is nothing but a particularly evolved mammal, which derives from monkeys developed over millions of years: and as mammals, and especially monkeys, we can categorize the emotions and the expressions of those emotions in a scientific way. Obviously, it is good to remember, the factors that lead to a certain expression in a man are innumerable and infinitely more than in a primate or in another mammal: a dog expresses sadness because he feels a great sense of frustration, and so also a chimpanzee, but a man can express sadness because his mind has been crossed by a melancholy thought for a moment. For this, as we had established in Chapter 1. talking about the methodology to use, it is always good to double check your analysis several

times and, if possible, compare it with the one of other scholars, in order to rely on people who are not affected by our own biases and from our own degrees of sensitivity. Second, however traceable to a common species, every human individual develops his own complex of gestures and expressions. For example, Obama points out in a very strange way, with the curved forefinger surrounding his thumb, while Trump uses neat gestures and aggressive expressions, and Bush always tries to keep calm crossing his hands. The Obama one is artificially created and is a characteristic of one of the best orators of the last 50 years, but for all the other gestures, postures and facial expressions Obama is just like Trump and Bush: they are all traits inherited from our primate ancestors, which we cannot control, but which we can choose. Some are chosen for us by our culture (for example, the Italians gesticulate a lot, sometimes they speak only through gestures, like the American Indians), others are chosen by them directly, even unconsciously sometimes, because they are part of the definition process of our personal identity. So yes, it is possible to identify specific non-verbal communication's aspects throughout different speeches, but we must remember that every Speaker is an individual, influenced by his own culture and his own beliefs of what is right and what is not, having his own specific pack of gestures and expressions: the scholar's work is to identify, understand and explain this pack, in order to make possible a punctual analysis of his speeches.

Moving on to the last three Research Questions we had set ourselves, we have to take a look at the number 11: is it possible to analyse the efficiency and the effects of Military Speeches?

Incredible to say, but no. With the advent of social media and new forms of interaction and communication, it is no longer possible to understand the real perception that the people have of political events and military demonstrations. For example, it is absolutely not true that public opinion was outraged by Trump's "scrappy" past, something that traditional media (newspapers and television) had declared during the election campaign. Trump, in fact, won the elections, just as the British chose to leave Europe, the right-wing coalition in Italy did not reach 40% and much more. In the last

five years history continues to repeat itself: in our vision, the common intelligentsia that dominates traditional media has totally lost control over the real perception of the audience, which is created and formed online, on social networks. Many people openly declare (especially in Italy) to mainly inform themselves, if not exclusively, through social networks, often relying only on the titles and the “launches” (technical journalistic term) that they can see. The problem, in this case, is that widespread misinformation creates a distortion within Western democracies, with voters who often do not know the reality of the facts and vote according to convictions deriving from fake news (often, as in the case of Boldrini, real slanders). In our opinion, there is no way to solve this distortion. During our bachelor thesis, we analysed how the Conflict Approach Speeches could effectively create a public Opinion, which can be analysed through newspaper headlines. This is because, following the dynamics of the time, the newspapers were written by a cultural elite that addressed their own social group. This group, given the confidence that the “lower classes” placed in its capacity for analysis and discernment, influenced the thought of society, moved by the truth of the facts (or, in the despotic and dictatorial regimes, by the truth built by the ruling group). Every regime has its own distortions, but those of our times do not allow us to analyse effectively the influence, the effects and the efficiency itself of Military Speeches among the Public Sphere.

In the end, we would try to explain why this study could represent a fundamental step towards the implementation of the semiotics’ and non-verbal communications’ elements inside the field of the Political Sciences. From our point of view, this field of study is one of the highest that can be followed, since international relations have always existed and will always continue to exist. One of the oldest professions in the world is that of the ambassador, and also thanks to the art of relations between different and alien groups, it has been possible to evolve our species from small groups of anthropomorphic primates to men with reason and intellect that live in the great metropolises of this world. This study is all that is missing in this course of study: that is, a scientific and anthropocentric analysis of the interrelation skills of men, a proof

that it is possible to understand and analyse the real aspirations that move human beings as individuals within international arena. The study of political and military leaders, their backgrounds, their biases, their facial expressions, their gestures and their vocal tones can be the basis for a more in-depth step. We firmly believe that a subject like this, which owes much to the intuitions of an American psychologist, Paul Ekman, and who is able to unite the same psychology with elements of political philosophy, history of international relations, sociology and anthropology, is fundamental within of a course of in International Relations, as well as in a course of Governance & Global Affairs. Students capable of recognizing facial expressions, gestures, proxemics, vocal flexions, semiotics and their meaning could have enormous advantages in the development of timely analyses of political events and possible forecasts of future political scenarios in the international arena.

Therefore, it is right to state that “knowing this possible application of psychology, semiotic analysis and non-verbal communication’s study could avoid conflicts and wars, letting the world understand in advance the belligerent intentions of a State or of any other actor inside the international arena”.

During our bachelor thesis we analysed the semiotic elements of the speeches of different leaders of different countries. In this study, otherwise, we presented the speeches of three leaders of the same country. Now we have the elements to draw some brief conclusions. First of all, we must report the same categorization as semantic elements:

- a) /Victory/: seen as the main goal from each deployment that take part to the conflict. Obviously, each deployment starts a conflict with the goal to achieve /Victory/.
- b) /Resistance/: that is important inside the speeches of those who approach the conflict for defensive reasons, because they are attacked by an /Enemy/.
- c) /Courage/: essential element to incite deployments.
- d) /Freedom/: main reason to fight, because it is sustained that /Freedom/ could be reached only though the /Victory/.

- e) /Past/: to encourage deployments it is necessary to cite the /Past/, often to point out acts of /Courage/ that, in situations of extreme danger, had marked the /People's/ success.
- f) /Heroes/: in the same way, often are pointed out the /Heroes/ that are commonly recognized by the /People/ as /Heroes/ of the /Homeland/.
- g) /Homeland/: seen as the incarnation of the fatherland's soul that must be defended. /Homeland/ is an element that transcends singles and unifies deployments, as much as /Victory/ and the necessity of /Freedom/.
- h) /People/: incarnation of the inseparable unity of the deployment, having a common historical, social, political and cultural background that delivers to the leader a unitary corpus of significant elements which can be used inside his speeches.
- i) /Enemies/: the /Others/, the /Opponents/, /They/. While the words that can be used to represent /Enemies/ could change, /Enemy/ is a central theme inside Military Speeches.
- l) /Peace/: that often is pointed out as the main goal that had been searched in the period before the outbreak of the "inevitable" conflict.
- m) /God/: the element that transcends every other element, extern and extraneous from the human logics, bringing the victory to the ones who fight for a right cause.
- n) /Conflict/: another significant element could be the /Conflict/ itself, but its omission is a common element inside Military Speeches; maybe «Absence, more acute presence» (Attilio Bertolucci).

Secondly, we should underline a crucial aspect: the main semantic elements in Military Speeches have not changed during the time. From the Conflict Approach Speeches of the Second World War up to the Military Discourse of the case study examined by us during this thesis, the semantic areas of reference have remained unchanged. The difference lies in the use that is made of these semantic areas, but it is a complex difference. In fact, there is no difference in the use of these semantic areas in the speeches analysed in this thesis and the speech of F. D. Roosevelt that we analysed in the bachelor thesis.

Thirdly, continuing on the same line, there is not much difference in the attitude of President Roosevelt and that of the presidents analysed in our case study under the profile of the non-verbal communication.

So, we can conclude that:

1. The rhetoric of American leaders (Presidents, mainly) has remained unchanged over time. We have reason to believe that such rhetoric is now codified and commonly recognized as immutable. As was the rhetoric used by Roman emperors or the British royal family (in the imperial period), some semantic areas are used and remain unchanged over the centuries.
2. As for the rhetoric, even the gestures, the proxemic and the kinesics of the US Presidents remained unchanged over time. This does not negate the process of “adaptation” that these semiotic elements have been confronting over time with new technologies (television, mass media, social media). We have reason to believe that, even in the near future, both verbal communication and non-verbal communication of American leaders will adapt to new technologies.
3. Assuming that American rhetoric has remained unchanged over time, and that it is still difficult for many chancelleries, to anticipate and predict the intentions of the Omnipower, it is even more difficult to understand why it has not been thought, in the past, to delineate a possible method of analysis like the one proposed in our study.

Our main purpose was to prepare ourselves as a first step towards the study and analysis of strategic and military discourses, and in particular to the study and analysis of discourses related to conflicts, because it is important, in the light of the tensions present today in international relations, to understand and categorize the characteristic elements of these discourses, so as to be able to recognize which oratory expressions can lead to the outbreak of a conflict.

Finally, we demonstrated that our *modus operandi* used is valid for the study of strategic discourses and that allows us to analyse different case studies, arriving always to the same conclusion: knowing this science, we could always understand what

rhetorical expressions of a leader or a social group were aimed at the outbreak of a conflict or at the putting in place of a war manifestation.