

MASTERS THESIS:

**War of words? A contrastive linguistic study of**  
**the political speeches of Adolf Hitler, Martin**  
**Luther King Jr., George W. Bush Jr. and Barack**  
**Obama, employing the ‘Wave Method of political**  
**speech analysis’.**

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## **1.0. Introduction**

Four distinctive politicians display a diverse range of approaches towards the political speech creation process, whilst also bringing with them different political images brought about by their political choices. Adolf Hitler is widely seen as the international incarnation of evil and genocide for his role in bringing about World War II and the horrors of the holocaust, whilst Martin Luther King Jr. represents the fight for a just cause in bringing about equal rights for black people in the USA through non-violent resistance. George W. Bush Jr. will be judged by history as the President of the USA who invaded both Afghanistan and Iraq, whilst Barack Obama is a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize and the current President of the United States of America. These weighty juxtapositions serve as a wonderful platform for the political speech analysis method which this paper proposes. For it is not only the mere speeches of these four historical figures which will be examined here, but by extension the very context, system and ideology which fostered them and influenced their conceptual system, and the balance of power which they attempted to chisel away at with the words which shall be examined in this Masters Thesis.

The relevance of this study is immediate and striking indeed to the modern day political scene. Billions of people around the world have been and still are affected on a daily basis by the decisions made by political leaders, thereby making political speeches an important source of information for decoding the intentions, policies and perhaps even hidden (or explicit) agendas of policy makers. Whilst the stakes of political communication in the form of speeches – for both audience and speaker - are thus evidently elevated, the potential effects of miscommunication or political alienation are

equally great, as Wilson (1990: 10) writes in his insightful pragmatic study of political discourse:

“There is a tension between our expectations of political behavior and what is political reality, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the field of political language. Since classical times it has been accepted that language plays a role in the creation of political reality.”

In this context this Masters Thesis attempts to de-mystify political speeches and their impact on their intended audience by proposing a method for political speech analysis that is at once easily accessible, linear, and systematic. Much excellent research has been done in linguistic analysis of political speeches by the likes of Van Dijk (1998), with his emphasis of the ‘Us versus them’ strategy, as well as Charteris-Black (2005) with an insightful examination of metaphors in political speech. Seminal work by Fairclough (1995) also points to the need of an analysis method of political speeches which takes into account the entire process of text creation and consumption.

This Masters Thesis proposes both to incorporate these important previous works in the results and analysis (section 4), as well as to elaborate on my own speech-writing experience to introduce an all-encompassing approach of political discourse analysis. This approach is both cross-disciplinary in its linguistic approach, drawing from both Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics, and easily accessible to a wider, perhaps skeptical public who may find their doubts about the political speech process reduced by a clear and insightful model for political speech analysis.

The ‘Wave Method of political speech analysis’, as well as the chosen corpus of political speeches of Adolf Hitler, Martin Luther King Jr., George W. Bush Jr. and Barack Obama will be introduced and justified in the Corpus and Methodology (Section 2) below. This section will discuss key aspects of the corpus of political speeches which has been chosen, and then move on to propose a method which incorporates the entire spectrum of the political speech-making process: from devising key themes through to the cognitive and conceptual construction of the speech, the production of the linguistic end product, and then the deliverance to the intended audience as well as its uptake by the mass media. This method of political speech analysis has been developed as a synthesis of my own experience and knowledge as a speech writer for a King, First Lady and President, as well as the insights of literature of importance to political discourse analysis, including Wilson (1990), Fairclough (1995) and Charteris-Black (2005), which will be examined in detail in the literary review (section 3) of this Masters Thesis. Also contained therein will be an analysis of literature related to key speech-specific features and linguistic tools, as well as selected literature providing contextual relevance to the historic figures analyzed here. This will lead readily into the results and analysis (section 4) of this Masters Thesis.

The results and analysis (section 4) forms an integral part of this study, showcasing the most important results and analyzing their purported relevance to the hypotheses. The hypotheses will be twofold: firstly, that the linguistic features and cognitive mechanism employed in the speeches of Adolf Hitler, Martin Luther King Jr., George W. Bush Jr. and Barack Obama reflect a clear difference in purpose and policy, and secondly, that these differences between the two sets

of speeches can be interpreted in a grander schemata as inclusive politics, in the cases of King Jr. and Obama, as opposed to exclusive politics in the cases of Hitler and Bush Jr. This schism between inclusive and exclusive politics is also an integral part of the two research questions:

1) What are the cognitive and linguistic devices employed by the speech writers and politicians examined in the specific domains of metaphor and pronoun uses in their speeches?

2) Which linguistic and thematic differences and similarities can be found between the two sets of speeches in terms of metaphorical and pronominal usage?

Resulting from these research questions and hypotheses will be some of the key findings of this study in the results and analysis (section 4), which include the notion that Hitler used metaphors and pronouns to create societal enemies such as Jews and Communists, thereby emphasizing his exclusive approach to politics. A similar approach was taken by Bush and his team of speech writers, who also utilized metaphors and pronouns to stir the fear created by the September 11 attacks on the United States. Bush also systematically attempted to link the War in Iraq with those tragic attacks on the United States, both through pronominal conceptualisation as well as through the foregrounding of the US military. The results and analysis will thus find that this joint use of fear and exclusionism links the metaphorical and pronominal use of Hitler and Bush in the 'Us versus Them' schema developed by Van Dijk (1998).

This will be contrasted to the metaphorical and pronominal usage employed by King Jr. and Obama in their corpus of speeches analyzed in this context. One of

the main findings will be that King Jr. put a great emphasis on the religious concept of love in his words as he attempted to create an inclusive world view for his audience, which was then reflected in highly inclusive metaphors, image schemas and pronouns in the linguistic end product. A similar technique will be found in the linguistic choices of Obama, who is also attempting to bring about reconciliation between races and peoples through his choice of key messages in the speech writing process. Thus, in the linguistic end product his cognitive choices are seen in highly inclusive metaphors which reach out to the Muslim world. In terms of pronominal choices, both are also entirely inclusive, a key finding of this study which serves to illustrate the schism between inclusive and exclusive politics which the hypotheses contend.

Thus the conclusion (section 5) of this paper will find that the speeches of these four historic politicians reflect radically different political aims and paradigms: from politics of exclusion to politics of inclusion. Indeed, may one call this a veritable war of words between those two politicians seen to be using exclusive linguistic choices – Hitler and Bush, as opposed to King Jr. and Obama with their inclusive linguistics? This question will be implicitly examined in the conclusion of this Masters Thesis. Finally, this paper will propose further studies related to this analytical method and stress the importance of an accessible analytical tool for political speech analysis in order to avoid increasing political alienation and mistrust of politicians and their speeches.

## **2.0. Corpus and methodology**

### **2.1. Corpus**

The corpus to be employed in this qualitative study will be made up of eight speeches: two speeches each of Adolf Hitler, Nazi leader of Germany, Martin Luther King Jr., civil rights icon of the USA, George W. Bush, the 43<sup>rd</sup> President of the United States of America, and the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the USA, Barack Obama. These eight speeches have been selected where possible to reflect similar settings or contextual relevance in order to facilitate a fair, complete and meaningful analysis of their key themes and linguistic choices. Despite the considerable differences in time and space and different continents between these four historic figures, the speeches have been selected to represent major proclamations of historical importance all cases.

The first speech of Hitler is his inauguration address, which was broadcast over the radio as the newly appointed Chancellor of Germany on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1933. This has obvious relevance and importance in that it is the official accession to power of Hitler in Germany, sparking the fatal sequence of events which led to the catastrophic human tragedy which was the Second World War and the holocaust. Whilst earlier moves on Hitler's part to attain power had remained fruitless, this speech marks the very moment of his accession to power and showcases his proposed policies to the German people, who are still reeling from the effects of the lost First World War and the economic crisis. The second speech chosen for Hitler is on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1939 in Wilhelmshaven, with the location of the speech being reflective of his increasingly expansionistic foreign policy

(Kershaw 1987: 125). At this stage Hitler had been the unchallenged leader of Germany for 6 years, and had effectively eliminated all internal opposition and built a mighty military machine which is on the verge of invading Poland to start the Second World War. For both speeches this paper will work with the official translation into English provided by the Humanitas International website<sup>1</sup>, this choice being taken to facilitate the understanding of the contrastive analysis which follows in the results and analysis (section 4) in relation to the other speeches which are in English. The translation of the original German text has been tested by the writer of this Masters Thesis and has been found to be of excellent quality.

The two speeches chosen for Martin Luther King Jr. were equally chosen to represent firstly an official inauguration of sorts as an icon of civil rights, as well as a second speech four years later with a slightly different focus, namely his outspoken opposition to the Vietnam War. The first speech was delivered on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1963 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C, and is now commonly known as the ‘I have a Dream’ speech. It is widely regarded as one of the most famous speeches ever to be recorded. Four years later, King Jr. delivered an address at a meeting of Clergy and Laity Concerned at the Riverside Church in New York City, which took place on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April 1967. The setting here too is indicative of King Jr.’s keen adherence to the discourse and ideals of his religious upbringing. In this speech, entitled ‘Beyond Vietnam – A time to break silence’, King appeals to the morals of the American people to stop the suffering of the Vietnamese people in the Vietnam War, whilst also linking the machinery of war to the problems of poor Americans – significantly both black and

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<sup>1</sup> ([www.humanitas-international.org](http://www.humanitas-international.org))

white. The speeches of King Jr. have been taken in their transcribed form from the prestigious online collection of speeches “American Rhetoric<sup>2</sup>”.

Furthermore, in the somewhat more comparable contexts of the American Presidents chosen, both the inaugural addresses of Bush (first inauguration address) and Obama have been selected. The Bush inauguration speech took place on January 20, 2001, with the Obama inauguration taking place on January 20, 2009. Both are set in Washington following the same inauguration procedure; both also tackle key agendas in domestic policies, whilst maintaining a secondary focus on foreign policy issues. Coming at the beginning of their respective Presidencies, they come in a similar context to the inauguration speech of Hitler, and also provide key insights into the political decisions and policies which can be expected from each in the years following their speech. Furthermore, the expectation of the audience and media, just as in the case of the first Hitler, King Jr., and Bush speeches analyzed in this study, are extremely high due to the new position of power of each of the speakers.

The second speeches for each of Bush and Obama are key Foreign Policy addresses; mirroring again the thematic of the second speeches chosen for both Hitler and King Jr. Another unifying feature is that all the second speeches for each of the four historic personalities discuss the issue of war. The Bush speech is a justification of the Iraq War 5 years after the start thereof, on March 19, 2008 at The Pentagon, a setting which is significant in itself as the symbolic home of American military might. Obama also gives a justification for war in his speech at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo on December 9 2009. Although the setting is different, the similarity in content and theme makes this an equally valuable comparison.

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<sup>2</sup> ([www.americanrhetoric.com](http://www.americanrhetoric.com))

All the US Presidential speech transcripts, except for Obama's Nobel Peace Prize speech, are taken from the Presidential Speech Archive of the Miller Centre of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia. The Obama address in Oslo is taken from the official transcript provided by the New York Times, since it was not available at the Miller Centre of Public Affairs. Website addresses and links to all speeches employed in this study can be found in the bibliography (section 6). The limitations of this corpus and by extension the study are that a bigger corpus might lend more deeply layered and quantitative conclusions. On the other hand, since this study aims to propose the qualitative analytical tool which follows (section 2.2), this paper can serve as a feasible model for future larger studies.

## **2.2. The 'Wave Method of political speech analysis'**

The analytical method which will be employed in this Masters Thesis is the 'Wave Method of political speech analysis', which I have developed as a result of my own experience as a speech writer for a King, First Lady and President, as well as extensive research into the literary traditions of Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics. The 'Wave Method of political speech analysis' is shown in Figure 1 below. The name refers to the effect a stone produces when thrown into a pond of still water,

producing waves of increasing dimensions and yet diminishing height in an outward direction.

This procedure of analysis was chosen in order to facilitate a systematic and widely accessible analysis of political speeches, while taking into account the entirely complicated dynamic in which a speech is first developed through various stages and then delivered to the intended audience and reproduced in the mass media. As Fairclough (1995: 9) points out in his seminal work on Critical Discourse Analysis: “the principle that textual analysis should be combined with analysis of practices of production and consumption has not been adequately operationalized...”. Thus, this study aims to propose a method of analysis which clearly combines all aspects of textual production and consumption. As explained in greater detail in Figure 2 which follows, the simplistic view of taking the speech to be the singular product of the person delivering it is insufficient to explain the entire dynamic involved. Instead, the contextual relevance and the ideology of the creators need to be taken into account in order to fully understand the purpose and intent of the given speech.

Figure 1: ‘Wave method of political speech analysis’

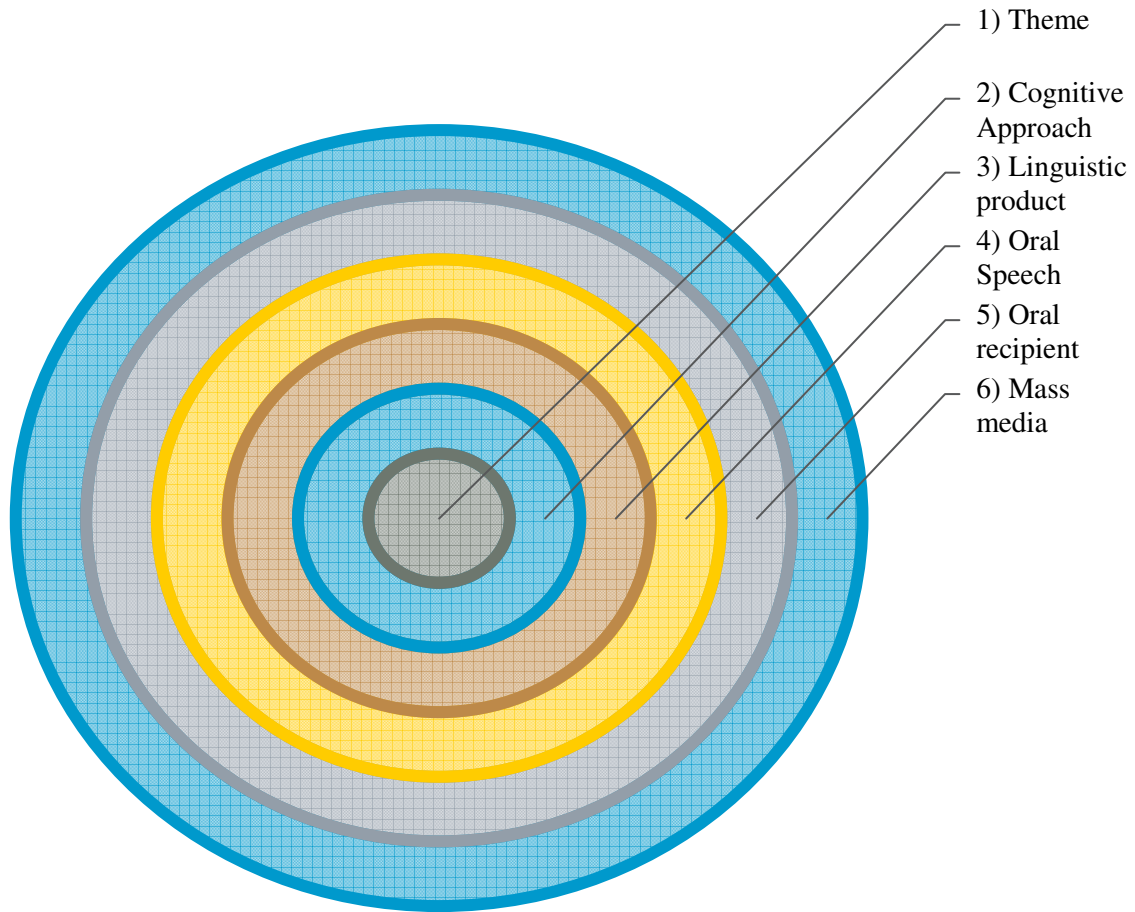


Figure 2: Key for analysis method

<u>Wave</u>	<u>Content</u>	<u>Analysis to be employed</u>	<u>Stage of analysis in this study</u>
<u>1</u>	Politician / Advisors / Speech writer(s) work out key themes to be placed into speech	<b>Interpretation of key themes</b>	<b>3</b>
<u>2</u>	Cognitive-linguistic approach in which key themes are placed into speech by speech writer(s) / politician	<b>Analysis of linguistic features and cognitive mechanisms employed</b>	<b>2</b>

<u>3</u>	Linguistic end product in the form of the written speech	<b>Identification of key linguistic features</b>	<b>1</b>
<u>4</u>	Oral communication of speech by politician		
<u>5</u>	Impact and effect on oral recipient of the speech		
<u>6</u>	Media re-production of speech		

### **2.3. Procedure**

In the context of this Masters Thesis, I will undertake to analyze the aforementioned corpus of speeches according to analysis stages 1 to 3, although some references – and later further studies recommendations in the conclusion section - will be made to the relevance towards stages 4 to 6. It should also be noted that the ‘waves’ (this term to be employed hereafter without such speech marks) represent the manner in which the speech is produced and then distributed to the target audience and beyond, whilst the actual analysis takes place in a reverse procedure in this study (as displayed above in the stages of analysis of Figure 2).

This is due to the fact that access to the inner circle thoughts of often confidential political meetings between the politician and key advisors as well as speech-writers is usually limited (although it does exist in some cases, it is often difficult to access for the general public and thus makes for difficulty of analysis) or can even be distorted by personal impressions or motivations of those involved. Thus the most accessible

technique is to approach the analysis from a reversed angle (waves 3 through to 1), taking the concrete and readily available official speech transcript as the starting point, and identifying key linguistic features to be found therein.

The starting point of this study will then be the reading of the linguistic end product and identification of key linguistic features to be found therein. This paper has chosen to analyze the use of metaphors and pronouns in the context of the 'Wave Method', although other features can of course be analyzed at will in further studies. What follows thereafter at stage 2 is a critical analysis of why these features were utilized: in other words, the attempt to identify the cognitive intentions of the speech writer or politician in the choice of linguistic device. This analysis will incorporate the implicit and explicit meanings of words, their institutional and ideological relevance, as well as concepts and ideas with which they may be linked through specific cognitive mechanisms and linguistic features. Finally and logically in stage 3, this paper will provide an interpretation of the key themes which could therefore have been worked out in the original speech meeting.

From my own insight into speech writing and also extensive research into the working mechanisms of other speech writers, I have identified this wave 1 as a vital part of the political speech process, in which the key intentions of those producing the speech are first developed. An interesting aspect of this qualitative analysis method is that in carefully and contextually analyzing one particular feature deemed to be of relevance, a key message developed at wave 1 of the political speech creation process will emerge. This means that even though only some aspects of the corpus will be analyzed, important conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions will be drawn by analyzing rather than

classifying the linguistic end product at wave 3. Much excellent research has been done on the classification of metaphors and the like in political speeches, as will become evident from the following literature review section, but the focus of this Thesis is rather to analyze and interpret the metaphors and pronouns of interest found in the speeches. Thus this method is providing an explicit insight into the desired effect the speech is intended to have upon its target audience. If the analytical method proposed here does indeed take the user through to this very inner circle of political speech development, it can prove to be a useful and readily accessible mechanism for political speech analysis.

### **3. Literature review**

At the outset of this literature review it should be stated that the analytical method introduced above has, besides an input of practical knowledge from my own speech writing experience, a firm grounding in the concepts and theories of Critical Discourse Analysis. This tradition reaches as far back as Halliday's (1978) view of language as a social semiotic, which has an orientation towards linking language in the form of texts with social structures and relations.

Further work in this regard was excellently executed by the likes of Fairclough (1992: 38), who found that "discourse is studied historically and dynamically, in terms of shifting configurations of discourse types in discourse processes...". This complex notion of critical discourse analysis is mirrored in the analytical method proposed here and also reflected in other linguistic studies. More recently, the analytical framework put forward by Fairclough (1995: 9) is an excellent reminder of the importance of incorporating a far-reaching model of discourse analysis: "In the three-dimensional framework for CDA I referred to earlier (text, discourse practice, sociocultural practice), the analysis of discourse practice involves attention to processes of text production, distribution and consumption."

Having thus established the correlation of the 'Wave Method' with existing research, this literary review will now go on to discuss works of key relevance to the theory of political discourse analysis in specific. Since this is very much a cross-disciplinary study, key works to be critically analyzed for their relevance to this paper include those from the disciplines of Critical Discourse Analysis, as well as drawing upon certain concepts from

Cognitive Linguistics in order to ascertain the cognitive intentions of the speech writers. This literature review will be organized first into general works of relevance on political discourse, secondly key concepts of linguistic importance to be examined in the linguistic end product, and finally works relating to the speeches of Hitler, King Jr., Bush, and Obama in specific.

### **3.1: Relevant works related to analysis of political discourse**

Analysis of the language used by politicians has long been an important field of linguistic studies, especially within Critical Discourse Analysis. Key early works put forward by the likes of Hudson (1978) and Edleman (1988) were related to the notion that political language is not used solely to convey meaning, but rather to create a controlled cognitive state for the listener from which any interpretation is manipulated. For the purpose of this study this is an important assertion, for even if it is no longer a universally acknowledged notion, the most inherently cognitive stages (waves 2 and 5) of the 'Wave Method' showcase that the cognitive approach and the intention of the speech writer and politician are crucial components in the construction of a political speech.

This paper, however, maintains that manipulation may be too strong a term for this cognitive stage in the case of King Jr. and Obama, with the intention rather being to convince the audience of the intended policies, as the results and analysis (section 4) will find. In contrast the speeches of Hitler and even Bush will show a clear tendency and ambition towards manipulating and controlling public opinion, playing upon and with the

desires and more importantly the (war) fears of the audience. These factors shall become apparent in the results and analysis relating to Hitler and Bush speeches, as well as in the following Hitler and Bush specific literature review (section 3.3).

Of further importance to this paper are the theories of ‘critical linguists’, as Wilson (1990) classifies them, including Fowler (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979), who give a vital importance to the role of language to create and maintain political and social ideologies. Again this would seem particularly fitting in the analysis of Hitler’s speeches, which are heavily ideological in nature. This view is reflected in wave 1 of the ‘Wave Method’, which stresses the key themes developed by the team of politician, advisors and speech writer(s), although as shall become apparent Hitler was responsible for writing his own speeches and reluctant to relinquish this role. This was indeed not the case for Bush, as shall become evident in the Bush specific literature review.

The ‘critical linguists’ theory is reflected once more in the analysis of metaphor in the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980):

“Political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms. Like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality. But in the area of politics and economy, metaphors matter more, because they constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation.”

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 236)

Further details on metaphor and other linguistic features to be analyzed will be provided in the relevant section of the literature review.

Finally, as we shall see, important analytical work of intrinsic value to this paper has been contributed by the likes of Wilson (1990), in the field of political pragmatics. His excellent analysis of pronominal linguistics will be reflected in the results and analysis (Section 4.2) of this paper in the ‘pronominal politics’ sub-section. Of equal importance to the analytical method developed here is Van Dijk (1998), with his ‘Us versus Them’ model of analysis to be examined in greater detail in section 3.2 below.

### **3.2. Review of literature relating to specific linguistic devices analyzed in this study**

Having reviewed literature related to the general field of political discourse analysis, the following works are of relevance when identifying linguistic devices in the speech transcript at stage 1 of the ‘Wave Method’.

The importance of metaphors in political speech analysis has been stressed recently by Charteris-Black (2005), whose excellent study showcases the extent to which a metaphorical analysis of political speeches offers key insights into the thematic input into - and contextual relevance of - a political speech. Analysis of metaphors in the speeches is a key feature too of this study, and will be examined in the results and analysis (section

4.1) in the sub-section ‘metaphorically speaking’. Metaphors indeed provide a fascinating link between the linguistic and the cognitive aspects of the political speech process, for as Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) found, metaphor transcends the mere linguistic and finds its way into the cognitive system of the mind: “Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like.”

Indeed, language in the form of image schemas as proposed by Mark Turner (2006), as well as repetition, which Charteris-Black (2005) identifies as a key linguistic device in political speeches, will be further components of the linguistic identification involved in stage 1 of this study. The ‘Us versus Them’ analytical model of Van Dijk (1998: 281) will also be applied at this stage, showcasing as it does one of the key mechanisms for exclusive political linguistics: “As usual in this kind of discourse, ‘we’ are largely implicit and presupposed, and in need of much less identification.” This mechanism provides the speech writer with a vital tool for emotional manipulation by playing upon the fears of the audience, a notion which has been a key feature of both Hitler and Bush speeches.

Finally, as a means of persuading the audience to believe in the importance of what is being said, the “anchor of persuasion” as proposed by Jowett and O’Donnell (1992: 22-23) forms an integral part of political discourse and can be seen in the comparative sections of the results and analysis of this paper. For, as Charteris-Black (2005: 9) points out, “although the receiver’s role is passive, if persuasion is to be successful the message needs to comply with their wants and needs, their desires and imagination.”

It can be argued that all the politicians analyzed in this paper achieved this to great effect, although with vastly different methods. Before coming to the results and analysis, the context of these historical figures will now be taken into account.

### **3.3 Review of literature relating to specific politicians analyzed in study**

When considering the final and third stage of analysis in the ‘Wave Method’, that is the interpretation of the key theme which produced the linguistic feature and the cognitive mechanism involved, it is essential to consider what Van Dijk (2008: 3) referred to as context: “contextual analysis of discourse goes beyond grammatical textual and interactional analysis and understanding.” Thus, without the relevant political, social or economic knowledge about a speech and its purposes, it would be difficult indeed to produce a comprehensive analysis in stages 2 and 3 of the ‘Wave Method’.

What follows here is an analysis of some of this contextual literature, although the intention of this section is by no means to provide an exhaustive account of all literature produced about Hitler, King Jr., Bush Jr. and Obama. This would indeed take an entire volume of work in itself. Instead, the purpose here is to provide a brief overview of the speech-specific information which will help to contextualize the later analysis.

### **3.3.1. Hitler speech specific literature**

The almost hypnotic and mystical effect of Hitler's speeches has been well documented by a whole array of literature on the Third Reich, from which Domarus (1990: 2) stands out as having a particularly insightful proximity to the actual happenings on the ground: "I had the opportunity to travel widely in Germany from 1932 to 1939...I personally heard Hitler speak and was able to interview public figures who had direct contact with him. In this way I was able to witness for myself Hitler's astonishing power and influence as an orator."

These first hand impressions relate both to Waves 4 and 5 – the oral performance of the speech and the impact on its intended audience. Thus it should be noted that Hitler's speeches were delivered in a highly confident and forceful manner, something reflected in the linguistic choices and the linguistic end product itself. For as Domarus (1990: 235) points out: "it must be stressed that Hitler had no need for any outside assistance in writing speeches." Unlike some politicians who prefer the extensive use of speechwriters, Hitler then seems to have taken charge of this entire production process himself, giving us a valuable insight into his thought process and the cognitive development (wave 2) of his key messages through the use of linguistic features.

Of further importance in this regard, especially considering the development of Hitler's political grip on power between the first and second speech chosen, is what Kershaw (1987) refers to as the 'Hitler Myth'. That is an almost god-like image of a 'Fuehrer' who could do no wrong and went from success to success, as Kershaw (1987: 4) states: "The ready-made terrain of pre-existing beliefs, prejudices and phobias formed

an important stratum of the German political culture on to which the Hitler myth could easily be imprinted.” Hence this growing self-confidence – to the point of a veritable ‘Hitler Myth’, will be taken into account when assessing the linguistic choices produced in Hitler’s speeches.

Another interesting factor which Kershaw (1987) analyzed was the apparent ease with which Hitler evoked the restoration of German honor following the defeat in World War I, thus effectively playing with the fears of the German people to bring across his ideological messages. However, Hitler always made sure to coat his ideological messages in the paint of international peace, as Kershaw (1987: 125) points out: “As he was on later occasions so frequently to proclaim with apparent sincerity, the goal of restoring German honor was, he stated, based on the deep respect for the rights of other nations...” Of course this was an entirely false assertion as history was to prove: within months of the second speech analyzed by this paper World War II would erupt. It is therefore interesting and important to ascertain whether these aggressive foreign policy intentions were mirrored in the linguistic choices of Hitler’s speeches.

According to Domarus (1990: 65), they certainly were reflected in his speeches and the very methodology employed: “It was the calculated aim of each of his major speeches to break the resilience in his audience... When they had become dulled and lethargic, he bombarded them in the second half of his speech with demagogical phrases, nationalist slogans and the like, in order to ‘electrify them’...” This is very much in concordance with the findings of the results and analysis (section 4) of this paper, and also seems to be confirmed by Hitler’s own early writings in ‘Mein Kampf’. In the course of my research for this paper I have come across a quite rare original in German of the book in my

grandmother's possession (see attachment in section 7, appendix 1). In it, Hitler (1941: 525) expounds that : "...all mighty, world-changing occurrences have been brought about not by the written word, but rather the spoken word." Thus Hitler placed a great emphasis on his speeches as political tools, a notion confirmed by the fact that Hitler dedicated the entire chapter 6 of the book to 'the importance of the speech.' It is thus quite evident that Hitler himself was quite well aware of the vital importance of the political speech as an instrument for the implementation of his political ideologies.

### **3.3.2. King Jr. speech specific literature**

It is quite clear that religion formed a key part of the King persona and speech-specific aura. A thorough look at Martin Luther King Jr.'s background in church work will reveal what Washington (1986: 85) calls: "King's accent on the implications of the New Testament conception of the believer's responsibility to love one's neighbor." Thus, from the outset it must be noted that King places a great emphasis in his speeches on the power of love, on the belief in the goodness in human beings and the possibility to change society for the better. These church references would also go on to form a key part of King's speech writing style, which took elements form the sermons he regularly preached in churches in the USA, and makes a frequent reference to the biblical 'light' as being the positive source for social change and racial equality.

These key concepts in King's personal ideology were placed into a larger context of an emerging struggle for black rights to the backdrop of a macro-level struggle for world supremacy, as Kirk (2005: 7) points out: "King's civil rights leadership emerged at a critical point in the continuing struggle for black freedom and equality. The onset of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union after World War II had a profound and often contradictory impact on civil rights activism." As shall become evident in the second King speech analyzed, the context of the Cold War and the Vietnam War in particular had a profound impact on King and made his message pertinent to a broad international audience. This new role as a worldwide pacifist icon was merged with his ongoing struggles in the Civil Rights movement to provide an outspoken defense of human rights - wherever they might be endangered.

This macro-level contextual relevance is present throughout in King's work, for as Washington (1986: 23) maintains: "While the Montgomery bus boycott was going on, India's Gandhi was the guiding light of our technique of non-violent social change." Indeed Gandhi would turn out to be a key reference of intertextuality (Fairclough: 1995) for King, who later also visited India to admire the legacy of Gandhi's work there. From this macro-level intertextuality also stems King's entirely urgent micro-level style of speeches, which he frequently referred to the 'urgency of now' (King: 2000). Thus inspired by the successful non-violent movement which had brought liberty to India, King recognized that a similar success was just around the corner in the USA. As he wrote (King 2000: 89): "It was a pride in progress and a conviction that we were going to win. It was a mounting optimism which gave us the feeling that the *implacable barriers* that confronted us were doomed and already beginning to crumble." (My italics).

These barriers, racial and seemingly immovable, were indeed beginning to be moved by the non-violent movement led by King. The question here is whether this non-violent, entirely inclusive and extremely urgent ideology of social change was also reflected in the linguistic choices of King's speeches. As we shall see in the following results and analysis (section 4), this was indeed the case.

### **3.2.1. Bush specific literature**

The Presidency and speeches of George W. Bush have been the subject of much debate, and additionally of much linguistic research. Of the varying literature available, the important work of Charteris-Black (2005: 170) reached the conclusion that Bush placed a great emphasis on political persuasion despite being a somewhat less gifted communicator than his successor Obama: "Although neither father nor son is renowned for a commanding use of language, an important difference is that George Bush Jr places far greater importance on skillful use of language and the art of persuasion...the content of his speeches is largely the output of professional speech writers."

This is an important observation in that it showcases the extent to which the analysis method chosen by this study displays the entire political speech creation process, which

in this case was not entirely constructed by Bush himself in terms of the linguistic choices. Instead, Bush and his key policy advisors were active in giving the key messages (wave 1) of the speech to the speech writing team, which then chose the cognitive mechanism (wave 2) of the speech to produce the linguistic end product (wave 3). Thus it must be talked of a team effort here, rather than attributing the entire speech and its contents to Bush himself. Hence the 'Wave Method' takes into account the contextual relevance of the great emphasis placed on political communication by Bush Jr., as well as the fact that the linguistic end product of the speech is likely to be entirely created by the speech writing team assembled by the President.

Thus when Goatly (2007: 78) finds that Bush understands literally the key metaphor "War on Terror", this can be interpreted as indicating that President Bush was greatly influenced by his team of advisors and speechwriters in thematic terms: "In the 2004 US Presidential Elections, Kerry insisted that the 'War on Terrorism' was simply a metaphor, like the 'War on Poverty', though Bush poured scorn on this, and insisted that it was a literal war.' Indeed it seems that Bush had internalized this conceptual metaphor to such an extent that he made no distinction between the reality created by his political speech writing team and that which he saw as his own reality. This seamless transformation of key messages into linguistic devices can also be seen when Charteris-Black (2005: 171) points out that the 'Axis of Evil' metaphor which formed a key part of Bush's Foreign Policy was actually created by his speech writer David Frum. In terms of the 'Wave Method' this has two immediate points of relevancy: the first being that the notion that anything uttered by a politician has to be a product of his own thinking is not automatically to be taken for granted, with the second being that Bush obviously relied

heavily upon the creative input of his speech writers at the wave 2 of the political speech creation process.

### **3.2.2. Obama specific literature**

A clear shift in terms of rhetoric and linguistic ability can be seen between President Bush and President Obama by the mere analysis of the latter's best-selling book "The Audacity of Hope" (Obama: 2006). Here an advanced rhetoric ability becomes evident, one which also manifests itself in Obama's speeches, although from magazine articles like that by Richard Wolffe (Newsweek's January 6, 2008 edition) it is possible to observe that Obama also relies to some extent on the input of a speech writer for his linguistic end product:

"Jon Favreau has the worst and the best job in political speechwriting. His boss is a best-selling author who doesn't really need his help, having written the 2004 speech that catapulted him onto the national stage. At the same time, the same boss also happens to be capable of delivering a speech in ways that can give his audience the goosebumps."

The article goes on to elaborate that although Obama is perfectly capable of writing highly acclaimed speeches, time constraints may lead him to ask his speech writer to take over some of those duties. This reduced dependency on speech writer input will be taken into account in the results and analysis section which follows. It is rather clear that Obama, just like Hitler and King Jr., was quite deeply involved in the speech writing process, not just at wave 1 but also at each stage thereafter. Furthermore, as Olive (2008: 180) expounds, King Jr. was indeed a major influence on Obama in this speech writing process, as well as forming a part of his actual linguistic end product in many cases:

“the three major influences that Obama cites are Lincoln, Ghandi and Martin Luther King Jr., all liberators...Dr King features in many of Obama’s speeches, partly for his doctrine of social justice and partly for a cadence that works with Obama’s oratorical style...”

Intertextuality is indeed an important factor of the political speech process in that it gives insight into the personal motivations of the politicians and lends vital contextual knowledge to the analysis. Thus it is evident that Obama places a great emphasis on referring to inclusive figures such as King Jr., as we will also see in his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, the second Obama speech to be analyzed in the following section.

## **4. Results and analysis**

This study has undertaken to analyze the corpus of speeches according to two major linguistic features within the ‘Wave Method’. The first will be the use of metaphors and image schemas in the speeches, followed by an examination of the pronominal choices in the corpus. The first section below will be presented as ‘metaphorically speaking’. Of course further studies may make use of different criteria for analyzing the speeches, but these two criteria seemed of great importance in line with the literary review of this Masters Thesis.

Each section will follow here with the analysis of the chosen speeches by Hitler, King Jr., Bush and Obama, followed by a comparison and contrast thereof. By organizing the material in this way an immediate and relevant contrast and analysis of all speeches is brought about. The results summary in table form has been presented in the order of ‘Waves’, beginning with the innermost wave and extending outwards, in order to replicate the political speech production process.

### **4.1. Metaphorically speaking**

In this section the speeches of Hitler, King Jr., will be first analyzed and then compared according to the use of metaphors and their effectiveness in bringing across the desired key theme into the linguistic end product.

#### 4.1.1. Analysis of Hitler metaphor use

Figure 3: Hitler use of metaphors

<b><u>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</u></b>
(Speech 1) Communism is the enemy	To reignite war fears and forcefully present communism as the reason for Germany's misery, presenting an enemy to fight against.	Example 1: "Communism with its method of madness is making a powerful and insidious attack upon our dismayed and shattered nation.
Communism is the enemy	To link war and responsibility for WWI defeat to communism and mark communists out as main enemy.	Example 2: "Fourteen years of Marxism have ruined Germany; one year of bolshevism would destroy her. The richest and fairest territories of the world would be turned into a smoking heap of ruins."
(Speech 2) Jews are the enemy	To identify Jews as the main reason for Germany's downfall and portray Jewish people as inhuman pest which needs to be gotten rid of to create a strong German state.	Example 3: "State after State will either fall under the Jewish bolshevist pest or it will defend itself. We have done it and have now erected a national German people's State. This people's State wants to live in peace and friendship with any other State but it will never again let itself be forced down by another State."
Peace can be achieved through war	To make war seem necessary to achieve peace, as well as flowering prosperity and well-being for German people.	Example 4: "Then peace will either be maintained for our people or, if necessary, peace will be enforced. Then our people will bloom and flourish."

From the above results it is then evident that Hitler used metaphors in an exclusive manner, creating ideological enemies at wave 1 and then utilizing the linguistic mechanism to re-ignite war fears at the cognitive stage (wave 2), before

finally producing them in the linguistic end product in the form of the metaphor (wave 3). Let us return at this point to the notion of Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 236) that political ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms and can lead to human lives being constrained, and even to human degradation.

This is clearly utilized in Hitler's inauguration address of 1933, in which he powerfully marked communism as the responsible party for Germany's defeat in World War I, as well as blaming the communists for the extreme financial crisis the country was going through at the time. This use of metaphor to create fear and hatred is evident in both Example 1 and 2, and can clearly be placed in the historical context of the time. In terms of ideology, Hitler is marking his stance towards the leftist governments of the Weimar Republic which had been ruling Germany in various coalitions since the defeat in World War I.

Indeed, Hitler continuously blamed the 'November Criminals', as he referred to the left leaning politicians who signed Germany's surrender in 1919, for the crushing Treaty of Versailles (Kershaw, 1987: 154). This lopsided peace treaty caused a great deal of resentment in Germany, and Hitler used this to create public fervor in his favor with the war metaphors which invoke these painful memories once more. Thus, wave 1 is a direct result of the contextual relevance of the time, and is conceptualized in Hitler's cognitive development in wave 2, which finally produces the metaphor in the linguistic end product.

In terms of power, the use of metaphors to ostracize the left-leaning parties quickly became apparent after Hitler's accession to power in that he worked towards outlawing any party except for the Nazi party in Germany (Kershaw,

1987: 60). This makes this speech an exceptional example of the cognitive development of a key message in the first wave towards its implementation in the linguistic end product in wave 3, moving onwards into the social reception of the ideology in the intended audience at wave 5 and finally in a concerted action towards media censorship and to outlaw parties with a different ideological outlook.

Moving on to the second speech of Hitler, a development in time and space of some 6 years had taken place, and yet the essential outlook of his use of metaphor is still the same: it is entirely exclusive. Where there is a development is that Hitler seems now to have moved slightly away from his depiction of the communists as the enemy – a group he has entirely marginalized in German society at this stage, and now identifies Jews as the enemy. Indeed, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 236) point out, the use of metaphor in political speech can be used to bring about human degradation. This is certainly the case when Hitler describes Jews as a ‘pest’ in example 3, using metaphor to create an inhumane picture of a part of society whom he is presenting as the enemy. Crucially, Hitler is continuously creating an enemy picture at the centre of the political waves he is creating, thus effectively preparing the German people for the war which he alludes to in example 4. There is a clear cognitive intention when Hitler says ‘peace will be enforced’ in example 4; the implication being that war may be a necessity to bring about peace, which will then bloom for the German people, who are idealized as being like fresh flowers. This choice of metaphor alludes to Hitler’s racial ideology that the Aryan race was superior to any other race, an

ideology which was implemented to bring about the horrors of the holocaust. Here metaphors are indeed used to constrain human lives and even lead to the murder of human beings. In example 4, however, there is no mention made of other people, who are completely excluded from Hitler's ideological world-view, just as communists and Jews were excluded and exterminated in a chilling reflection of his political speeches.

#### **4.1.2. Analysis of King Jr. metaphor use**

Figure 4: King Jr. use of metaphors

<b><u>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</u></b>
(Speech 1) Black people deserve equal rights	To show black people that their suffering, of biblical proportions, can and will end, and that a biblical light will shine upon them.	Example 1: "...beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity."
Struggle for freedom must be peaceful	To show that thirst for revenge and hatred is wrong, again referring to religion and relating to conceptual metaphor of staying on the moral high ground.	Example 2: "In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline."

Black rights can be achieved	To link heat to oppression, thereby calling to mind black struggles in past on slave farms and offer them vision of a cooler, justice-filled future.	Example 3: "I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice."
(Speech 2) Hate of white people will not solve black problems	To show that religion allows for no hatred, and linking hatred with a failure of course and crash.	Example 4: "We can no longer afford to worship the god of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. And history is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate."
Urgency of speaking out for peace now	To link non-action with darkness. A conceptual metaphor which implies that the biblical light will not shine upon those who do not act now.	Example 5: "If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight."
Possible to unite peaceful peoples	To show that a world which is united will play in a chorus of harmony, thus linking soothing music with a peaceful world.	Example 6: "If we will make the right choice, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood."

The results of the metaphor analysis in the King Jr. speeches have shown that the use of metaphors in this case is produced at wave 1 by a general message of inclusion and shared humanity. There is an implicit message at wave 1 of fighting to achieve equal rights for black people without infringing upon the rights of others. This proves to be the anti-thesis to the notion of Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 236) that political metaphors can be used to constrain lives, and also seems to confirm the hypothesis of this paper that King Jr. utilizes linguistic features in an inclusive manner in line with his political message.

Keeping in mind the impact of King Jr.'s religious upbringing and highly recognized church work (Washington 1986), the social context seems to play a big role in his speeches, as examples 1, 2 and 4 amply demonstrate. In each case there is an explicit reference to the Christian religion, an undying faith which King Jr. would undoubtedly like to see transferred to his followers in the black rights movement. Thus, in terms of speech technical procedures, King Jr. has implemented his message into the cognitive stage at wave 2, as he processes the method of peaceful resistance championed by Gandhi (Washington 1986: 23) in India to great effect in his 'I have a Dream' speech. Whether this cognitive transfer from key message into linguistic end product is performed entirely consciously or also at times at a sub-conscious level is difficult to prove. Indeed it hardly matters excessively in this context in that the final outcome at wave 3 clearly shows that King Jr.'s message is portrayed through a choice of metaphorical language closely associated with the bible. There is a reference to the biblical light in example 1 which might seem ironic to interpreters of his speeches who are unaware of his religious background, given that he is indeed fighting for black rights against white suppression. Therefore what Van Dijk (2008: 3) refers to as 'context' is of utmost importance when analyzing political speeches within the framework of the 'Wave Method': here we are presented with a primary metaphor which derives from shared human experience. It is the notion that night is bad and daylight is positive, as well as mirroring the religious emphasis on the biblical light. This reflects a heightened sense of morality which King Jr attempted to implement continuously at the cognitive stage of construction (wave 2) in his speeches.

Another important application of this moral world view in the bitter struggles of the black rights movement can be seen in example 2, where King Jr. uses the metaphor of the ‘cup of hatred’ in order to bring across one of his most essential messages – that of non-violent resistance (Washington, 1986: 23). Again it is important to incorporate the contextual relevance, namely that King Jr.’s leadership emerged at a moment in the black rights movement when there was an emerging and clear schism between those willing to go down the path of violent protests and those like King Jr. who advocated peaceful protests (Washington, 1986: 58). The ‘cup of hatred’ is therefore not just a powerful metaphor - it is also an image schema as identified in Lakoff and Turner’s (1989) study as the ‘container’ that is the human body. King Jr. warns that this ‘container’ should not become filled by the dark drink of hatred. Thus the key message of non-violent resistance is developed at wave 2 in the cognitive - in this case likely subconscious formation of the ‘container’ image schema, and finally turned into the metaphor in wave 3 of the linguistic end product.

In the second speech of King Jr. a development in terms of time and space had taken place, and the subject matter has even altered slightly. He was now talking about the War in Vietnam, calling upon Americans to act immediately to bring about peace. This development shows that the King Jr. public persona had grown in terms of power, as he was now able to confidently and firmly address such pleas to the entire American people. But his basic ideology and world view remain the same. In example 4 King Jr. not only makes a direct reference to religious ceremonies, but also refers to the ‘oceans of history’ and the ‘ever-rising tides of hate’, powerful metaphors indeed when one considers the cognitive mechanism King employs here to bring across his key messages (wave 1) of

non-violent resistance and the urgency of now (King 2000). The metaphor chosen here (at the cognitive shaping in wave 2) is ostensibly a direct reference to the War in Vietnam, where American troops (Kirk 2005) – including many blacks – have been sent across the oceans. This is the cognitive mechanism employed by King Jr, which also works at a sub-conscious level upon the intended audience at wave 5, employing the ‘journey’ image schema to great effect. Thus when King Jr conveyed his speech a large proportion of his audience (wave 5) were black listeners, which meant that the ‘journey’ image schema was also taking deep-rooted effect in that black Americans were well aware of their ancestors coming to the USA from across the ocean - from Africa. However, it is also an inclusive metaphor in that white ancestors equally came from across the seas from Europe to live in America.

When King Jr then talks about the urgency of acting now for peace in Vietnam, he employs the metaphor of darkness in ‘the dark corridors’, as well as the involuntary ‘journey’ image schema of being ‘dragged down’ for not acting now. This brings to mind the religious concept of ‘hell’ in the listener, which contrasts wonderfully with the ‘beautiful symphony of brotherhood’ evoked in example 6 if the American people make the ‘right choice.’ Clearly King Jr is making direct and emphatic use of his religious background to ground his speeches in a sense of biblical righteousness which emanates from his key messages at wave 1.

### 4.1.3. Analysis of Bush metaphor use

Figure 5: Bush use of metaphors

<b><u>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</u></b>
(Speech 1) Spread democracy around the world / Prepare American people for foreign engagements	To show that American style democracy has gone from being a static concept to a moving one.	Example 1: “America’s faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.”
God is guiding us / Unite the Nation	To make a religious link by referring to God as the ultimate deciding power and show that 2000 election was a divine decision.	Example 2: “We are not this story’s author. This story goes on.”
Speech 2: US invasion of Iraq was just and heroic	To make war seem like a story with a happy ending, with a defeated villain.	Example 3: “Our troops added new chapters to the story of American military heroism.”
Iraq War helped Iraq	To link Iraq to 9-11, through metaphorical language from 9-11 domain.	Example 4: “...helped a young democracy rise from the rubble.” / “...stop these extremists from hijacking their young democracy.”
Iraq War is coming to an end	To turn war into a financial transaction which has been completed with success.	Example 5: “And as a return on our success in Iraq, we’ve begun bringing some of our troops home.”

The context of President Bush’s inaugural address is vital in understanding the first two examples shown in figure 5 above. The ‘Wave Method’ analysis has shown that Bush’s speech writers utilized a choice of metaphor which emphasized the godly divinity of the highly disputed 2000 Presidential Elections against Al Gore. Here vital context information comes in the form of the highly religious world view of Bush and his family,

which Singer (2004) referred to, and which led to a key message at wave 1 being conceptualized as a metaphor with religious insinuations in the linguistic end product. Thus the intention of the speechwriter here is to bring about a sense of biblical righteousness in order to unite the American people behind Bush after the highly disputed election of 2000. Thus Bush effectively excludes those Americans who voted for Al Gore in the elections, saying instead that it was a higher power which brought him to the Presidency of the USA.

Instead of a direct mention of the voting irregularities in Florida, which might have served to bring the considerable controversy into the open and finally unite the American people, the speechwriter instead chooses to invoke a sense of unity through the ‘journey’ and ‘story’ image schemas in examples 1 and 2 respectively. As Turner (2006: 141) points out, “story involves spatiality, motor capacities, the sensory modalities... image schemas, and our other basic cognitive instruments.” Thus we can assume that the key message which Bush wants to bring across is one of unity, a choice reflected in the speechwriter’s emphasis on democracy in example 1. This is an interesting choice indeed by the speech writer in that it reminds Americans that they need to put their full trust in the democratic system of the USA, and to believe that it has brought about a just and fair victory for President Bush.

It can be argued that this sense of unity is not achieved as it excludes some segments from Bush’s world view - including the Gore voters in example 2, and the people from other nations (in example 1) who may not necessarily want an American style capitalistic democracy imposed upon their country. Hence from a key message of spreading democracy around the world at wave 1 of example 1, we come through to the

speechwriter's cognitive implementation at wave 2 of choosing a metaphor with 'journey' implications, and finally its implementation at wave 3 in the linguistic end product in the form of the 'seed' of democracy which will supposedly grow as a result of American actions in foreign policy. Placing this linguistic information into a contextual background, the Bush inauguration address would seem to hint at early signs of an aggressive, or at least highly engaged foreign policy, which is evident in example 1 above. Portraying democracy as a 'seed upon the wind' in wave 3 is certainly a concept which alludes to Bush's highly controversial policy of the spread of democracy in the Middle East, a region also rich in oil reserves (see, for example, section 7, Appendix 2: Krug, M., in *The Gulf Times*, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2003). Example 1 also evokes the 'journey' image schema at a subconscious level, and can be traced to a wave 1 key message of preparing the American people for future military engagements, even though at this stage the attacks of September 11 have yet to take place.

This context has clearly changed in the second Bush speech analyzed by this paper. With the invasion of Iraq completed and the highly violent occupation now well underway, Bush is now forced to explain the Iraq War to the American people, as no weapons of mass destruction have been found. In order to achieve this in example 3, the key message worked out at wave 1 by Bush and his advisers seems to be to justify the American invasion of Iraq by portraying it as a heroic military mission. This has been implemented by his speechwriters in wave 2 through the choice of the story image schema, very much keeping in line with the same choice in the inauguration address. In this case the story is shown to be that of the American military 'heroes', who have conquered the 'villain' in Iraq, the latter being the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. This

mental mapping is conceptualized by the speechwriter at wave 2 and is then taken up again by Bush in the final draft checking before approving the linguistic end product at wave 3 and delivering the speech at wave 4. The impact upon the audience at wave 5 is thus intended to produce a sympathetic reaction to the ‘military heroism’ which the American troops have been involved in producing in Iraq. The immense suffering of the Iraqi people in the War is thus effectively excluded. Only the supposed American military heroism is given importance. The war is reduced to little more than a video game with heroic Americans and no real life consequences for other people.

This notion is further expounded in example 4. Here the notion of just war is taken a step further and the key message developed at wave 1 is that the Iraq war has helped Iraq and made it a better country. This has been implemented by Bush speech writers at wave 2 into conceptually linking the Iraq War with the September 11 attacks on the United States. Indeed, this metaphorical link is highly poignant in that the intended audience (wave 5) is American in the first place, and only by extension meant to justify the war to the Iraqi and world peoples who are equally adamant for an explanation for this human tragedy. Thus when the speechwriter conceptualizes the ‘rubble’ and ‘hijacking’ of the Iraqi nation, the American people listening to the speech (wave 5) are immediately meant to map the threat of the Iraqi regime which has been brought down by the American invasion with their memory of 9-11, as well as creating the threat of another attack like that of September 11. This is also the case in example 5, when the financial metaphor is chosen at wave 2 to evoke the memory of the financial towers which were attacked on 9-11 in the USA. This use of financial metaphors is also taken by Charteris-Black (2005) as being a key feature in Bush rhetoric, both for his father and for Bush Junior, in their

respective Presidencies. In this case the key message is that the American troops will be coming home soon, as a ‘return’ on their ‘success’ in Iraq. This supposed success is again measured in entirely exclusive terms: neither the cost of the war for the Iraqi people, nor for those thousands of dead American troops and their grieving families, is included in this equation.

#### **4.1.4. Analysis of Obama metaphor use**

Figure 6: Obama use of metaphor

<b><u>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</u></b>	<b><u>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</u></b>
(Speech 1) Prepare for difficult economic times	To allude to way in which American ancestors came to America, as well as to unite and prepare for difficult times ahead.	Example 1: “...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.”
Reach out to Muslim world	To show that is not an invading conqueror and instead is looking for peaceful negotiations	Example 2: “...we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.”
Speech 2: The USA is now a just power	To distance Obama from moral blemishes of Bush administration.	Example 3: “We are not mere prisoners of fate. Our actions matter...”
War is the last resort	To distance Obama from Bush administration, and show difficulty of choice in going to war.	Example 4: “But war itself is never glorious, and we must never trumpet it as such.”

Negotiations are vital	To show that negotiations must be a first option, unlike in Bush era.	Example 5: “No repressive regime can move down a new path unless it has the choice of an open door.”
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The analysis of metaphors in the Obama inauguration speech employing the ‘Wave Method’ would seem to indicate that metaphors are employed to portray the key messages of readying the American people for a difficult road ahead to economic recovery, as well as to distance Obama from the previous and at this stage somewhat unpopular President Bush. In example 1 these notions are embodied in the conceptual metaphor linking water with peace and prosperity.

This is indeed an interesting choice at wave 2 in that it alludes to the journey which the American ancestors took across the oceans. This journey image schema is also a reminder to the American people of the strength of character which they have historically shown. As Lakoff and Turner (1989: 61) expound, “a journey schema has a slot for traveler that can be filled by any particular person whom we understand to be on a journey. Indeed, the very concept of traveler can be defined only relative to the concept of journey.” Thus, the inclusive nature of the journey image schema would appear to have been seen as an important choice by the joint team of the speech writer and President to bring across their key theme of unity on the road to economic recovery.

In example 2 above the key message at wave 1 seems to be a political rapprochement between the United States and the Muslim world, which was one of Obama’s main foreign policy objectives after the catastrophic effects that the War in Iraq had upon public opinion toward the USA in the Middle East. Thus the metaphorical implementation of this key theme at wave 2 seems to have been chosen with the explicit purpose of showcasing American goodwill to the people of the Middle East, who were no

doubt also paying keen attention to this inauguration address. Here it is of importance to note contextually that the handshake is seen as an important part of the Middle Eastern greeting procedure, and showcases clearly what Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) relate in their ground-breaking work on metaphor: “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another....the metaphor is not merely in the words we use – it is our very concept of an argument.” Thus this conceptualization of a new partnership of peoples is expressed with the explicit purpose of ‘unclenching’ what have become firmly clenched fists throughout the Middle East, and coming to a metaphorical understanding. Of course the significance of the handshake is not lost upon the audience in the Middle East (at wave 5), who were watching the television broadcast of the inauguration address with the expectation that Obama would bring about some kind of change in regards to US policies in the Middle East (see, for example: Krug, M., *The Buenos Aires Herald*, 29 September 2008, Opinion Page, or: Krug, M., *Qatar Tribune Newspaper*, April 20, 2008, page 16). The ultimate desire in this regard in the Middle East is of course an agreement in the Middle East peace process and the creation of the Palestinian state, which is implicitly alluded to here with the choice of metaphor at wave 2 of the speech writing process and its implementation in the form of the ‘handshake’ in wave 3.

In the second speech examined for Obama, this concept is mirrored again as Obama collected the Nobel Peace in Oslo and justified his decision to send more troops to the War in Afghanistan. The setting is of course highly symbolic and offers interesting contrasts to the choice of setting for Bush in his second address. In example 3 the key message could be to showcase that the USA is now a morally just nation, effectively

choosing to distance the politics of the Obama administration from those of the previous President Bush. This is an especially profound choice of linguistic mechanism at wave 2 in that the contextual relevance of the US troop prisoner abuse scandal in Baghdad prisons weighs heavily into the equation of the audience at wave 5. Thus in example 4 Obama is seeking to further distance himself from the Bush administration and show war as a last resort, rather than as an ideological foreign policy strategy (spread of democracy in the Middle East and pre-emptive strikes) as it seemed to be under his predecessor. This same cognitive mechanism is chosen again at wave 2 in example 5, when Obama and his speechwriter produce both the ‘open door’ metaphor as well as the journey image schema in wave 3. This is a key message at wave 1 for the intended audience (at wave 5), showcasing the metaphorical journey the USA has gone through since the election of Obama as President, from being a morally dubious superpower to being a moral leader in world politics.

#### **4.1.5. Comparison and contrast of results from metaphor analysis**

The above analysis employing the ‘Wave Method’ has shown the extent to which metaphors form an essential part in bringing across the political messages of all four politicians analyzed. As can be seen from the results, this paper has chosen to mention marginally more metaphors from King Jr. speeches, which is simply due to the fact that

he uses more metaphorical language, and does not affect the comparison in that this is an entirely qualitative study.

In the comparison and contrast which follows here, the results of Hitler and Bush speeches will be shown to be comparable in terms of their exclusive use of metaphors, while King Jr. and Obama seem to opt for a more inclusive use of metaphors. This seems to confirm the dual hypotheses proposed by this paper; firstly that the linguistic features and cognitive mechanisms employed in the speeches of Hitler and Bush reflect a clear difference in purpose and policy to those of King Jr. and Obama, and secondly, that these differences between the two sets of speeches can be interpreted in a grander schemata as inclusive politics, in the case of King Jr and Obama, as opposed to exclusive politics in the case of Hitler and Bush.

To begin with the latter pairing, the results have shown that Hitler used metaphors in an entirely exclusive manner, in order to create ideological enemies for the German people and channel the anger for the loss in World War I against these groups in society (communists and Jews, as can be seen from examples 1, 2 and 3). There is thus the clear cognitive intention at wave 2 to create fear and apprehension in the audience (wave 5), reminding them that the tragedy of the war loss will be repeated unless Hitler's expansionistic foreign policy is followed (example 4). There is a clear parallel here to the metaphors chosen for the Bush speech justifying the War in Iraq (second speech analyzed), in that the choice of linking the 9-11 attacks and their profound effect on the American people to the War in Iraq is also a mechanism for creating fear in the intended audience. Thus this conceptual mapping of metaphorical domains showcases the extent to which both Hitler and Bush were ready to make use of the fears of their respective

populations to justify aggressive foreign policy ventures. The context was slightly different, with the Hitler speech being just ahead of the second World War, and Bush's coming during the continuing War in Iraq, but the mechanisms employed seem to mirror each other. The same can be said of the use of exclusive metaphors. Bush turns to the metaphorical 'story' of 'American military heroism' (example 3), thereby completely excluding the Iraqi people and their war suffering from the equation, whilst Hitler effectively chooses metaphors which exclude segments of society such as Communists and Jews.

On the other hand both King Jr. and Obama employ metaphors in an inclusive manner, attempting to bring about reconciliation between races and peoples through their choices in the creation of the linguistic end product. Thus King Jr.'s choice of metaphor in wave 2 of examples 2, 4, 5 and 6 is entirely inclusive, even though the current of public opinion (wave 5 factor) was running quite against the notion of inclusive politics. In contextual terms, the first speech was delivered to the backdrop of segments of the black rights movement preferring to take a violent resistance approach, whilst the second speech came at a time of violent anti-war protests. Despite, or perhaps indeed because of these contextual currents running against his ideology of passive resistance according to the Ghandi model (Washington, 1986: 23), King Jr. firmly opted for a choice of inclusive metaphors.

This choice of inclusive metaphors is also seen in the linguistic choices of Obama and his speechwriters. When Obama chooses to extend a metaphorical handshake to the Muslim world in example 2 it is an extremely inclusive gesture at the conceptual level, reflecting upon Obama's choices of key messages at wave 1 of the speech production

process. Indeed, the implication at the conceptual level (wave 2) is that the entire world is one big family, and that religious or cultural differences should not be a divisive factor as they have been under President Bush. Thus in examples 3, 4 and 5 of Obama's Nobel Peace prize acceptance speech, the emphasis is placed upon the difficulty of the choice of going to war at wave 1, with a sense of shared humanity being emphasized here. This comes in stark contrast to the use of metaphors employed by Hitler, and also contrasts with President Bush and his technique of emphasizing American interests and military and ignoring the suffering and problems of other people around the world.

Another striking contrast comes in the form of the differing use of the 'journey' image schema between Bush and Obama, with the former utilizing it to prepare the American people for his expansionistic or engaged foreign policy in example 1, while the latter attempted to prepare the American people for the difficult road to economic recovery with the same image schema. King Jr. also employed the 'journey' image schema in his attempt to convince the American people of the need for peace in Vietnam, thus adding to his inclusive and pacifist key messages at wave 1. The contrasting use of cognitive mechanisms for the same thematic concepts can be seen when Hitler used conceptual metaphor in example 4 to show that the German people will bloom like flowers if they manage to 'enforce peace', that is to achieve peace for themselves through going to war. On the other hand King Jr. showcased the stark reality of not acting now for peace in the Vietnam War by using the conceptual metaphor of being dragged down to hell for not acting now.

Thus, in terms of the "anchor of persuasion" as proposed by Jowett and O'Donnell (1992: 22-23), it seems that the common anchor of persuasion at wave 1 chosen by Hitler

and Bush was to use exclusive metaphors which created fear and reminded the intended audience of the painful war experiences they had suffered (World War I loss and September 11 attacks in New York), and thereby implied that a strong state and engaged foreign policy would help to avoid further such painful experiences. On the other hand King Jr. and Obama opted for an anchor of common humanity to convince people to join protests for fair racial relations as well as to stop the War in Vietnam, and in the case of Obama to unite the country for economic recovery and bring about reconciliation with the Muslim world. It has therefore become evident that the four men approached their use of metaphors from radically different standpoints.

## 4.2. Pronominal politics

This section will analyze the use of pronouns in the corpus of political speeches, examining whether these can be linked to the hypotheses proposed and thereby evaluating their extent of inclusiveness in terms of the audience addressed. There will also be a consideration of frequent use of personal pronouns which may take on an important part in explaining the political ideology and possible megalomaniac tendencies of the politicians involved.

### 4.2.1. Analysis of Hitler pronominal use

Figure 7: Hitler use of pronouns

<u>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</u>	<u>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</u>	<u>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</u>
(Speech 1) Trust Nazi party / Germany will be strong once more	To showcase the strength of the Nazi party and to make people place their trust in Hitler's leadership. <b>Includes: Nazi party, (and Hitler).</b> <b>Excludes: Other peoples.</b>	Example 1: "The inheritance which has fallen to us is a terrible one. The task with which we are faced is the hardest which has fallen to German statesmen within the memory of man. But we are all filled with unbounded confidence for we believe in our people and their imperishable virtues."
Speech 2: Germany must fight to be free to live	To portray a shift from the dependency on English and French will in Versailles treaty towards a Germany centric notion focused entirely upon Hitler and his will.  <b>Includes: German people, Hitler.</b> <b>Excludes: Nazi party,</b>	Example 2: "The German people were not created by providence in order to follow obediently a law which suits the English or the French, but rather in order to champion their right to live. That is why we are here! I was determined to take up this battle of advocating the German right to live."

	<b>other peoples – especially English and French, who are made to be the enemy.</b>	
Germany must follow Hitler's expansionistic foreign policy of 'lebensraum'.	To show that Hitler has put citizens to good use in building a strong again Germany, with the emphasis once more being placed on Hitler himself (note repetition of personal pronoun 'I'). <b>Includes: German people, Hitler.</b> <b>Excludes: Nazi Party, anyone except for Hitler.</b>	Example 3: "Your strength to work, my fellow-citizens, I now have begun to put to use. I had no foreign exchange. I had no gold reserve. I had only one thing - my faith and your work!"

The above analysis of pronouns in political speech, taking at least one example (or more) from each speech analyzed, showcases the extent to which Hitler utilizes the effect of pronominal choices to manipulate speeches in his ideological terms. Wilson (1990: 46) has shown to great effect how pronouns such as 'we' can be manipulated to become either inclusive or exclusive. In example 1 it becomes evident how Hitler employed the 'us' in his speech to refer to the Nazi party, and by extension to himself. However, this personal reference is implicit in this case, subordinated to the role of the government which has been formed for the first time with the Nazi party as the main actor. Crucially to the notion of this paper's hypothesis, this 'us' in example 1 excludes even the German people, as well as any other people around the world, who are not even mentioned.

Thus in his inauguration address to the German people, the wave 1 key message seems to be to convince the German people to put their full trust and faith in the Nazi party, which has taken over power for the first time. The implicit cognitive message developed at wave 2 is that if this trust is put in the Nazi party and this new government, Germany

will return once more to being the strong and powerful nation it was in the lead up to the First World War. The German people seem to play only a passive part in the plans Hitler has proposed, as can be seen through his use of the pronoun 'us' in the linguistic end product at wave 3.

This is confirmed in the analysis of the second speech, which portrays the extent to which the 'Hitler Myth' (Kershaw, 1987: 4) has been developed and internalized by the Nazi leader and his propaganda machinery. The contextual relevance of the speech taking place in 1939 is vital to consider in this regard, for Hitler has at this stage completely removed any internal opposition and even the Nazi party has taken on a completely reduced importance, as can be seen from example 3. Whilst Hitler placed the Nazi party in the foreground and only implicitly mentioned his own role in example 1, this power constellation has completely shifted in example 3. The frequent repetition of 'I' in the linguistic end product at wave 3 is a reflection of the conceptual intention to portray the 'Fuehrer' as the all mighty figure in Germany, responsible for the economic and military turnaround which the country has witnessed since 1933. Finally, at wave 1 this demonstrates the key message that Germany must follow Hitler in his foreign policy expansionism in order to continue growing into an all-powerful nation.

This key message is portrayed once more in example 2, with the ideological concept of *Lebensraum* (Kershaw, 1987: 259) - that is the acquisition of living space for Germans at the expense of other people, being developed at wave 1 here. Subsequently, the conceptual application of this key message is manifested in the inclusion of Hitler and the German people in pronominal terms. The enemy picture here is created as being the French and English people, who were implicitly made responsible by Hitler for the

terrible terms of the peace Treaty of Versailles (Kershaw, 1987: 122). At wave 3 this is then developed into the ‘Us versus Them’ strategy which Van Dijk (1998: 279) identifies as a key feature of political speech manipulation. Hence the exclusive nature of this application of pronouns is again utilized by Hitler to manipulate public opinion in favor of his war orientated policies, which would be implemented to deadly effect just a few months after this speech was given.

#### 4.2.2. Analysis of King pronoun use

Figure 8: King pronoun use

<u>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</u>	<u>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</u>	<u>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</u>
Speech 1: Together we are strongest in peacefully fighting for our rights	To show how King and audience will merge as one to become a force for freedom. <b>Includes: King, audience of entire USA.</b>	Example 1: “I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.”
Speech 2: Together is the only way to bring about positive change	To portray the people of the world as a united force which can end poverty, racism and militarism <b>Includes: Humanity</b> <b>Excludes: Poverty, racism and militarism</b>	Example 2: “Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism.”

One of the most striking aspects of Martin Luther King Jr.’s use of pronouns is that there is an entirely inclusive mechanism at work in both speeches, and when there is something

excluded these are abstract concepts such as poverty, racism and militarism as can be seen from example 2. Thus King Jr.'s emphasis seemed to be on the wave 1 key message that violence cannot bring about the desired equality in America and beyond, for as he reasons in his own writing: "If one is in search of a better job, it does not help to burn down the factory." (King, 2000: 58). It is this same logic which King Jr. applied to his cognitive mechanisms in writing the speech. Here, at wave 2, he opted for pronouns which pointed to the biblical morality of his contextual background, and which brought forth his (wave 3) linguistic end product in an entirely inclusive manner.

Furthermore, there is no doubt that the pronominal usage in both of King Jr.'s speeches is intended to invite anyone listening to the speech (wave 5) to join the struggle for a peaceful and bettered human condition. There is no distinction between races, nationalities, or any other artificial barriers in spite of the context which was exemplified by cities such as Birmingham, which Kirk (2005: 123) refers to as "one of the South's most violent and segregated cities in 1963." Keeping in mind this context, it is remarkable indeed that King Jr. refrains from creating any enemies in the linguistic end product at wave 3, a testament to his continued belief at wave 1 of the speech development that non-violent resistance was the only way to bring about a lasting change in the societal power balance. King Jr.'s church upbringing and work, as well as his firm belief in the truth of biblical love and shared humanity (Washington 1986: 85) was surely a powerful driving force in this regard.

Indeed, in example 1, King Jr. goes so far as to conceptually join himself with the audience ("I am happy to join with you today"), thereby transferring his ideology of passive and peaceful resistance to the audience at waves 4 and 5, and creating an

extremely powerful conceptual experience for his listeners. This is achieved by invoking the ‘container’ image schema through the use of pronominal politics. Hence, the same sentence in example 1 concludes by referring to the nation, which is invited in its entirety here to join with the ‘I’ of King Jr. to form part of something historic: a whole, single historic unit. The inclusive nature of this united approach in pronominal speech writing at wave 2 is repeated in the second speech analyzed here, as King Jr. again appeals to the unity of the peoples of the world to stop the war in Vietnam. The pronominal use here is much the same as in the first speech, displaying continuity both of message and of rhetorical choices. In example 2 King Jr. alludes that ‘our’ unity is the only hope and the only way towards achieving a peaceful world. This is indeed a very inclusive pronominal choice at wave 2. Unlike in the first example, King Jr. does choose to exclude elements from this speech at wave 1. These are the abstract notions of poverty, racism and militarism. This seems to be a very noble choice and form of exclusionism indeed.

#### 4.2.3. Analysis of Bush pronoun use

Figure 9: Bush pronoun analysis

<b>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</b>	<b>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</b>	<b>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</b>
Speech 1: USA will engage in war if it is threatened	To portray an enemy that is not yet defined, but clearly visualized. <b>Includes: Bush</b>	Example 1: “We will confront Weapons of Mass Destruction so that a new century is spared new horrors. The

	<b>administration, US military, (American people). Excludes: Enemies of liberty and of USA.</b>	enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged.
Speech 2: Enemy is trying to strike America /  Keep American troops in Iraq	To create a link to 9-11 and a supposed reason for staying in Iraq. <b>Includes: American army, people.</b>  <b>Excludes: Enemy in Iraq, invisible enemy at home.</b>	“Defeating this enemy in Iraq will make it less likely that we will face the enemy here at home.”

The use of pronouns in the Bush corpus of speeches seems to be heavily influenced by the purpose at wave 1 of creating an ideological foe, even if (as in the case of the inaugural speech) this enemy has not been clearly defined as yet. This notion would appear to be confirmed in the analysis of example 1, which shows the extent to which Bush speech writers employed a wave 2 mechanism which can be labeled as the ‘Us versus Them’ strategy which Van Dijk (1998: 279) identifies as a key mechanism: “They are enemies who ‘attack’ us, and ‘we’ defend legitimacy and decency in the USA.”

Thus when Bush speaks of ‘we’ at wave 4 in example 1, the audience at wave 5 feels included only in an implicit way. It is rather the new Bush administration, and the US military as the implementing force in all such military ventures as are alluded to here, who are included in this pronominal ‘we’. The American people’s reaction at wave 5 may however have been a positive one in that their implicit inclusion in the ranks of the US military may have evoked a positive patriotic reaction on the part of the audience. In any case, the creation of an enemy of the American people at this conceptual level (waves 1 and 2) leads to at once troubling and interesting questions for those analyzing the speech in the context of the Iraq War which was to begin in 2003. This link and its implications will be developed further in the conclusion (section 5) of this Masters Thesis.

The second Bush speech examined here is making the enemy picture extremely explicit, with a seeming progression taking place from the undefined enemy in example 1 to the clearly defined and identified enemy in example 2. This conceptual development is striking indeed and lends further weight to the notion that Bush uses pronouns in an exclusive manner at wave 2, attempting indeed to create the ‘Us versus Them’ perception which is so explicitly stated in example 2. The ‘we’ here is an exclusive pronoun in that it includes the entirety of the American people but no one apart from that, which means that the Iraqi people and their war-torn country are nothing more than a vehicle for the national security needs of the American people.

This notion becomes explicit when the second part of the sentence in the linguistic end product at wave 3 links winning the War in Iraq to being safer in the United States. Keeping in mind Halliday’s (1978) view of language as a social semiotic, which has an orientation towards linking language in the form of texts with social structures and relations, this seems to be a direct conceptual level linkage between the War in Iraq and the September 11 attacks in the United States. It is a link which is intended to create fear and apprehension on the part of the audience (wave 4), the reason for which must be that Bush wants to push through his wave 1 key messages of keeping the American troops in Iraq and portraying an enemy – in this case Al Qaeda, which is ready to strike America at any moment.

#### 4.2.4. Analysis of Obama pronoun use

Figure 10: Obama pronoun analysis

<b>Wave 1: Key theme (Interpretation)</b>	<b>Wave 2: Cognitive stage (Why used?)</b>	<b>Wave 3: Use in linguistic end product (Example)</b>
Speech 1: Prepare for economic recovery measures	To create a sense of unity and community in the economic recovery <b>Includes: American people</b>	“In this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words...let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come.”
Speech 2: Hope for peaceful future for humanity	To insinuate a play of words from Obama trademark ‘yes we can’, thereby to bring across positive emotion to worldwide and united audience. <b>Includes: Humanity</b>	“We can...we can...we can...We can do that, for that is the story of human progress.”

The use of pronouns in the Obama speeches examined seems to be of an entirely inclusive nature, which can indeed be linked back to the contextual relevance of the Obama persona itself. As Olive (2008: 180), expounds, “the three major influences that Obama cites are Lincoln, Ghandi and Martin Luther King Jr., all liberators...Dr King features in many of Obama’s speeches ...”. The choice of three such liberators and inclusive historic figures lends to Obama’s speeches an overall measure of humanity and tolerance for others, which is greatly influential in the wave 1 key messages.

Thus when in example 1 Obama attempted to prepare the American people for the difficult road to economic recovery at wave 1, the conceptual implementation at wave 2 was to utilize pronominal choices which linked the American people to their new President. In wave 3 at the linguistic end product this is produced in the form of the

highly inclusive ‘us’ and ‘our’ which links the suffering of the American people with their President. Thus the inclusiveness of the pronouns chosen at wave 2 gives the audience at wave 5 the hope that this new Presidency will take on their economic troubles as his own. Of course Obama, a best-selling author and successful politician, is not personally troubled by the economic crisis. But judging by this choice of pronouns, the implication is made that the economic woes of the people are also the woes of the President.

There is interestingly no exclusion of any person or party in this address, which would also seem to include the Republican party which has been defeated in the elections but which Obama also counted upon to push through the various economic and social reforms he had planned. In example 2 the Nobel Peace Prize acceptance ceremony further evokes Obama’s inclusive wave 1 key message by proposing a peaceful future for humanity. This is implemented at a conceptual level by the choice of a repetitive element as identified by Charteris-Black (2005) as a key political speech mechanism, as well as a play on words from Obama’s successful election slogan ‘Yes, we can’. The ‘we’ in example 2 is entirely inclusive again, and adequately corresponds to the context of the situation in the Nobel award ceremony. This ‘we’ is indeed so inclusive that it would even seem to include supposed American enemies such as the Taliban in Afghanistan, where Obama had just sent more US troops. Keeping in mind the metaphorical analysis which has been shown in section 4.1 above, the idea of this inclusive ‘we’ seems to be to open doors for negotiations even to those supposed enemies of the USA who have been excluded from consideration under Bush. And of course the people of Iraq and

Afghanistan are entirely included in this pronominal choice, implying that they are very much part of humanity.

#### **4.2.5 Comparison and contrast of pronoun analysis**

The evidence of the above analysis of pronoun usage in the speeches of the four politicians seems to display again a key schism between those two exclusive politicians – Hitler and Bush, as opposed to King Jr. and Obama, who seem to approach their political speech creation in an entirely more inclusive manner. This again appears to confirm the notion of the hypothesis of this paper, for there is a clear tendency in the political speeches of the former pair to exclude some segments from their speeches.

The exclusive nature of Hitler's speeches is aptly presented by example 1 from his inauguration speech, in which pronouns are interestingly used to foreground the Nazi party as the saviour of the German people, who are mentioned only in an implicit way. This is mirrored in the inauguration of the address of Bush in example 1, where the American people are implicitly mentioned in the US military's fight against the enemies of 'liberty and of America'. The Bush

administration and the US military are foregrounded in this pronominal choice at wave 2 of the political speech creation process, reflecting the same choice taken by Hitler. Furthermore, both Hitler and Bush create marked ideological enemies through the 'Us versus Them' mechanism, demonstrating the extent to which the two politicians insisted upon using fear to create approval for their policies. While Hitler uses the French and English people as the enemy picture, Bush creates the Iraqi resistance as well as Al Qaeda as the driving force for his foreign policy engagements.

In stark contrast comes the use of pronouns in the speeches of King Jr. and Obama. Whilst the latter has shown no exclusionism whatsoever in the examples examined in this context, King Jr. did indeed create exclusion in example 2 of his second speech. However, here he chose to exclude the abstract concepts of poverty, racism and militarism. Comparing this to the concrete exclusion of specific peoples and groups witnessed in the speeches of Hitler and Bush, there is no doubt that this form of exclusion used by King Jr. is chosen as a positive mechanism to bring about social change in line with his political ideology of peaceful change. Much the same can be said of Obama's pronominal choices, which are entirely inclusive of whichever segment of humanity wants to join his idea of progress. Indeed, in example 2 Obama even incorporated the entirety of humanity into his successful election slogan 'Yes, we can', showcasing again the worldwide appeal which he enjoyed throughout his inauguration period.

Another interesting aspect of the pronominal choices of King Jr. and Obama is that there seems to be a further move towards the incorporation of the audience

into the very persona of the speaker, a mechanism intended to create a profound effect at waves 4 and 5. Hence when King Jr. conceptually joins himself to the audience in a very physical way in example 1 of his 'I have a dream' speech, this dream of equal rights for all in America is transformed into the realm of the audience in an entirely peaceful manner. Indeed, there is no exclusion here, precisely because King Jr. metamorphoses his peaceful ideology into being that of the audience as well. This audience can - and in King Jr.'s thoughts and writing did - include white people, and indeed the entire American nation. This is comparable with Obama's pronominal choice in his inauguration address in example 1, where he employed the inclusive wave 1 key message in a manner which portrayed to the audience the willingness of the American President to take on their economic woes and make a real change for the better. This is indeed a very different interpretation of the 'Us versus Them' methodology of Van Dijk (1998: 281), who notes: "As usual in this kind of discourse, 'we' are largely implicit and presupposed, and in need of much less identification."

The inclusive nature of the speeches of both King Jr. and Obama make the implicitness a positive aspect of their political speech output. With the audience entirely incorporated into the world view and ideology of the speaker, there is the implicit notion that anyone who shares the peaceful and progressive stance of the speaker is included. This contrasts with the implicit use of pronouns in the speeches of Bush and Hitler. Here, the politician is foregrounded, given indeed such importance in the latter case that anything else pales in comparison. The development of pronouns in Hitler's speeches showcases the extent to which his

grip on power became so complete and unquestioned that he began to see himself as the centre of his megalomaniac universe, in line with Kershaw's (1986) 'Hitler Myth'. This ideology of an all-powerful and god-like leader proved to be the "anchor of persuasion" (Jowett and O'Donnell 1992: 22-23) with which Hitler intended to lull his audience into believing in his expansionistic foreign policy. Only by following Hitler, it was implicitly transferred to the audience, could Germany forget the terrible loss in World War I. Bush, meanwhile, continuously stressed his ideological 'War on Terror' and linked the War in Iraq to the September 11 attacks. Only by fighting in Iraq, it is implied in example 2, could America be safe from further attacks at home.

The question which will then be discussed in the conclusion (section 5) of this Masters Thesis is whether the inclusive approach of King Jr. and Obama or the exclusive approach of Hitler and Bush has been more effective in bringing across the key messages and providing for the audience the "anchor of persuasion" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1992: 22-23) which plays such a vital part in political speeches. In the following final section of this Masters Thesis, there will thus not be any conclusion or judgment on the historic consequences of the actions which this corpus of speeches had as a consequence or were a consequence of. Rather, the intention is to comment on the effectiveness of the linguistic end product, which these politicians produced by implementing their key messages at wave 1 through their cognitive input and shaping of the political speech creation process.

## **5.0 Conclusion**

Thus this Masters Thesis has undertaken to introduce (in section 2) a method of political speech analysis that is both all-encompassing in analytical terms and cross-disciplinary in linguistic terms. The ‘Wave Method’ was developed keeping in mind accessibility potential for a wider public, thereby providing a possible tool to avoid political alienation and dispel myths about the essential emptiness and inaccessibility of political speeches.

Quite in contrast to these rather too widespread notions, this study has attempted to display an analytical procedure in which linguistic features form the basis for the analysis of the cognitive intentions of the speech writer(s) and politicians, and finally the interpretation of the thematic input which is at the heart of the political speech process. In directly analyzing rather than classifying the linguistic devices in this corpus of speeches, the application of the ‘Wave Method’ seems to be highly practical in nature and has offered meaningful insights into the key messages of the politicians chosen. Therefore, far from being empty promises, political speeches must be said to actually contain some of the most relevant insights possible as to the cognitive thought processes of the politicians who write and deliver them.

This has been reflected in the literature review (section 3) of this paper, which has drawn upon seminal works in Critical Discourse Analysis, including Wilson (1990), Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (1998) and Charteris-Black (2005), thereby firmly placing the analytical method employed here into a longstanding linguistic

tradition. The results and analysis (section 4) of the corpus employed in this study has shown that the hypothesis set out at the start of this paper has been largely confirmed, although a study of greater length and scope, and perhaps a larger corpus, would have added further depth and layers of analysis and comparison to these key findings. Major findings brought about by this analysis have however been significant in that they have enabled the key message created at wave 1 to emerge to a degree which can be seen with considerable confidence as being very near to the original key message developed by the politicians themselves. The findings of this study in regards to the two specific linguistic domains chosen – that of metaphorical and pronominal analysis - have been induced by representative linguistic samples of a qualitative nature, which have been shown to produce insightful conclusions. In applying the analytical method to a corpus of historically important political speeches, the ‘Wave Method’ has come to an apt conclusion on the marked differences between four sets of speeches. In this regard the conclusions that have been reached are both varied and highly interesting, showing as they do a distinctive difference in approach and method in the political speech creation process.

Thus the hypotheses set out at the start of this study have been confirmed - firstly, that the linguistic features and cognitive mechanism employed in the speeches of Adolf Hitler, Martin Luther King Jr., George W. Bush Jr. and Barack Obama reflect a clear difference in purpose and policy, and secondly, that these differences between the two sets of speeches can be interpreted in a grander

schemata as inclusive politics, in the cases of King Jr. and Obama, as opposed to exclusive politics in the cases of Hitler and Bush Jr.

Indeed, some of the key findings of this study include the notion that Hitler used metaphors and pronouns to create societal enemies such as Jews and Communists at wave 1, thereby emphasizing his exclusive approach to politics and his stance towards anyone not pertaining to his ideological world view. A comparable approach was taken by Bush and his team of speech writers, who also utilized metaphors and pronouns to stir the fear created by the September 11 attacks on the United States and present an enemy who was always readying to strike the USA again. Bush also systematically attempted to link the War in Iraq with those tragic attacks on the United States, both through pronominal conceptualisation as well as through the foregrounding of the US military with the same technique. Meanwhile, Hitler was found to have used pronouns with an increasingly megalomaniac tendency, much in line with the 'Hitler Myth' (Kershaw 1987) which portrayed him as the all-powerful and godlike figure at the helm of the German revival. In this world view there was hardly a place for the German people, and much less for those peoples who Hitler created as the enemy picture for the German people. This joint use of fear and exclusionism links the metaphorical and pronominal use of Hitler and Bush in the 'Us versus Them' schema developed by Van Dijk (1998).

In stark contrast to this comes the approach to metaphorical and pronominal usage employed by King Jr. and Obama in their corpus of speeches analyzed in this context. King Jr. put a great emphasis on the religious concept of love in his

words as he attempted to create an inclusive world view at wave 1, which was then reflected in highly inclusive metaphors and image schemas in the linguistic end product. A similar technique is employed by Obama, who is clearly also attempting to bring about reconciliation between races and peoples through his choice of humanistic key messages at wave 1 of the speech writing process. In the linguistic end product his cognitive choices are then seen in highly inclusive metaphors such as the ‘handshake’ which reaches out to the Muslim world. In terms of pronominal choices, both are also entirely inclusive, a key finding of this study which serves to illustrate the schism between inclusive and exclusive politics which has been confirmed here. Thus Obama is entirely inclusive in his pronominal choices and intended to incorporate the entirety of humanity in his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech. Meanwhile, King Jr. employed much the same techniques except for creating a form of positive exclusionism in attempting to fight abstract concepts such as poverty, racism and militarism.

These major finding would seem to showcase that political speeches are indelibly linked to the context and thematic necessities from which they stem, and should therefore also be analyzed in this way. Due to its accessible nature, the ‘Wave Method’ can serve as a valuable analytical template in this regard. The question which then remains to be seen is to which extent these differing political speech processes have been successful in their implementation. Can it indeed be said that either inclusive or exclusive political choices at the linguistic stage are likely to bring about a more successful implementation of the key messages in the realms of the audience? It appears in this regard relevant to quote once more the

work of Charteris-Black (2005: 9), who points out that, “although the receiver’s role is passive, if persuasion is to be successful the message needs to comply with their wants and needs, their desires and imagination.” It would seem that inclusive politics would be the more likely to succeed in a lasting manner in this regard.

And there should be no reasonable doubt that although there may be a limited and entirely contextual appeal to the audience (at wave 5) of a speech which is exclusive in nature, there is another key factor to examine in this regard: the (wave 6) mass media reproduction of the political speeches. Thus, for example, the relevant findings of this Masters Thesis of the expansionistic foreign policy tendencies of the Bush inauguration address are mirrored in an article in *El Pais* some six years later: “Bush already thought about attacking Iraq before September 11” (see appendix 3: Patricia Tubella, *El Pais*, Wednesday 25 November 2009, Pg 3). Hence, time seems also to play an important evaluative role in the effectiveness in bringing across political messages in the political speech creation process, in that it potentially validates their accuracy in contextual terms.

In terms of further and more detailed studies, this Masters Thesis would recommend the analysis of a larger corpus of political speeches, as well as an additional focus on analytical stages (waves 4-6) in order to further expound the analytical potential of the ‘Wave Method’ for political speeches. A similar model and method of analysis could also be developed and become a useful aspect of media or literature discourse analysis, where text production and consumption are equally linked by important cognitive developments.

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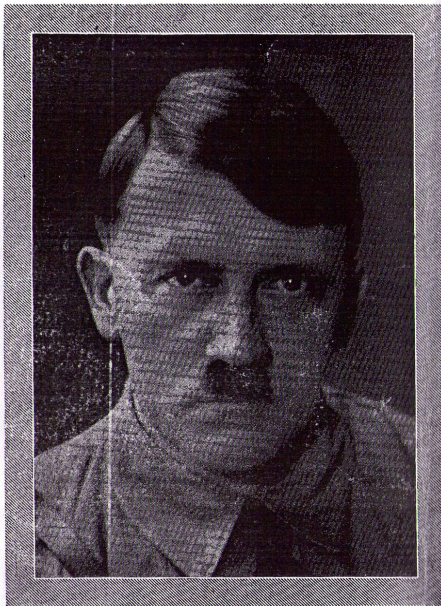
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## 7.0. Appendix

**Appendix 1:** Extracts from original version of 'Mein Kampf' by Adolf Hitler, encountered during research for Masters Thesis.



*Adolf Hitler.*

# Mein Kampf

Von

**Adolf Hitler**

Zwei Bände in einem Band  
Ungefürzte Ausgabe

Erster Band:

**Eine Abrechnung**

Zweiter Band:

**Die nationalsozialistische Bewegung**

Gesamtauflage

**1 Millionen Exemplare**



19 41

Zentralverlag der NSDAP. Frz. Eher Nachf.,  
München

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- Wetterls, lothringischer Deutschenheger 297
- Wiebergebur: Anzeichen deutscher W. 712
- Wien: Mittelpunkt Österreichs 74. — Bürgermeister Lueger 74. — Soziale Gegensätze 22. — Arbeitslosigkeit 23. — Wohnungselend 28. — W. und München 138. — Kaiserinmignien 11. — Wiener Weltpresse, Byzantinismus 56. Frankreichstult 58
- Wilhelm II., Deutscher Kaiser: Kampf des Reichstags gegen ihn 57. — Fördert die Herrschaft des Geldes 256
- Wilson, Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten 315
- Wirtschaft: Verhältnis zum Staat 164. — Keine staatsbildende und staatserkaltende Kraft 167. — Aktiengesellschaften eine Verfallsercheinung 256. — Internationalisierung der deutschen W. 257. — „Derwirtschaftung“ des deutschen Volkes 257. — Erst Weltanbahnungstempel, dann W.stampf 680. — W. und Bürgertum 681
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## Vorwort

Am 1. April 1924 hatte ich, auf Grund des Urteils-  
spruches des Münchner Volksgerichts von diesem Tage,  
meine Festungshaft zu Landsberg am Lech anzutreten.

Damit bot sich mir nach Jahren ununterbrochener Arbeit  
zum ersten Male die Möglichkeit, an ein Werk heran-  
zugehen, das von vielen gefordert und von mir selbst als  
zweckmäßig für die Bewegung empfunden wurde. So habe  
ich mich entschlossen, in zwei Bänden nicht nur die Ziele  
unserer Bewegung klarzulegen, sondern auch ein Bild der  
Entwicklung derselben zu zeichnen. Aus ihr wird mehr zu  
lernen sein als aus jeder rein doktrinären Abhandlung.

Ich hatte dabei auch die Gelegenheit, eine Darstellung  
meines eigenen Werdens zu geben, soweit dies zum Ver-  
ständnis sowohl des ersten als auch des zweiten Bandes  
nötig ist und zur Zerstörung der von der jüdischen Presse  
betriebenen üblen Legendenbildung über meine Person  
dienen kann.

Ich wende mich dabei mit diesem Werk nicht an Fremde,  
sondern an diejenigen Anhänger der Bewegung, die mit  
dem Herzen ihr gehören und deren Verstand nun nach  
innigerer Aufklärung strebt.

Ich weiß, daß man Menschen weniger durch das ge-  
schriebene Wort als vielmehr durch das gesprochene zu  
gewinnen vermag, daß jede große Bewegung auf dieser  
Erde ihr Wachsen den großen Rednern und nicht den  
großen Schreibern verdankt.

Dennoch muß zur gleichmäßigen und einheitlichen Ver-  
tretung einer Lehre das Grundsätzliche derselben nieder-  
gelegt werden für immer. Hierbei sollen diese beiden Bände  
als Bausteine gelten, die ich dem gemeinsamen Werke  
beifüge.

Landsberg am Lech,  
Festungshaftanstalt.

Der Verfasser.

**Appendix 2:** Article by Matthias Krug in The Gulf Times, 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2003, in the immediate lead up to the War in Iraq.

GULF TIMES

Sunday, March 2, 2003

# Learn from history and begin to think like normal human beings

By Matthias Krug

ALMOST 60 years after he took his life following the catastrophe that was World War II, Adolf Hitler remains in the public spotlight as the world wearily prepares for yet another war.

Comparisons between Hitler and Saddam Hussain seem to have become the latest fashion in Washington and London, as both governments go to great lengths to convince their sceptical people that Saddam poses a real threat to their 'national security'.

On the other hand, mentioning the Nazi leader in the same sentence as George W Bush should be avoided if possible, as former German justice minister Herta Dauble-Gmelin will testify. She had dared to criticise the Bush foreign policy, saying that it was attempting to revive the faltering domestic economy by going to war in Iraq. And then she mentioned that Hitler had done the same thing, which promptly caused a major transatlantic row, and resulted in Dauble-Gmelin being relieved of her political duties. The fact that her assertions were extremely close to the truth didn't seem to make a difference. Maybe the truth isn't well received in Washington these days.

Looking back to the days of the prolific Nazi leader, it seems that history can offer us some valuable lessons which should not be overlooked in today's conflict-ridden world.

"Through clever and constant application of propaganda, people can be made to see paradise as hell, and also the other way around", Hitler told his closest aides. He knew that captivating the minds and thoughts of his people would allow him to pursue his racially motivated policies, under the pretext of protecting German national security. Master propagandist Joseph Goebbels was so successful in his work, that a 'Hitler myth' (as Kershaw fittingly describes it) developed, which portrayed the Fuehrer as the saviour who could unite the German people to revive the economy and fight against the common enemy.

By monopolising all forms of the media, an incredibly concentrated form of propaganda was produced, which succeeded in control-



Hitler... megalomaniac tendencies

ling the thoughts of the majority of Germans.

Nowadays, propaganda is practiced in a much more subtle way. Anyone looking for a ministry of public enlightenment and propaganda (as it was rather honestly called in Nazi Germany) would likely be disappointed. However, by conveniently ignoring some issues, giving over-proportional coverage to others, or simply presenting one-sided stories, propaganda remains omnipresent even in today's modern society.

Just take the unfortunate example of North Korea. Its leader has tried everything in his power to try to highlight the (nuclear) threat that his state poses to the rest of the world. Still, Iraq receives more attention because it is an 'immediate threat' to world peace (and it has a healthy amount of oil reserves). Just

the kind of logic Hitler might have used.

Hitler was also a masterful political tactician. He may have shown slightly megalomaniac tendencies in the later years of the war, but his skilful manoeuvring moved Germany into an extremely powerful position by 1939. The key to his stunning successes in foreign policy was to gradually increase his territorial demands, whilst retaining an air of moderation that served to cover up his aggressive expansionist aims.

"Nobody wishes peace more than I," Hitler earnestly told the Associated Press in 1933. "We seek peace. We strive for peace". No, not another quote from Adolf H. this one comes exactly 70 years later. Could it be from the Pope, or maybe German Chancellor Schroeder, or is it perhaps his fellow 'paci-

fist' Chirac? The somewhat disturbing answer is that it comes from George W Bush, in his annual State of the Union Address in January.

It seems that whoever wrote that speech for him decided to take some of the Hitler rhetoric aboard, something like: even if you are preparing to take control of another country, don't forget to state your peaceful intentions. And this is coming from the man who is willing to dismiss the global authority of the UN, if it dares to oppose his plans for Iraqi 'liberation and democratisation'. As the only superpower in the world goes ahead with 'regime change' in Baghdad, a new form of appeasement is being practiced by Blair, Aznar and Berlusconi, as they readily back the invasion of a sovereign country.

In the 1930's, Britain was one of the countries making territorial concessions to Hitler; whilst the present British government avoid the problem by simply joining in on the side of the superpower (even without public approval).

"But what about the war on terror?" someone might say. The terrible and inhumane acts of September 11 should not be associated with Iraq, because any links between the two would be contrived. Here, propaganda takes on a central role again. The radicalisation of Hitler's racial policies against the Jews was able to proceed precisely because they were portrayed as enemies of the German state and propaganda linked them with such evil as the 1933 Reichstag fire.

Instead of going to the root of the problem, an invasion of Iraq is likely to result in a surge in terrorist activities, thus ultimately proving counter-productive in the war against terrorism. So is this war really about terrorism? Or is that just what we made to believe?

It seems appropriate to close this piece with another quotation from the man who it focused on (Hitler, of course). "It is fortunate for leaders that men do not think. The study of history can be extremely beneficial, because it is possible to learn from mistakes of others. Is it really necessary to revert to a world of prejudices, lies, hatred? Let's do ourselves a favour, and let's begin to think like normal human beings again."

**Appendix 4:** Article in El País newspaper on 25<sup>th</sup> November 2009.

EL PAÍS, miércoles 25 de noviembre de 2009 3

## INTERNACIONAL

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**Sin juristas en la comisión de Reino Unido**

Prensa y jueces británicos han puesto en cuestión la valía de los miembros de la comisión sobre la participación de Reino Unido en la invasión de Irak. Las críticas apuntan a que ninguno de los componentes es juez o abogado.

► **Sir John Chilcot.** El presidente de la comisión, de 70 años, ha ocupado varios puestos en el Ministerio del Interior.

Formó parte de la Comisión Butler sobre el uso de la información de espionaje antes de la invasión. Los escépticos creen que será incapaz de actuar contra el *establishment*.

► **Sir Lawrence Freedman.** Freedman es un académico, experto en estrategia nuclear. Escribió en 1999 un relevante discurso de Tony Blair sobre la



**Sir John Chilcot.**

intervención militar con fines humanitarios, que dio origen a la conocida como "doctrina Blair".

► **Sir Martin Gilbert.** Profesor de historia en Oxford y biógrafo de Winston Churchill, sobre quien ha publicado seis libros. Ha comparado a Tony Blair y a George Bush con Churchill y F. D. Roosevelt.

► **Sir Roderic Lyne.** Ha sido embajador de Reino Unido y

representante británico ante la Organización Mundial de Comercio. Durante el Gobierno del conservador John Major ocupó cargos en los ministerios de Exteriores y Defensa.

► **Lady Prashar.** Considerada uno de los miembros más independientes. Es miembro de la Cámara de los Lores desde 1999, donde forma parte de la Comisión de Derechos Humanos.

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# Bush ya pensaba atacar Irak antes del 11-S

## Arranca la 'comisión de la verdad' sobre la intervención británica ● Un diplomático declara que los tambores de guerra sonaban en Washington a comienzos de 2001

PATRICIA TUBELLA  
Londres

La amenaza que podía entrañar el régimen de Saddam Husein, palpable en Washington desde 2001, antes incluso del 11-S, concentró la primera sesión pública de la investigación que se inició ayer en Londres sobre las circunstancias que implicaron a Reino Unido en la intervención militar en Irak. ¿Por qué fueron los británicos a la guerra junto con EE UU? A esta pregunta pretende responder una *comisión de la verdad* integrada por cinco personalidades que, durante más de un año, recogerá testimonios de altos funcionarios, diplomáticos, militares y responsables de la toma de decisiones



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Matthias Krug  
Madrid, 7 June 2010