

**Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speech Delivered by Barack Hussein
Obama at Cairo University, Egypt**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of English Education
In Partial Fulfillment for the Master of Education in English**

**Submitted by
Nawakusum Hangkhim**

**Faculty of Education
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal**

2023

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Declaration

I, hereby, declare that to the best of my knowledge; this research is original; no part of it was earlier submitted for the candidature of research to any university

Date: 27/06/2023

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Dedication

Dedicated to
My dear mother **Asha Rai**

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Abstract

This thesis entitled **Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speech delivered by Barack Hussein Obama at Cairo University, Egypt** aimed at analyzing the speech in terms of lexical aspects namely, nouns, pronouns, and conjunctions. Along with that, it aimed at analyzing seven specifically identified issues, and also the social, religious, political, ideological, and educational aspects dealt in the speech. Fairclough's approach of critical discourse analysis was used as the design of the study. Observation and text analysis tools were used to analyze the speech. The speech was famously delivered by Mr. Obama on June 4th of 2009, right after he got elected as a president of the United States of America. Findings of my study are that the politicians use different nouns, pronouns and conjunctions to persuade their audiences. They put their messages and intentions across intertwining their language with emotional, socio-cultural, historical, religious connections or contexts. Powerful politicians have the ability to establish new opinions, social beliefs and ideologies through their speeches. They can lead and shape the future of different domains of society.

This study consists of five different chapters. The first chapter includes six different topics namely, background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations of the study, and operational definitions of the key terms. The second chapter comprises different topics of review of related literature and conceptual framework namely, review of related theoretical literature, review of related empirical literature, implications of the review for the study, conceptual framework, and Fairclough's three dimensional framework. The third chapter contains methods and procedure of the study, it basically deals with the design of the study, populations, sample and sampling strategy, sources of data, data collection tools and techniques, data collection procedures, Data analysis and interpretation procedures and ethical considerations. The fourth chapter is all about the analysis and interpretation, which consists mainly analysis of lexical items used in speech, analysis of issues, problems and purposes, and analysis of the social, religious, political, ideological and educational aspects. The fifth or last chapter provides the conclusions and the implications of my study.

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List of Symbols and Abbreviations

CDA- Critical discourse analysis

DA- Discourse analysis

NLP- Normative Language Policy

M.Ed. -Master of Education

PDA- Political discourse analysis

Chapter 1

Introduction

This is the study on **Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Speech Delivered by Barack Hussein Obama at Cairo University, Egypt**. This introductory part of my thesis consists of background of the study, statement of the problems, objective of the study, research questions, significance of the study, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations of the study and operational definitions of the key terms.

Background of the Study

Speech refers to the vocalized form of human communication and it requires the production of sounds, typically through the articulation of words and sentences. Speech involves people, people live in society; therefore, it is a part of people's lives and society. We learn speech from our parents and society, and use it in societal and cultural contexts. In this way, speech can be described as set of vocalized word and sentences which is used for different human, social and cultural purposes. Speech is a non-instinctive, acquired, "cultural" function (Sapir,1921). Thus, Speech is not only used to deliver message, share information and communicate with people but to be accepted within the society and to document, or to share the history and culture with other people.

Political speech is discourse used by the politicians, they hold the specific characteristics as politicians do have specific intentions to persuade or influence people through their speeches. They might have calculative way of speaking and delivering the message as they want their impacts on audiences. For example; they want people to agree with them, to support them or to vote for them. They are more formal and officials in nature, moreover, they can be found in the language of newspapers, television, and radio, propaganda, and administrative, judicial and diplomatic language. The speech I have chosen for my thesis can be categorized under diplomatic language.

Any kinds of political speeches are discourses in the sense that discourse is "a conversation, especially of a formal nature: formal and orderly expression of ideas in

speech or writing” – (Longman dictionary, 1984). Discourse as defined by Foucault is “ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them”. Political speeches reflect the power relations, in the sense that politicians have the privilege of saying and influencing people while public are in the situation of listening and agreeing to them. As the participants of social practices the relationship and power dynamics between speech deliverer and listener is interesting to analyze. Thus, language has broader spectrum to delve into. Henry and Tator (2002) define discourse as a way in which language is used socially to convey broad historical meanings, they also emphasize language can never be neutral because it bridges our personal and social words.

Critical Discourse analysis is an approach that analyzes the speeches, it investigates how social power is misused and how text and talk represent, procreate, and resist dominance and inequality in the social and political context. The main focus of CDA is public speech, advertisement, newspaper, official documents. CDA aims to examine the relationship between the language, ideology, and power, further it aims to find out the assessment and exploitation of language dominance through text. In this context Fairclough (2003) argues “CDA is profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis texts is always oriented to the social character of texts”. Likewise, Crystal (2008) describes CDA as “a perspective which studies the relationship between discourse events and social socio-political and cultural factors, especially the way discourse is ideologically influenced by and can itself influence power relations in society.” CDA sees the texts and discourse critically. ‘Critical’ implies showing connections and causes that are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change. (Fairclough,1992). To emphasize more on CDA, Wodak and Meyer (2001) see CDA as fundamentally about analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.

Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach that studies language use and textual practices that focuses closely on the inter-relationship between language and

power. Hence, it studies not only the language used in political speeches but also the reasons, history, and the politics behind it. In the same way, politicians reflect the issues, discourses and discussions of society and nation through their speeches. Therefore, it is significant to understand the issues and discourses of society and discuss them. Speeches use so many discursive devices whether it is the use of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, phrases, cohesive devices or other rhetoric devices, and these features are important to learn in English language teaching. Different kinds of aspects of language can be the good source of English language teaching. Speeches provide the ample amount of resources for language learning whether by providing knowledge on how to manipulate language or simply use them to make language more engaging or attractive.

The subject of my writing is to analyze the speech famously named “On A New Beginning”, which was delivered by Mr. Barack Obama at Cairo University Egypt on June 4, 2009. He basically has addressed the issues which are categorically divided giving different names into seven different issues which mainly covers the issues raised between America and the Muslim Major countries.

Statement of the Problem

Master level English language curriculum in semester system has included Critical Discourse analysis as one of its subjects. It aims its students to transform into a thinker and doubter, to raise the questions on social issues, to broach the subject on social problems and discriminations. CDA uses language to reflect on the discrimination of society and steer the new discussions, and raise the questions about social issues and problems. CDA explores the language at different levels and helps people to push forward their critical approach. Political speeches provide the good amount of area regarding exploration of different aspects of language.

There is a widely accepted notion that “language is power”, and the use and abuse of language in politics are well known practices. However, how the power dynamic changes on the basis of different positions of people in society and whose language has that power to change the course of different issues are mostly untouched discussion in our context. Politicians use their speech as a tool to persuade, influence, attract and change people’s minds. Jones and Peccei (2004) point out that language

can be used not only to steer people's thoughts and beliefs but also to control their thoughts and beliefs. Political activities revolve around the manipulation of language. In fact the 'doing' of politics is largely the 'doing' of language (Chilton, 2004). "Only in and through language can one issue commands and threats, ask questions, make offers and promises—provided one has convinced their interlocutors that they have the requisite resources to make the speech act credible".(Chilton,2004).

We know language carries the meaning and most of the time we understand language having meaning as literal meaning but language is contextual. So I have focused on finding cultural, social and contextual meaning of the language. As Simpson (1993, p. 6) rightly observes "Language is not used in a contextless vacuum; rather, it is used in a host of discourse how to control and manipulate the perceptions, behavior and values of those who are governed, among other things contexts which are impregnated with the ideology of social systems and institutions". Therefore, I have searched for the meanings of different words, sentences and phrases used in context; for example, what could be their purposes and why they are used in that particular context. Likewise, Michira emphasizes "The essence of analyzing pronouns in political discourse, as such, is that they help in reconstructing these various identities, associations, actors and ideological groupings". The languages of political speeches are contextual, implied, polished and sometimes complicated as they have an aim to attract or persuade the masses. Our politicians, speeches are full of discussions over issues, problems and other different aspects of human and social lives. However, my study has focused on how most of the times politicians are capable of presenting as it is easy to have the solutions of different problems in a deceiving way by using their sleek language.

Politicians use speech with this aim of "manufacturing consent" (Fairclough, 1989) and to lift their image while tarnishing the image of their opponents. They use language to control and manipulate the perceptions, behavior and values of those who are being governed. Use of language cannot be seen in surface level and reduced with its literal meaning only, specifically in politics, as they have hidden intentions and purposes. Most of the times, language reflects the history, connects present with, and hints to the future.

Naturally there were so many options for political speeches but I chose the speech of Barack Hussein Obama as my research topic. Along with being the first African American President he is also a philanthropist, lawyer and good orator. He has maintained that friendly and down to earth personality, who has made far with his humble background. Hence, he intrigued me to listen and learn about his political speeches. I have taken a transcript of political speech by American political leader Barack Obama as my research's source material. I followed Fairclough's (1989) three-tier analytical framework as my research model.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of my research were as follows:

- (a) To analyze the role of nouns, pronouns and conjunctions to reflect power, identity and representation in political speech.
- (b) To examine speech in terms of violent extremism, political conflict, rights and responsibilities, democracy, religious freedom, women's right, and economic development and opportunity.
- (c) To suggest some pedagogical implications.

Research Questions

This study searched for the answers of following questions:

- (1) How did certain lexical features like nouns, pronouns play their role to reflect on power, identity, and representation?
- (2) How different issues were discussed and how Obama put the message of his administration across regarding those issues?
- (3) How language had different hidden roles, relations and purposes?
- (4) How did Obama use language to persuade audiences?
- (5) How language was manipulated by politician to put through their message?

Significance of the Study

Language is a tool of Critical Discourse analysis it focuses on social problems and especially on the role of discourse in production and reproduction of power abuse

or domination, moreover, political speeches are one of the resources by which these things are reflected through. Politicians talk and create the discourses through their speeches. CDA helps to find out the experiences and opinions of members of such group and supports their struggle against inequality. The awareness and knowledge of political discourses and texts make us to think and compare to the reality of society, and raise the important questions. Political texts speak volumes about the economic, social and contemporary situation, and the kinds of planning that are going to be implied to solve those problems. To understand and regulate what has been said and done in political speeches we should understand politicians' language.

As speech becomes the main weapon of politicians either if it is to make people vote for their party, or believe and follow what they are saying. They also use language to promote themselves or shame the opponents. As Allen says fundamental to the political sphere is the construction of identity, group membership and ways of talking about self, others, and the polarizing categories of us and them (Allen, 2007). Therefore, Politicians use language differently than normal public in their everyday life or other public speeches. Allen (2007, p. 3) believes that "it is in the politicians interest to present themselves as multi-faceted in order to appeal to a diverse audience, and a careful pronoun choice is one way of achieving this aim". In this sense the purpose of language seems more prominent and manipulative. Thus, it is important for us to understand the language of politicians from their perspective and objective as well. In this case, it becomes more effective if we get to learn language through authentic sources for example from where and how they use it.

The significance of speeches in Critical Discourse Analysis can be summarized as speeches reflect on social issues and social problems of the people. The awareness and knowledge of political discourses and texts make us to think and compare to the reality of society and raise the important questions. We know about the social, political, economical, cultural and contemporary issues and discourses through political issues, hence making it easier to discuss the problems and find the solutions of them. We can know and understand about the society by understanding the language of it i.e. speech. Politics involve people, thus it involves and reflects the problems, issues, ideologies, conflicts and plans of their lives. The speeches are the

result and demand of the social problems and discussions, hence it is important for CDA to acknowledge the speeches.

Delimitations of the Study

The study was confined to following areas;

- a) The scope of my research is limited to the linguistic and other aspects of speech delivered by Barack Obama. For example: nouns, pronouns, conjunctions and other cohesive devices.
- b) My study has looked on how the language is used at descriptive, interpretive and explanatory level.
- c) My subject of research is a transcript of Obama's speech, named 'A New Beginning' given on June 4, 2009 at Cairo University Cairo, Egypt.
- d) I have mainly focused on the particular transcript of speech and dissected it in terms of three dimensions of Fairclough's model of discourse analysis.

Operational Definition of the Key Terms

The key terms used in this study are defined as follows:

Critical discourse analysis; CDA is an approach that sees language as a form of social practice.

Discourse analysis; A method of analyzing the structure of texts or utterances longer than one sentence, taking into account to both their linguistic content and their sociolinguistic context.

Intertextuality; it is a concept that texts are interconnected and influenced by each other, culture, and history. And, they are in constant dialogue with one another.

Lexical aspects; Relating to words or vocabularies for example; nouns, pronouns and conjunctions.

Political Speech: Political speech refers to the speeches delivered by politicians for political purposes.

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature and Conceptual Framework

This chapter includes all the theoretical and empirical literatures reviewed to complete this research. It also includes the implication of the review for the study and the conceptual framework.

Review of Related Theoretical Literature

Review of theoretical literature is to provide the essence and support to the point researcher is going to make on certain topics. It provides the insight to the researcher regarding her topic. I also have reviewed different literatures to develop the foundations for my research study, and to develop the conceptual framework. I have mainly reviewed the works of Fairclough, Van Dijk along with other numbers of related articles, studies and papers.

Review of the speech. Here, I have discussed the speech given by Barack Hussein Obama, titled as “On A New Beginning”. It is delivered by Former US president Mr. Barack Hussein Obama popularly known as Barack Obama to his visit to Muslim country Egypt Cairo. The speech was delivered at Cairo University, Cairo Egypt on June 4 2009 after he got elected as president of America. Barack Obama arguably is one of the famous presidents in American history for being first African American president he also is known as a good orator with very good communication skills. He had announced his candidacy for President of the United States on February 10, 2007 emphasizing rapid ending of Iraq War along with other issues. The speech is told to be an honor to promise Obama made during his 2008 presidential campaign, which was said to address mainly the Muslim countries during his first few months as president. And, it was said to happen from a Muslim capital. The speech was taken as an iconic step taken by Mr Obama to address the issues of conflict regarding the Muslim countries. The conflict that had seemed to be mainly raised after the attack of September 1, 2001.

In his speech he categorically has addressed seven different issues which are: violent extremism, situation between Israelis, Palestinians and Arab World, rights and

responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons, democracy, religious freedom, women's rights and economic development and opportunity. The issues have been discussed through the Obama's perspective and he has suggested the ideas, and shared the stand of himself, his government to solve the problems regarding those issues. He also has expressed what should or could be the roles of Muslim major countries, other nations and the world as a whole in those issues. The American beliefs and ideologies have been reflected in his speeches as he emphasizes democracy and peace in different nations especially in Major Muslim nations.

The significance of this speech lies as it was called for improved mutual understanding and relations between the Islamic world and the West, and also to discuss what should be done by both parties to confront violent extremism. The speech was organized just after Obama met the representatives of both Israel and the Palestinian Authorities. Therefore, it was Obama's call for peace between Israel and Palestinians that cut the highest profile. The Israeli–Palestinian conflict still is an ongoing dispute between Israelis and Palestinians, beginning from the mid-20th century. It has become one of the most enduring conflicts of the world; the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has lasted 55 years. Various attempts have been made to resolve the conflict as part of the Israeli–Palestinian peace process, as well as efforts to reduce the broader Arab-Israeli conflict. However, it has not been solved yet though the news of war and casualties break the international news frequently. America being the ally country of the Israel, Obama has reaffirmed America's alliance with it, calling their mutual bond "unbreakable", but also has described Palestinian statelessness as "intolerable" recognizing their aspirations for statehood and dignity as legitimate—just as legitimate as Israel's desire for a Jewish homeland.

Concept of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used. It grew out of work in different disciplines in the early 1960s and early 1970s, including linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology and sociology. Starting with the Zellig Harris's paper 'Discourse Analysis' in 1952 where he showed interest in distribution of linguistic elements in extended texts, and the links between the text and its social situation while linguistics was largely concerned with the analysis of single

sentences. Today, Discourse analysis has grown into a wide- ranging and heterogeneous discipline which finds its unity in the description of language above the sentence and an interest in the contexts and cultural influences which affect language in use.

Discourse cannot be described as written and spoken conversation only as it holds the larger scope and meaning than words and symbols. A discourse is something which produces something else (an utterance, a concept, an effect), rather than something which exists in and of itself and can be analyzed in isolation. Discourse analysis does not take discourse (text, conversation, statement) for granted and let it pass. It seeks the reason why, how, where, and what is hidden behind that discourse. As Cook (2004) says discourse analysis is not only focused on language but also examines the context of communication where it concerns things like: who is communicating with whom and why: in what kind of society and situation: through what medium: how different types and acts of communication are involved; and their relation to each other

Discourse analysis should have intentions or politics for that matter, coming from the different spectrum, situation, field and mindsets of the society it has to carry more than literal meanings of the words. Many have raised the nature of discourse as political itself, Discourse “of any kind,” Seidel (1985) contends, is political because it serves as a site of struggle, a “semantic space in which meanings are produced and /or challenged.” In the light of discourse analysis should have its politics Van Dijk says Discourse analysts should examine the ways structures and strategies of text and talk are conditioned by, and, in turn, help condition, social, political, and cultural processes and structures and should address issues of power, domination, inequality, resistance and so on. Likewise, Wodak and Kryzanowski (2008) say “discourse analysis provides a general framework to problem-oriented research”.

Therefore, The Discourse analysis can be explained as rigorous examination of any kind of written or spoken conversation or text that is larger than a simple sentence. But the examination is not only of mere phonological and grammatical structure it is examination of reasons, intentions and politics behind it which are supposed to find out examining those text historically, socially and culturally. It studies “the overall meanings conveyed by language in context i.e. social, cultural,

political and historical background of the discourse, and it is important to take this into account to understand underlying meanings expressed through language.”

Discourse analysis is thus at the same time cognitive, social and political analysis, but focuses rather on the role discourses play, both locally and globally, in society and its structures.

Concept of critical discourse analysis. Critical Discourse analysis emerged from ‘Critical linguistics’ developed at the University of East Anglia in 1970s. In CDA the notion of ‘critical’ is primarily applied to the engagement with power relations associate with the Frankfurt School of critical theory. It focuses on the role of unlocking the hidden power relations, largely constructed through language, and to demonstrate and challenge social inequalities reinforced and reproduced. Norman Fairclough’s name comes as one of the prominent names who helped in developing the concept of Critical discourse analysis. According to him, CDA aims to show how society and discourse shape each other, in his one of the five theoretical propositions he combines his approach to CDA. He says, language use is not a neutral phenomenon; it is concerned with developing consciousness of issue, it is precondition for developing new practices and conventions thus contributes to social emancipation and social justice. CDA takes the view that texts need to be consider in terms of what they include but also what they omit- alternative ways of constructing and defining the world. Blommaert’s (2005) credits CDA with helping legitimate a socially concerned approach to discourse analysis and applauds its commitment to linking linguistic analysis to other social science research programs and its focus on institutional (rather than mundane) environments for critiquing the relationships between power, language, and social processes.

Critical Discourse analysis acknowledges the crucial value of an interdisciplinary study of texts. Here, Van Dijk argues that more appropriate name would be Critical Discourse Studies as this focuses more on interdisciplinary nature and implied social action than simply the act of analysis. It is discursive in nature: language instead of drawing meanings passively from re-existing knowledge of the world, it plays an active role in classifying the phenomena and experiences through which individual construct, understand and represent reality. The way in which people make the sense of the world is therefore discursively mediated. CDA is obviously not

a homogenous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotics or discourse analysis (Horváth,2009). Blommaert and Bulcean (2000) note that since its inception CDA has become “one of the most influential and visible branches of discourse analysis”.

CDA has a concern with representations of societal issues, hidden agendas, texts that impact on people’s lives –it claims therefore to take an ethical stance in addressing power, imbalance, inequality and social justice agendas to spur readers into resistant and corrective social action. CDA can be seen as ‘highly context sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of transforming society- an approach or attitude rather than a step by step method’ (Huckin, 1997). While Fairclough emphasizes relationships between discursive, social and cultural change are typically not transparent for the people involved nor is technologization of discourse. ‘Critical’ implies showing connections and causes that are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change. (1992)

In summary, some of the specific principles of CDA that are relevant to this paper include the following principles (van Dijk, 1995).

- a. CDA offers critical approaches or methods of studying spoken or written discourse.
- b. CDA is characteristically multi-disciplinary and inter- disciplinary.
- c. CDA focuses on power, dominance and inequality and how these are reproduced or resisted by various social groups in their discourses (determined by class, gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, etc.)
- d. CDA is not limited to verbal or written texts alone but studies other semiotic aspects including gestures, pictures, film, sound and music.
- e. CDA seeks to reveal implied or hidden social structures of dominance of one social group upon another as well their underlying ideologies. It focuses specifically on strategies of manipulation, legitimation, and manufacture of consent used by groups such as the powerful elite or those in authority.

Objectives of the critical discourse analysis. The main objective of Critical Discourse analysis is to put light on the hidden power relations, largely constructed through language, and to demonstrate and challenge social inequities reinforced and reproduced. It is the study of language and its relations to the other aspects of society. It aims to bring out the hidden aspects or subjects that are not encouraged to talk and discuss openly. It constructs a new relations and knowledge as Foucault says “they construct and regulate social relations and knowledge.”

CDA addresses social problems (Fairclough and Wodak,1997). CDA asks questions and attracts people’s attention towards the problems, mainly of those whose voices are often suppressed. It focuses on the issues and problems of people and takes bias to bring change in that situation. Therefore, CDA can be seen as a Huckin says “highly context sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of transforming society- an approach or attitude rather than a step by step method.” (Huckin,1997).

CDA is grounded on the idea that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources, resources that are controlled institutionally. It is therefore primarily concerned with institutional discourses –media, policy, gender and level.

CDA aims to elucidate the discursal moment of social processes, practices, and changes in its dialectical relations with other moments. It develops its theory, method and agenda through transdisciplinary dialogue aimed at; (a) coherent integration of discourse and discourse analysis (including detailed textual analysis) within social theories and methods of research (b) development of its own theory of discourse and methods of discourse and text analysis in ways which are consistent with a dialectical view of social reality.

Importance of Critical discourse analysis in language teaching. Language is not just a mere amalgamation of words rather it has history, reasons, ideology and purposes. Language has power to influence and change people’s mind as Luke says Language and discourse construct, regulate and control knowledge, social relations and institutions (Luke, 2003). If we look into the nature of language and how people use it for various reasons, the importance of critical discourse analysis in language teaching is significantly broader. As researchers, teachers and language learners and

even as simple human beings the knowledge about manipulation and impact of language use is important. The language learners should be critical and doubtful of its nature to understand it more profoundly, and that is why CDA is important in language teaching. People should be aware of the impact language can make in their lives, and use that awareness to create a fruitful and meaningful conversation in order to build a strong relationship amongst people. People should be alert, and “Should become aware of the latent layers of meaning within texts since power-hungry men cannot misuse learners’ ignorance and cannot cunningly impose their ideologies and thoughts on them.” (International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory, p.458).

According to Van Dijk and Pennycook (as cited in Cots, 2006), the introduction of CDA in language classes does not necessarily involve a change in teaching method or techniques. Rather, CDA offers a new perspective on language which considers that language use (a) is questionable and problematic (b) reflects social/ideological processes and (c) at the same time, affect those processes. This means language involves problems and questions, it reflects on social and ideological process and has the ability to affect those processes. Language learners are change makers of the society it is important for them to raise their critical language awareness. So they would keep up with the “purpose of an education which uses CDA is developing the learners’ capacities to examine and judge the world carefully and, if necessary, to change it.”

Therefore as Brown (2004) says teachers are responsible for giving students opportunities to learn about important social and moral issues and to analyze all sides of an issue. A language class is an ideal place for offering information on different issues. The objectives of a curriculum should not be limited to linguistic factors alone, but also include developing the art of critical thinking. Thus, the language learning with critical awareness is important to develop individuals with critical minds who don’t take things for granted. And also to raise discourses that discusses important issues, and helps people to be unaffected by fake influences which is very important especially at today’s age.

Ideology and critical discourse analysis. According to the definition Britannica, a website, ideology is “A form of social or political philosophy in which

practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones. It is a system of ideas that aspires both to explain the world and to change it. While, Lock defines it as “an elaborate story told about the ideal conduct of some aspect of human affairs”. On the basis of these definitions, I can say that ideology is a set of political and social beliefs, or approaches that are attributed and shared between people that might not have to be practically scientific. It is a story about different aspects of human lives and affairs. Language plays vital role in circulating and sustaining ideology, therefore language and ideology co-exist.

Here, CDA seeks to explore how power is invested through language (Fairclough,1989). Politicians follow certain ideologies, they share or spread them to influence people, the language they use is rhetoric and alluring mixed with hyperbole and anaphora. As Jones and Peccei (2004) rightly assert politicians throughout ages have achieved success thanks to their “skilful use of rhetoric”, by which they aim to persuade their audience of the validity of their views, delicate and careful use of elegant and persuasive language. Likewise, Fairclough asserts that discourse has various dimensions; economic, political, cultural, and ideological. The foundation of politicians’ beliefs is their ideology. Politicians based their goals on the basis of their ideology for example; socialism, capitalism. Therefore, political speeches are intended to persuade people towards their ideology.

Fairclough finds ideologies as “significant element of process through which relations of power are established, maintained enacted and transformed.” Ideology has become a tool to accumulate people’s trust and persuade them to their ideas. Politicians’ gain people’s trust by their speeches and language, hence they get that power to establish, maintain, enact and transform people according to their will. Woolard (1992) identifies language ideology as a crucial yet largely neglected phenomenon that mediates between social structure and forms of talk. As outlined by Davies (1994), language ideologies figure prominently in policies and decisions, concerning official and standard languages, language plannings, language academies, and language education policies.

Society and critical discourse analysis; Society is a group of people living together. Society is where the language is used and discourses are created. In this way, the relationship between society-people and language is interchangeable.

Language is a tool of communication, and through that communication it practices different things and serve systems. Kroskrity (1992) argues that the functions of specialized language practices extend beyond expression of belief and serve to legitimate systems of social organization and power.

Critical Discourse Analysis is analysis of the dialectical relationships between discourse (including language but also other forms of semiosis, e.g. body language or visual images) and other elements of social practices. CDA seeks beyond what language appears to be, it searches reasons and results of language, For example: how, why, and where it is being used. Its particular concern (in this approach) is with the radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life, with how discourse figures within processes of change, and with shifts in the relationship between discourse/semiosis and other social elements within networks of practices.

Social life is seen as interconnected networks of social practices of diverse sorts (economic, political, cultural, family, etc.) (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). In this sense, political practice also is a part of society or social life and Politicians and their speeches, opinions, assertions and propagandas are meant to be connected with people. And to question those scenarios and bring out the discourses and conversations out of them for the awareness or knowledge of the people/society is what CDA thrives for.

Language and critical discourse analysis. Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. Language plays crucial role in this process as every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and performed by language. Another significant part of language use is its nature of influencing people on the basis of who is using it For example; the language used by a renowned politician in a stage has more impact than a public speaking in a tea stall. Thus Language is a social and cultural asset. Access of manipulation of language is privilege of people with power, According to Wareing (2004), the affective function of language is concerned with who is allowed to say what to whom, which is “deeply tied up with power and social status” (Wareing, 2004). Politicians have privileged to use language according to their hidden agendas. They have the power to deliver their message the way they want it to be delivered. The nature of language is that “Individuals choose and use different language systems varies

according to who the speakers are, how they perceive themselves and what identity they want to project”

Scientific concepts of language often identify language with communication or regard language as a purposeful means of communication (Schaff, 1960). And, Critical Discourse Analysis seeks politics in that communication while, language of politicians can be seen critically following the notion political speeches are made to influence people. According to Hudson (1978) language should be understood as a strategic resource whereby politicians gain and hold power. CDA studies the power relations in society, and engages with problems and issues of people. In that sense, political speeches are proper subjects to study as it reflects the power relations and addresses the issues of society. Research into the politics of language (and language ideology) focuses on identifying and critiquing “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979). Similarly, Peled (2011) offers a political science perspective on the politics of language, focusing on the debate among political theorists over their prioritizing the language rights issue within research on normative language policy (NLP). He argues for a new conceptual framework that engages political theorist more directly with sociolinguistic research on NLP. Such a framework, Peled contends, would enable political theorists to integrate their analytic tools with those of sociolinguistic research; recognize the costs and benefits of focusing primarily on language rights issues; extend their project to include language ethics; and develop an applied dimension to their work by engaging with real world issues.

Language and politics. Language and politics are the tools for each others’ practice and establishment. Politicians use language to establish their power. It is a common knowledge that politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people’s behavior and often to control their values. When the aim is to influence power, and there is some impact upon power, we speak of the political function of language (Lasswell, Leites et al, 1949). Politics can be viewed as "a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it" (Chilton, 2004). Language is used to establish beliefs in the society. Language is a tool to tell reality and defend the

reality as (Wilson, 2001) says, “We not only use language to shape reality, but we use it also to defend that reality, against anyone whose alternative values might threaten ours”. When broad concepts of language and politics coincide, language is mainly considered a power strategy.

Politicians use language eloquently not just to attract the mass for the vote but to put across their political message and manifesto. “A successful leader’s communicative style is not simply what makes him or her attractive to voters in a general way; it (ARECLS, 2010) conveys certain values which can powerfully enhance the political message” (Fairclough, 2000). Politics, like communication, is a process, writes Nimmo (1978), and, also like communication, politics involves speech. Politics is discourse, and discourse is politics (Shapiro, 1982). The definition of politics considers it to be a political action, according to Shapiro, because when one makes choices, one starts by choosing words (1982). Those who control discourses control different aspects of society. Wodak and de Cilia (2006), say what counts as politics and political action is a key issue within research on language and politics. At a minimum, politics is understood as the province of the polity and to comprise the actions and practices of professional politicians, formal political institutions, and citizens who participate in the political process. Moreover, political practice is generally understood to involve struggles over power and acts of cooperation in furtherance of a society’s or group’s goals (Chilton 2004).

Political speech as discourse; Basically political speeches can be defined as the language of politicians. Politicians might use that language at different times in different forms with different objectives, and from different platforms. Therefore one can find it in the language of newspapers, television, and radio (including parliamentary debates, mass meetings, party meetings), propaganda (including publications for elections and other political pamphlets), and administrative, judicial, and diplomatic language (including law texts, treaties and international political negotiations) (Edelman, 1971). A political discourse, therefore, is discourse in any political forum, such as campaigns, parliamentary debates, interviews, speeches, writing and so forth. What counts as political must be determined situationally, and at the end, is a matter of interpretation. Bayley (2008) says political discourse is a wide and diverse set of discourses or genres, or registers, such as: policy papers, ministerial

speeches, government press releases or press conferences, parliamentary discourse, party manifestos (or platforms), electoral speeches, and so forth.

Discourse is not a neutral representation of the world (Van Dijk 1988, 1992, 1995; Fairclough 1995a, 1995b; Fowler 1987). It is biased and carries politics within it, it makes difference on who is making the discourse and that changes the course of discourse. Discourses created by the politicians cannot be the neutral representation of the society and nation as it claims to be. Rather politicians make choices on discourse in order to represent events in a way that fits with their ideology. Here, Butt et al. (2004) claims that “the very use of language is ideological”. Fairclough puts another idea forward that conceptions of politics and political discourse should extend beyond the polity into the domain of the “life world” (Fairclough 2006). That means the political discourse should not be limited only to family life, culture and informal social interactions. It should discuss the ideology, issues, political and national agendas and what, how, and why of these things. However, Wodak and de Cilia (2006) adds that “everyday language” is continuously and unavoidably infiltrated by terms from institutionalized politics.

Wilson (2001) describes political discourse as language used in formal and informal political context with political actors, such as ; politicians, political institutions, government, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments with political goals. Thus, the speeches made, intended and delivered by any political actors for political purpose can be called political discourse. Beard adds that politics is also conceived of as a struggle to gain and retain power among members of these institutions (Beard 2000). Moreover, political discourse analysis should not be limited with the analysis of language and texts is what Van Dijk emphasizes on his writing Political Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis and political speech. A speech is a structured verbal chain of coherent speech acts uttered on a special social occasion for a specific purpose by a single person, and addressed to a more or less specific audience (Schmitz 2005). Amongst other things, speeches differ from each other in length, with respect to their occasion (including time and place), their topic, their function, the speaker, their addressees, their form of presentation and degree of preparedness and with respect to their style and structure. Speeches are normally “texts” – in the sense

of materially durable products of linguistic actions (Ehlich 1983; Graefen 1997, Reisigl, 2000). Usually, they are prepared in writing, although the wording of their verbal presentation may sometimes differ considerably from the written version. The infrequency of spontaneous speeches is due to the fact that speeches are, for the most part, given in formal situations, and on occasions speakers have been familiar with for a long time. Basically, speech here is a form of language and political activity hardly exists without the use of language. In fact the ‘doing’ of politics is largely the ‘doing’ of language (Chilton,2004).

Political speeches are called and understood as political discourse as they refer to the same elements and activities in general. The scholar like Van Dijk argues political discourse in a broad way that is why call it ‘ambiguous’. He terms it as Political discourse Analysis and asserts that ‘PDA should be able to answer genuine and relevant political questions and deal with issues that are discussed in political science.’ What we find in political science are studies on political communication and rhetoric (Bitzer,1981). PDA is both about political discourse, and critical enterprise. In the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA this would mean that critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that result from such domination (Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1993)

Further, Van Dijk (1997) explains, Political discourse analysis can refer either to the analysis of political discourse, defined as the text and talk of politicians within overtly political contexts, or to a political, i.e., critical, approach to discourse analysis. PDA, then, is concerned with understanding the nature and function of political discourse and with critiquing the role discourse plays in producing, maintaining, abusing, and resisting power in contemporary society. Such work, Van Dijk (1997) insists, “should be able to answer genuine and relevant political questions and deal with issues that are discussed in political science.”

This “critical-political discourse analysis” examines the means by which “political power, power abuse or domination” manifest in and are enacted through discourse structures and practices. Fairclough (1985) and Van Dijk (1990) offer the

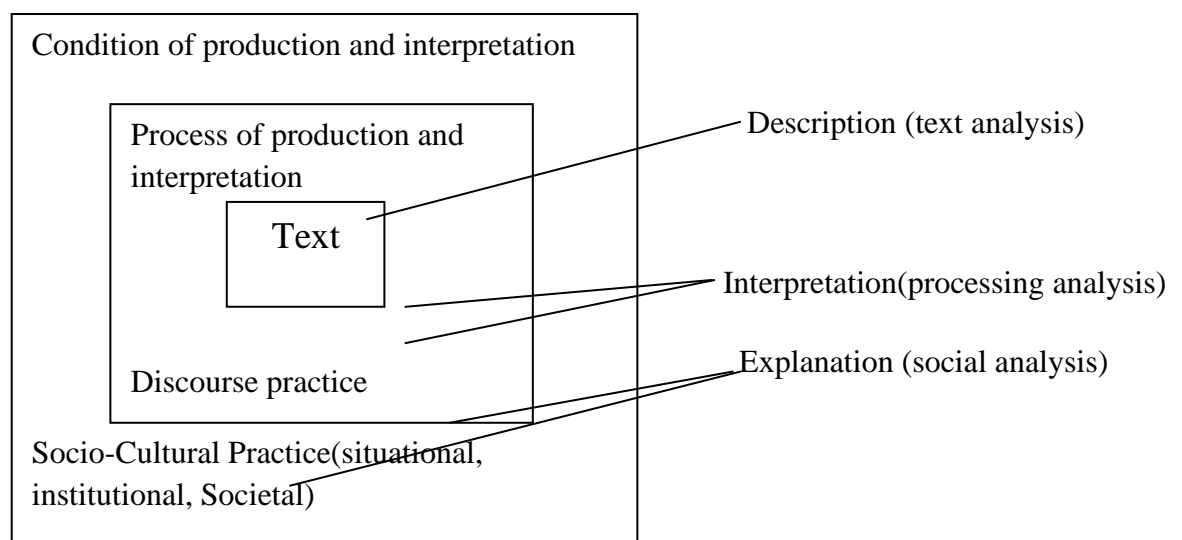
earliest articulations of CDA. Fairclough urges discourse analysts to attend to the broader macro-level social and political conditions that give rise to micro-level interactions and behaviors. Such critical analysis, he argues, should focus on the distribution and exercise of power in social institutions and social formation. Moreover, “critical discourse analysis” should examine and clarify the means by which ideology is naturalized.

As Blommaert (1997) explains, political language originally concerned the “interplay between language and politics” and was contextualized within a “renewed critical awareness” of the dynamic, constitutive, and reciprocal relations between language and politics that “had penetrated various domains of language study.” Murray Edelman’s (1964, 1971, 1977, 1988) work on language and the symbolic nature of politics exemplifies the linguistic turn in political science. His approach assumes that creating meaning is essential to political practice and to the “construction of beliefs about events, policies, leaders, problems, and crises that rationalize or challenge existing inequalities” (1988). Further, he insists that “If there are no conflicts over meaning, the issue is not political, by definition” (1988). Van Dijk (2006) notes that political situations do not simply cause political actors to speak in certain ways, instead “there is a need for a cognitive collaboration between situations and talk or text, that is a context” (Van Dijk, 2006).

Fairclough’s model of discourse analysis

Figure1

Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model for CDA



The above figure gives us the concept of Fairclough's three dimensional model. Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA consists three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).
2. The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects.
3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

According to Fairclough each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis

1. Text analysis (description),
2. Processing analysis (interpretation),
3. Social analysis (explanation).

Fairclough's approach to CDA is so useful because it provides multiple points of analytic entry. It does not matter which kind of analysis one begins with, as long as in the end they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory. It is in the interconnections that the analyst finds the interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained. According to Fairclough (1989) a text can be analyzed at the descriptive level by interrogating the lexical, syntactical and textual structures of a text at three different values of analysis, i.e., the experiential, relational and expressive. Texts are generally the end products of a descriptive analysis and the resource for the interpretative analysis. This is because values of textual features only become realized when they are set in social interaction. Texts are, in other words, produced and interpreted against the background of common-sense assumptions and inter-textual chains which are part of members' resources-MR. Here the second stage interpretation is needed to deal with these discourse processes and their dependence on background assumptions. Explanation is the third and final stage in Fairclough's three-tier analytical framework and according to Fairclough, the essence of this stage is to delineate discourse as part of a social process and practice. It attempts to show how discourses are determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can have on those structures generally, sustaining

them or charting a new course for them. There is a dialectical interplay between text, discourse and social practice which shall be explained in the latter part of this paper. However, for more understanding we can see these three dimensions as follows;

Description. According to Fairclough (1989) a text can be analyzed at the descriptive level by interrogating the lexical, syntactical and textual structures of a text at three different values of analysis, i.e., the experiential, relational and expressive. The experiential value is a ‘cue’ to and ‘trace’ of the way in which a text producer or writer presents their experience of the natural or social world. The relational value, on the other hand, relates to the social relationships texts in discourses enact; while the expressive value deals with the text producer’s evaluation of their reality and what social identities are intended to be projected. In our discussion, we will be concerned with the experiential and the relational values of analysis.

Interpretation. Generally interpretations are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is in the interpreter in terms of their mental or cognitive resource of recall or what is termed “members’ resources” (Fairclough, 1989) Fairclough maintains that there are six dimensions of what constitutes the processes of interpretation. These processes are: situational context, intertextual context, surface utterances, meaning of utterances, local coherence and text structure and point. The most important part for our analysis of pronouns here are the situational and intertextual contexts. The situational context pertains to the immediate context under which a discourse takes place.

In this situation there are three important questions that need to be asked of a text, namely:

- What is going on (activity, topic and purpose)?
- Who is involved? In what relations?
- What is the role of language in what’s going on?

Explanation; This is the stage that relates to the analysis of the socio-cultural milieu within which a discursive practice takes place and how it may affect it and vice-versa. Fairclough (1989) believes that when aspects of members’ resources are

drawn upon as interpretative procedures in the production and interpretation of texts, they are thus reproduced. According to him, reproduction links the stages of interpretation to explanation. The basic objective of the explanation stage is to project discourse as part of a societal process or practice and what reproductive effects discourses can impact on those structures in their sustenance or in their change. The reproduction of discursive structures helps a lot in maintaining the socio cultural practice or charting a new course for it. Fairclough maintains that there are about three questions that can be asked of a particular discourse under investigation, namely:

1. Social determinants: what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape the discourse?
2. Ideologies: what elements of members' resources drawn upon have ideological character?
3. Effects: how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles covert or overt? Is the discourse normative or creative? Does it contribute to the sustenance of existing power relations or in their transformation?

The expressive value deals with the text producer's evaluation of their reality and what social identities are intended to be projected. This is the stage that relates to the analysis of the socio-cultural milieu within which a discursive practice takes place and how it may affect and vice-versa. Fairclough (1989) believes that when aspects of members' resources are drawn upon as interpretative procedures in the production and interpretation of texts, they are thus reproduced. According to him, reproduction links the stages of interpretation to explanation. The basic objective of the explanation stage is to project discourse as part of a societal process or practice and what reproductive effects discourses can impact on those structures in their sustenance or in their change.

Review of the Related Empirical Literature

For empirical literature I have reviewed following researches;

Bello (2013) studied on “If I Could Make It you too can make it!” Personal Pronouns in Critical Discourse: A CDA of President Jonathan’s presidential Declaration speech. Objectives of her studies are; to offer a linguistic evaluation of a given political discourse in Nigeria in the mode of close engagement with the constructions and context of the discourse, and to explain how personal pronouns are used by President Jonathan to construct various identities and to transpose sentiments and sympathies in order to promote political agendas. The researcher has followed Fairclough’s (1989) three-tier analytical framework to complete her research, has used mainly text analysis tool. Analysis have been made through there different levels; descriptive, interpretive and explanatory.

The findings of his research has come out with the idea that when politicians use pronouns, they are not using them merely as person deixes or simply as anaphoric references, but in terms of positioning of self and others within the purview of political interests and associations, certain ideological realities are presupposed then passed as true state of affairs, and,. Socio-cultural practices are reflected in the discourse and the discourse in turn influences the socio-cultural practices. Through this dialectics, the realities of power stabilize and the real class struggle of interests remains essentially covert.

Al-Faki(2014) carried out a research on the topic ‘Political Speeches of Some African Leaders from Linguistic Perspective (1981-2013)’. He has explored linguistic elements in political discourses in general and in political speeches, in particular being based upon some political speeches of some contemporary African leaders. The research has objectives to find out how linguistic tools can be manipulated to reveal speakers’ ideology and speakers’ political stance. This study adopts quantitative methods to determine the presence of the examined linguistic tools found in the political speeches of some African leaders. The tools that are used are observation and text analysis tools.

The findings of the research are pronouns and other linguistic features and how they have played role to manipulate people. It concludes with the idea that

politicians tend to use this linguistic element to create a sort of oneness between them and the audience. Politicians resort to solidarity as a persuasive way through which their message is manipulated.

Hella Ajmi(2013) carried out study on “Subjectivity in Discourse: A CDA Approach to the Study of Adjectives in Two Political Speeches.” The research aims to study the use of adjectives as subjectivity markers in one of former U.S. President George W. Bush's political speeches and another of the current U.S. President Barack H. Obama. Combining both quantitative as well as qualitative methods, the paper argues, from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, that the use of adjectives as subjectivity markers can be better explained as reflecting their users' world views and bias. Just like one of the previous research it also has followed the Fairclough’s three dimensions of CDA. The conclusions have been made that politicians can be skilled in using language as a weapon. It has shown that, like any piece of discourse, political speech is overloaded with assumptions and world views.

Dastpak and Taghinezhad (2015) wrote a study on the topic “Persuasive Strategies Used in Obama’s Political Speech: A CDA Approach Based on Fairclough’s Framework” The main objective of their research was to examine the persuasive strategies of President Obama's public speech and additionally the incognito belief system of the same, cherished in his inaugural location. Their examination is grounded in Norman Fairclough’s presumptions in critical discourse analysis, guaranteeing that "belief systems dwell in messages" that "it is impractical to 'peruse off' belief systems from writings" and that "messages are interested in assorted understandings" (Fairclough, 1995). They used critical discourse analysis as their method and the tool used was text analysis. The findings of their research can be summed up with the knowledge that basic subject of the discourse is the need to be enlivened and engaged by the strength from our heroic past, which ought to be utilized as a resort for revamping the country in the season of the worldwide money related emergency and the risk of worldwide terrorism.

The next research I reviewed for my empirical review is titled as “Language as a Puppet of Politics: A Study of McCain’s and Obama’s Speech on Iraq War, a CDA Approach” carried out by Aghagolzadeh and Bahrami-Khorshid (2009). The objective was to find out vocabulary, grammar and other topics used in both speeches

using Fairclough's CDA design. The tools that had been used were observation and text analysis. The conclusions have been made out that McCain and Obama reflect two extremely different viewpoints through the channel of language. This fact reveals that multiple personal and impersonal motivations such as materialistic and spiritual interests, social position, power relations and situational position trigger the production of the text. And it seems that the descriptions, interpretation, explanation and analysis of multiple texts with the same topic can be extremely diverse based on the speaker's/writer's thought, point of view, political, social and ideological stimulus.

Next, I reviewed the study of Adhikari (for Tribhuvan University with the topic "Critical Discourse Analysis of Academic Advertisement"). She has examined lexical terms, statements and pictorials used in academic advertisements. She has chosen Fairclough's three dimensional model to do her study. She mainly has focused her thesis on the Academic advertisements that are published at different platforms, what kind of statements and pictures have been used to persuade the people. She has found out that adjectives are used massively in those advertisements along with pronouns that show close relation with costumers. She also has found the obvious use of present tense and the use of metaphors, acronyms are obvious. Likewise the capitalization has been used.

As a last research paper to review I reviewed a thesis by Mr. Shyam raj Ojha who has chosen Critical Discourse Analysis of political speeches delivered during Presidential Elections with the USA with the objectives to find out what discursive devices have been used in the speeches of the recent American presidents and to link the analyze micro-level linguistic properties to macro level political phenomenon in their wider context. He has chosen Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Theory (Vandijk's Model of Critical Discourse) where he has analyzed the text according to the 25 discursive devices defined by Van Dijk. The conclusion of his study is that different discursive devices in political speeches give s the opportunity to recognize how politicians use language to control mind and votes of the audiences. There are use of positive-self representation and negative other representation in the speeches. He concludes that politicians use different techniques of controlling voter's mind. They

use different discursive devices to make them superior than others by positive-representation and negative other representation.

Implication of the Review for the study

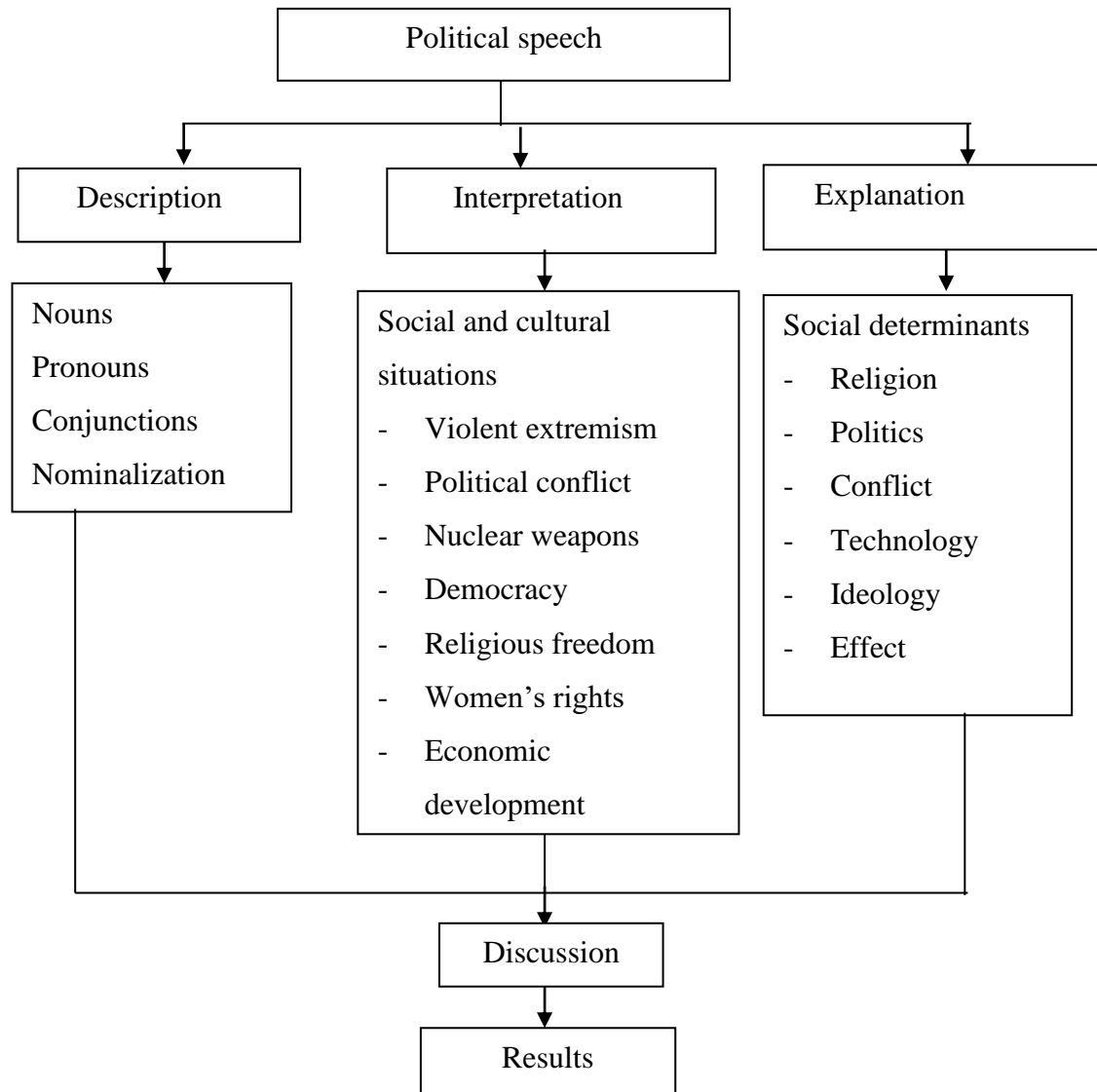
Going through all these studies I found out how to choose right subjects to look into so my thesis would not be the victim of ambiguity. Then I found out I can base my thesis on nouns, pronouns and other lexical items and I focused on those items to study especially for the descriptive level of my research. I also got the ideas on what should I be looking for the interpretive and explanatory level of analysis. The studies provided me a lot of literatures to understand new concepts and refer them in my writing. It helped to make my research more authentic and reliable providing a lot of ideas and knowledge surrounding the topics. It gave me ideas and clarity about the methods and framework I was going to choose. It made me be focused on what my research actually needs, avoiding unnecessary things.

The next thing I found out is how I can look into the subjects that have been discussed in the speech and relate or see them through any critical perspective I wanted to. They helped me to see the problems and conflicts on the topics that had been discussed so I would have broader perspectives while analyzing the text. Mostly, I read and collected the ideas from the same kinds of topics with same research methods so they provided me enough ways on what and how do I analyze my research. Although, speeches in general always had intrigued me, it was the first time I was looking a political speech for different reasons so for that reason, they provided me a lot of information that I had needed.

Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is basically the picturization, as it often represented in figure, of research showing a way of achieving the objectives of the research. Kumar (2009) says “The conceptual framework stems from the theoretical framework and concentrates usually on one section of the theoretical framework which becomes the basis of the study”. Thus, it is a conceptual picture that is based on theoretical framework i.e. it depicts the assets or variables of theoretical framework figuratively and relates them with each other. Concept usually is the first blueprint of research

paper illustrating how it is going to be conducted and that is tried to show on figure. Following the Fairclough's three-dimensional approach of CDA to study the political speech critically I have used the following conceptual framework.



Chapter 3

Methods and Procedures of the Study

This chapter includes about design of the study, sample and sampling strategy, sources of data, data collection tools and techniques, data collection procedures, data analysis and interpretation procedures and ethical consideration.

Design of the Study

A research design is a tool to accomplish the objectives of the research systematically. It provides a direction and blueprint to complete research without being diverted by unnecessary information and confusions. According to Kumar (2014), “a research design is a roadmap that you decide to follow during your research journey to find answers to your research questions as validly, objectively, accurately and economically as possible.” It provides a route following which we can get to the destination we have set for our research.

The research design I have applied here is critical research design. Regarding the fact that Critical Discourse Analysis itself is a research design, it was decided by the time I chose my topic. The design has been applied according to the subject I have chosen and the objectives I have set. Critical research design aims at seeing things critically, it aspires to question establishment and not to take things at surface level. It is always prone to find out the reasons and meanings by probing history, social, political and cultural phenomenon of things.

The critical research design is an apt design for my research because I have studied the subject I have chosen critically, for example; I have seen the speech used as the subject of my research through not only at descriptive level (text analysis) but also at interpretive (processing analysis) and explanatory level (social analysis). I am going through three different perspectives of language use and construction which also deal at social level.

Population, Sample and Sampling Strategy

This study was entirely based on the critique of Barack Obama's speech so the population, sample and sampling strategy I chose was the transcribed text of his speech.

Sources of Data

The source of my data was the transcribed text of the speech by Mr. Barack Obama. The original text was downloaded through internet and printed it in text form to analyze with my interest. Other sources are the prescribed book of CDA by Education English Department of Tribhuvan University, papers written by Fairclough and Van Dijk on Interdisciplinary nature of CDA and political discourses and other research articles, journals and thesis.

Data Collection Tools and Techniques

For data collection I took a text form of the speech famously titled "on a new beginning". The speech was delivered by former president of United States of America Mr. Barack Obama on June 4, 2009 at Cairo University Cairo Egypt. The speech had special significance, and was historically important as he was addressing the issues of Middle East countries as a newly appointed president of USA after the terror attacked that happened on 11 September, 2001. The tool I chose to research my thesis was mainly observation and thorough reading of the text (speech). I prepared observation checklist for the nouns, pronouns and other cohesive devices.

Data Collection Procedures

The following procedure was applied while collecting the data:

- At first, I decided to do my research on critical discourse analysis and searched for the right topic to be studied.
- I read the transcribed text thoroughly and came to the conclusion of choosing lexical features and issues as the subjects of my study.
- I went through the political speeches and collected lexical items and issues I wanted to be focused on.

- I categorized different nouns, pronouns and cohesive devices and analyzed at descriptive level.
- I delved into the issues like; and analyzed them at interpretive level, and explanatory level.

Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedures

The collected data were analyzed and interpreted into descriptive, interpretive and explanatory levels. The data were the linguistic features, especially nouns, pronouns and other cohesive devices which were found in the speech.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical consideration is an important part of the research in which the researcher needs to be serious in dealing with people involved in the study and using the ideas of other scholars to support their study. Here, sources and quotations have been acknowledged by citing and paraphrasing with author's name and published date of book to avoid plagiarism. Similarly, potentialities of the authors are respected from the books that are taken as references. And the data have been reported honestly. Likewise, unbiased language is used to analyze data. Finally, people are thanked and given credit for helping this research to be completed.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Interpretation

This chapter includes the results and discussions. The speech has been studied following Fairclough's three dimensional model, according to which I have looked through and analyzed Mr. Obama's speech at three different levels.

The speech basically is a promise speech made by Barack Obama before being elected as America's President. He had publicly declared that he would give a speech from Middle East itself to address the issues and tensions that have been raising up since long time ago. He agrees the issues and tensions by saying "we meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world—tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate" in his speech itself. He reflects upon the expectation and truth of his speech by saying "I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust" shedding the light on tumultuous relationship of America and Muslim countries.

Mr. Obama basically has given the speech addressing the seven different issues making it clear about the stand of his country and what it can do or doing to solve those issues. The speech is given on June 4, 2009 at Cairo University, Cairo Egypt. This is the first time in history an American president was addressing the issues and tensions of Middle East and Muslim countries with America. The premise of speech stands on the attack of September 11, 2001 where thousands of commoners had been killed, because of which so many other political issues were born. Moreover, it changed the dynamic of the United States of America and Muslim countries forever.

Analysis of Lexical Aspects Used in the Speech

Lexical aspects are studied at descriptive level, descriptive level basically deals with the text and its lexical, syntactical and textual structures (Fairclough,1989). Descriptive level mainly focuses upon the grammatical aspects or other aspects that can be read directly through the text which requires the objectivity. Here, I have

discussed the lexical features of the speech where nouns, pronouns and other cohesive devices have been analyzed.

Use of Nouns

A noun is a word that describes a person, place, thing, or idea. It helps to create the sentences, there are different types of nouns which are divided into proper, common, abstract, concrete, countable and uncountable noun etc, however, they play important role in forming and carrying the meaning of the language.

In the speech, according to the context or the subjects Obama is addressing, the use of proper nouns have been used for example; Cairo, Egypt, Cairo University, Egypt, America, Us Muslims, Christian, God, Holy Koran, Renaissance, Shia, Sunni and name of the different Muslim countries like Indonesia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey have been used and the middle east countries like Iran, Arab, Palestine, Israel, Iran. Likewise, the names of the different historical figures like John Adams, Saddam Hussein, Thomas Jefferson have been used. The use of common nouns has been the most, For example: people, country, cold war, modernity, extremists, civilians, single, dusk, man, culture, treaty, borders, concept, dream, freedom, mosque, hijab, race, religion, nuclear, peace, weapon, history, tribe, prisoner, extremist, school, hospital, economy, business, tyranny, sovereignty, combat, war, troop, government, forces, fear, anger, trauma, action, prison, bond, population, network, region, state, attack, story, conflict, violence, right, effort, peace, prayer, courage, cold war, arms path, nations power, goal, democracy, tensions, tolerance, child, faith, tendency, disaster, equality, society, women, sons, humanity, daughters, struggle, literacy, internet, opportunity, television, violence, trade, states, wealth, oil, currency, programs, teachers, scholarships, volunteers, leaders, science, technology, marketplace, energy, conference and polio.

The use of proper and common nouns have been very prominent in the speech as the names of many places, historical figures and other nouns have been used in the speech. The names of places have been used as the incidents and issues that have been discussed in the speech are related to those countries and places, especially Muslim major countries. Likewise, the use of common nouns regarding politics, education, democracy, women's issues, weapons, and science and technology have been used to

tell about the different aspects of that issues or to inform the audience about those issues.

These nouns typically give the information about the people, places and the subjects, for example: who is talking and about what, who are being addressed, where the speech is taking place, and what places and things are being addressed, or what kinds of subjects/issues are being discussed.

Use of Pronouns

Fairclough (1989) describes pronouns as “certain values that are encoded in different formal aspects of language”. Pronouns tell us about the power and solidarity they hold in the statements. The most used pronouns in the speech have been discussed as follows;

Use of “I”. Amongst other personal pronouns the use of pronoun “I” has been frequent, within the speech of 6132 words and amongst 283 pronouns “I” has been used 48 times in the speech. The pronoun I has been used to greet and thank his audiences in the sentences like *“I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo”* he has represented as the representative of the American people by saying *“I’m also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people”* he emphasizes his purpose of his visiting Cairo with personal pronoun in the statement like *“I’ve come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslim around the world...”*, and to establish the belief that he has understood the audiences. He has shared his personal experience to connect with the audiences by saying *“as a boy I spent several years as in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk. As a young man I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.”*

Sometimes he has used “I” as a representative of his country when he says *“I made clear that America is not—and never will be—at war with Islam.”* At occasions he has used I as an administrative head or president when he says *“I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo closed by next year.”* At the same time he has used the pronoun I as himself, as a person when he says *“I reject the view of some in the West that a*

women who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal... ” and “I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons.”

Just like other pronouns the use of I has been for different purposes. The speaker has used it as the representative of his country, as the main person of administrative and other times as individual himself in different context. The same pronoun I has been used to refer different nouns this way he is presenting himself as an individual person with opinions other time as a representative of his country.

The audiences are expected to take the pronouns I differently as different context. He is using it according to his advances so his listener would become more interested in what he is saying and delivering as message.

Use of “We”.“We” is the most pronounced noun in the whole speech because it has been used as most dynamically. It can mean different things with different sentence and context. It has been used 92 times altogether within of 283 number of pronouns. First used of “we” is used as the people who have gathered for his speech and himself as he says *“we meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world—tension rooted in historical forces that forces beyond any current policy debate.”* but in another use of “we” he means the both sides America and the countries who have conflict with America excluding “extremists” in his own words when he says *“we will empower those who hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation.....*, But when he says *“we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart”* he is referring general public who supposed to show the nature of being human. Unlike, here when he is saying *“we were born out of revolution against an empire.....”* he is referring to the United States and their historical fighters, and people. Likewise, he is referring to same American population when he says *“we are shaped by different culture.....”*. But when he says *“These things we share and our failure to meet them will hurt ass all”* or *“we have learned from past experience... , and “that is the responsibility we have to one another as human being...”* He is referring not only Americans but every people around the world who are connected to the issues. He suggests the same “we” when he makes the general statements like *“So whenever we think of the past we must not be prisoners to it”* but when he addresses the al Qaeda and Taliban and says *“we did not go by choice: we went because of necessity”* he is

referring to the operation or initiations made by America as institution, same refers the sentences like *“we do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. or We see no military—we seek no military bases there...”*

Moreover, when he says *“we can recall Thomas Jefferson, who said...”* he is meaning the listeners of his speech especially. When he is talking about Israelis and Pakistanis and its issue and saying *“if we see this conflict only from one side other, then we will be blind to the truth”* here, he is referring to every people who observe the case of Palestine and Iran. Again with the sentences like *“America will align our policies..., we will...we say... we cannot..., ”* he is referring “we” as American people or government. As another issue when he is talking about nuclear weapons regarding Iran and America, and saying *“We will proceed with courage, rectitude and resolve”* or *“we are willing to move forward...”* here as “we” he is meaning American and Iranian governments. Most of the other “we” have been used to refer “American government”. But when crowd uses the pronoun we saying *“we love you”* to Obama that means we is the crowd. Likewise, when he is saying *“freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together.”* And *“We must always examine the ways in which we protect it”* or *“around the world, we can turn dialogue into...”* and *“we’ve seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead”* then he is referring we as the general public of the world. Other than that he is addressing the whole humanity when he is saying *“all of us share this world for but a brief moment in time. The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart or whether we commit...--...we seek for...”*

The pronoun “we” has been used to refer different people at different times. Sometimes it means the American government or American people, and other time American and people of Muslim Countries, and at last everyone from the world. The intensions and use of “We” has been pretty much like the use of “I” as we discussed previous. The context, and the how Obama has been using these pronouns in his sentences are differed according to his intention or style. He is trying to make people to feel and think about the discussed issues. He is implying how the issues are as important and life changing to everybody who is listening the speech.

The pronoun “we” has been used to give the vibe as it is everybody’s business and problem or it is responsibility and duty of everybody around the Major Muslim countries and the world as a whole to solve the problems regarding those seven issues.

Use of “Our”. “Our” is another frequently used pronoun in the speech. It has been used 50 times altogether. The politics it holds as a pronoun is same as “we” as it implies different people or different group of people with different sentence. In the speech, the first time Mr. Obama uses the “our” is in the sentence *“So long as our relationships defined by our differences,”* here, he is referring to the people of America and the Muslim countries as he had been discussing the tensions between these two countries. And, when he tries to acknowledge the role of Muslim communities in inventing things and says *“—it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra: our magnetic compass, our mastery of pens and printing...”* and *“all of us share common aspirations--...;to love our families , our communities, and our God.”* Or *“our common humanity is only the beginning of our task.”* Or *“when innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience.”* Or *“our problems must be dealt with partnership: our progress must be shared.”* Or when he quotes Thomas Jafferson that says *“I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be”*, in all of these sentences, he is using the pronoun “our” as whole human kind. But when he says, *“they have fought our wars, they have served in our governmentthey have taught our universities, they’ve excelled in our sports arenas....”* Or *“we would gladly bring every single one of our troops our home”* or *“..it led is to act contrary to our traditions and our ideals”*. Here, he is referring our as in American people’s . When he makes the statement like *“The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America’s goals and our need to work together”* he is meaning America and Afghanistan as our. Again, talking about the economic development and opportunity he says *“fear that we lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities—those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions and our faith”* he seems to be referring our as general public.

There are some similarities between the use of “our” with “we” in the sense that sometimes it refers to the American government or American people and other

time American and people of Muslim Countries, and at last everyone from the world. “Our” has been used pretty much as we. The context and the how Obama has used these pronouns in his sentences are making it different. He has tried to make people to feel and think the discussed topics and issues are as important and life changing to everybody who is listening.

The pronoun presents the impression that we as a whole and we are together in this journey to deal with the issues which are basically mainly being discussed through the perspective of political Leader of America only. He is trying his best to make people to connect with his ideas, and also trying to change people’s perspectives towards the directions he is wanting. He is trying to make it people’s issues by using the pronoun “our” but, he is mostly only presenting the stand of his country over those issues.

Use of “You”. “You” is another pronoun and it actually has a referential ambiguity. It can refer to a single or plural. ‘You’ has the potential to give the notion of discursal proximity and the notion of the addressee being in bond with the addresser. However, in comparison to previous discussed pronouns it has been used less number times, which is total 11 times. He has basically used the word you to greet his audiences by saying “*Thank you very much*” and appreciating the Cairo University with *statement “And together you represent the harmony between tradition and progress”*. Next time he has used the pronoun you when he is talking about democracy and urging it as human rights in sentences like; “*...people yearn for certain things...have a say in how you are governed ...the freedom to live as you choose*” but next time when he says “*you must maintain your power through consent, not coercion: you must respect the rights of minorities, ...you must place the interests of you people....*” At last, he has used you to beg farewell addressing his audiences when he says “*thank you. And may God’s peace be upon you. thank you very much. Thank you.*”

As mentioned previously the pronoun “You” has referential ambiguity as it refers to the both singular and plural things. Here in the speech as well it has been used in both ways. Obama’s reference as you here is basically the people and important people of Muslim-Major countries and people of world in general. He is referring to the audience and the people of Muslim Major countries and the people of

the world at different context. He seems to be establishing the notion America nurses Major Muslim countries or the other countries when he is it.

“You” is used to tell the audiences and people of other countries apart from America, mostly the Major Muslim countries to think, behave and bring change for the issues he had been discussing in his speech. He is requesting to contemplate and to act into the series of issues that have been being discussed and solve the problems regarding that.

Use of “US”. “Us” is another pronoun which has been used 12 times in the speech. It is an objective form of “we” and holds the dynamic the “we” holds in terms of the population it is meaning to refer.

When Mr. Obama is using “us” as the reflective to whole human kind when he says “...*humbled by the task before us, ...human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.*” Same with the statement “*all of us share common aspirations...*” or “*but all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of 21st century*”, and same with him quoting “*The Talmud tells us*”, “*the holy bible tells us*”. But when he is saying “*It led us to act contrary to our traditions and our ideal.*” he is implying “us” as in American government. In another light when he is making the statement “*for peace to come it is time for them—and all of us--to live up to our responsibilities*” he is referring us as the parties, nations and people who agree “peace” and “security”. And, when he is saying, “*For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us.*” Here, his “us” is for America and Iran. In his statement “*Faith should bring us together*” He is referring us as in all the theist people who believe in religion and God.

Here, the use of “Us” has been variable, us here has been used to refer to the different group of people. It has been used to refer to US government or parties, nations, and people from all over the world at different times in different context. Basically “us” is the object form of “we” and it has been used with the same purpose.

The pronoun “us” has been used to give the impression as the discussed issues are everybody’s business and problem or it is responsibility and duty of everybody around the Major Muslim countries or even the world.

Use of Nominalization

Nominalizations are nouns that are created from adjectives (words that describe nouns) or verbs (action words). For example, “interference” is a nominalization of “interfere,” “decision” is a nominalization of “decide,” and “argument” is a nominalization of “argue.” In the speech the nouns that are formed by adjectives and action words have been used frequently. They are lesser in comparison to other nouns

Table 1

Nominalization words that have been used in the given speech

Hospitality	Hospital
Relationship	Relation
coexistence	Coexist
cooperation	cooperate
colonialism	colonial
aspirations	aspire
globalization	global
Modernity	modern
publicity	public
Conviction	convict
Enlightenment	enlighten
Innovation	innovate
partnership	partner
Stereotypes	stereotype
Revolution	revolt
education	educate
humanity	human
responsibility	responsible
Commitment	commit
agreement	agree
government	govern

Note; This table demonstrates the examples of the some nominalization words that have been used inside the speech. These nominalizations also reflect to the kind of contents and the issues that have been discussed in the speech.

The use of nominalization basically has been used to put across the information and the form the sentences. From its nature we can conclude that the nominalization words are reflecting the seven issues and problems that the speaker has chosen to discuss. He is putting his ideas, information, plan and intensions across not only as an administrative representative of US but as an individual especially in topic like women's rights and equality.

Use of Conjunctions

Conjunctions are those words or phrases which are used to connect ideas between different parts of texts. According to Halliday and Hasan there are five types of cohesion: reference, ellipsis, substitution, conjunction, and lexical cohesion. Each cohesive device type consists of several subtypes. However, most of the cohesive devices used in the speech come under the conjunctions, words that are used to connect words, phrases, and clauses. And, I have chosen and analyzed the conjunctions that have been used in the speech.

Use of "And". And is the most used conjunctions, it has been used 216 times altogether in the speech. It is mainly used to add the new information in the sentence or to coherent with the previous sentence here, *"I'm grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. And together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress"* here "and" has been used within a sentence as well as in another sentence, to make coherence with previous sentence. Most of the uses are with same purpose all over the speech. Sometimes really long sentences have been used with the extensive use of "and" for example *"I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the united States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition."* Or *"It was innovation in Muslim communities -- it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra: our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed."*

Or again with the sentence 'Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of powerful contemplation...And...and...and'

And has been used most of the times as one of the cohesive devices in the speech which is understandable as it is used both to add the new information in the sentence or to coherent with the previous sentence. It has been used to form really long sentences and give all the possible information without breaking the coherent of the whole sentence. "And" has been used to add and relate as much information as it could told through without making the audiences detached to the main point in the sentences. It has been used to connect the different things so people would see them as whole and associate with each other. "And" also has been used rhetoric nature as it gives emphasis on new information with the same enthusiasm to the really long sentences used in the speech without any pause in between.

Use of "but". But has been used as a conjunction (connecting two phrases or clauses), and as a way of starting a new sentence and connecting it to the previous sentence. Regarding the speech, it has been used both ways. Here, in sentence like *"I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech eradicate years of mistrust..."* and in sentences like *"the dream of opportunity..., but....."*, *"they have killed people of different faiths—but more than any other they have killed Muslims"*, *"And finally, the Arab states must recognize..., but not the end of their responsibilities."*, *"we have the power to make the world we seek, but only..."* it has been used as conjunction and in sentence like *"but I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must..."* or *"But my personal story is not so unique."* *"But let us be clear"* *"But that is not the case yet"*, *But we support a secure and united Iraq..."* *"But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other."* *"But it was not violence that won full and equal rights"*, *"But we can only achieve it together."* *"But if we choose..."* it has been used as to make connection to previous sentence.

"But" also has been used basically as conjunction it has been used to add more information on previous sentence and also to contradict with previous sentence to give emphasis on the sentence or information that has been said later. But mainly has been used to reflect the idea why some ideas contradict and important than others. But in

many times also has been used to put emphasis to the greater and better version of what has been told already.

By using the “but” the speaker usually have put the sentences contradicting with previous sentence but giving more emphasis and trying to portray how they are different but important. For example after putting forward an idea he has added other sentences with other more important ideas.

Use of “It” and “That”. Grammatically, both it and that are used the same way. However, there is a difference in the meaning or nuance. On one hand, it doesn't have any particular or special nuance or emphasis. On the other hand, that is more emphatic and carries the nuance that the thing just mentioned is special. By this mean being it a political speech the emphasis has been made many times at many sentences, thus the use of “that” has been more in comparison to “it”. It has been used total 56 times while that 102 times.

It. It mainly has been used as subject for example *“it was Islam –at places like...it was innovation,...it was innovation in Muslim communities...”*. Or *“And it is my first duty as President to....”*, *“it is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women. It is costly to....”* *“ it is important part of promoting peace.”* And as an object in sentences like *“And I consider it part of my responsibility...”*, *“we must not be prisoners to it.”*, *“I have made it clear to....”* It also has been used to refer the previous subject in sentences like *“Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and it doesn’t succeed.”*, *“that commitment is at the core of the treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it”**“Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in history of.....”* *“the richness of religious diversity must be upheld—weather it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt”*

That. In case of that, it mainly has been used as conjunction or pronoun in long sentences. For example; *“I have come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive”* or *“ I know there’s been a lot of publicity about this speech , but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point.”* And *“ But I am*

convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors.”

“That” has been used to give more emphasis on the subject using it in sentences like *“when innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered that is stain on our collective conscience.(Applause). That is what it means to share this world in the 21st century. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human.”* Or *“That is in Israel’s interest, Palestine’s interest, America’s interest, and the world’s interest. And that is why I intended to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience and dedication that the task requires.”* *“some suggest that it isn’t worth effort—that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There is so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years.”*, *“This truth transcends nations and peoples—a belief that isn’t new; that isn’t black or white or brown, that isn’t Christian or Muslim or Jew.”*

Both “it” and “that” have been used as pronouns and conjunctions according to the structure and context of the sentences. At times they have been used as subjects in place of different nouns while other times it has been used as conjunctions to add different sentences meaningfully. Additionally, at times they have been used for rhetoric purpose as the use of that in long sentences sound rhythmic while putting across the ideas and information that the speaker intends to.

Both of the words have been used to put forward the message effectively especially the use of “that” has been for broader purpose as it has massively worked as pronouns and conjunctions. However both of the pronouns have been used to put across the ideas regarding the topics that have been discussed on the speech.

Analysis of the Issues, Problems and Purposes

Analysis of the issues, problems and purposes consists at interpretive level. It involves interpreting the meaning of the text in its communicative level where what, who questions relations to sender and receiver of the language is discussed. Fairclough refers to the situational context and the intertextual context as central to the process of interpretation. In terms of the situational context it is useful to ask

questions about time and place. Thus, the following questions are attempted to answer at interpretive level.

- What is going on (activity, topic and purpose)?
- Who is involved? In what relations?
- What is the role of language in what's going on?
- What contextual factors influenced the production and interpretation of this text?

This is a public speech made by then and First African-American president Mr Barack Hussein Obama on 2009 at Cairo University, Egypt, right after him being the president of United States of America. He served as the 44th president of United States of America. This was a speech conducted to address the issues regarding especially the Muslim world and America. In his inaugural President Obama had reached out to the Muslim World by saying that he seeks "a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect."

Obama's speech has been divided into seven parts: violent extremism, the Israeli/Palestinian dispute, nuclear weapons (with a reference to Iran), democracy, religious freedom, rights of women, and economic development. The main motto of his speech seems to address the issues between Muslim countries and America. Moreover, He is addressing all these issues acknowledge the history between American and Muslim saying "*We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslim around the world—tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate. The relationship between Islam and the west includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars.*" He has addressed the issue of violent extremism highlighting attacks of September 11, 2001 and "Cold War" between Muslim-majority countries asserting he has come to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslim around the worlds. He has related his own personal experience on how he himself is not unknown himself with Muslim rituals and faith despite him being a Christian. He has credited Islam being part of America's story saying "*Americans Muslim have enriched the United States. They have fought in our wars, they have served in our government, they have stood for civil rights. They have started businesses, they have*

taught at our universities, they have excelled in our sports....” He also has made an emphasis on mutual take and understanding, and said *“But the same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. (Applause. Just as muslims do not fit crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self interested empire”*. He has provided the math on how there are 7 million Muslims in America and 1200 mosques makes the premise that he and his government or nation has provide enough of opportunity and freedom regardless of their religion. He cements his premise for other issues with the help of humanity and human responsibilities and human connections while he says *“for we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere”*.

Moreover, to interpret the speech at interpretive level the previous four questions have been used as parameters to analyze the different issues discussed in the speech. The issues have been discussed under seven different topics.

Violent extremism. As the first issue on his speech Obama has addressed violent extremism. He is making clear stand of America on violent extremism saying *“In Ankara, I made it clear that America is not—and never will be—at war with Islam (Applause.)We will however, relentlessly confront violent extremists”*. Before making this speech, he had been visiting the Major-Muslim countries and their important people to improve the relationship with them. He had just visited the capital of Turkey and in his speech he is referring the same thing and trying to portray how clear and serious he is about it. He emphasizes on the act of 9/11 and how Al Qaeda killed 3,000 innocent people that day, and Al Qaeda has affiliation with many countries. He says *“we would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can”*. Here he is showing the possibility of American troops going back to home using the hypothetically “if we could”. He is insisting on how deployment of American troops in foreign land is done by obligation not choices, where in reality, this is just to show they are powerful and can do anything if they want.

He is quoting The Holy Quran *“whoever kills an innocent is as—it is as if he has killed all mankind, whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind”* He is using the quote from the same religious book the Muslim follow and making his

point with it so they would feel more emotional and related to it. People usually feel connected and believe things if something is related to them. Here, Mr Obama quoting Holy Koran to make them feel how they are doing wrong if they are not following Quran. He is emphasizing his points with the phrase like “let me also address” on sentences like “*let me also address the issue of Iraq*”. Dragging the attention of his audiences as it is something very important. And, when he is saying “*The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will be safer.*” He is using the terms “the sooner” and “safer” to convey the message that the violence should be stopped as soon as possible to feel us safe, and how extremists are violating our peace. Being the major- Muslim countries Afghanistan and Pakistan’s nature to think American people as their enemy and attack them with the help of violent extremists is the reason that people are suffering according to Mr. Obama.

Here, he is trying to establish the notion that the religion itself is not problem as his own personal history and the countries of his people are connected to the Muslim religion. However, according to him the religious extremists are making it unsafe for everyone and the Muslim-Major countries should isolate and unwelcome them. He also is insisting the reason to put their troop on Afghanistan is violent extremists and which is their obligation not choice.

Political conflict. With second issue he is especially addressing the tension between Israelis, Palestinians and Arab world. It is in the knowledge of everybody anyone who puts interest in international political affairs that there has been conflict going between Israel and Palestine. Israel, Palestine, Arab countries, Hamas and Gaza are the names we keep on listening on international news and there are conflicts amongst these countries. One of the prominent conflicts is between Hamas (a Palestinian Sunni-Islamic fundamentalist, militant) and nationalist organization, who have declared their objective to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation and transform the country into an Islamic state.

Here, Mr. Obama is trying to acknowledge the situation by bringing the history “*Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust...six million Jews were killed...For more than 60 years they’ve endured the pain of dislocation.. So let*

there be no doubt: The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. And America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity opportunity, and state of their own” at the same time he is saying clearly *“America’s bonds with Israel are well known”*. He is emphasizing that by saying *“To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations , to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, recognize Israel’s right to exist.”* He seems making statement like *“tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich”*. With all this sentences he is trying to establish the notion that how he understands the pain and wishes good of both Palestine and Israel even mentioning the very dark past they have been through. Here, he is using the typical tactic of diplomacy trying not to look bad in both of Palestine and Israel’s book. But he is still putting his point across mentioning the previous agreements and how violence should be stopped.

He is trying to give an impression the things he is talking about are the interests of every country not only America’s. He is using the same hook word “interest” when he is saying *“This is in Israel’s interest, Palestine’s interest, America’s interest and the world’s interest.”* Also, He is making promises with the statements like *“America will align our policies with those who pursue peace. And will say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. (Applause.)We cannot impose peace. But, privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.”*

He seems to be talking on the behalf of Israel when he is saying *“Israel will not go away”* while also thrusting the concept of peace he is saying Palestine’s need their country emphasizing Israel will not go away. This could be an example how the politicians manipulate the words and intentions. Here, with the play of words like *“Too many tears have been shed. Too much blood has been shed”*. He is applying poetic nature of language while the kinds of words like blood and tears usually come under the radar of conflict and war, thus the use of those words with two “too” making it more intense. Blood and tears also carry the emotion and sensitivity and he

is using them here with same intention, to make audience how sensitive the situation is.

Moreover, Obama is clearly mentioning the good historical relationship between Israel and how Hamas, which declare themselves fighting for the Palestinian people, should stop attacking and controlling Gaza, while empathizing with Palestinians and their historical trauma. He seems to be clearly speaking the language of politician while trying to make balance between two countries but also putting forward what he actually wants.

Rights and Responsibilities. Mr. Obama is discussing shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons as a third issue. He is making it clear that how some countries have weapons that others do not. However, the main issue seems to be between United States and the Islamic Arab Iran, as the American president himself bringing the subject in limelight by saying *“This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us.”*, *“The tumultuous history”* is a chosen term as he is referring to the not so pleasant relationship between two countries over the years. And, when he is saying my country in his speech he is rooting for his country showing his patriotism.

When he is saying *“But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to clear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. This is not simply about America’s interests. It’s about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.”* And, when “to all concerned” is used in the sentence, it is to include all the countries who own nuclear weapons and it is to their concern as well. Or when “we have reached” is used it means the America administration and government has reached. Also he is implying the interests are not only America’s but also other countries’ even though he is the only person who is talking there as a representative of America. In the sentence like; *“And that’s why I strongly reaffirmed America’s commitment to seek a world in which nation hold nuclear weapons”* the use of “I strongly reaffirmed” has been used to give more emphasis and intensity. Therefore we can say the language politicians use is

more rhetoric in nature. They make their issue basically the world's issue by manipulating the language.

Here, it seems the main problem Obama referring is between America and Iran when he is mentioning the “tumultuous history” between two countries. However, he seems to be asking to be extra cautious to other countries who own the nuclear weapons while reminding the rights and responsibilities around it. The political discussions that have been highlighted, and the words that have been used in the speech are the political in itself. The use of different rhetorics, and interesting combination of words have been evident throughout the speech. In hindsight to complain other countries for having nuclear weapons and being one of the countries to own nuclear weapons doesn't add up at all.

Democracy; About fourth issue which is democracy, he starts his sentence with “*I know--I know*” and gives the context how he is well known with the “controversy” around it, and insists much of which is connected to the war of Iraq. In the sentence “*So let me clear: No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation by any other*” he chooses the clause “let me be clear” and “should be imposed by” to express his intentions and opinions and to make premise for further discussion on same topic adding next sentence with “*That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people.*” He is using his language in a way that he understands what people want but that's not going to happen, contradicting same thing with another sentence using “however” a cohesive device to make contradictory connection with previous statement. This clearly shows he understands the deal but wants things to happen according to his terms.

Next, he is using the long sentence adding more clauses to make things clear, but implying what kind of government people need, for example; “*But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things; the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose*”. Here, he is talking for not for himself but for everybody implying what he is saying is truth and everybody agrees on that. He is portraying his ideas to be general so people would take in that way. At last he using the pronoun “you” in sentence “*You must maintain your power through consent,*

not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the...” He actually is referring “you” as to everybody who is involved in the application and practice of democracy.

By agreeing with the notion that democracy has been controversial he is showing his understanding around the criticism and people’s perception towards it. But at the same time, he is strongly pushing his ideology and plan. He is reiterating the same idea about democracy and how it is about people’s rights and people’s choices. But, that have been questioned many times itself, especially when America has tendency to influence and persuade for the implications of democracy in different Muslim countries regardless of their unwillingness towards it. These tendencies are reflecting in this speech as well as at the one hand, he is emphasizing how people have choice to choose their government but still he is implying the “democracy” is best for them.

Religious freedom. He has jumped in another issue of religious freedom saying *“we must address together.”* He has introduced Islam by saying it has a proud tradition and *“we see it in history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition.”* He is trying to give the impression that he knows the history of their religion to build the connection to the audience. He makes it more believable by saying he saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christian worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. But he is also bringing out the tendency among some Muslims who measure *“one’s own faith by the rejection of somebody else’s faith.”* And *“Freedom of religion is central to the ability to live together. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it.”* In previous three sentences themselves he is presenting three different perspectives on things and still putting across the thing he is willing to say. He is insisting that violence happening in the name of religion has to stop as the same religion they are fighting for doesn’t support that idea.

He is making the point his audiences might agree on and putting his points which they might not agree on but he is putting the point in a way his audiences would listen and contemplate. The use of “we must” is for obligatory or significant reason. With the word “likewise” he has connected the subject with previous

discussion when he is saying *“likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit”*. He is using “in fact” “should bring”, “and” and “that’s why” for the same reasons as previous, for example; *“in fact faith should bring us together. And that’s why we’re forging service projects in America to bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. That’s why we welcome efforts like...and....”*

He is again referring to the violence that are happening in the name of religion or in the name of saving the religion, and that should be stopped. He is focusing that religion should be centered to living together. He is also focusing on how West and Middle East should not perpetuate the prejudices regarding the particular religious. The conflict between the America and Muslim-major countries regarding their religions is significant subject in his speech. Obama is trying his best to make his audiences believe he understands their faith and religion but the things they are doing in the name of religion should be stopped. And, he is hinting the fact that how America is trying to bring every religion together.

Women’s rights. The sixth issue is women’s rights, in this section, he talks about the importance of women rights and education in general. Here, yet again he starts his sentence with “I know I know” right after audiences applauds him on the mention of the issue. *“I know – I know—and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue.”* Here, he is referring to the already prevalently discussed topic and he wants his audience to know about his knowledge on the same issue that’s why he is starting his sentence with “I know I know” phrase. Further, he has used the pronoun “I” to make the statement *“I reject the view of some West that a woman chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality.”* He has painted some of the opinions and beliefs as his personal opinions, contradicting with some of the concepts and ideas of his country’s people.

When he is choosing the phrase and saying “let me be clear” he is definitely going to add some important information, thus he is referring how it is not just an issue for Islam but around the world giving the example with; *“In Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, we’ve seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women’s equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in*

countries around the world.” With same sentences, he is making it clear that women around the world are facing the problem of inequality and it is not just limited to Muslim countries.

At today’s time there is no doubt that women’s issues are being discussed in broader level. There are some examples of women being at decision making positions but there still are enough inequalities regarding political, social, financial and institutional platforms. Obama is making the same points giving some of his personal insights about the topic. He is emphasizing the fact that women’s issues are not only limited to Muslim major countries but all over the world and we together should fight to make it right. He is making points regarding women’s right to the education to the dresses she chooses to wear should not be restricted contradicting to the some of the opinions from the people of his own country according to himself.

Economic development and opportunity. As the last issue he has discussed economic development and opportunity. He has talked about the advantages and disadvantages of many modern innovations like internet, television and trade and fear it brings to human lives. However, he has emphasized how it is an inevitable process of humanity by giving example of good progress of Japan, South Korea, Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. He has hinted that how the focus should be transferred from oil to education and innovation for future especially reminding the same thing to gulf countries.

He has shared the plan of American government regarding education, economic development, and science and technology for the world and has asked for the partnership. He has used the pronoun “our” to address the fear regarding the modern innovation when he says *“In all nations including America—this change can bring fear. Fear that because of modernity we lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities—those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.”* He is talking about these issues and problems as general problem of people around the world. Furthermore, he has made his points clear that despite all the disadvantages we should accept the new changes the new technology brings.

He has highlighted his personal experience yet again to show the importance of education, and made clear what they as government are doing for the development of education. He says “*we will expand exchange program, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America*” or “*we will create a new crops of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim- majority countries.*” Or “*we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries.*” While these acts of making promises by the politicians are not new, what really matters is the effort they put in actions and practices.

Here, he is talking about the importance of technology, internet and new innovations and how it is important for every country to change the course of development. He is emphasizing that the new currency would be technology and new innovations in upcoming days. To cope with the new changes and adapt the new innovations he is emphasizing the new knowledge. He is highlighting the importance of education and how America is investing on education and different programs so the world will be able to accept new ways of technology without any fear. He is definitely making promises and flaunting the things his administration and country is doing for other countries in his speech.

At last, the last part of the speech really gives the volume of examples regarding the fact he is a politician and the language he speaks is different from the regular people. When he says, “*The issues that I have described will not be easy to address.*” *But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world that we seek—a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes’ a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all god’s children are respected. Those are mutual interest. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.*” he has chosen to use the pronoun “we” as it is not just him, his government and his country is involved or responsible to solve these problems or issues but everybody, every country from all over the world.

He is reflecting his nature as politician when he is declaring his and his government interests as everybody’s interests, or when he is giving that positive and optimistic hope through his speech, as if everything will be good and peaceful after

solving those problems. And, this is how politicians portray themselves; as an understanding, kind, peace lover, humble, optimist and secular individual because only after they can attract, influence and change the audience.

Analysis of the Social, Religious, Political, Ideological and Educational Aspects

This is the stage that relates to the analysis of the socio-cultural milieu within which a discursive practice takes place and how it may affect it and vice-versa. Fairclough maintains that there are about three questions that can be asked of a particular discourse under investigation, namely: What power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape the discourse? (Relating social determinants), What elements of members' resources drawn upon have ideological character? (Relating Ideologies), How is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? (Relating effects)

Social determinants. Mr. Obama's speech has included seven different issues each different to other, but touches Muslim-majority countries especially Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Iran in all his issues. Thus, determinants can be named and discussed under religion, political, educational, and economical sentiments.

Religion; The religious discussions especially around Christian and Muslim has had been significant throughout the history. He has acknowledged and appreciated the knowledge and contribution of Islam, while has criticized the act of some religious practitioners. He has shared his own personal experiences of learning Islam and has the connection with Islam as his own name is Barack Hussein Obama. He is building up the trust of his audiences most of whom are Muslims and follow the Islam as he is giving the speech in one of the Major Muslim countries. But he also is condemning the acts people, which have been happening in the name of religion.

Obama has highlighted mainly the people behind those acts are Muslim and he has given the example of September 11, 2001 twice in his speech by saying "*The attacks of September 11, 2001, and the continued efforts of these extrimists to engage in violence against civilians have led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights.*", "*All this has bred more fear and more mistrust.*", "*Al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on*

that day.” When he is saying *“I’m a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan Family that includes generations of Muslims a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk.”* He is clearly trying to make his audiences believe in his story and establish the notion he understands their religion and them. But he does not seem quite satisfied about it, according to him, “some” Muslims believe and practice violence. When he says, *“Among some Muslims, there’s a disturbing tendency to measure one’s own faith by the rejection of somebody else faith.”* He is trying to make people realize and understand their own religion and what it says. He might be there to tell what his government wants but he is making it their issues too. He quotes Holy Koran *“Be conscious of God and speak always the truth.”* to provide the more emphasis and seriousness in what he is saying.

Politics. As subjects of politics, the conflict between Palestine, Israel and other Arab countries, the tension regarding nuclear weapons between United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran or the tension regarding the implication of democracy in Iraq have been discussed. All of these issues are elaborated by Mr Obama in his speech saying *“For decades then, there has been stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive. It’s easy to point fingers--for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought about by Israel’s founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond. But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other then we will be blind to the truth, to reflect upon the relationship between Israel and Palestine.”* About Arab –Israel conflict he brings the subject into light saying *“And finally, Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems.”*

Conflict. The issue of nuclear weapon is one of the prime reasons of tension between United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran and Obama has acknowledged that himself. We cannot deny the fact that the possessions of new clear weapons and threats surrounding it have become major issues in today’s world. Whether it is the frequent threat from North Korea or America’s sneaky way of possessing it while

protesting it, both of these things seem to instigate conflict and war. There are limited numbers of countries who possess the nuclear weapons and they are considered powerful as they have the power of destroying. Obama alludes the reason of conflict between Iran and his country is nuclear weapons by saying *“For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us.”*

Democracy has been the much discussed topic in the world of politics, and many countries have accepted democracy as their government’s system. However, some countries do not practice democracy blaming it as a tool of colonialism by America, and it has been used to control and impose other countries. Obama himself is acknowledging the criticism and controversy around it by saying, *“I know—I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.”* Moreover, analyzing the fact how only some countries possess the nuclear weapons, and how they use it as their power to show off even threatening other countries frequently, depicts the game of power and the violence.

Technology and Education. Women’s equality, education, prosperity and the opportunities they lead towards have been illuminated. Obama has drawn attention to the significance of equality and education in general. Obama has emphasized the importance of education in relation to the equality by saying, *“a woman who is denied an education is denied equality. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are more likely to be prosperous.”* Women’s education, equality and financial independency are directly connected to economical development. If half of the world is deprived of education, equal rights and opportunities there is no way we are flourishing completely as a whole world.

At the same time, the acceptance and knowledge of new technologies and innovations have become necessity of today’s world. Obama is reflecting acknowledging this truth saying *“how there are shortcomings of internet, television and other modern innovations but still we should keep up with them, keep up with new innovations and technologies.”* America’s focus on education, economic development, and science and technology has become more prominent through its different programs and works all over the world. Moreover, by considering the rapid

upgrade and innovation of different technologies we don't have choice but to update ourselves to keep up with these things. And, the policies of America regarding the education, technology, women's right, and equality seem farsighted and strong way of controlling the world.

Ideology. Many of the issues Mr Obama discussing is mainly revolving around the Major- Muslim countries. He is making America's stand and initiation clear around those issues while insinuating the politics and ideology along. But he is presenting other issues as issues of the world, and how every country should be concerned about them. He might be true in some senses but only one perspective or one way of America might not be able to solve all the problems regarding those issues. However, he is showing some awareness acknowledging the problems won't get solved by overnight and with one address or one speech but he insists on people on trying.

The America's stand in Israel and Palestine's conflict has been made pretty clear him saying their country has have been standing with Israel for ages and does so. Also he is reiterating Palestine previous agreements making it clearer what they want. Likewise, when he is declaring through his speech that how he is planning to return the American troops from Iran and wishes to return from Afghanistan too. This shows that decision of staying American troops in certain sovereign countries is not in their power but America's power. Hence, their troops remain in certain countries until it is in their favors or providing them some benefits. Their intentions and controls over different countries reflect their ideology.

When he talks about democracy, which itself is a system flourished and presided by America, he is trying to persuade the idea of democracy. He is emphasizing how countries should apply the democracy as it is the best system. However, democracy might be the best system but not accepting the freedom of people to choose it themselves violets the very idea it is standing on. The things discussed about women's education, new technology and innovation focusing how now is the time to focus upon education and innovation as that would be the new currency. In the same light, he is hinting how gulf countries should be investing on innovation and technology rather than oil as they are famously known for focusing on oil. All of these things seem to be reflecting upon the ideology of America as it wants

to be the pioneer and power of innovations and technologies shifting control from oil to technologies.

Effect. America being one of the strongest countries around the world, the effect it has not only over countries but also at different sectors of people's lives is unavoidable. When American government decides to stop supporting and providing certain grants to certain countries, especially developing and poor countries the effect they feel is direct and noticeable. America being one of the prominent countries to provide grants and other aids to so many poor countries it does make difference what it decides. Whether it is on the women's and children's health, education or other sector of science and technology it affects if the investments didn't happen.

There are so many incidences where people have been affected by the decisions of big countries regarding where and how they want to invest their money. For example if they are not putting their money on education then may be the children from some village who is getting education by the help of that money would stop getting their education, same goes with health and other sectors. The discourse around which country America supports and doesn't support or what is America's stand on certain issues, conflicts, or agreements have had been always the subject of interest. Moreover, the effect of America as a powerful country is always present and pervasive.

Findings

From the discussion of linguistic, social, political, and contemporary issues and purposes the following findings have been derived;

- 1) Politicians use nouns, pronouns for example "We", "our" "us" and "you" for multiple purposes. Here, Obama has used these pronouns to refer different sections of people convenient to his message and expression.
- 2) Politician put their message, politics and intentions forward through their speech intertwining them with emotional, cultural, historical, social, religious and authoritative connections and contexts.
- 3) Speeches of powerful people have the ability to establish new opinions, social beliefs and ideologies and to turn different sectors of society to new directions.

- 4) They use other different conjunctions for example: conjunctions to add a lot of information in one sentence so people would connect one thing to another even though they might not be strictly related.
- 5) Language has layers and it is used and interpreted according to social, cultural, political, and historical context. For example when Obama uses the phrase “to seek new beginning” that might be different things at different contexts, but here that means “to solve the previous issues and move forward to peace.”
- 6) Language do have history, context and meaning according to the situation where, how, when and why it has been used.
- 7) Politicians usually try to establish emotional connection with audiences to make them listen or believe on what they are saying.
- 8) Language used in political speeches do have future and intentions on what kind of impact they are going to make or what they want from their speech.
- 9) At social and cultural level languages are used as not only the means of communication but also as a tool to raise issues or tensions between society and country.
- 10) Speeches provide language learners the opportunity to explore different aspects of language for example how the language is reproduction of other social factors.
- 11) Critical Discourse Analysis helps language learners to be critical in language learning, thus questioning the language and the discourse it makes for the betterment of their personal and social lives.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Implications

This chapter consists of the conclusion and Implications. The conclusions and implications have been decided on the basis of findings and discussions.

Conclusions

Language in political speech is echoed with power, politics, representation and ideology. Obama's speech was powerful in the sense that he was speaking American's policies to Arab world. He was addressing every contemporary issue from management of nuclear weapons to women's rights and education or technology. He was declaring the policies of his country regarding different issues especially towards Major Muslim countries.

Mr Obama has used different nouns, pronouns, and conjunctions in his speech to show the power, identity and representation in his speech. He is reiterating the American policies regarding these topics. The use of "I", "You", "We", "Us", "Our" "That", "It", "Also" and "And" have been used to demonstrate the relationship, history, present, future and the power dynamic between America and Muslim countries. These words have been used to deliver America's perspectives and policies on different issues relating Muslim countries. Next, every contemporary issue has been addressed in the ways that everyone is being represented by the discussion. But in reality it is just about the policies of American president, American administration and their messages to the Muslim countries or to the world. At last, we cannot deny the possibilities of America and its policies guiding certain discussions, ideologies and religious biases that might affect the world.

The use of speech is to present it as effectively as possible while reflecting different sides of politics, power, identity, representation and ideology. Language should be understood in correlation to different historical, cultural, political and religious contexts. The learning of language cannot be accomplished unless we learn the culture, context, or social and political nuances. Politician put their messages and intentions across through their speeches, intertwining them with emotional, cultural,

historical, social, religious connections and contexts. Speeches have impact to the future and to the different sectors of society. They can have pervasive impacts on the things that are going to happen in the world. Powerful politicians have the ability to establish new opinions, social beliefs and ideologies and also shape the future of those sectors to different directions.

Implications

Based on the findings and conclusion of the study following implications have been considered;

Policy related. Critical discourse analysis of different political speeches can bring more insights in the field of language usage and language teaching learning activities. Some of the policy related implications can be mentioned as follows;

- Language policy makers should include CDA as a part of language learning as language is taken in social and cultural context that part should be highlighted in language learning.
- Language is intertextual so it should be understood in connection to other aspects of culture and history of language itself.
- Language has nuances and it has cultural, social, educational, ideological, and political contexts so these things should be considered while learning language.
- Political speeches can be the good contents of language learning as it provides the larger aspects of language learning.
- The curious nature of CDA actually doesn't only encourage in language learning but broadens the mind of language learners and make them critical thinker.
- Curriculum designers of language learning/ and teaching should link learning to political speeches as it covers the example outside the usual contents, thus makes it more rich in input regarding language learning.
- The political speeches and its discussion in curriculum encourage students to become orators, diplomats, and politicians.

Practice related. The great resources are the great learning opportunities thus the English language teachers can better use the political speeches for different purposes for example; vocabulary, active passive voice, pronouns and other aspects of language.

- Critical Discourse analysts can better use this study as the reference study in their further analysis.
- Students of political science can take further ideas on the use and abuse of language thus it would give them the premise to research more on other untouched dimension of language analysis.
- Future diplomats or politicians can get the idea on how language is perceived by different people and be more conscious on use of language.
- Language learners can understand how important it is to learn the different aspects of language while learning language.

Future research related. Based on the research findings and conclusion of this research the following implications have been suggested for further researches.

- This research is completed to meet certain objectives with certain limitations thus there are still more aspects of the speech that can be analyzed.
- This study is limited by Fairclough's three dimensional model there are other approaches and theories that can be used to study same speech. Also there are other speeches that can be done using same model as I did.
- Moreover, further researches can be carried out based on; non-verbal aspects of speeches, the relations between the use of the language and their political ideology, the effects of the discourse on audiences, phonological aspects of the speeches, grammatical aspects of in discourse, pragmatic aspects in discourse and different linguistic aspects with their influence on audiences.

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Appendix

Barack Obama's Speech

Link:

<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobamacairouniversity.htm>

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(Cairo, Egypt)

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

ON A NEW BEGINNING

Cairo University Cairo, Egypt June 4, 2009

1:10 P.M. (Local)

PRESIDENT OBAMA:

1. Thank you very much. Good afternoon.
2. I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions.
3. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning; and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt's advancement.
4. And together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress.
5. I'm grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. And I'm also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: Assalaamualaykum. (Applause.)
6. We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world -- tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate.
7. The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars.
8. More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority

countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations.

9. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.
10. Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims.
11. The attacks of September 11, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights.
12. All this has bred more fear and more mistrust. So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity.
13. And this cycle of suspicion and discord must end.
14. I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition.
15. Instead, they overlap, and share common principles -- principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.
16. I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight.
17. I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point.
18. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors.
19. There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground.
20. As the Holy Koran tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth."
(Applause.)

21. That is what I will try to do today -- to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.
22. Now part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. I'm a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims.
23. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith. As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam.
24. It was Islam -- at places like Al-Azhar -- that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment.
25. It was innovation in Muslim communities -- (applause) -- it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed.
26. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation.
27. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality. (Applause.)
28. I also know that Islam has always been a part of America's story.
29. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco. In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President, John Adams, wrote, "The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims."
30. And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States.
31. They have fought in our wars, they have served in our government, they have stood for civil rights, they have started businesses, they have taught at our universities, they've excelled in our sports arenas, they've won Nobel Prizes, built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch.
32. And when the first Muslim American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one

of our Founding Fathers -- Thomas Jefferson -- kept in his personal library.

(Applause.)

33. So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed.

34. That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't.

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

36. But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. (Applause.)

37. Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self interested empire.

38. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known.

39. We were born out of revolution against an empire.

40. We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words -- within our borders, and around the world.

41. We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum -- "Out of many, one." Now, much has been made of the fact that an African American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. (Applause.)

42. But my personal story is not so unique.

43. The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores -- and that includes nearly 7 million American Muslims in our country today who, by the way, enjoy incomes and educational levels that are higher than the American average. (Applause.)

44. Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion.

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

46. That's why the United States government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab and to punish those who would deny it. (Applause.)
47. So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America.
48. And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations -- to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God.
49. These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity. Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task.
50. Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people.
51. These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.
52. For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere.
53. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean.
54. When innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience. (Applause.) That is what it means to share this world in the 21st century. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.
55. And this is a difficult responsibility to embrace.
56. For human history has often been a record of nations and tribes -- and, yes, religions -- subjugating one another in pursuit of their own interests.
57. Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating.
58. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail.
59. So whatever we think of the past, we must not be prisoners to it.
60. Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; our progress must be shared. (Applause.)
61. Now, that does not mean we should ignore sources of tension.

62. Indeed, it suggests the opposite: We must face these tensions squarely. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.
63. The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.
64. In Ankara, I made clear that America is not -- and never will be -- at war with Islam. (Applause.)
65. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security -- because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children.
66. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.
67. The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together.
68. Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support.
69. We did not go by choice; we went because of necessity.
70. I'm aware that there's still some who would question or even justify the events of 9/11. But let us be clear: Al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day.
71. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody.
72. And yet al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale.
73. They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach. These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.
74. Now, make no mistake: We do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. We see no military -- we seek no military bases there.
75. It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women.
76. It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict.
77. We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can.
78. But that is not yet the case.
79. And that's why we're partnering with a coalition of 46 countries.
80. And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists.

81. They have killed in many countries.
82. They have killed people of different faiths -- but more than any other, they have killed Muslims.
83. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam.
84. The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as -- it is as if he has killed all mankind. (Applause.)
85. And the Holy Koran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. (Applause.)
86. The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few
87. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism -- it is an important part of promoting peace
88. Now, we also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan.
89. That's why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who've been displaced.
90. That's why we are providing more than \$2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend on. Let me also address the issue of Iraq.
91. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world.
92. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. (Applause.)
93. Indeed, we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be."
94. Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future -- and to leave Iraq to Iraqis.

95. And I have made it clear to the Iraqi people -- (applause) -- I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources.
96. Iraq's sovereignty is its own.
97. And that's why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August.
98. That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all of our troops from Iraq by 2012. (Applause.)
99. We will help Iraq train its security forces and develop its economy.
100. we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron. And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter or forget our principles. Nine-eleven was an enormous trauma to our country.
101. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our traditions and our ideals.
102. We are taking concrete actions to change course.
103. I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed by early next year. (Applause.)
104. So America will defend itself, respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law.
105. And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened.
106. The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.
107. The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world. America's strong bonds with Israel are well known.
108. This bond is unbreakable. It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.
109. Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust.

110. Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich.
111. Six million Jews were killed -- more than the entire Jewish population of Israel today.
112. Denying that fact is baseless, it is ignorant, and it is hateful.
113. Threatening Israel with destruction -- or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews -- is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.
114. On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people -- Muslims and Christians -- have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than 60 years they've endured the pain of dislocation.
115. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead.
116. They endure the daily humiliations -- large and small -- that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable.
117. And America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own. (Applause.)
118. For decades then, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive.
119. It's easy to point fingers -- for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought about by Israel's founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond.
120. But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we will be blind to the truth: The only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security. (Applause.)
121. That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest.
122. And that is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience and dedication that the task requires. (Applause.)

123. The obligations -- the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the road map are clear. For peace to come, it is time for them -- and all of us -- to live up to our responsibilities. Palestinians must abandon violence.
124. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and it does not succeed. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation.
125. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding.
126. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia. It's a story with a simple truth: that violence is a dead end.
127. It is a sign neither of courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus.
128. That's not how moral authority is claimed; that's how it is surrendered.
129. Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build.
130. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people.
131. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have to recognize they have responsibilities.
132. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, recognize Israel's right to exist.
133. At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's.
134. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. (Applause.)
135. This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop. (Applause.)
136. And Israel must also live up to its obligation to ensure that Palestinians can live and work and develop their society.
137. Just as it devastates Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza does not serve Israel's security; neither does the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank.

138. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.
139. And finally, the Arab states must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities.
140. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems.
141. Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their state, to recognize Israel's legitimacy, and to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.
142. America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and we will say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. (Applause.)
143. We cannot impose peace. But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away.
144. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.
145. Too many tears have been shed. Too much blood has been shed.
146. All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of the three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra -- (applause) -- as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, peace be upon them, joined in prayer. (Applause.)
147. The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.
148. This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran.
149. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us.
150. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically elected Iranian government.

151. Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostagetaking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians.
152. This history is well known. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward.
153. The question now is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.
154. I recognize it will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude, and resolve.
155. There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect.
156. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point.
157. This is not simply about America's interests. It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.
158. I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. No single nation should pick and choose which nation holds nuclear weapons.
159. And that's why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons. (Applause.)
160. And any nation -- including Iran -- should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.
161. That commitment is at the core of the treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it.
162. And I'm hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal. The fourth issue that I will address is democracy. (Applause.)
163. I know -- I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.
164. So let me be clear: No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation by any other.

165. That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people.
166. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people.
167. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election.
168. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose.
169. These are not just American ideas; they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere. (Applause.)
170. Now, there is no straight line to realize this promise. But this much is clear: Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure.
171. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away.
172. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments -- provided they govern with respect for all their people.
173. This last point is important because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they're out of power; once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. (Applause.)
174. So no matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would hold power: You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.
175. AUDIENCE MEMBER: Barack Obama, we love you!
176. PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you. (Applause.)
177. The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom.

178. Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance.
179. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition.
180. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country.
181. That is the spirit we need today.
182. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind and the heart and the soul.
183. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it's being challenged in many different ways.
184. Among some Muslims, there's a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of somebody else's faith.
185. The richness of religious diversity must be upheld -- whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt. (Applause.)
186. And if we are being honest, fault lines must be closed among Muslims, as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.
187. Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together.
188. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it.
189. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation.
190. That's why I'm committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.
191. Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit -- for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear.
192. We can't disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretence of liberalism. In fact, faith should bring us together.
193. And that's why we're forging service projects in America to bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews.
194. That's why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations.
195. Around the world, we can turn dialogue into interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action -- whether it is combating malaria in Africa,

or providing relief after a natural disaster. The sixth issue -- the sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights. (Applause.)

196. I know -- I know -- and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue.
197. I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality. (Applause.)
198. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are far more likely to be prosperous.
199. Now, let me be clear: Issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam.
200. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, we've seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead.
201. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.
202. I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons. (Applause.)
203. Our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity -- men and women -- to reach their full potential.
204. I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles. But it should be their choice.
205. And that is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams. (Applause.)
206. Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity. I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory.
207. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home.
208. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and change in communities. In all nations -- including America -- this change can bring fear.

209. Fear that because of modernity we lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities -- those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.
210. But I also know that human progress cannot be denied.
211. There need not be contradictions between development and tradition.
212. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies enormously while maintaining distinct cultures.
213. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai.
214. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.
215. And this is important because no development strategy can be based only upon what comes out of the ground, nor can it be sustained while young people are out of work.
216. Many Gulf states have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development.
217. But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century -- (applause) -- and in too many Muslim communities, there remains underinvestment in these areas.
218. I'm emphasizing such investment within my own country.
219. And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas when it comes to this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.
220. On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America. (Applause.)
221. At the same time, we will encourage more Americans to study in Muslim communities.
222. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.
223. On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries.
224. And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social

entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.

225. On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create more jobs.
226. We'll open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new science envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, grow new crops.
227. Today I'm announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio.
228. And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.
229. All these things must be done in partnership.
230. Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.
231. The issues that I have described will not be easy to address. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world that we seek -- a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected. Those are mutual interests.
232. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.
233. I know there are many -- Muslim and non-Muslim -- who question whether we can forge this new beginning.
234. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort -- that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur.
235. There's so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years.
236. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward.

237. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country -- you, more than anyone, have the ability to re-imagine the world, to remake this world. All of us share this world for but a brief moment in time.
238. The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart, or whether we commit ourselves to an effort -- a sustained effort -- to find common ground, to focus on the future we seek for our children, and to respect the dignity of all human beings.
239. It's easier to start wars than to end them. It's easier to blame others than to look inward. It's easier to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share.
240. But we should choose the right path, not just the easy path.
241. There's one rule that lies at the heart of every religion -- that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. (Applause.)
242. This truth transcends nations and peoples -- a belief that isn't new; that isn't black or white or brown; that isn't Christian or Muslim or Jew.
243. It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization, and that still beats in the hearts of billions around the world.
244. It's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today.
245. We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.
246. The Holy Koran tells us: "O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."
247. The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace."
248. The Holy Bible tells us: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God." (Applause.)
249. The people of the world can live together in peace.
250. We know that is God's vision. Now that must be our work here on Earth.
251. Thank you.
252. And may God's peace be upon you.
253. Thank you very much.
254. Thank you. (Applause.)

Table 2*Observation checklist*

Nouns		Pronouns	Conjunctions
Proper nouns	Common nouns	I	And
Cairo,Egypt, America	People,country,cold war	We	But
Christian, Holy Quran, Shia	Modernity, extrimists	Our	It
Iran, Arab, Palestine,Isarel	civilian, single, dusk	you	that
Renaissance, Turkey	Hijab, race, religion	us	
Afganstan, Pakistan	Economy,		