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Obama's Rhetorical Strategies: A Study of Some Selected Speeches

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Dedication

I dedicate my modest work to my parents to whom I wish a long and healthy life; their precious words and encouragements gave birth to a motivated and strong girl.

My four brothers Djamel, Samir, Fatah and Kamel who are always giving me help and pieces of advice; what gave me the willingness, self-confidence and courage to carry on and succeed in my high studies at University.

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Abstract

The name of Obama is engraved in the American oratory scene in particular and the world in general. His speeches are widely admired and highly praised because they cannot be separated from the creative and powerful use of rhetoric and strong oratory skills. Thus, the present research work is a discourse analytical study of Obama's rhetorical strategies. The focal point of the researcher is to apply Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) to study and analyze the two selected speeches of Obama that are Inaugural Speech and Cairo Speech. That is to say, she aims primarily at discovering Obama's rhetorical strategies and understanding what are the favourite ones featuring his speeches. Moreover, she wants to show that Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework is worth using to study orators' rhetorical strategies. In addition, it is very important to note that she wants to use mixed methods in order to draw strong, deep and precise conclusions from her respective analysis. Besides, she thinks that the qualitative method can help her describe Obama's use of rhetorical tactics in depth, and the quantitative method can allow her use numbers to count some repeated words in the two selected speeches, compare them so as to increase certainty and precision in her research work. After applying the model, she has found that Obama uses a variety of rhetorical strategies to convince his audience, there are some specific rhetorical tactics featuring Obama's speeches, and the model of David. A. Jolliffe (2009) can be applied easily to analyze Obama's speeches, mainly his rhetorical strategies. Furthermore, she has not faced a lot of limitations except for the lack of resources that can be used to explain the selected model deeply. To conclude, the present researcher is not interested in the study of Obama's political career as there are many researchers who are primed to do so, but she seeks to study the rhetorical skills of Obama and discover the secret of his powerful oratory.

Key Words: Obama, American Oratory Scene, Rhetorical Strategies, Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework, Inaugural Speech and Cairo Speech.

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List of Abbreviations

B.A: Bachelor of Arts

BSc: Bachelor of Science

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

DA: Discourse Analysis

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

M.A.: Master of Arts

MMDA: Multimedia Discourse Analysis

PD: Political Discourse

PDA: Political Discourse Analysis

RDA: Rhetorical Discourse Analysis

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

UK: United Kingdom

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Definition of Terms

Discourse: this term is not given one precise and specific meaning because its definition varies from one context to another; as Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton (2001) states: *“For many, particularly linguists, “discourse” has generally being defined as anything “beyond the sentence.”* (p.01). Generally, it is used as an umbrella term to refer to how people follow different rules and patterns to express different linguistic structures in a given context. That is to say, the term ‘discourse’ is said to be fashionable since it is largely used to refer to people’s utterances, the social context in which they occur, and the patterns and rules that should be respected and followed to express various structures of language. (Jorgensen & Phillips, p.01)

Analysis: is used as a general term to refer to the breaking down of something into its different parts. That is to say, this term is not given one precise meaning because it is defined differently in various contexts and disciplines; as Johnstone (2008) asserts: *“Perhaps the most familiar use of the word “analysis” is for processes, mental or mechanical, for taking things apart.”* (p.04). When reading this explanation of Johnstone, it can be understood that analysis means splitting something into its different elements.

Discourse analysis: this concept is vague and ambiguous since it is given various meanings in different contexts. That is to say, discourse analysis is defined differently by different scholars in different fields. For example, Fasold (1990) calls it also the study of language and defines it as the study of language use. (Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001, p.01). Generally, this term is used to refer to how people do something and the hidden motivation that pushed them to do it; as Johnstone (2008) states: *“People in a variety of academic departments and disciplines use the term “discourse analysis” for what they do, how they do it, or both.”* (p.01). In addition, discourse analysis does not focus on language as an abstract system because it emphasizes on the study of language beyond the sentence boundary, as Johnstone (2008) claims: *“Calling what we call “discourse analysis” rather than “language analysis” underscores the fact that we are not centrally focused on language as an abstract system.”* (p.03) To conclude, it can be said that discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary subject that is concerned with the study of language use ‘beyond the sentence boundary’ and the analysis of ‘naturally occurring’ language use, not invented examples. (Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001, p.07)

Rhetoric: this term is colourfully defined by different scholars. Yet, the definition of Aristotle is highly praised and widely admired by various researchers. For him, rhetoric can be used to refer to the art of persuasion. That is to say, it is used to refer to the strategies and tactics that the speakers and writers use in order to persuade and impress the audience and the readers; as Roberts (2004) says: *“Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. This is not a function of any other art.”* (p.07)

Rhetorical Discourse Analysis (RDA): is colourfully and largely defined by different scholars. Thus, it is considered vague and ambiguous. Selzer notes: *“There is no generally accepted definition of rhetorical analysis (or rhetorical criticism, as it is also called.), probably because there is no generally accepted definition of rhetoric.”* (as cited in Jolliffe, 1993, p.08). Since rhetoric is defined by Aristotle as the art of persuasion, it can be said that rhetorical analysis means analyzing different speeches and texts to understand how speakers and writers try to persuade and impress the listeners and readers. Selzer argues: *“[R]hetorical analysis or rhetorical criticism can be understood as an effort to understand how people within specific social situations attempt to influence others through language.”* (as cited in Jolliffe, 1993, p.08)

Logos: this term is used in discourse analysis to refer to how the speakers and writers their intellect and logic to stimulate their listeners and speakers mentally. Sometimes, it is considered more than an appeal to reason because it is viewed as the key thought of the speech or text. Jolliffe (1993) asserts: *“I start with logos, which is not simply “the logical appeal” or “the appeal to reason”, but instead is the “embodied thought” of the text.”* (p.09)

Ethos: is the term used in discourse analysis to refer to the speakers’ and writers’ use of ethics. That is, how a given speech or text can reflect the good intention of the speaker or writer. Jolliffe (1993) argues: *“After establishing logos as the central and indispensable proof, I then teach about ethos, showing how a text can emphasize the good sense, the good will, and the good character of the writer and thereby become more credible.”* (p.10)

Pathos: is a term used in discourse analysis to refer to the writers’ or speakers’ use of emotions and feelings to appeal to the hearts of the listeners or readers and impress them. Jolliffe (1993) assets: *“And then I teach about pathos, showing how almost all texts do something to appeal to the emotions or the states of life of the readers.”* (p.10)

Tone: means the attitudes of the speaker or the writer toward the subject matter. Jolliffe (1993) states: *“I find it necessary to pause at this point in the instruction and focus on tone, the writer or speaker’s apparent attitude toward the subject matter and issue at hand.”* (p.10)

General Introduction

This research is an attempt to study the rhetorical strategies used by the 44th President of the United States of America: Barack Hussein Obama. This discourse analytical study did not rise at random since it is the fruit of many significant research questions that I will mention later on. Besides, this fluent President is considered as one of the greatest orators in present time, and his name is dominating in the political scene due to his successful use of effective rhetorical techniques that make his speeches alive and connect deeply with the targeted audiences. Accordingly, Parry-Giles & Hogan (2010) claim: *“On November 4, 2008, the United States elected its first African American president. The key to President Barack Obama’s victory, many commentators noted, was the power of his oratory - his mastery of the spoken word.”* (p.01). The study of rhetoric used in the political speeches of this spokesman is a very complicated task to tackle, but it is an interesting topic to discuss since it can push the curiosity of any researcher who is addicted to this planet of creative language. The present study is not a political analysis of Obama’s achievements or career as the researcher is certain there are more qualified experts who are primed to do so. Yet, this is a discourse analytical study that seeks to clarify the rhetorical tactics that made this American President an effective artist in the art of persuasion. That is to say, Obama is well known by his varied and persuasive political speeches that are full of valuable rhetorical strategies. As part of her preparation for this respective analysis, she has selected two speeches that can be considered as a drop of water from his ocean of amazing political discourses. To sum up, the current researcher’s study focuses on the identification of the rhetorical strategies that Obama uses in his speeches to fascinate the targeted audience in particular and the world in general.

1. Statement of the Problem

When analyzing Obama’s rhetorical strategies, emphasis evidently falls on selecting an effective and appropriate model that can help in discovering whether this orator is deft with the creative and figurative use of the language. There are definitely many models that can be applied to study the rhetorical strategies that made this American president’s selected speeches amazing and fascinating ones. As part of her preparation for this research work, she has read about many models, and she has chosen the model of David. A. Jolliffe (2009) which she finds appropriate for her respective analysis. Yet, its different components and well

organised steps can help her make a deeper and valid analysis to discover the secret of the great Orator when using rhetoric, answer her research questions, and fulfil her aims of research easily. Yet, it is very important to note that this model was not already applied by researchers or discourse analysts to analyze Obama's selected speeches mainly his rhetorical strategies (as far as she knows), so it is out of this challenging problematic situation that the idea and the urge for this research germinates. It is argued that rhetoric can be viewed as the art of persuasion. As Aristotle (1355b) asserts, "*So let rhetoric be defined as the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion*" (as cited in Jolliffe, 1993, p.05). Sometimes some orators are not effective artists in the art of persuasion because they suffer from a lack of effective rhetorical strategies, whereas, the name of the talented American President Obama is widespread in the political world thanks to his well developed rhetorical strategies and powerful use of the creative language. So, spokespersons should develop their use of rhetoric to be able to stimulate the targeted audience emotionally and mentally. The two basic questions that can be asked here are: why does Obama succeed widely in attracting and persuading his audience? Why does he always feel comfortable and relaxed while delivering a given speech?

To the best knowledge of the researcher, the basic reason that pushed her think about this field of research is the necessity to answer these two important questions and discover the rhetorical strategies that made Obama persuasive and self-confident. Furthermore, she thinks that rhetoric can be defined as a game of creative language use. The problem is that there are no rules or instructions governing this game of words, so every orator should try hard to strengthen and mend his/her rhetorical strategies to be able to play with the soul and the imagination of the targeted people and win their satisfaction. That is to say, when using rhetoric, the orator should select powerful rhetorical strategies otherwise s/he can lose the game, and the dissatisfaction of the targeted audience will take place. In addition, the basic question that is worth asking here is: can orators, who suffer from poor rhetorical strategies, use Obama as a model to mend their rhetorical weaknesses? This question was another source of motivation because it gave her an opportunity to think about orators' rhetorical weaknesses on one hand, and using the great spokesman Obama as a model to strengthen them, on the other hand. To sum up, the idea of using Obama as a model to train orators who suffer from some rhetorical weaknesses is a challenging and an interesting point in her research. Hence, Obama's oratory stimulated her motivation and curiosity, and pushed her ask various questions that can help her discover the secret of his powerful rhetoric.

2. Questions of the Study

Since she wants to conduct research in rhetorical discourse analysis, and she wants to study the rhetorical strategies of Obama, she wonders about three basic questions on which she focuses all along the course of her discourse analytical study. Furthermore, if she succeeds in finding pertinent answers, she will be able to understand this interesting field of research and transpire the problem.

As to the basic questions this research work raises, they are as follows:

- 1) What are the rhetorical strategies that the 44th President of the United States of America: Barack Hussein Obama deploy?
- 2) What are the main rhetorical strategies that feature Obama's selected political speeches?
- 3) To which extent can David. A. Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) help in analyzing Obama's rhetorical strategies?

The answers of these research questions will show and reflect the significance of her discourse analytical study since they are directly related to the nucleus of her targeted problem.

3. Assumptions of the Study

Obama's rhetorical strategies are highly praised and broadly acknowledged to be the most powerful ones in recent political oratory. When the present researcher hears or reads this President's speeches, she understands directly that the mastery of spoken words is crucial in the political Oratory. That is to say, Obama intends using powerful rhetorical strategies because he knows that a speaker should use language creatively and intelligently because when language is used creatively and successfully, it will fascinate the listeners and attract them; however, if it is used in an ordinary manner, it will never stimulate their souls, hearts and minds. In other words, an orator should be creative to be persuasive and attractive. Weatherson (2011) attests:

“President Barack Obama is possibly one of the greatest Orators that has ever been president. His ability to communicate well and excite audiences was illustrated throughout his campaign and continues to show throughout the duration of his presidency. Obama's great political sense and rhetorical ability showed through while he was in law school. One of his professors, Charles Ogletree commented on

Obama's natural ability saying: "Mr. Obama cast himself as an eager listener, sometimes giving warring classmates the impression that he agreed with all of them at once...People had a way of hearing what they wanted in Mr. Obama's words." Obama did well with controlling two opposing sides through his rhetoric. He was able to calm down angry people and settle arguments." (p.02)

Hence, the researcher has asked three crucial and basic questions which constitute the core of her research work. She has tried to suggest pre-answers. Yet, it is very important to note that these assumptions can be true or false. In other words, the results of her respective analysis will justify if her preliminary answers are correct or not. Accordingly, the assumptions of the present study are as follows:

- First of all, she assumes that Obama uses varied rhetorical strategies. That is to say, his speeches cannot be isolated from the use of rhetoric.
- Second, she supposes that there are some rhetorical strategies which characterize Obama's speeches. In other words, if she compares the two selected speeches, she will find that this President likes using some unique rhetorical strategies in his speeches.
- Third, Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) can be applied easily and successfully to analyse Obama's speeches mainly his rhetorical strategies.

4. Purpose of the Study

The important feature of a scientific research is that it should be purpose-oriented; the researcher should set his/her respective goals before starting his/her research work, and s/he should sustain a high degree of motivation to achieve them. Thus, the researcher's discourse analytical study of Obama's rhetorical strategies aims at:

- 1) Helping the readers in general understand the theoretical background of this broad and interesting field of research.
- 2) Discovering the rhetorical strategies of the American President Obama.
- 3) Comparing the two selected speeches to discover the repeated rhetorical strategies that characterize Obama's political speeches.
- 4) Helping the readers in general understand in-depth the rhetorical model of David. A. Jolliffe (2009).
- 5) Knowing to which extent can Jolliffe's approach satisfy the requirements of her respective discourse analytical study of Obama's rhetorical strategies.

- 6) Discovering whether Jolliffe's approach can be applied ideally when analyzing orators' rhetorical strategies.

5. Significance of the Study

The present researcher has opted for rhetorical discourse analysis that is a broad and an interesting field of research. The selection of Obama, who is a well known spokes politician in the world, is fascinating and significant. The choice of this great political figure is not hazardous, but it is purposeful. It brings significance to her discourse analytical study because the speeches of Obama are widely admired and highly praised. Obama is known for his varied and persuasive speeches which are full of effective and powerful rhetorical strategies. That is to say, his rich use of the creative language and his logical and successful use of rhetoric are highly praised. Accordingly, Parry-Giles and J. Hogan (2010) argue: "*Obama's election not only marks a watershed moment in American political History, but also raises new questions and challenges for the study of rhetoric and public address.*" (p.02). In the light of the two reasons cited above (i.e. the careful selection of the field of research and the orator) , the significance of her research work derives its justification. To the best knowledge of the researcher, this discourse analytical study draws its importance from the fact that no researcher or discourse analyst has dealt with the analysis of the two selected speeches together. In addition, no one has tried to compare these two speeches in order to discover the favourite rhetorical strategies used by this American President to connect deeply with the targeted audiences. Besides, Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) is never been applied to analyse Obama's political speeches especially his rhetorical strategies. This means that the application of this approach in her discourse analytical study is a new contribution in the study of rhetoric and discourse analysis.

6. The Organisation of the Thesis

For the present researcher, the structural organisation of the thesis is very important and has its value because it can help the readers understand the different parts of a research work and follow clearly the researcher's ideas and points. Yet, it is very important to note that she divides her thesis into two main parts that are the theoretical part and the practical part. Besides, she divides the whole work into four chapters. First of all, she starts her research work with an introduction to clarify his ideas. In this introduction, she explains all the points related to her theme. For instance, she mentions and explains her statement of the problem,

questions, assumptions and significance of the study. She develops the theoretical chapter in three sections in order to introduce deeply her field of research that is Discourse Analysis. In addition, she explains the meaning of rhetoric and rhetorical analysis since she intends to analyze Obama's rhetorical strategies. Finally, she introduces the chosen model to be applied in her respective analysis that is known as Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009). Then, she reserves chapter two for literature review to suggest some previous related studies. Concerning chapter three, she introduces and explains in it the methods and study design of her research, the corpus of her study and data analysis procedures. Moreover, chapter four is the most important one for her because she limits it to the application of the chosen model and the analysis of the two selected speeches of Obama. Yet, she divides it into two different sections. For her, the first section is divided into two different parts; the first one is used for analysis and discussions, and the second one is used to provide a synthesis of Obama's rhetorical features. Furthermore, she uses section two to give the conclusions and explain the limitations of her study. Finally, she ends with a general conclusion.

Chapter One: Theoretical Background

The first chapter is divided into three different important sections that explore several points related to discourse analysis, rhetoric and jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework. In the first section, the researcher introduces discourse analysis as her field of research. In the second one, she defines rhetoric because her present analytical study focuses firmly on Obama's rhetorical strategies. Finally, she introduces the theoretical framework that she wants to apply to analyze Obama's selected speeches.

Section One: Introducing Discourse Analysis

In this section, the present researcher focuses mainly on introducing Discourse Analysis. Yet, she wants to develop different important ideas related to this broad field of research.

1.1 What Is Discourse Analysis?

To understand the meaning of discourse analysis it is very important to define two key terms that are: ‘discourse’ and ‘analysis’; I agree with Johnstone (2008) who says:

“Even if discourse analysis is, basically, “the study of language”, however, it is useful to try to specify what makes discourse analysis different from other approaches to language study. One way to do this is by asking ourselves what we can learn by thinking about what “discourse” is, and about what “analysis” is.” (p.02)

The term ‘discourse’ is not given one precise definition since it is defined differently in a variety of fields and contexts. In many cases, it is used as an umbrella term to refer to one general idea that is: how language users follow and respect different patterns to express different structures of language in a given social context. ‘Discourse’ has been a fashionable term. It used in scientific texts and debates indiscriminately. That is to say, it is employed as a general term, often without being given a precise definition. This concept has become vague because it has not one accepted general meaning, and it is not used with more precise, but rather different meanings, in different contexts. In many cases the term ‘discourse’ refers to the idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they occur in a given social context. This means that people’s utterances are guided by the respect of some patterns of language. For this reason, discourse analysis can be defined as the study or the analysis of those patterns. Discourse analysis is not just limited to one approach, but it encompasses a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in several types of studies. In other words, discourse analysis consists of a number of approaches used to analyse language use in its Social context (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.01).

The word analysis is generally defined as the breaking down of something into its different parts and elements. Johnstone (2008) expresses the meaning of this term: *“perhaps the most familiar use of the word “analysis” is for processes, mental or mechanical, for taking things apart.” (p.04)*. Even this word is not given a precise definition since its meaning depends on the context in which it is used; Johnstone (2008) explains this idea by saying:

“Chemical analysis, for example, involves using a variety of mechanical techniques for separating compounds into their elemental parts. Mental analysis is also involved, as the chemist thinks in advance about what the compound’s parts are likely to be. Linguistic analysis is also sometimes a process of taking apart. Discourse analysts often find it useful to divide longer stretches of discourse into

parts according to various criteria and then look at the particular characteristics of each part.” (p.04)

Yet, it is very important to note that ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’ have various definitions that have in common a focus on specific respective patterns of language. In addition, the two terms ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’ are given different meanings by different scholars in various disciplines and domains. On the one hand, many linguists define ‘discourse’ as anything beyond the sentence level, and others view discourse analysis as the study of language use. On the other hand, critical theorists speak about something totally different because they focus on specific types of discourse. For instance, they focus on ‘discourse of power’ and ‘discourse of racism’ (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001, p.01).

Because of these myriad definitions of discourse, many linguistics books on the subject start with a survey of definitions. For example, Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 1-3) in their collection of classic papers in discourse analysis include ten definitions from a wide range of sources. They fall into 3 main categories: (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and nonspecific instances of language (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001, p.01).

From these two different claims, it can be understood that discourse analysis or discourse studies is a general term used to refer to the study of language use ‘*beyond the sentence boundary*’ and the analysis of ‘*naturally occurring*’ language use, not invented examples; discourse analysis should be viewed as the examination of actual (not hypothetical) text and/ or talk (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2001, p.07).

Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary subject that has been taken up in a variety of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, including linguistics, education, sociology, anthropology, social work, cognitive psychology, social psychology, area studies, cultural studies, international relations, human geography, communication studies, biblical studies, and translation studies, each of which is subject to its own assumptions, dimensions of analysis, and methodologies; as Johnstone (2008) says :

“People in a variety of academic departments and disciplines use the term “discourse analysis” for what they do, how they do it, or both. Many of these people, though by no means all, have some training in general linguistics, and some would identify themselves primarily with other fields of study, such as anthropology, communication, cultural studies, psychology, or education, to list just a few of the possibilities,

and some situate their work in the interdisciplinary endeavour of discourse studies.” (p.01)

This type of analysis differs from the other types of analysis of modern linguistics simply because discourse analysis focuses on the study of the larger chunks of language as they flow together with taking into consideration the larger social context in which they occur in order to understand how the social context affects the meaning of a given discourse, whereas the other types of analysis of modern linguistics are chiefly concerned with the study of grammar: the study of smaller bits of language, such as sounds (phonetics and phonology), parts of words (morphology), meaning (semantics), and the order of words in sentences (syntax) ; Johnstone (2008) explains this important idea as follows:

“Calling what we do “discourse analysis” rather than “language analysis” underscores the fact that we are not centrally focused on language as an abstract system. We tend instead to be interested in what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language, knowledge based on their memories of things they have said, heard, seen, or written before, to do things in the world: exchange information, express feelings, make things happen, create beauty, entertain themselves and others, and so on.” (p.03)

For her, this background knowledge is crucial and indispensable because it contains a set of generalizations and respective patterns necessary to understand language use. In other words, when language is viewed as an abstract system of rules or a set of structural relationships people focus only on some rules and generalizations related to words and sentences. On one hand, discourse is considered as the source of people’s knowledge. That is to say, people make their generalizations thanks to the discourse they participate and take part in it. On the other hand, people try to use what they previously know to create and interpret new discourses (Johnstone, 2008, p.03). Accordingly, discourse analysis is the study of language in use in its social contexts. Gee & Handford (2012) give a more precise definition to discourse analysis, he said:

“Discourse analysis is the study of language in use. It is the study of the meanings we give language and the actions we carry out when we use language in specific contexts. Discourse analysis is also sometimes defined as the study of language above the level of a sentence, of the ways sentences combine to create meaning, coherence, and accomplish purposes. However, even a single sentence or utterance can be analyzed as a “communication” or as an “action,” and not just as a sentence structure whose “literal meaning” flows from the nature of grammar. Grammar can tell us

what “I pronounce you man and wife” literally means, but not when and where it actually means you are married.” (p.01)

1.2 Approaches to Discourse Analysis (DA)

There are three main different approaches to discourse analysis (DA); each one is subject to its own assumptions, dimensions of analysis, methodologies, ideas, theories and examples. These approaches are as follows:

- a) Formal approach to discourse*
- b) Functional approach to discourse*
- c) Social approach to discourse*

Yet, it is very important to note that there are three different ways of looking at discourse, and the focal point of those who study and analyze discourses is the definition of the term ‘discourse’. In addition, the definition of this term differs from one approach to another. Besides, each approach encompasses a set of sub-approaches. To make these ideas clear it is very important to explain each approach alone. First of all, the present researcher wants to start by the formal approach. The discourse analysts, who focus on this approach, try to understand the rules and patterns that explain how different clauses and sentences are combined together to create a given text. Jones (2012) asserts: *“Some have taken a formal approach to discourse, defining it simply as ‘language above the level of the clause or sentence.’”* (p.45). Moreover, he (2012) adds the functional approach and defines it as follows: *“Others take a more functional approach, defining discourse as ‘language in use.’”* (p.45). That is to say, discourse analysts using this approach try hard to understand how people use language to do things, and what other people do when they speak or write. Furthermore, he thinks that the social approach to discourse is also important because it helps in understanding what is right and what is wrong, who has power and who has not, and how individuals should speak and behave by obeying the rules and norms of their society. He (2012) explains this idea as follows: *“Finally, there are those who take what we might call a social approach, defining discourse as a kind of social practice.”* (p.45). Among the existing sub-approaches of Discourse Analysis (DA), the present researcher has chosen six sub-approaches, and she has tried to explain them deeply. They are as follows: Rhetorical Discourse Analysis (RDA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Multimodal

Discourse Analysis (MMDA), Multimedia Discourse Analysis and Corpus-based Discourse Analysis.

The different questions, interests and motivations of people gave birth to these various sub-approaches. This means that their emergence and development were not random; as Jay L. Lemke (2012) says: “*Discourse analysis was shaped by the kinds of questions people were asking and by the kinds of uses to which this new discipline was being put. It was being developed as a tool for specific purposes, and its different variants reflect the variety of questions being posed.*” (p.80)

1.2.1 Rhetorical Discourse Analysis: this approach will be explained in the third section of this theoretical chapter because it is more related to the core of the researcher’s respective analysis of Obama’s rhetorical strategies.

1.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): before the emergence of critical discourse analysis, there was a focus on critical tradition applied in social analysis. Through time, this approach of CDA emerged to shed light on the relationships between discourse and different social elements; Fairclough (2012) argues:

“Critical discourse analysis (CDA) brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements (power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth).” (p.09)

Critical social analysis is said to be important; it is viewed as a normative and explanatory critique. To explain more, it is said to be normative since it seeks to describe existing realities and evaluate them to identify the relationships between those realities and different values of society. In addition, it is an explanatory critique simply because it also focuses on explaining those naturally occurring realities (Fairclough, 2012, p.09). In addition, CDA is considered as part of critical social analysis, so the important question that can be asked here is: what is meant by critical discourse analysis? Van Dijk (1995) claims:

“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-politically

conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication.” (p.17)

From this claim, CDA can be understood as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. He views language as a form of social practice. Scholars working on CDA generally argue that (non-linguistic) social practice and linguistic practice constitute one another and focus on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced. This approach is said to be interdisciplinary because it employs different interdisciplinary techniques and tools to analyze texts and discover to which extent they can represent the world, social identities and social relationships. Van Dijk (1995) explains deeply this idea; he says:

“Critical Discourse Analysis, as described above, is a special approach in discourse analysis which focuses on the discursive conditions, components and consequences of power abuse by dominant (elite) groups and institutions. It examines patterns of access and control over contexts, genres, text and talk, their properties, as well as the discursive strategies of mind control. It studies discourse and its functions in society and the ways society, and especially, forms of inequality, are expressed, represented, legitimated or reproduced in text and talk.” (p.24)

1.2.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL): as the researcher has already said discourse analysis does not focus on language as an abstract system, but if focuses on seeking patterns in linguistic data. Systemic functional linguistics is one approach to discourse analysis developed by Michael Halliday. This linguistic theory emphasizes on exploring meaning in discourse in different contexts. In this respect, Schleppegrell (2012) explains systemic functional linguistics (SFL) as follows: *“Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) offers a means of exploring meaning in language and of relating language use to social contexts so as to contribute to our understanding of language in social life.”* (p. 21). In this linguistic theory, it is said that language plays a vital role in individuals’ lives; the use of language is always affected by the context in which it is used. Hence, Schleppegrell (2012) explains this idea by saying: *“SFL recognizes the powerful role language plays in our lives and sees meaning-making as a process through which language offers its speakers/writers a wealth of options for construing meaning.”* (p. 21). From a personal point of view, the researcher thinks that SFL facilitates exploring

meaning in discourse in a variety of contexts through focusing on a comprehensive-based grammar that can help analysts understand the linguistic choices made by writers and speakers, and explore how those choices are functional for expressing meanings of different kinds; Schleppegrell (2012) states:

“SFL facilitates exploration of meaning in context through a comprehensive-based grammar that enables analysts to recognize the choices speakers and writers make from linguistic system and to explore how those choices are functional for construing meanings of different kinds.” (p.21)

In addition, it is argued that language had developed to express three major types of meanings that are: *the ideational meaning, the interpersonal meaning and the textual meaning*. Similarly, Schleppegrell (2012) argues:

“SFL describes three abstract functions (metafunctions) that are simultaneously realized in every clause we speak or write, and relates our linguistic choices to the contexts that the language participates in. The three metafunctions are the ideational, interpersonal and textual, as in every clause our language simultaneously construes some kind of experience (ideational metafunction), enacts a role relationship with a listener or reader (interpersonal metafunction), and relates our messages to the prior and following text and context (textual metafunction).” (p.21)

To make things clear, the researcher thinks that systemic functional linguistics is a descriptive theory of language that focuses on language in use. It claims that language is a purposeful behaviour, and that the most basic function of language is to create meaning in different contexts.

1.2.4 Multimodal Discourse Analysis: it is an approach to discourse analysis that takes into consideration both the meanings of a community and its semiotic manifestations; Kress (2012) states to the aim of multimodal discourse analysis (MMDA) approach by saying: *“In broad terms, the aim of MMDA is to elaborate tools that can provide insight into the relation of the meanings of a community and its semiotic manifestations.”* (p.37). That is to say that in this approach semiotics is very important since it is claimed that language should be combined with the use of modes for representing and making meaning. When taking into account language alone, meaning will be partial. But if this

language is supported by the use of modes, the meaning of a given text will be fully represented and expressed. This researcher added another important idea that is:

“In MMDA, the apt use of modes for the realization of discourses in text in a specific situation is a central question. A multimodal approach assumes that language, whether as speech or as writing, is one means among many available for representation and for making meaning. That assumes that the meanings revealed by forms of DA relying on an analysis of writing or speech are only ever ‘partial’ meanings. The meanings of the maker of the text as a whole reside in the meanings made jointly by all the modes in a text.” (p.37)

To conclude, the present researcher claims that modes and language cannot be separated; as Rodney H. Jones said: *“the point of multimodal discourse analysis is not to analyze these other modes instead of speech and writing, but to understand how different modes, including speech and writing, work together in discourse.” (p.36)*

1.2.5 Multimedia and Discourse Analysis: when people hear this notion “multimedia and discourse analysis”, they ask one obvious question that is: what is the relationship between multimedia and discourse analysis? Accordingly, Lemke (2012) asks the same question; he says: *“what is discourse analysis? And what does it have to do with multimedia?” (p.79).* Discourse analysis is a broad interdisciplinary subject since it uses interdisciplinary techniques to link between discourses and their meanings. When discourse analysis emerged, it was designed for the study and analysis of linguistic texts, but now with the emergence of this approach, discourse analysts focus on the analysis of different visual forms. Similarly, Lemke (2012) expresses this idea as follows:

“In my view, discourse analysis is a set of techniques for making connections between texts and their meanings. Originally formulated for the analysis of purely linguistic texts, discourse analysis methods have come to form the basis for analyzing “texts” that consist not just of words, but also of visual forms such as images and diagrams (static or animated), full – motion video, sound effects and music, and various interactive feature.” (p.79)

It is claimed that speaking and writing are connected with different visual forms; Lemke (2012) asserts: *“If you write you are deploying a linguistic meaning resource and a visual semiotic system (fonts, alphabets, paragraphing, etc.) together.” (p.82).* That is

to say, that writing cannot be separated from visual semiotics.” In addition, he (2012) adds: *“If you speak you are probably also gesturing; but even if the gestures are not visible, there are other auditory – acoustic meaning systems in play (tone of voice, local accent, voice qualities that reflect health and mood, etc.).”* (p.82). What is important here is to make a distinction between modes and media; Lemke (2012) explains the difference between them by saying:

“So all meaning-making is in fact multimodal. We can make a formal distinction between modes (different semiotic resource systems) and media (different technologies for realizing meanings that are made possible by these systems). We often also classify multimedia phenomena according to the sensory channels used by the technologies (auditory-acoustic, visual, tactile, etc.).” (p.82)

Besides, media and semiotic systems are necessary to make meaning and understand what is going on. Hence, as Lemke (1998a) asserts, *“ To make sense of what is going on, you need to be able to integrate all the different modes of meaning-making, and that is a very complex task, which most of us lean to do very well, at least in some settings”*(as cited in Lemke, 2012, p.83). Yet, it is very important to note that the analysis should not be focused on quantifying the pieces of information provided by the media but rather on how meaning is expressed through the combination of media and semiotic systems. Besides, Lemke (2012) says: *“we are not interested here in quantifying multimedia information, but in figuring out how joint meaning results from the meanings we can describe for each sign in its own semiotic system.”* (p.83)

1.2.6 Corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis: it is another approach to discourse analysis. From its name it can understand that corpus is the key term of this approach, so what is a corpus? And what is corpus-assisted discourse analysis? Generally speaking, a corpus is a set of texts stored in a digital format. They can be manipulated and looked for through the use of different computer programs. Similarly, Jones provides a short definition to the term corpus; he says: *“A corpus is basically a collection of texts in digital format that is possible to search through and manipulate using a computer program.”* (p.40). It is said that corpus-assisted discourse is an interesting approach to discourse analysis since it enables the analyst to analyze and compare a wide range of texts. That is to say that this approach made the analysis of a large number of texts possible. Accordingly, corpus-assisted discourse analysis has

its unique thumbprint in that it helps analysts to move from analyzing a small number of texts and interactions to studying a large number of them (Jones, p.40). The analysts who follow this approach make their analyses objective because they test the theories formed in previous analyses of few texts and conversations. Therefore, Jones explains this point by saying: *“It also allows us to bring to our analysis some degree of ‘objectivity’ by giving us the opportunity to test out the theories we have formulated in our close analysis of a few texts or conversations on a much larger body of data in a rather systematic way.”* (p.40). Generally speaking, discourse analysis is defined as the study of language use in its social contexts. From this broad definition, it can be understood that language cannot be separated from concrete social situations. The question that can be asked here is: does computer analysis take into consideration this key aim of discourse analysis? Computer analysis of corpora violates this main aim of discourse analysis because texts in corpora are isolated from their social contexts. In addition, the results of the analysis are often isolated from the social milieu in which the analyzed data of the corpora occur (Jones, p.41). In addition to this, there are some potential problems that can be faced by discourse analysts when doing a corpus analysis; as Jones says:

“Other than this, the analysis of corpora also presents other problems for discourse analysts. As we asserted at the beginning of our study of discourse analysis: ‘people do not always say what they mean, and people do not always mean what they say’. A big part of discourse analysis, in fact, is figuring out what people mean when they do not say (or write) it directly.” (p.41)

Words, phrases and sentences can have different meanings if they are isolated from their social context. Besides, the frequent use of a given word does not necessarily reflect that it has a great value because the most valuable meanings people make are stated implicitly (Jones, p.41). In other words, the frequent use of words or expressions does not mean that they are important; people do not always say what they mean or mean what they say because the most important meanings they make are not stated explicitly. All in all, the existence of these problems does not mean that this approach is not useful, but it can provide us with different opportunities to do discourse analysis in different effective and powerful ways. Jones explains this point as follows:

“Despite these potential problems, however, the computer-assisted analysis of corpora can still be a very valuable tool for discourse analysts. The key word in this phrase is assisted. The computer analysis of corpora cannot be used by itself to do discourse analysis. But it can assist us in doing discourse analysis in some very valuable ways.” (p.41)

To conclude, it is very important to know that each sub-approach is purpose-oriented, and discourse analysts select the one that can best help him/her answer the respective question of his/her analysis.

1.3 What Is Political Discourse Analysis?

Since the present research sheds light on the study of political discourses (PD), mainly on the study of the two selected political speeches of the American president Obama, the present researcher thinks that it is necessary to define and explain what is meant by political discourse analysis.

Scholars interested in defining this notion of political discourse analysis, argued that it is very vague. Its most common meaning is that it emphasizes on the analysis of political discourses as its name suggests. The important question that can be asked here is: on which criteria discourse analysts should focus in order to determine which discourse is political and which one is not? The researcher totally agrees Van Dijk (1997) who asserts: *“Obviously, the very notion of Political Discourse Analysis (henceforth PDA), is ambiguous. Its most common interpretation is that PDA focuses on the analysis of ‘political discourse’, although we then still need to determine which discourse is political and which is not.” (p.11)*. Besides, it is very important to note that political discourse analysis can be considered as a part in the critical approach to discourse; as Fairclough (1995) & Van Dijk (1993b) state,

“Without collapsing political discourse analysis into critical discourse analysis, we would like to retain both aspects of the ambiguous designation: PDA is both about political discourse, and it is also a critical enterprise. In the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA this would mean that critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance” (as cited in Van Dijk, 1997, p.11)

To make things clear, political discourse analysis can simply be defined as the study of political discourse or the analysis of the texts and talks of politicians and political institutions.

van Dijk (1997) agrees with the idea of Carbo' (1984), Dillon et al. (1990), Harris (1991), Holly (1990), Maynard (1994) and Seidel (1988b), and he expresses it differently; he says:

“Indeed, the vast bulk of studies of political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as president and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, so that the local, national and international levels” (p.12)

To sum up, it can be said that political discourse analysis is a field of discourse analysis which focuses on discourse in political forums (such as debates, speeches and hearings) as the phenomenon of interest.

1.4 What Is the Role of the Discourse Analyst?

Generally, discourse analysts are concerned with the study of language use ‘beyond the sentence boundary’. They prefer analyzing ‘naturally occurring’ language use, not invented examples; as Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) assert:

“In discourse analytical research, the primary exercise is not to sort out which of the statements in the research material are right and which are wrong (although a critical evaluation can be carried out at a later stage in the analysis). On the contrary, the analyst has to work with what has actually been said or written, exploring patterns in and across the statements and identify the social consequences of different discursive representations of reality” (p.21)

They view language as social interaction because they pay attention to the social context in which a given discourse is embedded. This means that discourse analysts focus on the division of a discourse into its different parts so as to discover the meaning that cannot be located in the ‘linguistic system’; they study language use in its social context since they view language as means of ‘social practices’ rather than a set of grammatical structures. They say that every discourse has a reason to be, and in each discourse there is a hidden reality to discover, and this reality can never be reached outside discourses. In other words, the main concern of the discourse analyst is not getting ‘behind’ a given discourse to discover the hidden truth and intentions of the speaker. Yet, this truth can never be understood when isolated from its proper discourse. That is to say, the discourse is the first necessary object of the analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.21). Sometimes, this job of discourse analysts is very difficult to tackle simply because they can face obstacles and barriers when analyzing and interpreting familiar discourses. In addition, they can be heavily influenced by the culture under study when they are part of it (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.21). The question that is

worth asking here is: how can discourse analysts face this difficulty? It is very crucial to find a solution to this problem because it will be illogical and unfair if discourse analysts ignore these familiar discourses and analyze only unfamiliar ones; Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) claim:

“The difficulty is that it is precisely the common-sense understandings that are to be investigated: analysis focuses on how some statements are accepted as true or ‘naturalised’, and others are not. Consequently, it is fruitful to try to distance oneself from one’s material and, for instance, imagine oneself as an anthropologist who is exploring a foreign universe of meaning in order to find out what makes sense there” (p.21)

That is to say, this pre-solution should not be considered as a cure to this problem, but it is suggested to help discourse analysts overcome this obstacle and analyze effectively familiar discourses. Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) argue: *“But this suggestion to play anthropologist should just be seen as a useful starting point rather than a full response to the problem of the researcher’s role”* (p.21). This idea of playing the role of an anthropologist can cause some problems especially when the research project is based on a social constructionist perspective. Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) clarify this point by saying:

“If the research project is based on a social constructionist perspective, the problem of the researcher’s role goes much deeper and needs to be tackled reflexively. If we accept that ‘reality’ is socially created, that ‘truths’ are discursively produced effects and that subjects are decentred, what do we do about the ‘truth’ that we as researcher-subjects produce? This problem is intrinsic to all social constructionist approaches.” (p.21-22)

It is argued that this problem is solved differently in different approaches; as Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) state: *“Of the approaches that we present, the problem of how to deal with the contingency of truth is most pertinent in Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory and discursive psychology, and the two approaches solve it in different ways”* (p.22). Furthermore, when taking into account the philosophical point of view people will probably say that this dilemma does not have an answer or solution. On one hand, discourse analysts should determine their relationships to the field of study simply because their positions can shape and influence what they can see and draw as conclusions. Yet, this precision in terms of position does not reflect that all research results are valid and equally good. In addition, theoretical consistency is very crucial. In discourse analysis since it pushes discourse analysts to clarify their positions whenever investigating a given discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.22). As an answer to

the question asked by Marianne Jorgensen and Louise Phillips; what can we do with the ‘truth’ that we as researcher-subjects produce? The present researcher agrees with them. For her, they are right because they argue that the job of discourse analysts can become easy to handle if they apply theory and method that legitimise the ‘truth’ that researchers produce. They express this idea by stating:

“In brief, our position is the stringent application of theory and method that legitimises scientifically produced knowledge. It is by seeing the world through a particular theory that we can distance ourselves from some of our taken-for-granted understandings and subject our material to other questions than we would be able to do from an everyday perspective” (p.22-23)

Section Two: The Study of Rhetoric

In the present section, the researcher seeks to explain and clarify deeply rhetoric simply because her research work sheds light on Obama’s rhetorical strategies.

1.5 What Is Rhetoric?

The term rhetoric is colourfully and largely defined by different scholars. Yet, it is very important to note that the works and books of Aristotle on rhetoric are highly praised and used by researchers to understand its real meaning.

Aristotle argues that rhetoric is the nucleus of dialectic. Yet it is very important to note that rhetoric and dialect do not belong to a specific science, but they are inseparable from people. That is to say that all people use them, but what differs is the way they use them; as Roberts (2004) says: *“Rhetoric is the counterpart of Dialectic. Both alike are concerned with such things as come, more or less, within the general Ken of all men and belong to no definite science”* (p.01). Aristotle uses one sentence to define the term rhetoric; he asserts that it is the art of persuasion. The present researcher totally agrees with him simply because people use rhetoric to define their ideas, attract and persuade others; as Roberts (2004) says: *“Accordingly all men make use, more or less, of both; for to a certain extent all men attempt to discuss statements and to maintain them, to defend themselves and to attack others”* (p.01). Sometimes, some people use rhetoric unconsciously, and others think that it should be practised to be used. In this respect, Roberts also states:

“Ordinary people do this either at random or through practice and from acquired habit. Both ways being possible, the subject can plainly be handled systematically, for it is possible to inquire the reason why some speakers succeed through practice and others spontaneously; and every one will at one agree that such inquiry is the function of an art” (p.01)

To be an effective artist in this art of persuasion, one should understand and develop his/her modes of persuasion, should know how to use powerful rhetorical strategies to produce a certain effect on people. Besides, Roberts (2004) explains the idea of Aristotle by stating: *“the modes of persuasion are the only true constituents of the art: everything else is merely accessory”* (p.01). Since rhetoric is said to be related to persuasion, the important question that can be asked here is: what is meant by persuasion? Simply the term persuasion can be considered as practice. In other words, it means practising and using language creatively in order to attract someone, or it can be said that it means playing with words to attract and persuade; as Roberts (2004) says: *“Persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration, since we are most fully persuaded when we consider a thing to have been demonstrated”* (p.05). In addition, it is argued that rhetoric is not one subject-oriented, but it is shared as dialectic. Besides, it is said to be crucial because it is not only limited to persuasion but also it helps people discover the secrets of success whatever the circumstance is (Roberts, 2004, p.07). Accordingly, the present researcher really shares the same view point with Aristotle who asserts that using rhetorical strategies successfully means discovering all the effective means of persuasion whatever the subject matter is. Similarly, Roberts (2004) states: *“Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. This is not a function of any other art.”* (p.07). Moreover, Aristotle argues that this art of persuasion is universal since it can be used to persuade in different subject matters. That is why it is said that it is not one subject-oriented; as Roberts (2004) says:

“Every other art can instruct or persuade about its own particular subject-matter; for instance; medicine about what is healthy and unhealthy, geometry about the properties of magnitudes, arithmetic about numbers, and the same is true of the other arts and sciences. But rhetoric we look upon as the power of observing the means of persuasion on almost any subject presented to us; and that is why we say that, in its technical character, it is not concerned with any special or definite class of subjects” (p.7-8)

Since the present research focuses on Obama’s rhetorical strategies, the researcher thinks that it is very important to relate rhetoric to oratory; she wants to say that speaking cannot be separated from the use of rhetoric. Thus, speakers should try hard in order to develop their use

of rhetoric otherwise dissatisfaction of the audiences will take place. Accordingly, Roberts (2004) says: *“About the orator’s proper modes of persuasion they have nothing to tell us; nothing, that is, about how to gain skill in enthymemes.”* (p.4-5). It is claimed that orator’s use a powerful mode of persuasion known as Syllogism. In other words, Aristotle said that persuasion is demonstration; the orator’s demonstration is said to be enthymeme; as Roberts (2004) states: *“The orator’s demonstration is an enthymeme, and this is, in general, the most effective of the modes of persuasion. The enthymeme is a sort of syllogism.”* (p.05). The study of rhetoric is developed by Aristotle; this term rhetoric is well defined in Aristotle’s books, so the researcher wants to say that the explanations stated above are just drops of water from his vast ocean of rhetoric.

1.6 Rhetoric and Political Discourses

Since the present research focuses on the study of two selected political discourses of the American president Obama, the present researcher thinks that it is very necessary to define “political discourse” on one hand, and relate it to rhetoric on the other hand. It is claimed that defining political discourse is not an easy job to tackle simply because it is not seen as a clear and precise notion. Sometimes, it is defined broadly that people can think that all discourses are political; in other cases, it is given a precise meaning since it is explained as the discourses that mainly focus on political talk and events; as John Wilson (2001) says:

“As we have discussed above, defining political discourse is not a straightforward matter. Some analysts define the political so broadly that almost any discourse may be considered political. At the same time, a formal constraint on any definition such that we only deal with politicians and core political events excludes the everyday discourse of politics which is part of people’s lives” (p.411)

What is important here is to link politics, mainly presidential speech, to rhetoric. The focal point of this research is the study of the 44th American president’s rhetorical strategies; she has chosen to study the rhetoric of Obama because she is certain that presidents’ speeches can never be separated from the use of creative and persuasive language. Presidents feel obliged to use rhetoric so as to stimulate the minds, hearts, souls and imaginations of the targeted people. The present researcher totally agrees with Stuckey (2010) who states:

“Presidents use rhetoric for instrumental purposes. They speak because they think speaking will accomplish something that silence would not. They believe speech will help them motivate voters to support them, donors to finance their campaigns, or policymakers to approve their programs” (p.293)

All in all, she wants to say that political discourses and rhetoric are complementary.

1.7 The Instrumental Effects of Presidential Rhetoric

The use of rhetoric in presidential discourses is not hazardous or random, but it is always purposeful. Presidents think that any discourse should have a given effect on the targeted audience; they do not speak for the sake of speaking, but they speak to convince and persuade. Presidents think that it is preferable to keep silent if a discourse does not influence people and provoke their reactions; as stated by Stuckey (2010):

“Presidents use rhetoric for instrumental purposes. They speak because they think speaking will accomplish something that silence would not. They believe speech will help them motivate voters to support them, donors to finance their campaigns, or policymakers to approve their programs. Presidents wouldn’t speak at all if they didn’t believe-wisely or not- that their speech mattered in specific, material ways.” (p.293)

Accordingly, Presidents are considered as powerful informants. They use words intelligently to report good news and speak about important events, accomplishments, education, art, etc. Besides, she focuses on this idea and says: *“When disaster strikes, when there is good news to report, whenever important events of any kind occur, we expect to hear from our presidents. We listen to them talk about fires, riots and tsunamis, moon landings, literary achievements, and Super Bowl championships.”* (p.293). To explain more what is said above, the present researcher wants to say that presidential discourse is purpose-oriented; presidents speak and use rhetoric to stimulate the audience and produce a given effect; Stuckey (2010) asserts: *“No one argues that presidents talk only to hear themselves talk.”*(p.293). In addition, she argues *“I agree that one important test of president’s persuasive ability is the capacity to influence a specific audience on a specific issue”* (p.294).

1.8 The Long-term Effects of Presidential Rhetoric

Presidents deliver a given discourse when there is a reason to do so. They do not speak when they want, but they speak when they feel obliged to do so. When they do so, they try to provide audience with pieces of information about a given issue. But the problem is that this issue can be totally ignored by some elites and the public; as Stuckey (2010) claims: *“There are surely moments when issues of concern to a particular president are ignored by other elites as well as by the mass public.”* (p.299). Yet, it is very important to know that discourses of presidents are bound by the times in which they govern. Each president should speak about

the issues related to his/her period of presidency; s/he cannot suggest solutions to problems that do not exist in his/her present time of presidency. Accordingly, Stuckey (2010) adds: *“Presidents are constrained by the times in which they govern. But forceful and persistent presidential speech on a given topic can give a topic lasting resonance, and this points to the potential long-range consequences of presidential speech.”* (p.299). In order to understand these long-term effects, one may consider at least three distinct ways. The manner with which a given president speaks about a given issue can influence the nature of subsequent discourse on that topic. Besides, the president can play with ordinary words and phrases and transform them into “ideographs”, or abstract terms to speak about culture’s political and moral commitments. Furthermore, presidential rhetoric can be used for an educative purpose (function); for instance, to raise public consciousness about particular issues or use conversations that influence a variety of specific policies (Stuckey, 2010, p.299).

Section Three: Introducing the Theoretical Framework of the Study

In this section, the present researcher aims at defining rhetorical analysis since she seeks to discover Obama’s rhetorical strategies. Besides, she wants to describe the theoretical framework to be used in her study to analyze the two selected speeches Obama.

1.9 What Is Meant by Rhetorical Analysis?

Since the present researcher’s work focuses on analyzing Obama’s rhetorical strategies, the definition of rhetorical analysis is indispensable. Generally, it is argued that this concept ‘rhetorical analysis’ has no precise meaning. When someone hears it, s/he directly thinks of how authors or orators attempt to persuade their respective audience by looking at the various components that make up their speeches or pieces of writing and become powerful artists in the art of persuasion. In other words, it is not wrong if researchers say that rhetorical analysis has not one agreed definition. As Selzer notes: *“There is no generally accepted definition of rhetorical analysis (or rhetorical criticism, as it is also called.), probably because there is no generally accepted definition of rhetoric”* (as cited in Jolliffe, 1993, p.08). Yet, it is very important to know that rhetorical analysis helps us understand how rhetoric or the game of creative language use works, or how speakers and writers use this linguistic game to help them influence their audience mentally and emotionally; and achieve different purposes. Accordingly, Selzer argues: *“[R]hetorical analysis or rhetorical criticism can be*

understood as an effort to understand how people within specific social situations attempt to influence others through language” (as cited in Jolliffe, 1993, p.08).

Rhetoric does not have one general accepted definition since it is defined differently by rhetoricians. For this reason, many researchers find difficulties when defining rhetorical analysis. That is to say, finding a definition to this concept is an interesting and challenging task to tackle. For instance, Jolliffe argues that sometimes it is used to refer to how people read and try to understand using their critical thinking; as Selzer asserts, *“When people read rhetorically...When they engage in rhetorical analysis, they do not only react to the message, but they appreciate how the producer of that message is conveying the message to a particular audience too, whether that intended audience includes the analyst or not”* (as cited in Jolliffe, 1993, p.08). Hence, Jolliffe agrees with Selzer on the point that the myriad definitions of rhetoric can create some ambiguity and hamper from understanding the real meaning of rhetorical analysis.

1.10 Introducing Jolliffe’s Rhetorical Framework

Researchers can never understand how a discourse or a text influences the targeted audience and shapes people’s thoughts and actions if they do not do a rhetorical analysis. Yet, to analyze a discourse or a text, the researcher has to select an appropriate rhetorical framework; as Jolliffe (1993) asserts: *“As the third and fourth bullet points make clear, they must systematically search to discover all the things a writer or speaker has done (in a text being analyzed) or might do (in a text being produced) to shape people’s thoughts and actions.”* (p.09). This means that the researcher must be able to understand all the keys the speaker or writer uses in order to impact people mentally and emotionally and influence their actions and thoughts. Moreover, from this widely accepted idea, the researchers come to understand that language is a means used to achieve meaning, purpose and effect.

As it is already mentioned, this discourse analytical study focuses on obama’s rhetorical strategies. Yet, the researcher has chosen Jolliffe’s Rhetorical Framework (2009) because she thinks that it best suits the nucleus of her respective research work. According to the present researcher, this rhetorical analysis framework is divided into three important parts. The first one is called Rhetorical Situation, and it involves Exigence, Audience and Purpose. The second one is labelled Appeals. That is to say, when analyzing a given discourse or text rhetorically, the researcher must focus on the Logos, Ethos, Pathos and the Tone of the

speaker or writer. The final important part is known as Organization (structure or form), and it is divided into: Diction, Syntax, Imagery and Figurative Language.

It is argued that exigence means the reason or the situation that pushed the speaker to deliver a given speech or the writer to produce a piece of writing. It is said that after understanding the exigence of the discourse or text, the analyst must focus on the audience to whom the message is designed. In addition, the analyst can ask an important question that is: which type of response does the speaker or author wants from the audience. Besides, understanding the purpose of the speaker or writer is also indispensable. Moreover, if the analyst understands these three elements of the rhetorical situation, s/he can move directly to the analysis of the appeals of the discourse or text chosen to be analyzed. The speaker or writer cannot be understood if s/he ignores logic because without logic the presentation of her/his ideas cannot be reasonable. That is to say, her/his production can be useless if there is no appeal to logic or pertinent use of logical arguments. In addition, the speaker or writer must not only base her/his speech or text on logic but also on moral grounds. In other words, there should be a focus on how to make targeted people distinguish the right from the wrong. Yet, the listeners or readers can never change their thoughts and behaviours if the speaker or writer does not choose a topic that can stimulate them emotionally. It is also claimed that it is very crucial to explain another important element of known as the tone, which belongs to the appeals and refers to the attitude of the speaker and writer towards a subject matter, issue or audience. Yet, a rhetorical analyst can never understand the respective parts of the appeals if s/he is unable to understand the arrangement and the style of a text (diction, syntax, imagery and figurative language) (Jolliffe, 1993, p.09-10).

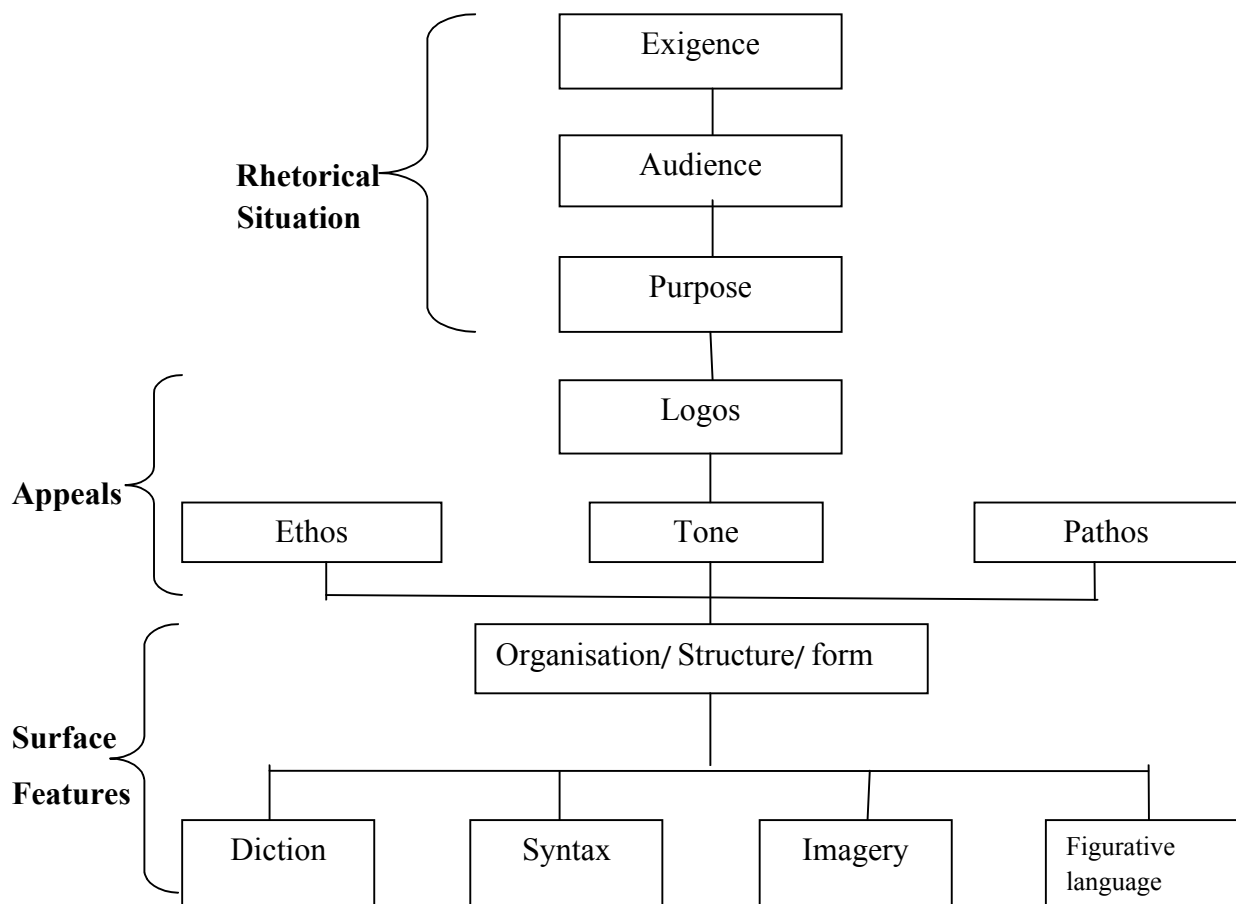


Figure 01: Jolliffe’s Rhetorical Analysis Framework Design (2009)

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this present chapter, the researcher tries to present some pertinent previous research works that are related directly to her theme of research. The light of her study is shed on the study and analysis of two selected speeches of Obama in order to draw valid conclusions about his rhetorical strategies. For this reason, she selected a number of previous related studies to better understand her field of research, as well as to emphasize the application of Jolliffe’s Rhetorical Framework (2009) as a suitable model to make her respective analysis.

Letts (2009) in his BSc dissertation entitled “Obama’s Discourse of “Hope”: Making Rhetoric Work Politically”, tries to answer two important questions that are: what is

articulated in Obama's discourse of "hope"? And how did his rhetoric work politically? He argues that Obama's eloquent and inspirational rhetoric helped him reaffirm a nation's faith and shaped the political discourse that had dominated the American Oratory. Besides, he wants to understand the content of Obama's narrative and how his rhetoric is used as a weapon to achieve political purposes by analyzing the particulars of a complex, and in different ways, unprecedented election. Finally, he claims that this analysis is the thumbprint that can help him locate his research in historical and political context.

Jarrell (2011), in his M.A thesis entitled "Red And Blue Ideology: A Fantasy-Theme Analysis Of Barack Obama's Political Discourse", investigates the rhetorical style of Obama throughout the 2008 presidential campaign to see the changes that occurred in his post-inaugural political discourse. Thanks to his use of a wide range of critical and rhetorical theories, he argues that the rhetorical strategies used in Obama's presidential campaign (2008) and his post-inaugural political discourse changed drastically after he took office on January 20, 2009. Jarrell selected six speeches from both the 2008 presidential campaign and those delivered in his post-inauguration in order to justify that Obama uses a unique rhetorical vision throughout his campaign; he says: "*Based upon an analysis of these speeches, I will argue that Obama employed a unique rhetorical vision throughout his campaign by combining two politically polarized myths to create a blended ideological frame that emphasized notions of bipartisanship.*" In addition, he argues that Obama created this unique rhetorical style because of his blended racial heritage.

Weatherson (2011), in her B.A Senior Project entitled "President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address: A Critique And Overview", explores the inaugural speech of Obama delivered in 2009. In this Senior Project she spoke about different points related to Obama's Inaugural Speech. She argued that in January 20th, 2009, many Democrats and Republicans listened carefully to Obama's Inaugural Address wishing that it would give purpose and direction for the four coming years. In addition, she said that Obama delivered this speech in order to call for a "new era of responsibility". In this paper, the researcher started by giving a background on Obama to clarify the context in which the speech was delivered. Besides, she spoke about his oratory, his speech writer Jonathan Favreau, the events of his inauguration and the audience. Moreover, she tried to provide a summary of his respective speech and its basic and underlying construction. Finally, she explained deeply how the president called for a new era of responsibility, how he delivered the speech and how the audience reacted to it.

Bare (2011) in his M.A thesis entitled “False Choices: Barack Obama’s Balance Rhetoric”, examines 20 speeches of Obama and compared them to 20 speeches of Bill Clinton. In this comparative analytical study, he discovers that Obama uses balance rhetoric more than President Clinton. This paper does not shed light on the effectiveness of presidential rhetoric because it focuses more on the discovering where the President’s true power lies. In other words, the researcher wants to focus on the true and false choices that Presidents make when using rhetoric in their speeches. All in all, he argues that the secret of the powerful oratory of Obama is his use of balance rhetoric.

Nakaggwe (2012) in her B.A Thesis entitled “The Persuasive Power of Personal Pronouns in Barack Obama’s Rhetoric”, argues that rhetorical strategies are very crucial in political discourses because persuasion is the priority of all politicians. Her study aims at understanding how Obama uses the four Pronouns me, you, we and they strategically in his speeches. Her study seeks to analyze the use of personal pronouns within the co-text and the social context. She finds that he uses I, you and we to focus on the “self” and describe the opposition in a negative way. Whereas, the pronoun they is used to portray the opposition negatively.

Iqbal (2013), in his Master of Science thesis entiteled “The Rhetoric of Obama: An Analysis of Rhetoric and Genre Characteristics of President Barack Obama’s 2013 Inaugural Address”, examines Obama’s use of rhetoric in political language as an effective tool to draw an image of his vision of America and set forth the goals for the nation. This thesis is limited to the study of Obama’s 2013 inaugural speech that sheds light on the main controversial issues.

“Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama’s 2012 Speeches: Views from Systemic Functional Linguistics and Rhetoric” is an article written by Hashemi (2014). It deals with the investigation and the analysis of Obama’s five speeches of 2012 in terms of frequency and functions of Nominalization, Rhetorical strategies, Passivization and Modality. The researcher applied the theoretical framework of Fairclough that is based on a Hallidayan prespective in order to understand how orators use different strategies in their speeches to achieve different political purposes.

The article entitled “A pragmatic Study of Barack Obama’s Political Propagonda” is written by Al. Amedi and Khudhier (2015) is a pragmatic investigation of the language used in Obama’s five electoral political propaganda texts. This analysis aims at discovering the

Obama's use of speech acts, understanding how politicians use the four maxims of Gricce and the principle of politeness. In addition to the analysis of the rhetorical strategies used in political propaganda, the researchers seek to verify their three respective hypotheses that are: statement, assertion and advice are the three speech acts that can be used in political propoganda; the cooperative principle and the politeness principle are mostly used in the political propoganda; and the rhetorical devices that are worth using in political propoganda are: metaphor, repetition and manipulation.

In the article entitled "Analysis of the Rhetorical Devices in Obama's Public Speeches", Fengjie, Jia and Yingying (2016) explore how Obama uses rhetorical devices when delivering a given public speech. They argue that the name of Obama is widespread in the American Oratory scene thanks to his powerful use of rhetoric. His skilful use of a number of rhetorical devices is one factor for his success in influencing the audience. These researchers think that the analysis of Obama's rhetorical devices is worthy because it can be used as a reference to help people know how to make a brilliant speech. They analyzed four speeches of Obama in terms of lexical devices, phonological devices and syntactical devices that can be considered as categories of rhetorical devices.

Hence, Boucherak, in her thesis entitled "Obama's Rhetorical strategies: A Study of some Selected Speeches", studies the rhetorical devices used by the President Obama as a powerful means to strengthen his oratory, influence his audience and achieve his purposes. She has selected two speeches of Obama, and she has chosen Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) that she thinks is the suitable model that can best serve her respective analysis. The present researcher aims at discovering the rhetorical strategies that Obama used when he delivered the two selected speeches; what are the ones featuring these speeches, and whether the model chosen can be used successfully in analyzing orators' rhetoric. In other words, she aims at clarifying that Obama's mastery of rhetoric made him the king of the American oratory scene. That is to say that rhetoric is used by orators as a weapon to influence their audience mentally and emotionally to shape their thoughts and actions and achieve their hidden purposes.

Chapter Three: Methods and Study Design

The present chapter is limited to the explanation of the methods and study design that the researcher wants to apply in her research work. Besides, it involves the description of her corpus of the study. That is to say that she wants to give an idea about the selected speeches that she wants to analyze relying on Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009). Finally, she ends this chapter with the explanation of the procedures that she wants to use in order to analyze her data.

3.1 Methods and Study Design

The present researcher aims at studying the rhetorical strategies of Obama and describing his skilful and powerful use of the creative language. That is to say, she wants to draw an image of Obama's use of rhetoric in order to understand the secret of his strong oratory through her descriptions and explanations. In this case, she thinks that the suitable method to adopt is the qualitative one. Besides, she wants to compare the selected speeches and identify the rhetorical devices featuring Obama's speeches. In other words, she wants to count the number of the rhetorical devices that the President Obama repeats when delivering a given speech. In addition, when analyzing Obama's diction and syntax, she can count the number of some repeated words, pronouns, phrases and sentences to represent them in tables. Simply, she wants to use numbers to increase precision in her research.

To sum up, the researcher aims at using the mixed method or triangulation to draw valid conclusions from her analysis. In other words, she wants to use the qualitative method in order to describe Obama's use of rhetoric and go in depth in her results, and she wants to accompany her descriptions with some frequencies to make her analysis more clear and strengthen her results.

3.2 Corpus of the Study

In order to answer the research questions, every researcher has to gather data and select a suitable methodology to analyze them. That is to say, the starting point of each research is the gathering of data. Yet, it is very important to know that the data of this present researcher are the transcripts of two selected speeches of Obama (i.e., Inaugural and Cairo Speeches).

Her corpus of the study is limited to two selected speeches. Besides, when reading these respective speeches, the researcher thinks that it easy to notice that they are characterized by

an interesting use of rhetoric that can be considered as Obama's oratory favourite thumbprint. The first chosen speech is Obama's Inaugural Address delivered on January 20, 2009. In this speech, Obama calls his fellow citizens to a new era of responsibility. In other words, he wants to stimulate them mentally and emotionally to shape their behaviours and actions, and why not push them to assume their duties and become responsible. The second one is Cairo Speech which he delivered in Egypt at Cairo University at 1:10 P.M on June 4, 2009. In this speech, he invited the Muslims to forget the existing conflicts that hold between them and Americans and accept partnership to guarantee prosperity and progress.

To conclude, these selected speeches can heavily help the present researcher in analyzing Obama's rhetorical strategies since she considers them as mirrors that reflect Obama's use of rhetoric. Importantly, the Inaugural Speech is the first official discourse he delivers as a President. So, he thanks first the Americans for their trust and he promises them with a better era, a new America and prosperity and hope. Besides, he delivers the Cairo speech in order to invite the Muslims to accept partnership. Moreover, it is the first discourse he delivers in a Muslim country in order to guarantee to the Muslims that he respects them and their religion.

3.3 Data Analysis Procedures

The present researcher has opted for discourse analysis as a field of research and wants to study the rhetoric of Obama, the king of the American oratory. As she has already explained in the theoretical background, this field of research contains a variety of approaches and models that can be applied as procedures to analyze data. Yet, it is very important to note that these models are applied differently by different researchers for various purposes. That is to say, in order to analyze a given discourse, the researcher should pay attention to the aim of his/her research and to the degree of applicability of a given model.

To understand the secret of president Obama in using rhetoric, the present researcher has selected two of his speeches to design the corpus of her study, and she has chosen the Rhetorical Framework of Jolliffe (2009) as a model that can suit her respective analysis. She thinks that the suitable data analysis procedure that can be applied when carrying a given research in discourse analysis is speech analysis or text analysis. She wants to apply Joliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) to split the selected speeches into their different parts to discover Obama's rhetorical style.

The most important thing to notice is that the chosen model is never been applied by any researcher to analyze Obama's rhetorical strategies (as far as the present researcher knows). The researcher thinks that its different components can help her in conducting a profound analysis to identify the rhetorical strategies featuring Obama's speeches, but the hidden motivation is to prove that this model can be applied successfully to analyze orator's rhetorical strategies.

Chapter Four: Analysis & Discussion

The present chapter deals with the application of the chosen model in order to analyze Obama's two selected speeches. Yet, it is very important to note that it is divided into two respective sections. The first one is concerned with the analysis of the Inaugural Speech (2009) and the Cairo Speech (2009). Besides, the researcher aims at providing the readers with a synthesis of Obama's rhetorical strategies and giving some characteristics featuring Obama's speeches. In the second one, she aims at drawing some conclusions of her study, explaining the limitations and the difficulties that she faced when conducting her research and suggesting some points for further research.

Section one: Analysis & Discussion

In this section, the present researcher wants to analyze the two selected speeches of Obama to understand the secret of his powerful rhetoric. Besides, she seeks to apply Jolliffe's, Rhetorical Framework (2009) to discover if the selected model can be used successfully to analyze orators' rhetoric.

I. Speech One: Obama's Inaugural Address (2009)

4.1 The Rhetorical Situation

In this first part of Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) labelled 'the Rhetorical Situation', the present researcher seeks to understand the exigence, audience and purpose of the Inaugural Speech of Obama.

4.1.1 Exigence

When analyzing this speech, the analyst can notice that the hidden motivation behind Obama's delivery of this speech is to invite the American citizens to work hard in order to renew America and make it the greatest nation in the world. Simply, he wanted to call for a new era of responsibility, but he/she can also notice that each paragraph has its own reason of existence. That is to say, in each paragraph Obama tried to discuss an important idea. Yet, it is very important to note that the present researcher divides this speech into 4 respective paragraphs.

The first paragraph starts from *"My fellow citizens.....They will be met. (Applause)"*

The second paragraph starts from *"On this day, we gather.....to our common good."*

The third paragraph starts from *"as far as our common defense.....we must change with it."*

The fourth paragraph starts from *"As we consider the role.....the United States of America."*

4.1.1.1 Exigence of the First Paragraph

Obama started his speech by thanking and acknowledging his ancestors and their contributions. Then, he moved to speak about the American crisis, and argued that their major source was the war fighting overseas and the financial crisis. In addition, he made reference to many problems, but he was faithful and hopeful since he said that Americans can overcome them and why not renew America. Finally, he claimed that his efforts as a President together with the hard work of the American citizens can help in remaking America.

4.1.1.2 Exigence of the Second Paragraph

Obama called the Americans to walk in the road prepared by his ancestors. He wanted to overspread in the minds of his citizens that they must read about the American history to understand that if America exists today is because of the hard work and the sacrifices of brave and courageous American men and women. For this reason, he said that prosperity is not given as a gift, but it must be earned by hard work. In other words, he wanted to say that in order to remake America and overcome all the problems and crisis, Americans have to respect the path designed by their ancestors. In addition, he claimed that the American government

will become strong and encourage justice and fairness, and he said that every action will be directed to a good use. For instance, he said that American markets can never prosper if chance is not given to every willing heart.

4.1.1.3 Exigence of the Third Paragraph

Obama claimed that there are many people over the world that need support; and in his speech he showed that America is ready to help them. In this paragraph, he claimed that it is very crucial to fight and help people when needed, but it is very necessary to preserve the American resources and spend intelligently their powers. For him, Americans will fight many terrorists and governments that aim at causing the American decline. He said that America is a young nation but it will never be defeated.

4.1.1.4 Exigence of the Fourth Paragraph

Once again, Obama said that it is very important to remember the work of brave American ancestors. He claimed that they are not only the angels that protected the American liberty but also the leaders who developed the idea of the spirit of service. For this reason, Americans have to follow their rules and respect their principles. Then, he returned to speak about American problems and set forth the instruments needed in order to overcome them. Besides, he claimed that their success depends on honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, and loyalty and patriotism. For him, these truths are old but needed in addition to the creation of a new era of responsibility. In addition, this era of responsibility can only be achieved if the American citizens assume their duties. He defined responsibility as the knowledge and culture God calls for in order to shape an uncertain destiny and make of the young American nation a flourishing one. In other words, this era of responsibility can help in overcoming the American crisis and problems, and why not remake America and make it the strongest nation of the entire universe. Moreover, he spoke about the American identity and the travels and sacrifices of the American men and women. He ended by thanking the presence of the audience and asking God to bless them and bless the United States of America.

4.4.2 Audience

Obama delivered this speech to his fellow citizens in order to shape their thoughts and push them to assume their duties and use the sense of responsibility. He wanted to help them

understand that responsibility and hard work are the keys that can help them in opening the door of success and prosperity. The present researcher thinks that he did not limit his speech to his fellow citizens because he addressed the Muslims, and asked them to stop blaming and considering America as the source of some world's problems. Finally, he addressed indirectly all the people of the universe and affirmed to them that America is a young nation, but it can never be defeated.

4.4.3 Purpose

The present researcher thinks that the first motivation of Obama behind delivering the speech is to invite his fellow citizens to work hard in order to succeed in renewing America. He spoke about the contributions of his ancestors to make them sure that prosperity is not given, but it must be earned through responsibility, hard work and the respect of the principles and rules suggested by the American ancestors. In addition, he delivered this speech in order to thank all the Presidents, men and women who contributed to the prosperity of the American nation and gave it its national identity. Importantly, it is the first official discourse he delivered as a President. So, he thanked first the Americans for their trust and he promised them with a better era, a new America and prosperity.

4.2 Appeals

In the second part of Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) entitled 'Appeals', the present researcher aims at discovering how Obama uses intellect, ethics and feelings to attract his listeners and impress them.

4.2.1 Logos

The present researcher wants to analyze the four paragraphs of the Inaugural Speech in order to understand how Obama uses logic and intellect as a rhetorical strategy to stimulate the minds and thinking of his listeners

4.2.1.1 The First Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama thanked his fellow citizens for their trust, and he acknowledged the great contributions of the previous Presidents of American and the sacrifices of brave American men and women.

To influence the minds of the listeners, he was objective and pragmatic since he did not ignore the hard work of his ancestors. He made reference to the sacrifices and sufferings of American men and women, to the President Bush and his service to the American nation and to the 44 Americans who have taken the presidential oath. Though, Obama was able to use his emotions and avoid speaking about the work of his ancestors. Besides, Obama used amazing words in order to deliver this idea; as if he wanted to say to the listeners just think logically, and you will find that these American leaders deserve thanking and remembering.

“My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you’ve bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.”

He thanked the President Bush by saying:

“I thank President Bush for his service to our nation- - (applause)- - as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.”

The present researcher notices that Obama succeeded in influencing heavily his citizens because before finishing his passage, the applause of the audience took place.

Obama carried on his thanking by saying:

“Forty – four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.”

The researcher thinks that Obama used his logic and reason to discover that if America exists today is because of the hard work and sacrifices of his ancestors.

Obama moved to speak about a succession of war caused crisis and problems to stimulate the listeners mentally in order to understand that these obstacles must end in order to renew and remake America. He said:

“That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses

shuttered. Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many- - and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.”

To persuade his audience, he referred to many Obstacles that threaten the American nation’s development and prosperity. For example, weakness of economy and the dangerous consequences of the irresponsibility of some individuals caused some people to lose their houses and shed jobs.

4.2.1.2 The Second Paragraph

The main idea is that Obama wanted to invite his citizens to carry on walking in the path of their ancestors. He claimed that it is high time to affirm American’s enduring spirit and chose a better history. He spoke about the sacrifices of brave American fighters by making reference to the places where they fought and died. In addition, he wanted to push them to think that their sacrifices should not be forgotten, but they should exist forever in the minds of the American citizens.

“For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and travelled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops, and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and KheSahn.”

Obama invited his audience to think logically in order to understand that every action should be directed towards a good use in order to make the American government fair and strong. To impact his audience, he referred to taxpayers’ dollars, and said that they must be spent wisely to enlighten the American business and economy. He said:

“The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works- - whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public’s dollars will be held to account, to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.”

He was totally reasonable when he said that the American economy can become strong through markets only if chance is given to any willing heart. As if he wanted to invite the

listeners to think logically to understand that economy is the basis of the development of every nation. He said:

“The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart- - not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.”

4.2.1.3The Third Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama spoke about many interesting ideas and used various logical arguments to convince his citizens and shape their thoughts and why not their actions. The present researcher thinks that Obama wanted to make his fellow citizens understand and bear in mind that prosperity can never take place if they ignore their roots and the principles of their founding fathers. He repeated this idea many times to guarantee that the listeners have understood that the ideas and laws of the American ancestors are the candles that enlighten the progress of their young nation.

“Our founding father- - (applause) - - our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man- - a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, we will not give them up for expedience sake.”(Applause)

Obama succeeded in influencing his listeners because they applauded him twice.

For him, peace is indispensable. He argued that they will leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. Yet, he confirmed that he wants to work hard to lessen the nuclear threat to create a safe planet.

“We will begin responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a heard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we’ll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the spectre of a warming planet.”

The present researcher believes that he made reference to Iraq and Afghanistan as a logical argument to show that peace is very crucial and must be protected. In addition, he wanted to show to the audience that he will work hard to eliminate nuclear threats to guarantee to them a peaceful life.

Obama added another important idea; he said that nothing can defeat American because Americans are strong and their spirits cannot be broken. To impact his audience, he made reference to the terror and fear caused by terrorists. He said:

“We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken- - you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.”(Applause)

When reading this passage, the evidences used by Obama push to think directly about those who want to defeat Americans and cause the decline of their young nation. Besides, he addressed them indirectly and made them sure that the decline of this nation will never take place. The researcher thinks that Obama influenced his listeners because they did not resist his reasonable words, and they applauded him at the end of the passage.

Finally, he addressed the Muslims and said to them that the Western people have no hidden interest, but they just seek to expand mutual respect and interest over the world. He used the Muslims as a means to say to some leaders stop blaming your society’s conflicts on the West by saying:

“To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society’s ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy.”(Applause)

His citizens agreed with him, and they applauded him directly when he finished his idea.

4.2.1.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this last paragraph, Obama returned to speak about some brave Americans and thank them again. For him, it is very important to remember them and follow their path. To influence his audience, he made reference to the fallen heroes of Arlington whisper through the ages. In this passage, he aimed at pushing the listeners to understand that the efforts of their ancestors will never disappear, if every citizen remembers and gathers them in his/her mind. Importantly, as if he wanted to say it is necessary to teach our children the history of this young nation and let this history be protected by the coming generations. He said:

“As we consider the role that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages.”

The present researcher claims that Obama uses a lot of logical arguments in order to stimulate the minds of his listeners. She notices that each time he presents a new idea; he tries to persuade his audience from a logical point of view.

4.2.2 Ethos

To make his speech powerful, Obama did not only focus on reason and logic but also on moral grounds. He wanted to show to his audience that he distinguishes right from wrong because he knows and respects the Bible, laws, rights of citizens and people and assumes his duties and responsibilities.

4.2.2.1 The First Paragraph

When he spoke about their ancestors, he claimed that America stayed strong not only because the previous Presidents worked hard and wisely but also because the American citizens respected the founding documents of the American nation. Thanks to this evidence, he showed that the Americans respect ethics. He said:

“At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.”

In addition, he said that the American crises are dangerous since they hamper from progress and prosperity. For instance, the bad use of energy is something totally wrong.

“Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many- - and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.”

4.2.2.2 The Second Paragraph

He started this paragraph by showing that they gather because they have chosen to do right actions over wrong ones. They gather because they have hope over fear and unity of purpose over conflict and disaccord. He said:

“On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.”

For him, the right thing to do is to reaffirm their enduring spirit to draw a better history and destiny. In this passage, he made reference to the Bible to say that all people are created equal. He said:

“The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.”(Applause)

Obama influenced his audience because their applause took place directly after finishing his idea. Besides, he claimed that thinking that prosperity is given is a wrong belief, but the right thinking is that greatness must be earned by hard work.

“In reaffirming the greatness of our nation we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned.”

In addition, he claimed that the American economy cannot prosper if racism is not avoided. He added:

“The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart- - not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good.”

4.2.2.3 The Third Paragraph

In this paragraph, he wanted to say to the Muslims that blaming the West is not right. For the present researcher, as if he wanted to say to his citizens do not do what the Muslims do; do not blame others at random. This is the hidden message of Obama in this passage:

“To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society’s ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy.”(Applause)

In addition, he said that corruption is not fair and legal; it is wrong.

“To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.” (Applause)

To conclude, from the applause of the audience, the influence of Obama derives its justification.

4.2.2.4 The Fourth Paragraph

Obama showed in this paragraph that he prefers responsibility over irresponsibility. For him, assuming duties is right and violating them is totally wrong. He added:

“What is required now is a new era of responsibility- - a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties that we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task.”

He ended his speech by thanking the audience and asking God to bless the Americans and the United States of America by saying:

“Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause)

Even at the end of his speech he made reference to the Bible to influence his fellow citizens.

The present researcher notices that Obama uses logos and ethos together to impact heavily his audience. Some of his ideas are used as logical arguments, and at the same time they are considered as messages whose aim is to help his citizens distinguish right from wrong.

4.2.3 Pathos

The present researcher argues that Obama uses a less informal language to express his emotions and influence his audience. His emotions can be clearly seen in all the paragraphs.

4.2.3.1 The First Paragraph

Obama started his speech with a passage that reflects his use of emotions and feelings. He said:

“My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you’ve bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.”

He made reference to the past to show that America is the fruit of the hard work and sufferings of his ancestors. In addition, he wanted to show to his citizens that he is impressed by the contributions of those before him. Besides, he wanted to thank them and show to them that he is touched by their trust.

4.2.3.2 The Second Paragraph

Obama spoke about the men and women who sacrificed their lives and life-joys so that to build a free and great nation. He used words that can easily evoke his citizens’ emotions and let them feel the pain and imagine the hard life that the American ancestors lived. He said to his audience that the existence of America is the fruit of the efforts and sacrifices of some brave American men and women. He said:

“Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life.”

Thanks to this passage, the reader can easily draw an image about the hard life of the American leaders and founding fathers.

In addition, he used another image to influence the listeners emotionally. He said that they worked till their hands were raw; he used this image to push his citizens to use their imagination and feelings in order to imagine the hands of the American men and women.

4.2.3.3 The Third Paragraph

He addressed other governments to say to them that America is the friend of all individuals, men, women, and all the nations that look for peace. He wanted to gain their trust and push them feel that America is ready to help every nation and every individual that ask for support. Obama used this personification to appeal to the heart of his listeners and influence them emotionally. He said:

“And so, to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace dignity. And we are ready to lead once more.”(Applause.)

He even said that he is ready to help the people of some poor nations in order to guarantee flourishing farms and why not develop their educational systems. As if he wanted to say to these people allow to your heart trust America, and everything will be all right.

“To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds.”

4.2.3.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama spoke again about the brave Americans, and he used an amazing passage that can easily evoke the emotions of the audience. He said:

“We honor them not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service- - a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves.”

As if Obama wanted to say that the American citizens are children, and those brave Americans are their parents that protect them from evil. Besides, Obama said: *“So let us make this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have travelled.”*

He spoke about the American roots and their origins. In addition, he argued that the Americans guaranteed a national identity thanks to their hard work and founding principles and documents.

4.2.4 The Tone

Generally, Obama delivered this speech to tell the American citizens that it is high time to create a new era of responsibility and delete irresponsibility. He was sure and hopeful that America will be the greatest nation of the entire universe. In addition, he was faithful that the American citizens will take seriously his words and assume their duties. The present researcher claims that when reading this inaugural speech, the reader can notice the positive attitudes of Obama towards the theme which is “renewing America” and towards the audience by making sure that the American citizens are ready for change, prosperity and progress.

4.3 Organization/ Structure/ Form

In the third part of Jolliffe’s Rhetorical Framework (2009) labelled ‘Organization/ Structure/ Form’, the present researcher aims at finding the powerful diction, syntax, imagery

and figurative language that Obama uses when speaking in order to make his speeches clear, understood and attractive.

4.3.1 Diction

President Obama spoke about a lot of things in his Inaugural Address, and he used many words and expressions to refer to America's glorious and rich past. As it is already mentioned, the present researcher has divided this speech into four respective paragraphs in order to do a deep analysis and draw valid conclusions and results. Besides, she thinks that Obama delivered the speech to guarantee to the American citizens that if they respect the principles of their ideals and follow their ideas and path, the young nation will be the most powerful nation of the entire universe.

4.3.1.1 The First Paragraph

In this first paragraph, he emphasized the idea that the work and efforts of his ancestors and American ideals must be highly praised and remembered. For this reason, he used diction that can help him make reference to their great contributions and efforts. For example, he said:

“My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you’ve bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.”

“I thank President Bush for his service to our nation- - (applause)- - as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout his transition.”

“Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath.”

In other words, he made reference to the Americans' glorious history, and asked his fellow citizens to use it as a mean to strengthen and empower America. Then, he shifted to speak about the crisis and problems that threaten their young nation. He said:

“That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood.”

“our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age.”

“Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered.”

“Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many- - and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.”

“These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics.”

“Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real.”

In addition, she thinks that the use of pronouns (personal and possessive) is part of diction. For this reason, she thinks that he used a lot the personal pronoun “we”, the possessive pronoun “our” and the pronoun “us” to show togetherness and focus on their common past as clearly shown in tables 01 and 02.

Table 01: Frequency of Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns in Paragraph 01

Possessive Pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
My	Paragraph 01	01
Our	Paragraph 01	12

Table 02: Frequency of Occurrence of Personal Pronouns in Paragraph 01

Personal pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
I	Paragraph 01	01
We	Paragraph 01	04
Us	Paragraph 01	01

4.3.1.2 The Second Paragraph

In this second paragraph, Obama tried to make his citizens sure that they gather on this day not only to see each other but also to speak and suggest new ways that can prepare the route for prosperity and progress. For instance, he said:

“On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.”

“The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-

given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.”(Applause.)

“In reaffirming the greatness of our nation we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned.”

Then, he shifted to speak again about the brave American men and women who struggled and died in order to protect America and make of it a free and a great nation. He said:

“For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and travelled across oceans in search of a new life.”

“Time and again these men and women struggled and scarified and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life.”

In addition, he said that they must work hard in order to follow the path of those who scarified and died to remain the greatest nation of the world. He added:

“This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth.”

“Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.”

“All this we can do. All this we will do.”

To conclude, Obama said that it is necessary to reform Americans’ bad habits and work hard in order to guarantee progress and prosperity.

In this paragraph, Obama also used a lot the personal pronoun “we”, the possessive pronoun “our” and the pronoun “us” to show togetherness and many shared things as clearly shown in tables 03 and 04.

Table 03: Frequency of Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns in Paragraph 02

Possessive Pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
My	Paragraph 02	0
Our	Paragraph 02	24

Table 04: Frequency of Occurrence of Personal Pronouns in Paragraph 02

Personal Pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
I	Paragraph 02	0
We	Paragraph 02	20
Us	Paragraph 02	08

4.3.1.3 The Third Paragraph

Obama returned to speak again about their common past and their ideals. He said that they are going to follow working in their path prepared by their Founding Fathers. In addition, he confessed that America will be the friend of all governments and people who look for peace and dignity. Besides, he added that their common past is a source that can be used to strengthen America and make it the powerful nation on Earth. He said:

“Our Founding Fathers - - (applause) - - our Founding fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man- - a charter expanded by the blood of generations.”

“And so, to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.”

“Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions.”

“We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more we can meet those new threats and demand even greater efforts, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations.”

“To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds.”

In this paragraph, Obama used diction that is related to help and support. In addition, he used amazing words to refer to their rich past and sacrifices of the American ideals that should be highly praised and admired by all people. Finally, he also used a lot the personal pronoun “we”, the possessive pronoun “our” and the pronoun “us” to focus on their shared

past and to make them sure that progress can only take place through togetherness as clearly shown in tables 05 and 06.

Table 05: Frequency of Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns in Paragraph 03

Possessive Pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
My	Paragraph 03	01
Our	Paragraph 03	16

Table 06: Frequency of Occurrence of Personal Pronouns in Paragraph 03

Personal Pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
I	Paragraph 03	0
We	Paragraph 03	24
Us	Paragraph 03	03

4.3.1.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama started speaking directly about the contributions and great efforts of his ancestors. He spoke again about those brave American men and women who struggled and fought in order to guarantee the development and prosperity of America and make sure his citizens that they should consider their rich past as strength but not a weakness. For example, he said: *“As we consider the role that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains.”*

“We honor them not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service- - a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves.”

In addition, he spoke again about the challenges they face them, and he suggested some old principles that can be used as solutions to overcome them. He said: *“But those values upon which our success depends- - honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism- - these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history.”*

“What is demanded, then, is a return to these truths.”

“So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have travelled.”

In addition, he repeated the personal pronoun “we”, the possessive pronoun “our” and the pronoun “us” a lot as it is noticeably shown in the following tables:

Table 07: Frequency of Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns in Paragraph 04

Possessive Pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
My	Paragraph 04	0
Our	Paragraph 04	17

Table 08: Frequency of Occurrence of Personal Pronouns in Paragraph 04

Personal Pronouns	Number of the Paragraph	Frequency
I	Paragraph 04	0
We	Paragraph 04	13
Us	Paragraph 04	10

The present researcher notices that Obama used a lot of pronouns that show togetherness. She argues that he used some pronouns that sow uniqueness in order to speak about his personal experiences. Here are two tables that explain the use of pronouns all along his speech:

Table 09: Frequency of Occurrence of Pronouns Expressing Uniqueness in the Whole Speech

All the Pronouns that Show Uniqueness	Frequency in the Whole Speech
I	03
My	02
Total	05

Table 10: Frequency of Occurrence of Pronouns expressing Togetherness in the Whole Speech

All the Pronouns that Show Togetherness	Frequency in the Whole Speech
We	61
Our	69
Us	22
Total	152

To sum up, focusing on togetherness is a strategy that aims at raising the national identity and Patriotism among the citizens and a call for unity and force.

4.3.2 Syntax

The present researcher aims at studying obama's use of syntax. That is to say, she wants to analyze why Obama used a variation of short and long sentences all along his speech. In addition, she seeks to clarify if he logically organised his ideas in all the paragraphs.

4.3.2.1 The First Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama used a mixture of long and short sentences. The researcher thinks that he used this variation in order to not let the listeners feel bored and let them look forward for the coming ideas. On the one hand, he made use of short sentences to passionate the listeners, push them to be curious and concentrate their attention on specific important ideas. On the other hand, he used a lot of long sentences to explain his thoughts and make them clear and acceptable. Concerning his ideas, they are presented logically in all the paragraphs. Here are some examples:

4.3.2.1.1 Short Sentences

“Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath.”

“They will not be met easily or in a short span of time.”

4.3.2.1.2 Long Sentences

“At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.”

In this sentence, Obama used a pertinent discourse marker ‘but’ to express contrast. Concerning the structure of the paragraph, Obama started speaking about the American ideals and previous Presidents; he thanked them, and he showed that they deserve remembering. Then, he shifted to speak about the American crisis. That is to say, he shifted from speaking about the past to speak about the present.

4.3.2.2 The Second Paragraph

Even in this paragraph, he used a mixture of short and long sentences exactly as the first one. He explained his ideas in long sentences, and he used short ones to emphasize on some unique points. Yet, it is very important to note that the use of long sentences is dominant. Here are some examples:

4.3.2.2.1 Short Sentences

“We remain a young nation.”

“It must be earned.”

“Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less.”

“We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth.”

4.3.2.2.2 Long Sentences

“On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics.”

“The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.”

4.3.2.3 The Third Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama also used a variation of short and long short sentences for the same purposes they are mentioned for the previous paragraphs. Concerning his ideas in this paragraph, they are presented in a logical and reasonable order. He started speaking about the American ideals and Founding Fathers. Then, he moved to confess that they are going to respect the principles suggested by these brave American men and women. He added that the respect of their ideas is the only mean that can help them guarantee progress, peace and dignity. In addition, he showed that America is ready to help nations and governments that support peace and avoid violence. Here are some examples:

4.3.2.3.1 Short Sentences

“As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals.”

“We are the keepers of this legacy.”

“For we know that our patchwork heritage is strength, not a weakness.”

4.3.2.3.2 Long Sentences

Yet, it is very important to note that the use of long sentences is dominant in this third paragraph. He used them because he wanted to express deeply his thoughts and ideas. Here are some examples:

“Our Founding Fathers- - (applause) - - our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man- - a charter expanded by the blood of generations.”

“And so, to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.”

4.3.2.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he also used a mixture of short and long sentences in order to make his message clear for his audience. Here are some examples:

4.3.2.4.1 Short Sentences:

“Our challenges may be new.”

“The instruments with which we meet them may be new.”

“What is demanded, then, is a return to these truths.”

“This is the price and promise of citizenship.”

4.3.2.4.2 Long Sentences

He used a lot of long sentences because he wanted to make his ideas as clear as possible to the listeners. Here are some examples:

“It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours.”

“What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility - - a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties that we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task.”

4.3.3 Imagery

Obama also used imagery in order to make clear his ideas and push the listeners to use their imagination. For instance, he used images that mirror the sufferings of brave American men and women.

4.3.3.1 The First Paragraph

“Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace.”

He used a double contrast between rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace to create sea imagery.

“Yet, every so often is taken amidst gathering clouds and ranging storms.”

He used this water imagery to depict trouble ahead.

4.3.3.2 The Second Paragraph

“Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the faint-hearted, for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame.”

It is an imagery of a journey. He started it with a 3-part list. In addition, this list can be considered as the first part of a contrast, and the second part is another 3-part list.

“Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things- - some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor- - who have carried us up the long rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.”

This 3-part list is the second part of the already mentioned contrast.

“Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life.”

This is an imagery of painful hard work and struggle.

“But this crisis has reminded us without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous.”

He created a spinning imagery.

4.3.3.3 The Third Paragraph

“Our Founding Fathers- - (applause) - - our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of laws and the rights of man—a charter expanded by the blood of generations.”

He used a writing image to refer to the US constitution, and he used a blood image to refer to the changes that occurred after the Civil War.

“These ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience sake.”

He used this imagery to show that US ideals are widely admired.

“And so, to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.”

This passage can be considered as a means used to create contrasting images of grandest capitals and small villages.

“We are the keepers of this legacy.”

This sentence can be seen as guardians or inheritance imagery.

4.3.3.4 The Fourth Paragraph

“As we consider the role that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who are at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains.”

He used this imagery to show a return to the journey of the American ideals. This imagery implies that he is moving towards the end. In addition, this passage can be considered as desert and mountain imagery used to refer to difficulties that the troops faced in Iraq and Afghanistan.

“It is the fire fighter’s courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also parent’s willingness to nurture a child that finally decides our fate.”

He used this imagery to provide examples of American people’s virtues.

“So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have travelled.”

This is an imagery used to reflect the journey of brave American men and women. It implies that he is close to the end.

“In the year of America’s birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river.”

An imagery that echoes water and weather images from the beginning of speech confirms that he is indeed into the peroration.

4.3.4 Figurative Language

In order to impress the audience, Obama used the colourful language all along his speech. For instance, he used parallelism, deviations, contrasts and 3-part lists, etc.

4.3.4.1 The First Paragraph

“I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.”

Obama created a list in order to speak about three ideas at once (3-part list).

“I thank President Bush for his service to our nation as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout his transition.”

“Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace.”

He created a contrast between rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace through (p-p) alliteration.

“So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans.”

He used contrast between past and present

“Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered.”

He created a 3-part list.

“Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.”

He created another 3-part list.

“Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many.”

He used a 3-part list

“They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this America: they will be met.”

He created a 3-part list and puzzled the audience. Then, he gave them a solution by referring to the greatness of America.

4.3.4.2 The Second Paragraph

“On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord.”

He used two contrasts to show their choice.

“The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.”

He used two 3-part lists each of which the third item is longer than the two first ones.

“But in the words of Scripture, the time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit. The time has come to set aside childish things.”

He used parallelism as a deviation because he repeated the same structure. In other words, he used structural repetition to guarantee to his citizens that it is high time to act in order to build a strong and prosperous nation.

“The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness (Applause).”

He used a metaphor to compare the heritage of the American Scripture to a precious gift. Besides, he used structural repetition in order to focus on the importance of the words of Scripture.

“In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned.”

He used contrast with alliteration (g-g) in the first part. In addition, he used an interesting deviation because he repeated the word ‘greatness’ twice.

“This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth.”

He used p-p alliteration in order to speak about the present and make his idea attractive. In addition, he used parallelism because he repeated the same structure when he said:

“Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they are last week, or last month or last year.”

“All this we can do. All this we will do.”

He used a contrast to show what can be done, and what will be done. Besides, he used an interesting deviation that is parallelism. That is to say, he used the same structure to focus on the present and the future.

“But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous.”

He used contrast between national and individual prosperity.

“The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart - - not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. (Applause).”

In this passage, he used a metaphor because he compared opportunity in economy to a route that can lead to progress and prosperity.

4.3.4.3 The Third Paragraph

He repeated the concept “our founding fathers” twice in order to emphasize on the idea that they deserve remembering and respect. He said:

“Our Founding Fathers- - (applause) - - our Founding Fathers, faced with perils.....”

“These ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience sake.”

He used a metaphor to compare the American ideals to light.

“And so, to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity.”

He used contrast (grandest and small).

In the same passage, he made use of personification to say that America is ready for partnership. He said: *“America is a friend of each nation,”*

“For we know that our patchwork heritage is strength, not a weakness.”

He used contrast to show the value of their rich past.

“To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds.”

He used (p-p) and (f-f) alliterations.

4.3.4.4 The Fourth Paragraph

“We honor them not only because they are not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service- - a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves.”

He used this contrast to show the value of the American ideals.

“This is the price of the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence - - the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny.”

He used parallelism because he repeated the same structure. He used this repetition in order to focus on the principles of the American Holy texts.

“The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing.”

He used parallelism in order to speak about the struggles of the American brave men and women.

To sum up, Obama used syntax, diction, imagery and figurative language to show to his fellow citizens that they should know their rich past and respect it in order in order to renew and remake America.

II. Speech Two: Cairo Speech (2009)

4.4 The Rhetorical Situation

4.4.1 Exigence

The first reason that pushed Obama to deliver this speech was the necessity to guarantee to the Muslims that America will never be the enemy of Islam. He wanted to invite them to stop blaming America as the major source of the world's tensions and focus instead on mutual interest and respect. This speech is entitled "A New Beginning". The researcher thinks that Obama delivered it in Egypt in order to invite the Muslims to accept the request of partnership to guarantee peace, progress and prosperity. Yet, it is very important to note that Obama wanted to speak openly and clear up things to the Arabs; he wanted to eliminate the conflict that exists between the Muslims and the Americans. For this reason, he spoke about some important ideas and points. First of all, he delivered this speech in order to let know the Arabs that America is not against Muslims and Islam. Even if the speech took place at a time when Americans were in conflict with the Muslims, Obama tried to invite them to forget about this issue and think of mutual interest and respect to forge a new beginning. Then, Obama was very sure that this speech cannot be enough in order to forget fears of tension and conflict, but he was hopeful and showed that progress can never take place without trusting America and being open-minded. In addition, he confessed that he is a Christian, but he made reference to his family to show that his father is a Kenyan and Muslim. Besides, he said that he is the President of the United States of America, and he must fight against the false Muslims whose first interest is blaming America and consider it as the cause of today's tensions. He added that the war between Americans and Muslims will never take place. However, he said that it is necessary to fight the violent extremists who are considered as a threat to their security. Finally, Obama spoke about a lot of issues, and he tried to convince the audience that these problems can only end with partnership and trust.

4.4.2 Audience

The present researcher thinks that the targeted audience of Obama is the Muslims and the Arab world because he delivered the speech to seek a new beginning with the Arab people. He showed that he wanted to start new relationships with them based on mutual respect and interest. Yet, she claims that this speech was not only delivered to the Muslims but also to the Americans in order to invite them to be ready for this partnership. Moreover,

Obama wanted to address the entire world and make them sure that America will never be the enemy of the Islam.

4.4.3 Purpose

The intention of Obama behind delivering the speech was to push the Muslims to trust America and its President and consider them as the friend of Islam. The present researcher argues that he wanted to seek a new beginning with the Muslims and build relationships based on mutual respect and interest to allow to progress and prosperity to take place. That is to say, he wanted to show that this new beginning will be considered as a response to those who expect a war between the Americans and Muslims. All in all, he wanted to make them sure that this war can and will never take place.

4.5 Appeals

The present researcher divides the speech into twelve paragraphs in order to analyze it easily and draw valid conclusions. Her division is as follows:

- The first paragraph

“Thank you very much.....alaykum. (Applause)”

- The second paragraph

“We meet at a time of great tension.....tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.”

- The third paragraph

“I do so recognizing that change.....drive us apart.”

- The fourth paragraph

“Now part of this conviction.....this is the hope of all humanity.”

- The fifth paragraph

“Of course, recognizing our common humanity.....the sooner will be safer.”

- The sixth paragraph

“The second major source of tension.....joined in prayer.” (Applause)

- The seventh paragraph

“The third source of tension.....in the region can share in this goal.”

- The eighth paragraph

“The fourth issue that I.....true democracy.”

- The ninth paragraph

“The fifth issue.....after a natural disaster.”

- The tenth paragraph

“The sixth issue.....people live their dreams.” (Applause)

- The eleventh paragraph

“Finally, I want.....our people pursue a better life.”

- The twelfth paragraph

“The issues that I have described.....Thank you.” (Applause)

Accordingly, the present researcher finds it practical to analyze the selected speeches by dividing them into paragraphs.

4.5.1 Logos

The present researcher wants to discover how Obama used logic and intellect in his Cairo Speech in order to stimulate the listeners mentally and shape their thoughts and actions.

4.5.1.1 The First Paragraph

Obama started his speech by thanking the audience, and he argued that it is an honor for him to be in Egypt. To influence the audience, Obama used a strong argument about Egypt and Islam; he said:

“For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning; and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt’s advancement. And together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress. I’m grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. And I’m also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the

American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: Assalaamu alaykum.” (Applause)

In this passage Obama confessed that the Arabs and Muslims contributed heavily in the development of education. In addition, he used the Arabic language to let the Arabs think that he does not underestimate their language. The researcher thinks that Obama succeeded in influencing the listeners because when he finished his idea, the applause of the audience directly took place.

4.5.1.2 The Second Paragraph

Obama moved directly to speak about the tensions and conflicts that exist between the West and the Muslim world. To strengthen his idea, he spoke about the causes that created this area of mistrust and wars. He said:

“More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.”

He wanted to say that when thinking logically, it is true to say that Islam is a religion of violence, but he showed to them that Americans are not and will never be in war with Islam. In addition, he wanted to invite them to be pragmatic and stop blaming America and consider it as a source of problems and conflicts. He added that Americans are only against the extremists who try to give a dirty image of Islam by saying:

“Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11,2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western counties, but also human rights. All this has bred more fear and more mistrust.”

4.5.1.3 The Third Paragraph

At the beginning of the third paragraph, Obama was logical because he confessed that this single speech can never delete years of mistrust. In addition, he said that in order to

understand and help each other, Muslims and Americans must be sincere and open- minded. He said:

“I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight. I know there’s has been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors.”

He followed his idea and he made reference to the Koran that obliges to tell the truth and not lie. Then he showed that he respects its principles because he promised the Muslims to tell them the truth of his presence in Egypt and his thoughts. He said:

“That is what I will try to do today - - to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.”

Accordingly, Obama wanted to show that he uses his logic in order to analyze them before delivering them to the audience; he tried to present this idea clearly and reasonably.

4.5.1.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama showed that he is a pragmatic and reasonable person; and as a President, he always tries to act responsibly. Besides, he argued that it is his duty to protect the Americans. He said:

“And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear.” (Applause)

The researcher thinks that Obama used this logical argument to influence the minds of the listeners and win their trust and confidence.

In addition, he used numbers as arguments to refer to the great quantity of Muslims and mosques in America to convince the audience that the Western people are not against Islam. He said:

“The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores- - and that includes nearly 7 million America

Muslims in our country today who, by the way, enjoy incomes and educational levels that are higher than the American average.” (Applause)

Thus, the audience applauded his speech because the use of numbers influenced them to a great extent. He added:

“Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one’s religion. That is why there is a mosque in every state in our union, and over 1,200 within our borders. That’s why the United States government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab and to punish those who would deny it.” (Applause)

In this passage, he also used numbers to show that there are over 1.200 mosques in America and its borders. This argument is used to push the listeners think logically to understand that Americans are not against Islam.

4.5.1.5 The Fifth Paragraph

The researcher thinks that Obama wanted to say that all the nations of the world are like fingers of the hand because if one of them is wounded or ill, all the other ones will suffer from fever. Obama was reasonable in his thinking, and he illustrated this point by speaking about the financial system, flu and violent extremists. In addition, he influenced positively the audience because applause took place after finishing his idea. He said:

“For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. When innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.”

He followed his idea by making reference to the 21st century; he wanted to say that partnership must take place. Then, he followed his idea by saying:

“Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; our progress must be shared.” (Applause)

From this passage, the readers can understand that Obama wanted to push the listeners to think and discover that this partnership is necessary. Besides, he succeeded in influencing the audience because they applauded after finishing his idea.

Besides, he invited the audience to not think that he is trying to ignore the sources of conflict and tension, but they should think that Americans and Muslims must collaborate and fight them together. He wanted to say to them think logically to understand that this partnership must exist. He said:

“Now, that does not mean we should ignore sources of tension. Indeed, it suggests the opposite. We must face these tensions squarely. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.”

Obama used a lot of logical arguments to refer to the issues he spoke about. For example, he spoke about extremism, and he added that in Ankara he made it clear that America is not and will never be at war with Islam. He said:

“The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all its forms. In Ankara, I made clear that America is not- - and never will be- - at war with Islam.” (Applause)

From the applause, the influence of Obama on the listeners derives its justification.

Then, he confessed that it is America’s responsibility to help Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iraq by saying:

“Now, we also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan. That’s why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who’ve been displaced. That’s why we are providing more than \$2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend on.”

“Let me also address the issue of Iraq. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that the events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible.” (Applause)

Obama tried to use strong arguments and his intellect in order to appeal to the minds of the listeners to push them think pragmatically to understand that these issues must end because they threaten the peace of the world.

Moreover, he always refers to responsibility to make sure the listeners that Americans are reasonable because they are responsible. He said:

“Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future- - and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. And I have made it clear to Iraqi people- - that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources. Iraq’s sovereignty is its own. And that’s why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August. That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq’s democratically elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all of our troops from Iraq by 2012. (Applause). We will help Iraq train its security forces and develop its economy. But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.”

When Obama uttered this passage, the listeners applauded twice. In other words, from these two applauses, it is true to say that Obama succeeded in manipulating the thinking of his respective listeners.

In addition, he returned to speak another time about the extremists who pushed the Americans to violate the principles of their ideals. To illustrate this point, he referred to the violent events of nine-eleven. He said:

“And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter or forget our principles. Nine-eleven was an enormous trauma to our country. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our traditions and our ideals. We are taking concrete actions to change course. I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed by early next year.” (Applause)

4.5.1.6 The Sixth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama referred to another issue that is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arabs. The researcher thinks that Obama did not avoid speaking about these issues because he is a pragmatic person. This entire paragraph is limited to this issue,

and Obama used a lot his intellect and gave a plenty of logical arguments. Some of these illustrations are as follows:

He mentioned responsibility many times to show that he is assuming his duties and obligations as a President, and he is not escaping from the difficulties met. He said:

“That is in Israel’s interest, Palestine’s interest, America’s interest, and the world’s interest. And that is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience and dedication that the task requires. (Applause.) The obligations- - the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the road map are clear. For peace to come, it is time for them and all of us- - to live up to our responsibilities.”

The researcher confirms that Obama influenced positively his listeners because they liked this idea of responsibility and applauded him. In addition, he did not be subjective because he used logic to say that Israelis do not have the right to settle in Palestine. He was reasonable because he showed that he is against this injustice by saying:

“At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel’s right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine’s. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. (Applause.) This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop.” (Applause.)

Obama carried on speaking about responsibility, and he added:

“And finally, the Arab states must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities.”

4.5.1.7 The Seventh Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama spoke about the common interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons; he spoke about the opposition between the Islamic Republic of Iran and America. He said:

“Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against the United States troops and civilians.”

Obama did not use his emotions to say that Iran is an enemy, but he said that partnership should take place.

“Rather than remain trapped in the past, I’ve made it clear to Iran’s leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward. The question now is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.”

This passage shows that Obama is a reasonable person and thinks objectively.

Finally, he spoke about this issue of nuclear weapons and this by using words that can influence the minds of the listeners; he said:

“But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. This is not only about America’s interests. It’s about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path. I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. No single nation should pick and choose which nation holds nuclear weapons.”
(Applause)

In this passage, Obama came against Iran’s use of nuclear weapons. Since he was in an Islamic country (Egypt), he could avoid speaking about this issue because the listeners can think negatively and say that he is against Muslims and does not want Islamic countries to hold nuclear weapons. Obama used this strong evidence and argued this idea logically. For this reason, the listeners responded positively and applauded this passage.

4.5.1.8 The Eighth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he spoke about democracy and used Iraq as an evidence to illustrate his point. In addition, he related democracy to human rights in order to let them understand that democracy is indispensable. He said:

“But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn’t steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose. These are not just American ideas; they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere”. (Applause.)

He invited them to think reasonably to understand that governments that protect democracy and human rights are stable, secure and safe. He added that America aims at respecting the governments that are the sources of peace even if Americans disagree with them. That is to say, it is necessary to assume some responsibilities as governors. He stated:

“But this much is clear: Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments -- provided they govern with respect for all their people.”

In this paragraph, Obama used the modal “must” to show that democracy is an obligation but not a choice. He said:

“So no matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would hold power: You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.”

If governors do not respect the ingredients mentioned in the passage, logically democracy cannot take place. Moreover, when Obama ended this passage, a member from the audience said to Obama that they love him; Obama responded by thanking the listeners, and then all the audience applauded. That is to say, Obama’s logic and intellect influenced positively the audience, and this influence is shown in the interaction that took place between the audience and Obama.

4.5.1.9 The Ninth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama spoke about the freedom of religion, and he said that people from different races should tolerate differences in religion otherwise violence and conflict can take place. To illustrate this point, he referred to the conflict between Sunni and Shia. He said:

“And if we are being honest, fault lines must be closed among Muslims, as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.”

He also said:

“Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation. That's why I'm committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.”

He wanted to show that he is not romantic, and he is not against Muslims who practice their religious obligations in America.

4.5.1.10 The Tenth Paragraph

Obama used his mind and thinking to understand the issue of women rights, and he insisted on the fact that they must struggle for the rights of women and educate them because they can contribute to the development of governments. In order to illustrate his idea, he spoke about the Muslim-majority countries that give the right to a woman to lead. He said:

“Now, let me be clear: Issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, we've seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.”

4.5.1.11 The Eleventh Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama spoke about human progress, and he argued that people should not pay attention to the differences in tradition in order to live in prosperity. As if he wanted to say to the listeners just be pragmatic, logic, reasonable and avoid focusing on contradictions between development and tradition. He said:

“Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies enormously while maintaining distinct cultures. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.”

In this passage, he gave a simple example about Japan and South Korea to say that differences in culture and tradition can never hamper a nation from progress if its people think pragmatically and avoid using their emotions. Besides, he wanted to focus on developing education by giving opportunities to the ones who want to learn and progress. He spoke about scholarships, and focused on the idea of sending Americans to study in Muslim countries. The following passage is used as a mean to influence the thinking of Muslims and push them believe that Americans can never underestimate Arab education. He said:

“On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America. (Applause.) At the same time, we will encourage more Americans to study in Muslim communities. And we will match promising Muslim students

with internships in America; invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.”

After this, he moved to speak about economy, science and technology. He said:

“On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.”

He also stated:

“On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create more jobs. We'll open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new science envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, grow new crops.”

Finally, Obama said that this progress in different fields cannot happen without partnership.

4.5.1.12 The Twelfth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama used his mind and thinking to divide Muslims and non-Muslims into categories. The first one is limited to the ones who want this partnership and believe in progress. The second one is composed of the ones who think that partnership cannot bring positive results since disagreement exist between Muslim and Americans. Finally, many more are sceptical that real change can occur. He said: *“I know there are many – Muslim and non-Muslim -- who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort -- that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There's so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in*

every country -- you, more than anyone, have the ability to reimagine the world, to remake this world."

4.5.2 Ethos

In this Cairo speech, Obama used ethics in order to show to the audience that he distinguishes right from wrong because he respects the precious words of the Holy texts, and he respects human rights and assume his duties and responsibilities. Besides, ethics are the cornerstone of partnership and cooperation.

4.5.2.1 The First Paragraph

In this first paragraph, Obama did not make use of ethics because he used it just an introduction to guarantee to the audience that he is honoured to be in Egypt. Besides, he showed that he is impressed by the hospitality of the people of Egypt, and he is ready to forge a new beginning with the Muslims. All in all, he made use of logos and pathos in order to impress his listeners and stimulate them mentally and emotionally.

4.5.2.2 The Second Paragraph

Obama tried to use ethics in his speech to show to his audience that he distinguishes right from wrong and good from evil, and ethics are the cornerstone of any partnership and cooperation.

"Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights. All this has bred more fear and more mistrust."

In this passage there is an appeal to ethics because Obama wanted to say implicitly that violence is wrong, and the protection of human rights is his duty and obligation as a President.

In addition, Obama argued that this partnership can help in making an end to many wrong things. He said that differences in cultures, traditions and religions are not wrong, but what is unacceptable is the bad thinking of those who try to use these differences to promote violence and fear rather than peace and justice. He said:

“So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. And this cycle of suspicion and discord must end.”

4.5.2.3 The Third Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama used a passage from Koran to gain the trust of Muslim people, and he wanted to show to them that he respects the principles of Islam and makes a distinction between right and wrong. For him, being open-minded is right, but hiding the truth is totally wrong. Besides, he wanted to invite the listeners to respect the principles of their religion and accept this partnership to listen, help and respect each other. He said: *“As the Holy Koran tells us, “Be conscious of God and speak always the truth.” (Applause.)*

When he ended his idea, the listeners applauded to him. That is to say, he succeeded in provoking the reaction of the audience thanks to his respect of ethics.

4.5.2.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama argued that blaming others without any reason is wrong. He showed that they respect the focal point of the American Revolution that is “all human beings are born equal”. He said:

“But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. (Applause.) Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known. We were born out of revolution against an empire. We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words -- within our borders, and around the world. We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum -- “Out of many, one.””

4.5.2.5 The Fifth Paragraph

Obama showed that he is totally against violent extremists who kill innocent people and do not respect the right of life. He said:

“We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security- - because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women and children.”

He argued that he is against extremism but not against Islam. He said that he is against extremists because they try to violate the principles of this religion and give it a dirty image through killing people and violating human rights. He used an amazing passage from the Koran and said: *“The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as -- it is as if he has killed all mankind. (Applause.) And the Holy Koran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. (Applause.) The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism -- it is an important part of promoting peace.”*

In addition, he used a passage of Thomas Jefferson to say that help and support are right, but the governors of a given nation must not abuse their resources and powers. He said: *“Indeed, we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said: “I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be.”*

4.5.2.6 The Sixth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama also used ethos in order to influence his listeners and shape their behaviours. He said: *“Threatening Israel with destruction -- or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews -- is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.”*

In this passage, he wanted to say that America is not aiming at destructing and eliminating the Jews because they are human beings and have the right of life. In other words, killing them is wrong since God gave them the right to live. In addition, he said that Palestinians must not use violence as a mean of resistance because killing innocent people is unfair and goes against the norms of Islam. He said:

“Palestinians must abandon. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and it does not succeed.”

On the other hand, he claimed that finding new ways to govern, protect the rights of people and serve their needs is totally right.

“Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have to recognize they have responsibilities. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, recognize Israel's right to exist.”

Moreover, he referred to the right of existence. He wanted to say that Palestinians have the right to live in peace and security as Israelis. He said: *“At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. (Applause.) This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop. (Applause.)”*

4.5.2.7 The Seventh Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama made it clear that possessing peaceful nuclear weapons is right, but the possession of the ones that can lead to destruction is totally forbidden. He argued: *“And any nation -- including Iran -- should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. That commitment is at the core of the treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it. And I'm hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.”*

4.5.2.8 The Eighth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama spoke a lot about human rights. For him, giving the right for people to speak and say how they are governed can bring progress, prosperity and democracy. He said: *“But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose. These are not just American ideas; they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere. (Applause.)”*

4.5.2.9 The Ninth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he said that tolerating differences in religion is right. Whereas, rejecting somebody's faith is totally wrong and unfair. He said: *“That is the spirit we need today. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the*

persuasion of the mind and the heart and the soul. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it's being challenged in many different ways.”

4.5.2.10 The Tenth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he made reference to an important right that is the right of education. He said:

“And that is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams. (Applause.)”

Obama influenced heavily his audience because they applauded when he finished his idea.

4.5.2.11 The Eleventh Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama showed that partnership is something positive and right because it can prepare the way for progress and prosperity. That is, as if he wanted to say let us forget the years of mistrust and avoid conflict. He said:

“All these things must be done in partnership. Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.”

4.5.2.12 The Twelfth Paragraph

He used a passage from the Holy Koran, another from Talmud and another from the Bible to tell them that he knows the principles of all the religions and respects them. He used these different passages to tell them that all the religions share some principles that are peace, help and partnership.

“The Holy Koran tells us: “O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another.””

“The Talmud tells us: “The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace.””

“The Holy Bible tells us: “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God.” (Applause.)”

The audience responded positively to these references and applauded him at the end of his idea.

Finally, he ended his speech by making reference to God's vision about peace. He said: *"The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision. Now that must be our work here on Earth."*

4.5.3 Pathos

In this Cairo Speech, Obama spoke about some personal experiences, historical vignettes and figurative language in order to influence the audience emotionally and stimulate their feelings.

4.5.3.1 The First Paragraph

Obama used code mixing as a technique to influence the listeners and appeal to their hearts. In other words, he used English language to thank the audience, and then he shifted to the use of Arabic to say "hello" to the listeners. He said:

"Assalaamu alaykum" (Applause)

For Obama, this shift in language is a greeting of peace. He said: *"And I'm also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: Assalaamu alaykum."* (Applause.)

He used the Arabic language to show to the audience that he is not underestimating their language in order to influence them emotionally and push them to accept partnership. In addition, he repeated the word hospitality twice in this paragraph to show that he liked the generosity of Arabs and Muslims.

4.5.3.2 The Second Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama showed that he is totally against violent extremists who do not reflect Islam and the culture of peace but give it a dirty image. Besides, to stimulate the emotions of the listeners and provoke their reactions, he made reference to the violent events of 9/11. As if he wanted to say to the audience that these violent and unacceptable events pushed the Americans to be subjective and use their emotions to consider Islam as a source of fear and violence. Besides, he mentioned these violent attacks to impact the psychological side of the listeners to feel pity and pain. He said: *"Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some*

in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights. All this has bred more fear and more mistrust.”

Moreover, he repeated the word mutual in order to show that he really wants to seek a new beginning between Americans and Muslim. The use of this word means that both Americans and Muslim are going to benefit from this partnership. He said: *“I’ve come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition. “*

Then, he repeated the word principles twice to show that justice and progress are the common points between Muslims and Americans even if their cultures, traditions and religions are totally different.

“Instead, they overlap, and share common principles - - principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.”

4.5.3.3 The Third Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama used parallelism because he repeated the same structure many times. He used it to clarify to his audience the importance of mutual respect, mutual interest and the necessity of saying the truth to guarantee success and prosperity. He said:

“There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground.”

4.5.3.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama made reference to his personal experiences to stimulate the hearts of the listeners and push them to be subjective and romantic in their thinking to trust him and accept this partnership. He claimed: *“Now part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. I’m a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.”*

He said that he is a Christian even if he was in a Muslim country to show to the audience that he likes his religion. In addition, he narrated his experience as a student of history by saying:

“As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam -- at places like Al-Azhar -- that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment. It was innovation in Muslim communities -- (applause) -- it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.”
(Applause.)

The two applauses of the listeners show that they are influenced by his narration of his personal experiences. Besides, he made reference to the words of the second American President John Adams to show to the Muslims that Americans can never violate the sermon of their leaders and be against Islam. He argued:

“In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President, John Adams, wrote, “The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims.””

In addition, he spoke about the first Muslim American who was elected to congress to show to the audience that he followed what the father of the American Revolution did that is respecting the principles of the Holy Koran. He argued: *“And when the first Muslim American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one of our Founding Fathers -- Thomas Jefferson -- kept in his personal library.”* (Applause.)

Obama ended his idea, and immediately the applause of the audience took place. Moreover, he spoke a lot about his personal experiences in this paragraph. He told the listeners about his story when he was elected President. He told them:

“Now, much has been made of the fact that an African American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. (Applause.) But my personal story is not so unique.”

4.5.3.5 The Fifth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he spoke about Saddam Hussein to evoke the emotions of the audience. He affirmed:

“Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible.” (Applause.)

Obama confessed that the events that happened in Iraq stimulated America about the importance of democracy. In addition, he wanted to push the listeners to be subjective to understand that the Iraqi people are better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein. In addition, he repeated twice the expression *“I have made it clear to the Iraqi people”* to emphasize on the idea is not interested in the resources of Iraq.

4.5.3.6 The Sixth Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama made reference to the harsh persecution of Jewish people to evoke the emotions of the listeners and push them to feel pity for them. He said:

“Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust. Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich.”

Then, he spoke about how the Palestinians “Christians and Muslims” suffered in pursuit of homeland to stimulate the feelings of the listeners and let them feel the pain that these people lived. He wanted to say that they lived a hard life in their land and refugee camps. He said:

“On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people -- Muslims and Christians -- have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than 60 years they've endured the pain of dislocation. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. They endure the daily humiliations -- large and small -- that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. And America will

not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own.” (Applause.)

As if he wanted to say that Americans have hearts, and they feel their sufferings and pain. For this reason, they are ready to help them.

Obama influenced his audience and got his message well received because they applauded when Obama finished his speech. Besides, he repeated the word “*the obligations*” twice in the same line to make sure that the more people and governors assume their obligations the more peace takes place.

Moreover, he used one structure to speak about tears and blood by saying:

“Too many tears have been shed. Too much blood has been shed.”

He used the same structure to let the audience feel sympathy and pity for Palestinians. After this, he referred to some historical events to let them remember and thank those who fought so that they can live in peace today. Therefore, Obama wanted to stimulate them emotionally and kindly invite them to understand that these brave people deserve thanking.

“All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of the three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra -- (applause) -- as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, peace be upon them, joined in prayer.” (Applause.)

He repeated the expression “*as in the story of Isra*” twice to reflect the value of partnership. He illustrated his point by explaining how Moses, Jesus and Mohammed joined in prayer in the story of Isra.

4.5.3.7 The Seventh Paragraph

In this paragraph, Obama used a metaphor to compare America to something that can move. He employed it to impress his listeners and guarantee to them that Americans are ready for progress and prosperity. He said: *“This history is well known. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I’ve made it clear to Iran’s leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward.”*

4.5.3.8 The Eighth Paragraph

He started his paragraph with the repetition of the verb “to know”. He said:

“I know -- I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.”

This repetition of the verb “to know” is used to show that he is conscious of the controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years.

4.5.3.9 The Ninth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he said that people must tolerate the differences in religion in order to build partnership and progress. He spoke about Islam and made reference to history in order to influence the emotions and feelings of the listeners. As if he wanted to say that he knows all the principles of Islam and respects them. He said:

“Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition.”

He narrated his personal experience to appeal to the hearts of the listeners. He said: *“I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country.”*

4.5.3.10 The Tenth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he repeated the noun phrase ‘the sixth issue’ to grab the attention of the audience and show that he moved to speak about another important issue. Besides, he repeated the verb “to know” twice to show that he is aware of the sixth issue that is women’s rights. He said:

“The sixth issue- - the sixth issue that I want to address is women’s rights- (Applause.) I know- - I know- - and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue.”

4.5.3.11 The Eleventh Paragraph

In this paragraph, he spoke about important and interesting ideas about economy, science, education and technology. In order to play with the minds of people, and then he used a passage to manipulate their emotions and welcome this partnership. He said: *“All these things must be done in partnership. Americans are ready to join with citizens and*

governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.”

4.5.3.12 The Twelfth Paragraph

He started this paragraph by recapitulating all the issues discussed in the previous paragraphs. He used this skilful repetition to manipulate their hearts and awaken their feelings and emotions. He said:

“The issues that I have described will not be easy to address. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world that we seek -- a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected. Those are mutual interests. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.”

4.5.4 The Tone

Obama delivered his speech in a Muslim country to invite the Muslims to accept partnership and forget years of mistrust and discord. He showed a strong belief and hope in greatness and change. The present researcher claims that Obama showed positive attitudes towards the theme which is ‘forging a new beginning’ and towards the audience by making sure that the American citizens are ready to forget all the conflicts that exist between the Muslims and Americans.

4.6 Organization/ Structure/ Form

4.6.1 Diction

Obama delivered the speech in Egypt in order to call for a new beginning between the United States of America and Muslims. To convince and influence his audience, Obama used words that are related to mutual interest, mutual respect and partnership. He used this diction in order to show that partnership must exist and mistrust and discord that lie between the Americans and Muslims must end. He wanted to make them sure that America and Islam need not to be in competition because they overlap and share the principles of progress, peace, justice, tolerance and the dignity of all human beings. In addition, he confirmed that the

existing conflicts can never end without forging new relationships and seeking a new beginning.

As it is already mentioned, the present researcher has divided this speech into 12 paragraphs in order to conduct her analysis successfully. She notices that in the entire speech Obama used words that reflect that he seeks a new beginning between the Americans and Muslims. In other words all the paragraphs share a common feature that is speaking about partnership and cooperation. Here are some examples:

“And I’m proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: Assalaamu alaykum (Applause).”

“The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars.”

“So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who saw hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. And this cycle of suspicion and discord must end.”

“I’ve come to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition.”

“There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground.”

“That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what isn’t.”

“So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America.”

“These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.”

“Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; our progress must be shared.”

“And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.”

“All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; ”

“All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of the three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra -- (applause) -- as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, peace be upon them, joined in prayer.”

“I recognize it will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude, and resolve. There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect.”

“America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments - provided they govern with respect for all their people.”

“And that’s why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams.”

“On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America. (Applause). At the same time, we will encourage more Americans to study in Muslim communities.”

“And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.”

“All these things must be done in partnership.”

“That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.”

“I know there are many - - Muslim and non-Muslim - - who question whether we can forge this new beginning.”

“We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning keeping in mind what has been written.”

The present researcher believes that Obama used these different passages to mirror the importance of cooperation and partnership; she notices that he spoke about the necessity of forging a new beginning between the Muslims and Americans.

Finally, she thinks that the use of pronouns is also part of diction. She argues that all along the speech, Obama used a lot of pronouns that show togetherness, partnership and mutual interest. Here are some tables that show the number of the pronouns Obama used in his speech:

Table 11: Frequency of Occurrence of Possessive Pronouns in the Whole Speech

Possessive Pronouns	Frequency in the Whole Speech
My	15
Our	64
Total	79

Table 12: Frequency of Occurrence of Personal Pronouns in the Whole Speech

Personal Pronouns	Frequency in the Whole Speech
I	55
We	74
Us	17
Total	146

Table 13: Frequency of Occurrence of Pronouns Expressing Uniqueness in the Whole Speech

All the Pronouns that Show Uniqueness	Frequency in the Whole Speech
I	55
My	15
Total	70

Table 14: Frequency of Occurrence of Pronouns Expressing Togetherness in the Whole Speech

All the Pronouns that Show Togetherness	Frequency in the Whole Speech
We	74
Our	64
Us	17
Total	155

To sum up, focusing on togetherness in Cairo Speech is a strategy that aims at showing that cooperation and partnership are the surest route towards progress and prosperity.

4.6.2 Syntax

Concerning syntax, Obama used clear sentences and organized logically his ideas in all the paragraphs in order to help the audience assimilate the message and understand his thoughts. In addition, he used a mixture of long and short sentences for different purposes. On one hand, he used short sentences so that to push the listeners focus on some unique and interesting ideas. On the other hand, he employed long sentences to express deeply his thoughts and ideas. Here are some examples:

4.6.2.1 The first paragraph

4.6.2.1.1 Short Sentences

“I’m grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt.”

Obama used this sentence to show that he is impressed by the hospitality of the Egyptians.

4.6.2.2.2 Long Sentences

“For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning; and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt’s advancement.”

He used this sentence to explain deeply that Egyptians possess a strong Educational System.

4.6.2.2 The Second Paragraph

4.6.2.2.1 Short Sentences

“Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims.”

In this short sentence, he focused on the dirty image of violent extremists whose aim is to overspread fear and violence.

4.6.2.2.2 Long Sentences

“More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations.”

In this sentence, he wanted to explain deeply the causes that pushed the Western people view Islam as a violent religion.

4.6.2.3 The Third Paragraph

4.6.2.3.1 Short Sentences

“I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight.”

In this sentence, he wanted to say that progress needs time and efforts.

4.6.2.3.2 Long Sentences

“That is what I will try to do today- - to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interest we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.”

He used this long sentence to speak about the main principle of the Holy texts that is saying the truth. He wanted to show to the audience that he respects this principle because he is sincere, and he is in Egypt to tell them that he is interested in partnership but not in the resources of the Arabic nations.

4.6.2.4 The Fourth Paragraph

4.6.2.4.1 Short Sentences

“As a student of history, I also know civilization’s debt to Islam.”

“I also know that Islam has always been a part of America’s story.”

In these two short sentences, he wanted to say that he is aware of the history of Islam.

4.6.2.4.2 Long Sentences

“It was innovation in Muslim communities- - it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed.”

In this long sentence, he wanted to say that Islam is the only source of today’s development and progress. He explained this point deeply by referring to different types of developments in different domains such as algebra, printing and medicine.

4.6.2.5 The Fifth Paragraph

4.6.2.5.1 Short Sentences

“The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all its forms.”

“The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America’s goal, and our need to work together.”

In the two mentioned short sentences, Obama wanted to focus on two specific ideas. The idea one is the necessity to confront extremists who try to overspread violence and fear, and the second one is that partnership between Afghanistan and America is indispensable.

4.6.2.5.2 Long Sentences

“We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can.”

In this sentence, Obama wanted to explain that the American troops are sent to Afghanistan in order to confront violent extremism and overspread peace. Besides, he clarified that Pakistan consider America as the source of conflicts. In other words, America does not aim to protect Afghans, but it aims at exploiting Afghanistan’s resources.

4.6.2.6 The Sixth Paragraph

4.6.2.6.1 Short Sentences

“Palestinians must abandon violence.”

In this sentence, Obama wanted to say that violence is not the suitable weapon of defense.

“For peace to come, it is time for them- - an all of us- - to live up our responsibilities.”

In this sentence, he showed the necessity of assuming responsibilities to live in peace and progress.

4.6.2.6.2 Long Sentences

“It’s easy to point fingers- - for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought about by Israel’s founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond.”

He used this sentence to clarify deeply the conflict that exists between Israelis and Palestinians.

4.6.2.7 The Seventh Paragraph

4.6.2.7.1 Short Sentences

“This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran.”

In this sentence, Obama wanted to focus on the consequences of the issue he is speaking about.

4.6.2.7.2 Long Sentences

“And any nation- - including Iran- - should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.”

In this sentence he clarified that he is not against nations possessing peaceful nuclear weapons, but he is against those possessing dangerous ones.

4.6.2.8 The Eighth Paragraph

4.6.2.8.1 Short Sentences

“The fourth issue that I want to address is democracy.”

In this sentence, Obama wanted to show that he is moving to another serious issue.

4.6.2.8.2 Long Sentences

“But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn’t steal from the people, the freedom to live as you choose.”

In this sentence, he explained deeply Human Rights and governors’ responsibilities.

4.6.2.9 The Ninth Paragraph

4.6.2.9.1 Short Sentences

“Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance.”

Obama used this sentence to show that he is not considering Islam as a violent religion.

4.6.2.9.2 Long Sentences

“Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit- - for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear.”

In this sentence, he showed that he is totally against Western people who try to hamper the Muslims from practicing their religious obligations.

4.6.2.10 The Tenth Paragraph

4.6.2.10.1 Short Sentences

“The sixth issue- - that I want to address is women’s rights.”

He used this short sentence to grab the attention of the audience and invite them to consider a serious issue that is women’s rights.

4.6.2.10.2 Long Sentences

“I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles.”

He used this sentence to explain deeply that women cannot do what men do, but they can bring progress to their nations. In addition, he showed his respect to the women who are still assuming their traditional roles.

4.6.2.11 The Eleventh Paragraph

4.6.2.11.1 Short Sentences

“Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity.”

“I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory.”

He used these two short sentences to focus on another important issue that is economy.

4.6.2.11.2 Long Sentences

“And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.”

In this sentence he explained deeply students can benefit from partnership and cooperation.

4.6.2.12 The Twelfth Paragraph

4.6.2.12.1 Short Sentences

“It is easier to start wars than to end them.”

In this sentence, he wanted to show that it is easy to create conflicts, but it is difficult to end them.

“That is the world we seek.”

In this sentence, Obama focused on the common world they are looking for.

4.6.2.12.2 Long Sentences

“Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments, community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.”

In this sentence, Obama clarifies deeply that America is ready to forge a new beginning with the Muslims in order to live a prosperous and better life.

4.6.3 Imagery

In addition to the use of powerful diction and syntax, Obama used a lot of imagery to stimulate the imagination of the listeners and influence them. Here are some examples:

4.6.3.1 The First Paragraph

In this paragraph, he used code mixing in order to show that he knows Arabic and he is not underestimating it. He shifted from English to Arabic to say ‘Assalaamu alaykum’. He said: *“And I’m also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: Assalaamu alaykum.”* (Applause.)

4.6.3.2 The Second Paragraph

“More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations.”

This image is used to refer to the negative effects of the Cold War on the Muslim-majority countries.

4.6.3.3 The Third Paragraph

“I know there’s been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point.”

This image is used by Obama to show that the media spoke a lot about his visit to Egypt; he wanted to mirror that this initiative is widely admired.

4.6.3.4 The Fourth Paragraph

“As a student of history, I also know civilization’s debt to Islam.”

He used this sentence to create an image about his image as a student of history.

“That is why there is a mosque in every state in our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our borders.”

This is an image used to give an idea about the huge quantity of the mosques in America.

4.6.3.5 The Fifth Paragraph

“The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody.”

This is an image of violence and injustice.

4.6.3.6 The Sixth Paragraph

“For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation.”

This image mirrors the sufferings of the black slaves.

4.6.3.7 The Seventh Paragraph

“It is about preventing nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down hugely dangerous path.”

Obama wanted to draw an image about the danger of possessing nuclear weapons race.

4.6.3.8 The Eighth Paragraph

“But this much is clear: Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure.”

Obama used this imagery to refer to the peace and calm that reign in countries where Human Rights are respected; he wanted to let the listeners imagine those nations and countries that assume their responsibilities and fulfill the needs of their people.

4.6.3.9 The Ninth Paragraph

“I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim county.”

He used this imagery to refer to his childhood and show that Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance.

4.6.3.10 The Tenth Paragraph

“I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality.”

He used this imagery to refer to the clothes of the Muslim women. He wanted to show that he respects them, and he is not against their religious obligations. Besides, he wanted to draw an image about the suffering of the Muslim from the view and violence of some Western people.

4.6.3.11 The Eleventh Paragraph

“The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home.”

He used this imagery to mirror the negative side of Internet and television.

4.6.3.12 The Twelfth Paragraph

“I know there are many- - Muslim and non-Muslim who question whether we can forge this new beginning.”

This imagery is used to refer to the hesitations and doubts of many Muslim and non-Muslim people.

“Thus truth transcends nations and peoples- - a belief that isn’t new; that isn’t black or white or brown; that isn’t Christian or Muslim or Jew.”

Obama used this imagery to mirror that there are many races and religions over the world, but this variety cannot hamper from partnership.

4.6.4 Figurative Language

In this speech, Obama used figurative language wisely to attract his listeners and influence them. He employed a lot of personifications, alliterations, metaphors and deviations. Here are some examples:

4.6.4.1 The First Paragraph

In this paragraph, he repeated the word ‘hospitality’ twice in order to emphasize on the generosity and warm welcoming of the Muslim people of Egypt.

“I am grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt.”

4.6.4.2 The Second Paragraph

“The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars.”

He used contrast to show that these problems hamper from strong partnership and progress.

“More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations.”

He used personification to attribute the role of a mother to colonialism. In addition, he made use of simile to compare Muslim-majority countries to the proxies using ‘as’ and show that after the Cold War the Muslims are treated badly.

He repeated the word ‘principles’ to show that Islam share common points with America; these principles are justice, progress, tolerance and dignity of human beings. He said:

“Instead, they overlap, and share common principles - - principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.”

4.6.4.3 The Third Paragraph

In this paragraph, he repeated the same structure to focus on togetherness. He said:

“There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; and to seek common ground.”

He wanted to say that lot of things must be done together.

4.6.4.4 The Fourth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he repeated the sentence ‘it was innovation in Muslim communities’ twice to show that he is not underestimating Muslim countries because they are the source of today’s progress. He said:

“It was innovation in Muslim communities - - (applause)- - it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; ”

4.6.4.5 The Fifth Paragraph

“For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere.”

He used personification because attributed one characteristic that is unique to human beings to prosperity. He said that prosperity possesses feelings to persuade the audience to accept togetherness and collaborative work.

“We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can.”

He used metaphor because he compared America to home. By this metaphor, he wants to say that the American troops are members of the American family.

4.6.4.6 The Sixth Paragraph

In this paragraph, he repeated the word ‘obligations’ twice to emphasize on the idea of responsibility. He said:

“The obligations - - the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the road map are clear.”

4.6.4.7 The Seventh Paragraph

“The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.”

Obama used (r-r) and (n-n) alliterations to add beauty to his sentence and impress the audience.

4.6.4.8 The Eighth Paragraph

“I know- - I Know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.”

He repeated the verb ‘to know’ twice to show awareness.

“government that is transparent and does not steal from the people”

He used personification since governments cannot steal, but people can do.

4.6.4.9 The Ninth Paragraph

“And that’s why we’re forging service projects in America to bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. That’s why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah’s interfaith dialogue and Turkey’s leadership in the Alliance of civilizations.”

In this passage, Obama used parallelism because he repeated the structure ‘that’s why we’ twice.

4.6.4.10 The Tenth Paragraph

“The sixth issue -- the sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights. (Applause.) I know -- I know -- and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue.”

He repeated the noun phrase ‘the sixth issue’ twice to say to the audience that there is a serious issue that must disappear through partnership. Besides, he repeated the verb ‘to know’ twice to show his awareness.

4.6.4.11 The Eleventh Paragraph

In this paragraph, he used two important contrasts to show that progress does not only have positive points but also negative ones. He said:

“The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home.”

“Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities but also huge disruptions and change in communities.”

4.6.4.12 The Twelfth Paragraph

“But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world we seek- - a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God’s children are respected.”

In this passage, Obama used parallelism because he repeated the same structure in order to focus on the world that they can create through partnership.

“Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress.”

He used a metaphor because he compared division to fire.

“It’s easier to start wars than to end them. It’s easier to blame others than to look inward. It’s easier to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share.”

He used parallelism in order to show that it is easy to do wrong things, but it is very difficult to do right ones.

To conclude, Obama used interesting diction, syntax, imagery and figurative language all along his Cairo speech in order to impress his audience and raise their positive attitudes towards the subject matter.

III. A Synthesis of Obama’s Rhetorical Features

The present researcher claims that Obama possesses a set of interesting rhetorical features that strengthened his oratory. His speeches are highly praised and widely admired

because of his unique rhetorical style. Moreover, her application of Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) has helped her to provide the readers with a synthesis of some characteristics of Obama's speeches and rhetorical strategies.

4.7 A Synthesis of Obama's Rhetorical Strategies

The present researcher has applied Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) during the analysis of two selected speeches of Obama (i.e., the Inaugural Speech and Cairo Speech) mainly to study his rhetorical strategies. Yet, it is very important to know that mastering this art of persuasion is a difficult task to tackle because it demands the use of fascinating words, expressions and sentences that can make imaginative things seem real and real things seem wonderful.

From the analysis of the selected speeches, the present researcher argues that the secret of Obama in easily persuading and influencing his audiences is the planet he creates when playing with words. In addition, he always tries to make a combination of logic, emotions and ethics in order to make his ideas clear and reasonable, attractive and totally right and far from wrong. This strategy enables him to speak about serious problems, conflicts and crises; he uses his thinking to puzzle the audience and guarantee to them that nothing is given, but everything must be earned. Then, he moves logically to explain his different ideas and stimulate the minds of his listeners to shape their thoughts and actions; his logic guarantees that everything is difficult, but his feelings and strong emotions reflect that nothing is impossible. He always tries to suggest solutions to end the wondering and puzzle of the audience through making reference to his personal experiences and the American ideals. Besides, he tries to confess that respecting the heritage of the past, the principles of different religions, human rights and founding documents, is the only way that can lead to prosperity, progress and greatness. Moreover, the other secret that makes Obama's use of language fascinating is his positive attitudes towards the subject matter and the audience; his sense of humour and strong belief in change help in spreading hope and trust over the audience. Furthermore, the other powerful thing that establishes him as the king of the oratory scene is his wise and smart choice of words. That is, he tries to satisfy his intentions and achieve his purposes via selecting words that run in one direction as water runs away. Concerning his ideas, he presents them logically and shifts wisely from one point to another. In addition, his amazing use of colourful language is undeniable; he always makes simple things seem

wonderful and fascinating, and he pushes the listeners to understand that everything in life is complicated. Then, he shifts to use other strategies to make everything seem simple and easy.

To sum up, it is clearly shown that Obama is the king of the American oratory and a true reflection of Aristotle, but the question that is mostly asked is: what helped Obama in spreading his name in the American oratory scene? Now, the present researcher is ready to answer this interesting question. She argues that the secret that made of Obama the greatest orator of the United States in particular and the world in general is his unique thumbprint in using rhetorical techniques and strategies.

4.8 A Synthesis of Some Characteristics of Obama's Speeches

The speeches of Obama are many, and the selected speeches are just two of them. Yet, the researcher thinks that they are sufficient to draw an image about the characteristics of Obama's speeches.

The analysis of the Inaugural Address and the Cairo Speech has led her to discover that Obama's speeches are simple and clear because they can be understood by everyone who reads/listens to them, and they can be analyzed deeply and easily when selecting a suitable model. In addition, when reading them, the reader can feel that s/he can face the public and deliver a discourse like the one of Obama easily, but when s/he tries to do so, he will understand that Obama can never be imitated because he is a unique artist in this art of rhetoric. For this reason, the present researcher claims that Obama's interesting speeches can be used as models to help powerless orators mend their rhetorical weaknesses. Moreover, the speeches of Obama can fascinate anyone and raise her/his positive attitudes towards something like hope and trust. Furthermore, the most important idea that is sure is that the speeches of Obama will never disappear because they will pass from generation to another. That is to say, his speeches are fascinating because they push the listeners to believe in change and greatness.

To conclude, his talent for perceiving the movement of life and his faculty for describing it are unique. For this reason, his speeches are widely admired and highly praised.

Section two: Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research

The application of Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) has helped the present researcher to understand Obama's use of rhetoric and draw strong conclusions of his unique rhetorical style. It is true that the present researcher has applied the selected model and analyzed the two selected speeches easily, but it is very important to note that she has faced some obstacles. Moreover, her analytical study of Obama's rhetorical strategies has helped her to suggest some ideas for further research.

4.9 Conclusions of the Study

The present researcher has successfully applied the Rhetorical Framework of Jolliffe (2009) in order to analyze the two selected speeches of Obama and draw strong conclusions and results.

Yet, it is very important to note that she has asked three research questions that are directly related to the nucleus of her research work that is discovering Obama's rhetorical strategies. In addition, she has suggested three pre-answers to make her hypotheses. First of all, she has assumed that Obama uses a variety of rhetorical strategies. That is to say, his speeches cannot be isolated from the use of rhetoric. Due to her analysis, she argues that she can confirm the truth of her first assumption. In other words, the application of Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework has helped her to know that the use of rhetoric is the favourite thumbprint of Obama. Besides, she claims that Obama uses different rhetorical tactics as a means to stimulate his listeners mentally and emotionally, influence their thoughts, feelings and shape their behaviours and actions. Moreover, the rhetorical strategies that Obama uses are many. For example, he focuses on his audience to know what to say and how to say it in order to satisfy his intentions and achieve his purposes. Then, he always combines between logic, emotions and ethics in order to make his ideas reasonable, attractive, and ethical. That is to say, he takes into consideration different elements and joins them together to create an exceptional speech. In other words, he presents clearly and logically his ideas; he uses his intellect to focus the attention of his listeners; he uses colourful language and makes reference to his personal experiences to stimulate their feelings, and makes reference to the Holy Koran, Bible, Laws and Human Rights to show that he is against disrespect, racism and other

unethical behaviours. In addition, his good use of diction always fascinates the listeners and attracts them. For instance, he uses a lot of pronouns of togetherness to show that he avoids selfishness. Moreover, he always tries to make the structural organisation of his speech interesting and clear in order to be followed and understood by the audience. That is to say, he uses a variation of long and short sentences for two different purposes. On the one hand, he uses short ones to focus the attention of the audience on unique ideas. On the other hand, he employs long sentences to explain deeply his thoughts and ideas. Yet, his powerful use of figurative language and imagery is highly praised and admired. Finally, he used his positive attitudes to invite the listeners to think positively and avoid negative reasoning and thinking. For this reason, he always uses his sense of humour and hope to reflect his great belief in change and prosperity. Second, the present researcher believes that the conducted analysis has helped her to confirm and justify the truthiness of the second assumption. That is, when comparing the two selected speeches, the first thing to notice is that there are some characteristics that feature Obama's speeches. She thinks that in the two speeches, Obama used a mixture of logos, pathos, ethos, interesting syntax, diction, figurative language and imagery to fascinate his audiences and influence them, but she thinks that the rhetorical strategies that are mostly repeated in his two selected speeches is his appeal to emotions through speaking about the efforts of the American ideals and the great task of his ancestors. In addition, he likes speaking about his personal experiences and beliefs in order to guarantee the trust of his listeners and show to them that he does not address strangers, but he addresses his friends and the members of his family. In addition, she claims that he likes making reference to the principles of the Holy texts to show that he is always on the right path. Finally, the important feature is his wide use of the pronouns that show togetherness to say to the listeners that he cannot guarantee greatness, prosperity, progress, justice and peace alone. That is to say, alone, he will do nothing. Even the third assumption derives the justification of its truth from the conducted analysis. The researcher argues that Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) can be applied easily and successfully to analyze Obama's speeches mainly his rhetorical strategies.

To sum up, these conclusions of research can be considered as the result of the present researcher's hard work and willingness to discover Obama's rhetorical strategies.

4.10 Limitations of the Study

The present researcher thinks that researchers can never discover the value of research if they do not face difficulties and obstacles. Yet, it is very important to note that these obstacles can hamper from conducting a given research or study successfully and easily, but they push the researcher to find solutions, be creative and innovative to satisfy their curiosity and carry on their respective investigations.

This researcher argues that she did not face a lot of difficulties when conducting her research except for the lack of resources. That is, she has chosen Discourse Analysis as a field of research, and she has selected the model of Jolliffe (2009) to conduct her respective analysis of Obama's selected speeches. The problem is that she has looked for Jolliffe's works and books to explain the chosen rhetorical framework in the third section of her first chapter used to introduce her field of research, but unfortunately the works of the selected researcher were not available. For this reason, she has used a chapter written by Jolliffe in a book entitled "English Reading and Writing Analytically" to explain briefly the model. In other words the pieces of information provided in this section are brief and concise because of the serious limitation met.

To conclude, this limitation has not prevented her from conducting her analysis and answering her research questions.

4.11 Suggestions for Further Research

The present researcher applied Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework to analyze Obama's two selected speeches (i.e., Inaugural Speech (2009) and Cairo Speech (2009)) mainly his rhetorical strategies. Besides, she drew strong conclusions about Obama's use of rhetoric and the characteristics that feature his speeches. Most importantly, her present research in Discourse Analysis helped her to suggest some interesting ideas for further research. These new insights are as follows:

- The present researcher has applied Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) to analyze two speeches of Obama (i.e., Inaugural Speech (2009) and Cairo Speech (2009)), and others can apply the same model to study more than two speeches.
- Looking for another model that can be applied to analyze Obama's rhetorical strategies and compare it to the one of Jolliffe (2009) in terms of applicability and validity and strength of results.

- Researchers can use Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) to conduct a comparative analytical study between Obama's rhetorical style and Donald Trump's one.
- They can look for an elaborated model that can be applied to study Obama's ideological strategies.
- They can select an appropriate model that can help in comparing Obama's ideological strategies to those of the new American President Donald Trump.

To conclude, the ideas cited above are just humble ideas suggested by the present researcher to help those who want to conduct research in Discourse Analysis. Besides, she thinks that her suggestions can be transformed into interesting themes of research.

General Conclusion

Doing research in Discourse Analysis is an interesting but difficult task to tackle. In addition, conducting a discourse analytical study to discover Obama's rhetorical strategies is also very important because his creative use of language is highly praised and widely admired. His rich and well elaborated speeches can help in satisfying the curiosity of any researcher who is addicted to rhetoric and wants to discover the rules of this art of persuasion. Yet, the success of a given investigation in Discourse Analysis depends on the choice of the suitable model that can be applied in order to analyze the selected speeches and draw valid conclusions. To make things clear, the present researcher has selected two speeches that are the inaugural address and the Cairo speech of Obama, and she has used Jolliffe's Rhetorical Framework (2009) in order to answer her three research questions and draw valid results and conclusions. Besides, she argues that Obama possesses varied attractive political speeches that are full of valuable rhetorical strategies. Moreover, she claims that the secret that makes Obama the king of the American oratory scene is his powerful mastery of language use. All in all, when analyzing Obama's speeches, one can discover that this orator can be used as a model to help world's orators develop their rhetorical strategies, influence their audiences and achieve their purposes. Furthermore, Obama's speeches can be considered as unique creatures in the world's museum of speeches. Finally, it is fair to say that these unique creatures are the sun that enlightens the bizarre and dark planet of rhetoric.

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Abstract in French (Résumé)

Le président Américain Barack Hussein Obama peut être considéré comme le roi moderne de la rhétorique des Etats Unis en particulier, et du monde en général. Ses discours politiques sont vraiment admirés et largement connus dans les quatre coins du monde car ils ne peuvent pas être séparés d'une utilisation valable de la rhétorique. Le présent travail de recherche se base sur l'analyse de deux discours d'Obama afin de découvrir le secret d'une utilisation meilleure de la rhétorique présidentielle. En plus, la présente chercheuse considère l'application du modèle rhétorique de David A. Jolliffe (2009) comme étant indispensable car il peut lui permettre de satisfaire sa curiosité et répondre aux questions de sa recherche. Autrement dit, son premier but est d'analyser les deux discours sélectionnés pour qu'elle puisse comprendre le style oral d'Obama et découvrir les caractéristiques de sa rhétorique dans ses discours. Pour conclure, la chercheuse ne cherche pas à étudier la carrière politique d'Obama mais elle veut juste comprendre le secret de sa bonne rhétorique.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Obama's Inaugural Address (2009) Transcript

Inaugural Address

By President Barack Hussein Obama

My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.

I thank President Bush for his service to our nation -- (applause) -- as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.

Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.

So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans.

That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many -- and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.

These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable, but no less profound, is a sapping of confidence across our land; a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights.

Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this America: They will be met. (Applause.)

On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord. On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have strangled our politics. We remain a young nation. But in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness. (Applause.)

In reaffirming the greatness of our nation we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the faint-hearted, for those that prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of

things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have carried us up the long rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops, and settled the West, endured the lash of the whip, and plowed the hard earth. For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sahn.

Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions, greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week, or last month, or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions -- that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America. (Applause.)

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our economy calls for action, bold and swift. And we will act, not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We'll restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions, who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short, for they have forgotten what this country has already done, what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage. What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply.

The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works -- whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account, to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.

Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control. The nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. (Applause.)

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers -- (applause) -- our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man -- a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience sake. (Applause.)

And so, to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation, and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity. And we are ready to lead once more. (Applause.)

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.

We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we'll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet.

We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken -- you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you. (Applause.)

For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. (Applause.)

To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist. (Applause.)

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the

suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it.

As we consider the role that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who at this very hour patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages.

We honor them not only because they are the guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service -- a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves.

And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all. For as much as government can do, and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child that finally decides our fate.

Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends -- honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism -- these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history.

What is demanded, then, is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility -- a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; duties that we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task.

This is the price and the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence -- the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall; and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. (Applause.)

So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At the moment when the outcome of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words to be read to the people:

"Let it be told to the future world...that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive... that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet [it]."

America: In the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and

endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Appendix 2: Obama's Cairo Speech (2009) Transcript

1:10 P.M. (Local)

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you very much. Good afternoon. I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning; and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt's advancement. And together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress. I'm grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. And I'm also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: Assalaamu alaykum. (Applause.)

We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world - - tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate. The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars. More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.

Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights. All this has bred more fear and more mistrust.

So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. And this cycle of suspicion and discord must end.

I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition. Instead, they overlap, and share common principles -- principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.

I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight. I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors. There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground. As the Holy Koran tells us, "Be conscious of God and

speaking always the truth." (Applause.) That is what I will try to do today -- to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.

Now part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. I'm a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam -- at places like Al-Azhar -- that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment. It was innovation in Muslim communities -- (applause) -- it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality. (Applause.)

I also know that Islam has always been a part of America's story. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco. In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President, John Adams, wrote, "The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims." And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States. They have fought in our wars, they have served in our government, they have stood for civil rights, they have started businesses, they have taught at our universities, they've excelled in our sports arenas, they've won Nobel Prizes, built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch. And when the first Muslim American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one of our Founding Fathers -- Thomas Jefferson -- kept in his personal library. (Applause.)

So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed. That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't. And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear. (Applause.)

But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. (Applause.) Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known. We were born out of revolution against an empire. We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words -- within our borders, and around the world. We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum -- "Out of many, one."

Now, much has been made of the fact that an African American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. (Applause.) But my personal story is not so unique. The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores -- and that includes nearly 7 million American Muslims in our country today who, by the way, enjoy incomes and educational levels that are higher than the American average. (Applause.)

Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. That is why there is a mosque in every state in our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our

borders. That's why the United States government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab and to punish those who would deny it. (Applause.)

So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America. And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations -- to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God. These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity.

Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task. Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people. These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. When innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience. (Applause.) That is what it means to share this world in the 21st century. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.

And this is a difficult responsibility to embrace. For human history has often been a record of nations and tribes -- and, yes, religions -- subjugating one another in pursuit of their own interests. Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail. So whatever we think of the past, we must not be prisoners to it. Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; our progress must be shared. (Applause.)

Now, that does not mean we should ignore sources of tension. Indeed, it suggests the opposite: We must face these tensions squarely. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.

The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.

In Ankara, I made clear that America is not -- and never will be -- at war with Islam. (Applause.) We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security -- because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.

The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together. Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support. We did not go by choice; we went because of necessity. I'm aware that there's still some who would question or even justify the events of 9/11. But let us be clear: Al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody. And yet al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale. They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach. These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.

Now, make no mistake: We do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. We see no military -- we seek no military bases there. It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women. It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict. We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can. But that is not yet the case.

And that's why we're partnering with a coalition of 46 countries. And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists. They have killed in many countries. They have killed people of different faiths -- but more than any other, they have killed Muslims. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam. The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as -- it is as if he has killed all mankind. (Applause.) And the Holy Koran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. (Applause.) The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism -- it is an important part of promoting peace.

Now, we also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan. That's why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who've been displaced. That's why we are providing more than \$2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend on.

Let me also address the issue of Iraq. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. (Applause.) Indeed, we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be."

Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future -- and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. And I have made it clear to the Iraqi people -- (applause) -- I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources. Iraq's sovereignty is its own. And that's why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August. That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all of our troops from Iraq by 2012. (Applause.) We will help Iraq train its security forces and develop its economy. But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.

And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter or forget our principles. Nine-eleven was an enormous trauma to our country. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our traditions and our ideals. We are taking concrete actions to change course. I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed by early next year. (Applause.)

So America will defend itself, respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law. And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened. The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.

The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world.

America's strong bonds with Israel are well known. This bond is unbreakable. It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.

Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust. Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich. Six million Jews were killed -- more than the entire Jewish

population of Israel today. Denying that fact is baseless, it is ignorant, and it is hateful. Threatening Israel with destruction -- or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews -- is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.

On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people -- Muslims and Christians - - have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than 60 years they've endured the pain of dislocation. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. They endure the daily humiliations -- large and small -- that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. And America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own. (Applause.) For decades then, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive. It's easy to point fingers -- for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought about by Israel's founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond. But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we will be blind to the truth: The only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security. (Applause.)

That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest. And that is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience and dedication that the task requires. (Applause.) The obligations -- the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the road map are clear. For peace to come, it is time for them -- and all of us -- to live up to our responsibilities.

Palestinians must abandon violence. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and it does not succeed. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia. It's a story with a simple truth: that violence is a dead end. It is a sign neither of courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus. That's not how moral authority is claimed; that's how it is surrendered.

Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have to recognize they have responsibilities. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, recognize Israel's right to exist.

At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. (Applause.) This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop. (Applause.)

And Israel must also live up to its obligation to ensure that Palestinians can live and work and develop their society. Just as it devastates Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza does not serve Israel's security; neither does the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

And finally, the Arab states must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems. Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their

state, to recognize Israel's legitimacy, and to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.

America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and we will say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. (Applause.) We cannot impose peace. But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.

Too many tears have been shed. Too much blood has been shed. All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of the three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra -- (applause) -- as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, peace be upon them, joined in prayer. (Applause.)

The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.

This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically elected Iranian government. Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians. This history is well known. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward. The question now is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.

I recognize it will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude, and resolve. There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. This is not simply about America's interests. It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. No single nation should pick and choose which nation holds nuclear weapons. And that's why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons. (Applause.) And any nation -- including Iran -- should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. That commitment is at the core of the treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it. And I'm hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

The fourth issue that I will address is democracy. (Applause.)

I know -- I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation on any other.

That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you

choose. These are not just American ideas; they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere. (Applause.)

Now, there is no straight line to realize this promise. But this much is clear: Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments -- provided they govern with respect for all their people.

This last point is important because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they're out of power; once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. (Applause.) So no matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would hold power: You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Barack Obama, we love you!

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you. (Applause.) The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom.

Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. That is the spirit we need today. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind and the heart and the soul. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it's being challenged in many different ways.

Among some Muslims, there's a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of somebody else's faith. The richness of religious diversity must be upheld -- whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt. (Applause.) And if we are being honest, fault lines must be closed among Muslims, as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.

Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation. That's why I'm committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.

Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit -- for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear. We can't disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretence of liberalism.

In fact, faith should bring us together. And that's why we're forging service projects in America to bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. That's why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations. Around the world, we can turn dialogue into interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action -- whether it is combating malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster.

The sixth issue -- the sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights. (Applause.) I know -- I know -- and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue. I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied

equality. (Applause.) And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are far more likely to be prosperous.

Now, let me be clear: Issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, we've seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.

I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons. (Applause.) Our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity -- men and women -- to reach their full potential. I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles. But it should be their choice. And that is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams. (Applause.)

Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity.

I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and change in communities. In all nations -- including America -- this change can bring fear. Fear that because of modernity we lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities -- those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.

But I also know that human progress cannot be denied. There need not be contradictions between development and tradition. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies enormously while maintaining distinct cultures. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.

And this is important because no development strategy can be based only upon what comes out of the ground, nor can it be sustained while young people are out of work. Many Gulf states have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development. But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century -- (applause) -- and in too many Muslim communities, there remains underinvestment in these areas. I'm emphasizing such investment within my own country. And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas when it comes to this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.

On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America. (Applause.) At the same time, we will encourage more Americans to study in Muslim communities. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.

On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.

On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create more jobs. We'll open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and

Southeast Asia, and appoint new science envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, grow new crops. Today I'm announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio. And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.

All these things must be done in partnership. Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.

The issues that I have described will not be easy to address. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world that we seek -- a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected. Those are mutual interests. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.

I know there are many -- Muslim and non-Muslim -- who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort -- that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There's so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country -- you, more than anyone, have the ability to reimagine the world, to remake this world.

All of us share this world for but a brief moment in time. The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart, or whether we commit ourselves to an effort -- a sustained effort -- to find common ground, to focus on the future we seek for our children, and to respect the dignity of all human beings.

It's easier to start wars than to end them. It's easier to blame others than to look inward. It's easier to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share. But we should choose the right path, not just the easy path. There's one rule that lies at the heart of every religion -- that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. (Applause.) This truth transcends nations and peoples -- a belief that isn't new; that isn't black or white or brown; that isn't Christian or Muslim or Jew. It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization, and that still beats in the hearts of billions around the world. It's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today.

We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.

The Holy Koran tells us: "O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."

The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace."

The Holy Bible tells us: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God." (Applause.)

The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision. Now that must be our work here on Earth.

Thank you. And may God's peace be upon you. Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

2:05 P.M. (Local)