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THE RHETORIC OF GRAY

How presidential rhetoric can be used to democratize globalization, guide American foreign policy, and dismantle worldwide structures of oppression.

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## ABSTRACT

Globalization is a tangled web of contradictions: connections between nations but divisions and disconnect within individual countries, economic prosperity for some countries but caste-like economic paralysis in others. Undisputed is the increase of global communication caused by technology. Hegel's discussion of "The Other" describes how self-identity is assessed through the creation of another. Lack of communication can lead to the creation of the "other" more easily, thus war is more easily justified and understood; however, globalization's increase of communication has had no effect on global conflict (which has increased by roughly fifty percent in the past fifty years). Neoliberalism and "blowback" attempt to explain why this seemingly paradoxical phenomenon has come to exist. Presidential rhetoric has become more important than ever in this increasingly violent world. Gray Rhetoric, a rhetoric that is anti-Manichean and anti-coercive, is valued for its simplicity, honesty, and specificity. This research first explains how gray rhetoric can be used as a tool to combat problems addressed by neoliberalism and global conflict. Gray Rhetoric describes that vagueness can, and often is, extremely coercive when used in Presidential remarks. Gray Rhetoric is then applied to President Bush's address to a joint session of Congress on September 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001 and President Obama's 2009 address, "On the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan." The dangers of Manichean, vague, and coercive rhetoric are examined in both speeches. Portions of the speeches that follow responsible "gray" rhetorical patterns are highlighted. The research then expounds on ways both rhetorical addresses could have been more "gray," and thus more ethically responsible.

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## **SPEECH BY PRESIDENT BUSH**

FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, Office of the Press Secretary

Released September 20, 2001

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

“ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE”

United States Capitol

Washington DC

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans: In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war -- to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

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

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

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

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded -- with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all. The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be

next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what? We're not going to allow it.

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

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

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together. Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and to find them before they strike.

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

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



determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

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

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

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

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

## **SPEECH BY PRESIDENT OBAMA**

FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, Office of the Press Secretary

Released December 1, 2009

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

TO THE NATION

“ON THE WAY FORWARD IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN”

Eisenhower Hall Theatre

United States Military Academy at West Point

West Point, New York

THE PRESIDENT: Good evening. To the United States Corps of Cadets, to the men and women of our Armed Services, and to my fellow Americans: I want to speak to you tonight about our effort in Afghanistan -- the nature of our commitment there, the scope of our interests, and the strategy that my administration will pursue to bring this war to a successful conclusion. It's an extraordinary honor for me to do so here at West Point -- where so many men and women have prepared to stand up for our security, and to represent what is finest about our country.

To address these important issues, it's important to recall why America and our allies were compelled to fight a war in Afghanistan in the first place. We did not ask for this fight. On September 11, 2001, 19 men hijacked four airplanes and used them to murder nearly 3,000 people. They struck at our military and economic nerve centers. They took the lives of innocent men, women, and children without regard to their faith or race or station. Were it not for the heroic actions of passengers onboard one of those flights, they could have also struck at one of the great symbols of our democracy in Washington, and killed many more.

As we know, these men belonged to al Qaeda -- a group of extremists who have distorted and defiled Islam, one of the world's great religions, to justify the slaughter of innocents. Al Qaeda's base of operations was in Afghanistan, where they were harbored by the Taliban -- a ruthless, repressive and radical movement that seized control of that country after it was ravaged by years of Soviet occupation and civil war, and after the attention of America and our friends had turned elsewhere.

Just days after 9/11, Congress authorized the use of force against al Qaeda and those who harbored them -- an authorization that continues to this day. The vote in the Senate was 98 to nothing. The vote in the House was 420 to 1. For the first time in its history, the

North Atlantic Treaty Organization invoked Article 5 -- the commitment that says an attack on one member nation is an attack on all. And the United Nations Security Council endorsed the use of all necessary steps to respond to the 9/11 attacks. America, our allies and the world were acting as one to destroy al Qaeda's terrorist network and to protect our common security.

Under the banner of this domestic unity and international legitimacy -- and only after the Taliban refused to turn over Osama bin Laden -- we sent our troops into Afghanistan. Within a matter of months, al Qaeda was scattered and many of its operatives were killed. The Taliban was driven from power and pushed back on its heels. A place that had known decades of fear now had reason to hope. At a conference convened by the U.N., a provisional government was established under President Hamid Karzai. And an International Security Assistance Force was established to help bring a lasting peace to a war-torn country.

Then, in early 2003, the decision was made to wage a second war, in Iraq. The wrenching debate over the Iraq war is well-known and need not be repeated here. It's enough to say that for the next six years, the Iraq war drew the dominant share of our troops, our resources, our diplomacy, and our national attention -- and that the decision to go into Iraq caused substantial rifts between America and much of the world.

Today, after extraordinary costs, we are bringing the Iraq war to a responsible end. We will remove our combat brigades from Iraq by the end of next summer, and all of our troops by the end of 2011. That we are doing so is a testament to the character of the men and women in uniform. (Applause.) Thanks to their courage, grit and perseverance, we have given Iraqis a chance to shape their future, and we are successfully leaving Iraq to its people.

But while we've achieved hard-earned milestones in Iraq, the situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated. After escaping across the border into Pakistan in 2001 and 2002, al Qaeda's leadership established a safe haven there. Although a legitimate government was elected by the Afghan people, it's been hampered by corruption, the drug trade, an under-developed economy, and insufficient security forces.

Over the last several years, the Taliban has maintained common cause with al Qaeda, as they both seek an overthrow of the Afghan government. Gradually, the Taliban has begun to control additional swaths of territory in Afghanistan, while engaging in increasingly brazen and devastating attacks of terrorism against the Pakistani people.

Now, throughout this period, our troop levels in Afghanistan remained a fraction of what they were in Iraq. When I took office, we had just over 32,000 Americans serving in Afghanistan, compared to 160,000 in Iraq at the peak of the war. Commanders in Afghanistan repeatedly asked for support to deal with the reemergence of the Taliban, but these reinforcements did not arrive. And that's why, shortly after taking office, I approved a longstanding request for more troops. After consultations with our allies, I then

announced a strategy recognizing the fundamental connection between our war effort in Afghanistan and the extremist safe havens in Pakistan. I set a goal that was narrowly defined as disrupting, dismantling, and defeating al Qaeda and its extremist allies, and pledged to better coordinate our military and civilian efforts.

Since then, we've made progress on some important objectives. High-ranking al Qaeda and Taliban leaders have been killed, and we've stepped up the pressure on al Qaeda worldwide. In Pakistan, that nation's army has gone on its largest offensive in years. In Afghanistan, we and our allies prevented the Taliban from stopping a presidential election, and -- although it was marred by fraud -- that election produced a government that is consistent with Afghanistan's laws and constitution.

Yet huge challenges remain. Afghanistan is not lost, but for several years it has moved backwards. There's no imminent threat of the government being overthrown, but the Taliban has gained momentum. Al Qaeda has not reemerged in Afghanistan in the same numbers as before 9/11, but they retain their safe havens along the border. And our forces lack the full support they need to effectively train and partner with Afghan security forces and better secure the population. Our new commander in Afghanistan -- General McChrystal -- has reported that the security situation is more serious than he anticipated. In short: The status quo is not sustainable.

As cadets, you volunteered for service during this time of danger. Some of you fought in Afghanistan. Some of you will deploy there. As your Commander-in-Chief, I owe you a mission that is clearly defined, and worthy of your service. And that's why, after the Afghan voting was completed, I insisted on a thorough review of our strategy. Now, let me be clear: There has never been an option before me that called for troop deployments before 2010, so there has been no delay or denial of resources necessary for the conduct of the war during this review period. Instead, the review has allowed me to ask the hard questions, and to explore all the different options, along with my national security team, our military and civilian leadership in Afghanistan, and our key partners. And given the stakes involved, I owed the American people -- and our troops -- no less.

This review is now complete. And as Commander-in-Chief, I have determined that it is in our vital national interest to send an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to Afghanistan. After 18 months, our troops will begin to come home. These are the resources that we need to seize the initiative, while building the Afghan capacity that can allow for a responsible transition of our forces out of Afghanistan.

I do not make this decision lightly. I opposed the war in Iraq precisely because I believe that we must exercise restraint in the use of military force, and always consider the long-term consequences of our actions. We have been at war now for eight years, at enormous cost in lives and resources. Years of debate over Iraq and terrorism have left our unity on national security issues in tatters, and created a highly polarized and partisan backdrop for this effort. And having just experienced the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, the American people are understandably focused on rebuilding our economy

and putting people to work here at home.

Most of all, I know that this decision asks even more of you -- a military that, along with your families, has already borne the heaviest of all burdens. As President, I have signed a letter of condolence to the family of each American who gives their life in these wars. I have read the letters from the parents and spouses of those who deployed. I visited our courageous wounded warriors at Walter Reed. I've traveled to Dover to meet the flag-draped caskets of 18 Americans returning home to their final resting place. I see firsthand the terrible wages of war. If I did not think that the security of the United States and the safety of the American people were at stake in Afghanistan, I would gladly order every single one of our troops home tomorrow.

So, no, I do not make this decision lightly. I make this decision because I am convinced that our security is at stake in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is the epicenter of violent extremism practiced by al Qaeda. It is from here that we were attacked on 9/11, and it is from here that new attacks are being plotted as I speak. This is no idle danger; no hypothetical threat. In the last few months alone, we have apprehended extremists within our borders who were sent here from the border region of Afghanistan and Pakistan to commit new acts of terror. And this danger will only grow if the region slides backwards, and al Qaeda can operate with impunity. We must keep the pressure on al Qaeda, and to do that, we must increase the stability and capacity of our partners in the region.

Of course, this burden is not ours alone to bear. This is not just America's war. Since 9/11, al Qaeda's safe havens have been the source of attacks against London and Amman and Bali. The people and governments of both Afghanistan and Pakistan are endangered. And the stakes are even higher within a nuclear-armed Pakistan, because we know that al Qaeda and other extremists seek nuclear weapons, and we have every reason to believe that they would use them.

These facts compel us to act along with our friends and allies. Our overarching goal remains the same: to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and to prevent its capacity to threaten America and our allies in the future.

To meet that goal, we will pursue the following objectives within Afghanistan. We must deny al Qaeda a safe haven. We must reverse the Taliban's momentum and deny it the ability to overthrow the government. And we must strengthen the capacity of Afghanistan's security forces and government so that they can take lead responsibility for Afghanistan's future.

We will meet these objectives in three ways. First, we will pursue a military strategy that will break the Taliban's momentum and increase Afghanistan's capacity over the next 18 months.

The 30,000 additional troops that I'm announcing tonight will deploy in the first part of 2010 -- the fastest possible pace -- so that they can target the insurgency and secure key

population centers. They'll increase our ability to train competent Afghan security forces, and to partner with them so that more Afghans can get into the fight. And they will help create the conditions for the United States to transfer responsibility to the Afghans.

Because this is an international effort, I've asked that our commitment be joined by contributions from our allies. Some have already provided additional troops, and we're confident that there will be further contributions in the days and weeks ahead. Our friends have fought and bled and died alongside us in Afghanistan. And now, we must come together to end this war successfully. For what's at stake is not simply a test of NATO's credibility -- what's at stake is the security of our allies, and the common security of the world.

But taken together, these additional American and international troops will allow us to accelerate handing over responsibility to Afghan forces, and allow us to begin the transfer of our forces out of Afghanistan in July of 2011. Just as we have done in Iraq, we will execute this transition responsibly, taking into account conditions on the ground. We'll continue to advise and assist Afghanistan's security forces to ensure that they can succeed over the long haul. But it will be clear to the Afghan government -- and, more importantly, to the Afghan people -- that they will ultimately be responsible for their own country.

Second, we will work with our partners, the United Nations, and the Afghan people to pursue a more effective civilian strategy, so that the government can take advantage of improved security.

This effort must be based on performance. The days of providing a blank check are over. President Karzai's inauguration speech sent the right message about moving in a new direction. And going forward, we will be clear about what we expect from those who receive our assistance. We'll support Afghan ministries, governors, and local leaders that combat corruption and deliver for the people. We expect those who are ineffective or corrupt to be held accountable. And we will also focus our assistance in areas -- such as agriculture -- that can make an immediate impact in the lives of the Afghan people.

The people of Afghanistan have endured violence for decades. They've been confronted with occupation -- by the Soviet Union, and then by foreign al Qaeda fighters who used Afghan land for their own purposes. So tonight, I want the Afghan people to understand -- America seeks an end to this era of war and suffering. We have no interest in occupying your country. We will support efforts by the Afghan government to open the door to those Taliban who abandon violence and respect the human rights of their fellow citizens. And we will seek a partnership with Afghanistan grounded in mutual respect -- to isolate those who destroy; to strengthen those who build; to hasten the day when our troops will leave; and to forge a lasting friendship in which America is your partner, and never your patron.

Third, we will act with the full recognition that our success in Afghanistan is inextricably

linked to our partnership with Pakistan.

We're in Afghanistan to prevent a cancer from once again spreading through that country. But this same cancer has also taken root in the border region of Pakistan. That's why we need a strategy that works on both sides of the border.

In the past, there have been those in Pakistan who've argued that the struggle against extremism is not their fight, and that Pakistan is better off doing little or seeking accommodation with those who use violence. But in recent years, as innocents have been killed from Karachi to Islamabad, it has become clear that it is the Pakistani people who are the most endangered by extremism. Public opinion has turned. The Pakistani army has waged an offensive in Swat and South Waziristan. And there is no doubt that the United States and Pakistan share a common enemy.

In the past, we too often defined our relationship with Pakistan narrowly. Those days are over. Moving forward, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan that is built on a foundation of mutual interest, mutual respect, and mutual trust. We will strengthen Pakistan's capacity to target those groups that threaten our countries, and have made it clear that we cannot tolerate a safe haven for terrorists whose location is known and whose intentions are clear. America is also providing substantial resources to support Pakistan's democracy and development. We are the largest international supporter for those Pakistanis displaced by the fighting. And going forward, the Pakistan people must know America will remain a strong supporter of Pakistan's security and prosperity long after the guns have fallen silent, so that the great potential of its people can be unleashed.

These are the three core elements of our strategy: a military effort to create the conditions for a transition; a civilian surge that reinforces positive action; and an effective partnership with Pakistan.

I recognize there are a range of concerns about our approach. So let me briefly address a few of the more prominent arguments that I've heard, and which I take very seriously.

First, there are those who suggest that Afghanistan is another Vietnam. They argue that it cannot be stabilized, and we're better off cutting our losses and rapidly withdrawing. I believe this argument depends on a false reading of history. Unlike Vietnam, we are joined by a broad coalition of 43 nations that recognizes the legitimacy of our action. Unlike Vietnam, we are not facing a broad-based popular insurgency. And most importantly, unlike Vietnam, the American people were viciously attacked from Afghanistan, and remain a target for those same extremists who are plotting along its border. To abandon this area now -- and to rely only on efforts against al Qaeda from a distance -- would significantly hamper our ability to keep the pressure on al Qaeda, and create an unacceptable risk of additional attacks on our homeland and our allies.

Second, there are those who acknowledge that we can't leave Afghanistan in its current state, but suggest that we go forward with the troops that we already have. But this would

simply maintain a status quo in which we muddle through, and permit a slow deterioration of conditions there. It would ultimately prove more costly and prolong our stay in Afghanistan, because we would never be able to generate the conditions needed to train Afghan security forces and give them the space to take over.

Finally, there are those who oppose identifying a time frame for our transition to Afghan responsibility. Indeed, some call for a more dramatic and open-ended escalation of our war effort -- one that would commit us to a nation-building project of up to a decade. I reject this course because it sets goals that are beyond what can be achieved at a reasonable cost, and what we need to achieve to secure our interests. Furthermore, the absence of a time frame for transition would deny us any sense of urgency in working with the Afghan government. It must be clear that Afghans will have to take responsibility for their security, and that America has no interest in fighting an endless war in Afghanistan.

As President, I refuse to set goals that go beyond our responsibility, our means, or our interests. And I must weigh all of the challenges that our nation faces. I don't have the luxury of committing to just one. Indeed, I'm mindful of the words of President Eisenhower, who -- in discussing our national security -- said, "Each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs."

Over the past several years, we have lost that balance. We've failed to appreciate the connection between our national security and our economy. In the wake of an economic crisis, too many of our neighbors and friends are out of work and struggle to pay the bills. Too many Americans are worried about the future facing our children. Meanwhile, competition within the global economy has grown more fierce. So we can't simply afford to ignore the price of these wars.

All told, by the time I took office the cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan approached a trillion dollars. Going forward, I am committed to addressing these costs openly and honestly. Our new approach in Afghanistan is likely to cost us roughly \$30 billion for the military this year, and I'll work closely with Congress to address these costs as we work to bring down our deficit.

But as we end the war in Iraq and transition to Afghan responsibility, we must rebuild our strength here at home. Our prosperity provides a foundation for our power. It pays for our military. It underwrites our diplomacy. It taps the potential of our people, and allows investment in new industry. And it will allow us to compete in this century as successfully as we did in the last. That's why our troop commitment in Afghanistan cannot be open-ended -- because the nation that I'm most interested in building is our own.

Now, let me be clear: None of this will be easy. The struggle against violent extremism will not be finished quickly, and it extends well beyond Afghanistan and Pakistan. It will



be an enduring test of our free society, and our leadership in the world. And unlike the great power conflicts and clear lines of division that defined the 20th century, our effort will involve disorderly regions, failed states, diffuse enemies.

So as a result, America will have to show our strength in the way that we end wars and prevent conflict -- not just how we wage wars. We'll have to be nimble and precise in our use of military power. Where al Qaeda and its allies attempt to establish a foothold -- whether in Somalia or Yemen or elsewhere -- they must be confronted by growing pressure and strong partnerships.

And we can't count on military might alone. We have to invest in our homeland security, because we can't capture or kill every violent extremist abroad. We have to improve and better coordinate our intelligence, so that we stay one step ahead of shadowy networks.

We will have to take away the tools of mass destruction. And that's why I've made it a central pillar of my foreign policy to secure loose nuclear materials from terrorists, to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and to pursue the goal of a world without them -- because every nation must understand that true security will never come from an endless race for ever more destructive weapons; true security will come for those who reject them.

We'll have to use diplomacy, because no one nation can meet the challenges of an interconnected world acting alone. I've spent this year renewing our alliances and forging new partnerships. And we have forged a new beginning between America and the Muslim world -- one that recognizes our mutual interest in breaking a cycle of conflict, and that promises a future in which those who kill innocents are isolated by those who stand up for peace and prosperity and human dignity.

And finally, we must draw on the strength of our values -- for the challenges that we face may have changed, but the things that we believe in must not. That's why we must promote our values by living them at home -- which is why I have prohibited torture and will close the prison at Guantanamo Bay. And we must make it clear to every man, woman and child around the world who lives under the dark cloud of tyranny that America will speak out on behalf of their human rights, and tend to the light of freedom and justice and opportunity and respect for the dignity of all peoples. That is who we are. That is the source, the moral source, of America's authority.

Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, and the service and sacrifice of our grandparents and great-grandparents, our country has borne a special burden in global affairs. We have spilled American blood in many countries on multiple continents. We have spent our revenue to help others rebuild from rubble and develop their own economies. We have joined with others to develop an architecture of institutions -- from the United Nations to NATO to the World Bank -- that provide for the common security and prosperity of human beings.

We have not always been thanked for these efforts, and we have at times made mistakes. But more than any other nation, the United States of America has underwritten global security for over six decades -- a time that, for all its problems, has seen walls come down, and markets open, and billions lifted from poverty, unparalleled scientific progress and advancing frontiers of human liberty.

For unlike the great powers of old, we have not sought world domination. Our union was founded in resistance to oppression. We do not seek to occupy other nations. We will not claim another nation's resources or target other peoples because their faith or ethnicity is different from ours. What we have fought for -- what we continue to fight for -- is a better future for our children and grandchildren. And we believe that their lives will be better if other peoples' children and grandchildren can live in freedom and access opportunity. (Applause.)

As a country, we're not as young -- and perhaps not as innocent -- as we were when Roosevelt was President. Yet we are still heirs to a noble struggle for freedom. And now we must summon all of our might and moral suasion to meet the challenges of a new age.

In the end, our security and leadership does not come solely from the strength of our arms. It derives from our people -- from the workers and businesses who will rebuild our economy; from the entrepreneurs and researchers who will pioneer new industries; from the teachers that will educate our children, and the service of those who work in our communities at home; from the diplomats and Peace Corps volunteers who spread hope abroad; and from the men and women in uniform who are part of an unbroken line of sacrifice that has made government of the people, by the people, and for the people a reality on this Earth. (Applause.)

This vast and diverse citizenry will not always agree on every issue -- nor should we. But I also know that we, as a country, cannot sustain our leadership, nor navigate the momentous challenges of our time, if we allow ourselves to be split asunder by the same rancor and cynicism and partisanship that has in recent times poisoned our national discourse.

It's easy to forget that when this war began, we were united -- bound together by the fresh memory of a horrific attack, and by the determination to defend our homeland and the values we hold dear. I refuse to accept the notion that we cannot summon that unity again. (Applause.) I believe with every fiber of my being that we -- as Americans -- can still come together behind a common purpose. For our values are not simply words written into parchment -- they are a creed that calls us together, and that has carried us through the darkest of storms as one nation, as one people.

America -- we are passing through a time of great trial. And the message that we send in the midst of these storms must be clear: that our cause is just, our resolve unwavering. We will go forward with the confidence that right makes might, and with the commitment to forge an America that is safer, a world that is more secure, and a future that represents not the deepest of fears but the highest of hopes. (Applause.)

Thank you. God bless you. May God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)  
Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

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## Chapter 1

### **Globalization, The Other, and The Need for Ethical Presidential Rhetoric**

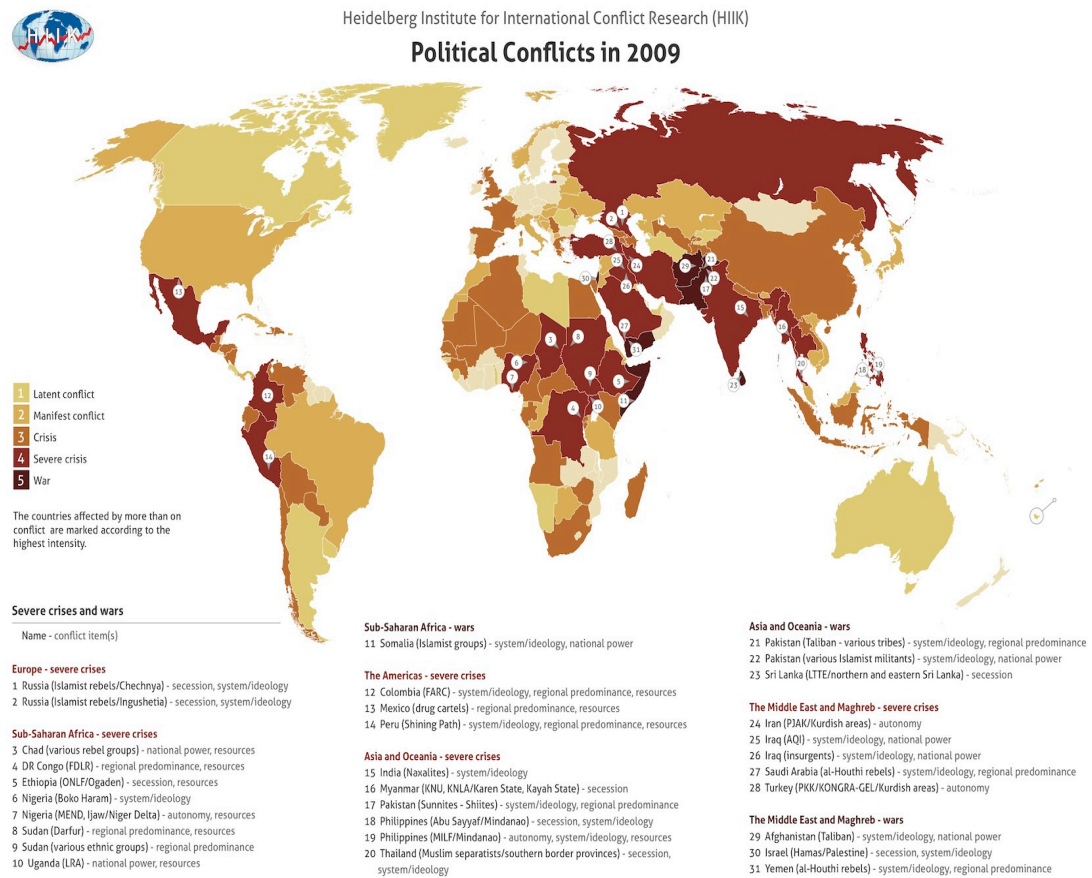
Globalization is a tangled web of contradictions: connections between nations but divisions and disconnect within individual countries, economic prosperity for some countries but caste-like economic paralysis in others. Most of these oppressive systems are found in third world countries for which globalization was, in the early 1990's, hailed as the "end-all, be-all" political and economic solution (Stiglitz 6).

Several contemporary definitions of globalization have become more prominent and accepted than others. According to Fredric Jameson, a professor of literature at Duke University, "The concept of globalization reflects the sense of an immense enlargement of world communication, as well as of the horizon of a world market, both of which seem far more tangible than in earlier stages of modernity." And, in the words of James Mittelman a professor of International Relations at American University, "Globalization compresses the time and space aspects of social relations"(Steger 13). These definitions both recognize the undeniable increase of interconnectedness between space and time in the modern world as opposed to earlier stages of modernity, yet they diverge by highlighting different concepts and aspects of this interconnectedness. Undoubtedly both definitions give us some degree of hope that increases in interconnectedness and

communication could lead to the possibility of a more peaceful world. The definitions teach us that now, more than ever, global citizens are in a position to create mass connections on social, political, and economic levels.

Both Jameson and Mittelman recognize the impact of globalization on communication, yet Mittelman ignores or omits the economic ramifications of this “world market.” Citizens of the globe can communicate more effectively, but the economic impacts of globalization are an equally important part of the concept of globalization. It is in the economic ramifications of a global market that explanations for global violence and instability are found. While world communication has increased at an exponential rate, so has global violence. It is important to note from figure 1-1 that violence has become more centralized. This conflict *within* nations is the most alarming

and significant area of this data.

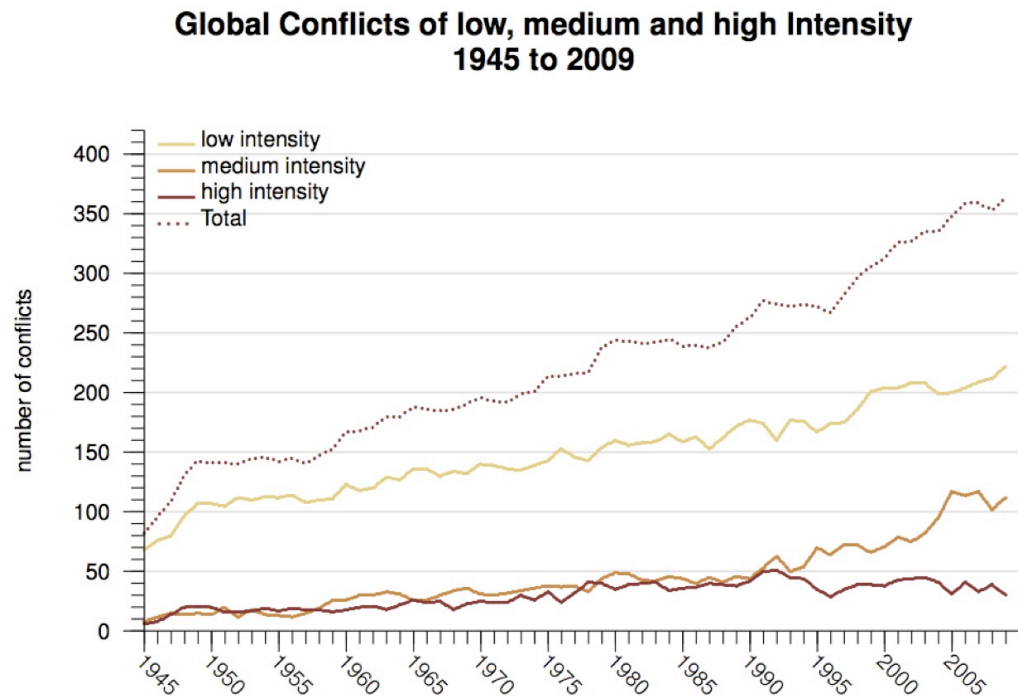


**Figure 1-1 Global conflict map from the Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research <sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> See works cited for their methodological approach.

<sup>2</sup> See works cited for their methodological approach

<sup>3</sup> Transnational Advocacy Networks : This concept, defined and described by Margaret Keck and Katharine Sikkink in 1998 captures the essence of positive globalization. It describes the non-political



**Figure 1-2 Global conflict table from the Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research<sup>2</sup>**

Both of the figures show that despite the increase of communication, violence and conflict still manage to erupt all across the world. The world might be more connected, and we might be communicating more than ever before, but enemies are still being created. In fact, they are being created at a more alarming rate than ever before. Most of global conflict occurs in countries where globalization has created a system that benefits few at the expense of most of the population. Some globalization scholars have called this “accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 154)” others have cited the phenomenon of “market-dominant minorities” (Chua 23).

<sup>2</sup> See works cited for their methodological approach



In 2004, the International Labour Organization issued an accurate, yet damning, statement on the disparities produced by the global market system:

“The current process of globalization is generating unbalanced outcomes, both between and within countries. Wealth is being created, but too many countries and people are not sharing in its benefits. They also have little or no voice in shaping the process. Seen through the eyes of the vast majority of women and men, globalization has not met their simple and legitimate aspirations for decent jobs and a better future for their children. Many of them live in the limbo of the informal economy without formal rights and in a swathe of poor countries that subsist precariously on the margins of the global economy. Even in the economically successful countries some workers and communities have been adversely affected by globalization. Meanwhile the revolution in global communications heightens awareness of these disparities...these global imbalances are morally unacceptable and politically unsustainable (Steger 17).”

This statement unpacks the underlying dimensions of globalization that are not included in the definitions provided by Jameson and Mittelman. The statement touches on two extremely important aspects of globalization, increased in communication and increases in economic disparities. These aspects are seemingly paradoxical. Increased communication *should* create a more peaceful world, but a peaceful world is impossible with mass economic disparities. In fact, the increase in communication highlights these disparities, thus making the situation more volatile. As the International

Labour Organization predicts, the global imbalances caused by globalization's economic dimensions are "morally unacceptable and politically unsustainable." The Heidelberg data proves this prediction.

When examining globalization it is necessary to recognize the current ideologies surrounding the concept; these have been dubbed "Globalisms." Globalisms are ideologies that endow the concept of globalization with particular values and meanings. The three main "Globalisms" are market globalism, justice globalism, and jihadist globalism. Market globalism refers to the economic aspects and neoliberal consequences of globalization, whereas justice globalization refers to leftist egalitarian ideals of global solidarity and distributive justice (Steger 99). Jihadist globalization refers to the perceived "American-ization" of culture and national identity across the world (Steger 97).

The obvious clash between the three globalisms helps to explain the seemingly paradoxical coincidences with increased communication yet more conflict. For example, while globalization has spurred the creation of thousands of Transnational Advocacy Networks<sup>3</sup> and global communication platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Smartphones, it has also spurred mass environmental degradation and staggering economic disparities in virtually every corner of the world. Increases in communication between global individuals make the citizens of these victim countries aware of their lack of rights and economic prosperity. It also enables them to see a way of life that they never before thought possible, and they want it (Steger 83).

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<sup>3</sup> Transnational Advocacy Networks : This concept, defined and described by Margaret Keck and Katharine Sikkink in 1998 captures the essence of positive globalization. It describes the non-political actors who interact with each other, with states, and with international organizations in networks that have become powerful players in global politics (Keck, .

Not only are countries looking outward with desire and jealousy, but market-dominant minorities<sup>4</sup> can and are also causing internal strife all across the world. Amy Chua describes the harsh realities of free-market democracy exportation (Chua 6). She describes a phenomenon in which minority populations across the world tend to dominate under market conditions in countries where they are widely outnumbered by their indigenous counterparts. This has spurred extreme ethnic hatred in the Philippines (where a Chinese minority dominates), Indonesia (where the Chinese minority, roughly 3% of the population, dominates), South Africa, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala (where White domination is direct or indirect), Russia (where Jews dominate the market), and many more (Chua 6).

In this type of system political, social, and economic interests are all divided by ethnicity, rather than other factors, like class. Ethnonationalism causes massive instability in countries where a majority indigenous population is pitted against a wealthy minority population (Chua 15). A similar situation has played out over the last fifty years on the world stage. America has become the world's market-dominant minority, thus another explanation for global anti-Americanism is the same seen in countries with minority-dominant markets.

Another globalization phenomenon, perhaps more closely related to the jihadist globalism is the neoliberal state. "Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional

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<sup>4</sup> Market-Dominant Minorities are ethnic minorities, who, for varying reasons tend under market conditions to dominate economically the "indigenous" majorities around them (Chua, 6)

framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2-3). The pure neoliberal theory favors governments that allow extreme privatization and the promotion of conditions that render the individual capable to succeed in the marketplace. An individual’s failures are seen as an apparatus of his or her market failure as opposed to other factors like class exclusion (Harvey 64-67).

Neoliberalism can be traced back to the military coups in Argentina and Chile backed by the United State’s and executed by the wealthy elites in both countries. In the United States the 1970’s created the atmosphere for neoliberal success by establishing political action committees and the creation of conservative think tanks like the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute. Finally the looming threat of Communism enabled President Regan, with the help of the new Christian “right,” to pass extremely radical deregulation and privatization policies (Harvey, 67-70).

This description defines neoliberalism in its ideal form, but the appearance of neoliberalism within different states has lead to unstable and contradictory manifestations. For example, Harvey highlights the dangers caused by a general lack of competition and by the monopoly of power. He cites the California power crisis of 2002 and the deadly Hatfield, UK rail accident of 2000 as problems with deregulation and privatization. He also cites problems like pollution (Harvey, 65-69).

Internationally, the manifestation of neoliberalism has created unfair trade laws and political international monetary organizations. For example, the 1998 bailout by the International Monetary Fund in Russia occurred to help Boris Yeltsin remain in power, and to ensure that Communism did not reemerge (Stiglitz 166). United States’ special interests often create unfair trade laws, as was the case with Russian aluminum in 1994

when the United States, without any economic validity, used international trade laws to force Russia to raise their prices of aluminum through the creation of an international cartel so that American aluminum producers could compete (Stiglitz 176).

Another problem with neoliberalism is that democracy does not fit well with the model neoliberal state. In a democracy it is possible for majority rule to threaten individual rights (for the purpose of this research “individual” can refer to a business as well as a person) and market liberty. By giving the majority power to effect key economic decisions and monetary institutions, democracies threaten key institutions, like a country’s central bank.

The obvious unethical manifestations of neoliberalism imposed by the United States on the rest of the world help to explain the current global economic disparities and unrest. The United States has essentially encouraged the international rule of business elites while rhetorically preaching the opposite. The United States has used their international pull to benefit domestic producers while they have created situations in countries across the world that encourage dangerous deregulation and privatization, like those described by Chua and Stiglitz. The 2003 invasion of Iraq by the United States is an interesting case study of the effects the imposition of a neoliberal state have on a country and its people.

The invasion of Iraq and proceeding political and economic policy have rendered Iraq a “state apparatus whose fundamental mission was to facilitate conditions for profitable capital accumulation on the part of both domestic and foreign capital” (Harvey 20). In other words, by allowing the full privatization of public enterprises, full ownership rights by foreign firms of Iraqi businesses, and other aspects of free-market

fundamentalism, the United States, using rhetoric as a coercive tool, has transformed a country into an international business through “accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey 179). They have also imposed an alien form of government, “liberal democracy”, upon a people who place more importance culturally in social power structures rather than the individual (Harvey 23).

In 1992, Francis Fukuyama cited the liberal democracy as the logical answer to man’s historical quest for the ideal governing form. He cites the continuous fall of authoritarian regimes, (namely the fall of Pinochet in Chile) as proof of the resilience of liberal democracy (Fakuyama, 12-20). Fakuyama, however, did not take into account the imposition of this system on Chile by American elites. As unrest in Iraq and Afghanistan continues, it becomes clear the imposition of a liberal democracy on a country has proven to be unstable. In light of the current global economic disparities and unrest as a result of neoliberalism, Fakuyama’s theory, although bold and interesting, seems a bit idealistic. Fakuyama did not take neoliberalism into account; this renders his theory shortsighted.

Harvey cites the use of rhetoric as a means of persuading the American people of neoliberalist tendencies, particularly in the case of Iraq. According to Harvey, the word “freedom” is coercive. To explain this he says, “the word ‘freedom’ resonates so widely within the common-sense understanding of Americans that it becomes ‘a button that elites can press to open the door to the masses to justify almost anything’ (Havery 8). Harvey describes the use of the word by President Bush to coerce the American people into accepting the complete re-structuring of Iraq by American forces (Harvey 10). Using this type of ingrained language changes political issues, Harvey argues, into cultural ones. Social justice and individual freedoms, structural values for which

Americans have cavaliered for centuries, have been used by neoliberals to impose unimaginable control on the global market while disguising this control as welfare and “freedom” (Harvey 7).

Ironically, one antidote to the imposition of neoliberalism and the way to end global instability caused by wide economic disparities is also a product of globalization: communication. Oppositional Transnational Advocacy Networks have the global power to oppose economic imperialism and keep elites accountable for their actions through communicated, rhetorical criticism. Both market dominant minorities and neoliberal governments cause elitist domination within countries. This leads to unrest, instability, and internal violence, but the international non-political players described by Keck and Sikkink can offset all of these products (Keck and Sikkink 2). Classic political players can also take a role in the global unrest caused by economic dimensions of globalization; they too can use rhetoric and communication as a tool to bring about honest international economic policies without the use of coercive language.

America’s position as a leader on the world stage has become ever more apparent through global communication. Not only do privileged citizens across the world listen to the remarks made by the President of the United States, but middle and lower class individuals (though the increase in global communication) can now also listen. The President has, now, more than ever before, a global audience for his rhetorical actions. Global citizens are not as moved by Presidential allusions to “Freedom,” to “Individuality,” to “Evil,” and to “God.” Our nation is, for better or worse, judged in the world by the actions and words of our leader, our President. The President has

unprecedented power, and thus responsibility. His global podium necessitates a different type of rhetoric.

Gray Rhetoric is one potential solution to the problems caused by the various causes and manifestations of global economic disparities that cause instability and violence. Distinguished from Manichean rhetoric that portrays the world as simple, as a matter of black and white dichotomies, gray rhetoric involves the representation of an argument in its full, complex, perplexing state. The basis of the exploration for gray rhetoric began after 9/11 when audience members of Presidential rhetoric had been coerced, and ultimately deceived by Manichean false dichotomies and vague yet culturally motivated word-choice.

Mani, an individual known solely through allusions in other hieroglyphic work from the 200AD-400AD time period, is generally believed to be the founder of the religion known as Manichaeism. Mani's teaching was proclaimed at the time as an extensional combination of both Christianity and Buddhism, and it centered entirely on the idea that an eternal struggle between good and evil existed. Mani saw the world in “black and white” terms; salvation could only be found in disassociating evil from good (Franzman 5-25).

Ancient rhetorical scholars also seemed to examine the world as a dissectible reality; one in which “good” and “evil” were clearly discernable. For example, in Plato’s dialogue “The Republic,” he describes “subsets” of the “Form of the Good,” including justice, truth, equality, beauty, and other idealistic, ultimately subjective and indefinable concepts. In this dialogue, Plato suggests the ability to separate concepts into good/evil categories (Dodds 5-15). The flaw of rhetorical dualism is that identity is viewed as a



false syllogism. Good and evil/ freedom and oppression/enemy and ally, are only defined and categorized by their relational opposition to each other.

If a perfect dissection of reality were ever possible (as this work does not attempt to examine the identity or realities of the Ancient world), it is most certainly not possible or ethical for a modern rhetorician to view the world as anything but gray, un-dissectible. American citizens are bewildered by global animosity and spite, yet ignore years of imperial aggression and unethical covert operations (Johnson 3-30). Who are the enemies and who are the victims in the War on Terror? Chalmers Johnson's "unrecognized plea" provided evidence that universal blowback should be expected and is ultimately unavoidable.<sup>5</sup> Post 9/11 probes and research have helped to highlight American misconceptions on the role of the United States as a global moral force of "freedom" and "democracy." They have shown the logical consequences of imperialism, covert influence, and capitalistic exploitation (Johnson 40-51).<sup>6</sup> The line between victim and enemy has become very messy and blurred. It has become gray.

Ancient scholars, though failing to note the impossibility of universal dichotomy, did highlight some important characteristics of ethical rhetoric. In Plato's dialogue Gorgias speakers emphasize that a rhetorician must have "true knowledge," in the subject for which he speaks. Plato strived for true knowledge of the forms and of human nature. In today's world, and for the purposes of this research, true knowledge pertains to the current geo-political situation. True knowledge for modern rhetoricians recognizes the economic impacts of globalization: violence, inequity, and instability.

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<sup>5</sup> Blowback fell largely upon deaf ears until after 9/11

<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately some of these recognitions have been forgotten as the United States has involved itself with the conflict in Libya and the general unrest in the Middle East.

Many of the vague references to “evil” in post- 9/11 rhetoric highlight the lack of “true knowledge” behind rhetorical action. Gray rhetoric also encourages “true knowledge” as part of the rhetorician’s ethical responsibility. Scholars generally agree that Plato focused on the moral character of rhetoric, rather than examining and/or defining rhetoric in reality. Plato thought that true knowledge brought certainty. Conversely, and in the tradition of Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian, gray rhetoric acknowledges that knowledge is only partial. As reality is constantly changing and re-constructing itself, humans are fallable rather than omnipotent. Plato examined rhetoric in the “Ideal State,” I attempt to examine and identify an ideal form of rhetoric in a world that is anything but ideal.

Gray rhetoric avoids words like “evil,” “freedom,” and “democracy.” Not only are these words deeply rooted in American ideological structures, but they also could mean something different to each person that hears them. Rhetoric is a transformative symbiotic experience that involves both speaker and audience participation (Benson, 1989). When a rhetorician uses the word “freedom,” for example, each audience member may associate different ideas, experiences, and meanings with the concept of “freedom.” It is a word that has positive connotations for virtually every American, thus without having to specify his/her intention; a rhetorician automatically generates positive recognition from the audience (of whom each member may be thinking of something different). The coercion of the vague is an obvious rhetorical tool, but its lack of specificity and its automatic, unquestioning, positive reception from the audience makes the use of such words unethical and quite dangerous.

A gray rhetorical act is one that is as specific as possible. It is an act that highlights the complexity in its content. It is one that presents the audience with a “true knowledge” of the content. Lastly, it is one that aims not at personal gain or coercion<sup>7</sup>, but rather mutual understanding. Rhetoric has classically been described as persuasion. A “gray” President aims to create public deliberation rather than public persuasion. The pen is, indeed, mightier than the sword. In this world of increasing instability and violence, gray rhetoric could be the instrument of peace.

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<sup>7</sup> Leland M. Griffin defines rhetorical actions as coercive rather than persuasive when they are essentially “non-rational” and when they are dependant on ‘seat of the pants’ rather than ‘seat of the intellect’ - (Griffin 127).

## Chapter 2

### **The Speech that Launched a Thousand Ships**

Gray rhetoric has essentially four elements; it presents the complex as complex, it deals with “true knowledge,” it avoids “ingrained terminology,” and it has aims for truth rather than trickery. In presenting complex situations, a gray rhetorician does not attempt to reduce or over-simplify the facts. A gray rhetorician has faith that his/her audience can handle complex thinking. “True knowledge,” in gray rhetoric means that the rhetorician is aware of the geo-political dimensions that deal with his/her subject matter. It also means that the rhetorician admits when there are facts missing or when his/her knowledge is incomplete. He or she presents only what he or she knows to be true. Gray rhetoric does not use ingrained terms and ideas; it strives to avoid using coercive, vague language. Finally gray rhetoric aims for truth rather than trickery, this includes the avoidance of logical fallacies, flattery, or other means of persuading without reason.

An interesting application of gray rhetoric can be made to a rhetorical product produced by President Bush after the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. President Bush addressed a joint session of Congress to incite conflict in the Middle East, particularly in Afghanistan on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September 2001. In this address President Bush first highlights acts of American bravery, he then attempts to explain what happened on 9/11. Next he creates and defines the enemy. Following his definition of the enemy, President Bush presents a vague strategy. Finally he asks for international aid, and then he concludes with an anecdotal story and a blessing for America.

President Bush begins to stray from the gray when he begins describing “the enemy, “The evidence gathered points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda....Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world—and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.” The first element of gray rhetoric involves the representation of the complex. The reduction of complex ideas into an easily communicable form is essentially rhetoric’s purpose. President Bush goes too far in the reduction of the complex. In doing so, he deceives the audience.

Richard J. Bernstein discussed what he experienced as “an abuse of evil,” in post 9/11 discourse. This idea absolutely manifests itself in this rhetorical product. Bush simplifies the complex interaction between terrorism, globalization, and freedom into a stark dichotomy of “al Qaeda verses America,” essentially “evil verses good.” Bernstein describes post-9/11 rhetoric as a “clash of mentalities,” where morals rather than civilizations stand in contrast. The reduction of the complex post-9/11 situation into simple, absolutes was black and white, and it was unethical (Bernstein, viii, 10)

Most United States’ citizens had never been introduced to the concept of American-focused terrorism let alone have knowledge of an individual terrorist organization. President Bush’s definition of this group was to be extremely important in the weeks leading up to the invasion of Afghanistan. Unfortunately President Bush oversimplifies an extremely complex idea by “playing-down” al Qaeda as a threat through the use of false analogies and allusions to American greatness. By comparing a group of modern Islamic terrorists to American mobsters he creates a simple, familiar, American identity for an extremely complex and foreign coalition. This is unethical

because it prohibits the American audience from truly grasping the identity of the enemy. It is also dangerous, for any misconception of an enemy inevitably leads to strategic misconstructions and missteps. Americans needed to know al Qaeda's identity in its complex nature to make responsible decisions in public opinion arenas. Unfortunately because of President Bush's over simplistic description, bin Laden was reduced to a Corleone. Americans underestimated al Qaeda from the beginning because they believed the organization to be similar to the mafia. They saw al Qaeda as a formidable enemy, but one who had been conquered time and time again, with a full-proof strategy, by American forces.

President Bush also oversimplifies the goal of al Qaeda. It is simply impossible to state all of the reasons for the 9/11 attacks in one sentence. Bin Laden succinctly explained the attacks almost a year later by listing seven clear motives along with several bulleted examples for each point (Bin Laden, 223). Perhaps if Americans had understood the complex enemy and its complex goals from the beginning, they would have been better able to make informed decisions throughout the course of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

It becomes necessary, when discussing the rhetoric of Bin Laden, to note the practical and ethical difficulties of gray rhetoric. One of the imperatives of gray rhetoric is to listen to the enemy, but obviously in the wake of 9/11 Americans did not feel willing or at ease with a serious consideration of Bin Laden's speech products. Gray rhetoric is not easy; in fact it is quite difficult to create rhetoric that is compatible with gray qualities. This research maintains, however, that serious considerations of Bin Laden's rhetoric would and should have been more prominent. President Bush includes in his

speech, “Americans are asking why.” Bin Laden gave clear, succinct, and though certainly not legitimate, quite logical reasons for his attacks. For example:

“Your policy on prohibiting and forcibly removing weapons of mass destruction to ensure world peace only applies to those countries which you do not permit to possess such weapons. As for the countries to which you gave consent, such as Israel, they are allowed to keep and use such weapons to defend their security. Anyone else who you suspect might be manufacturing or keeping these kinds of weapons, you call criminals and you take military action against them (Bin Laden 168)”

And,

“As for the war criminals whom you censure and form criminal courts for- you shamelessly ask that your own are granted immunity [The US signed, but never ratified the 2002 International Criminal Court, and as such is not legally bound to it.]. However, history will never forget the war crimes that you committed against the Muslims and the rest of the world; those you have killed in Japan, Afghanistan, Somalia, Lebanon, and Iraq will remain a disgrace that you will never be able to escape. It will suffice to remind you of your latest war crimes in Afghanistan, in which densely populated innocent civilian villages were destroyed, bombs were dropped on mosques, causing the roof of the mosque to collapse on the heads of those praying inside.... (Bin Laden 167)”

And,

“The freedom and democracy that you call for, is for yourselves and for yourselves only. As for the rest of the world, you impose upon it your monstrous,

destructive policies and governments... You prevent them from establishing democracies. When the Islamic party in Algeria wanted to practice democracy and they won the election, you unleashed your collaborators in the Algerian army on them, and attacked them with tanks and guns, imprisoned them and tortured them- a new lesson from the “American book of democracy” (Bin Laden 169).

Obviously none of the reasons Bin Laden includes in his succinct list of motives warrants terrorism, but it is important for Americans to give consideration to reasons provided for such a seemingly illogical act of violence. One of the major points Bin Laden made was the apparent American hypocrisy (we were fighting them for killing innocent civilians, yet American forces were also killing civilians on a constant basis throughout the beginning months of the Iraqi invasion (Blowback, iv). Had emphasis been placed on Bin Laden’s message in 2002, perhaps Americans could have made different strategic decisions to truly avert the continual propagation of civilian casualties.

The second element of gray rhetoric deals with “true knowledge.” It is impossible to know how much information President Bush actually knew at the time of the delivery of this rhetorical product, but he certainly did know that al Qaeda was nothing like the mafia. By presenting them as such, he violated this part of gray rhetoric.

A third part of gray rhetoric involves the use of “ingrained terminology.” President Bush’s use of the word “mafia,” is extremely coercive. The mafia is the quintessential enemy for Americans as it has been engrained over the past century in our value system as being essentially evil. They stand directly in stark contrast with the American dream, and they have been portrayed over and over again in popular culture as



being heartless, lazy, greedy, and violent. Moreover they have been portrayed, as a being literally “anti-American” as they are often a group comprised largely of immigrants. The mafia is an extremely vague enemy because it has been portrayed in so many different ways in so many different mediums. When individuals in the audience hear “the mafia,” they may all experience different emotions and attach different concepts to the word, but they will all, unquestioningly, accept that fact that “the mafia,” is an enemy.

The fourth prong of gray rhetoric deals with the use of trickery rather than truth to persuade. Analogies should work to relate to similar ideas to help audience members better understand a situation at hand. By comparing two radically different things in this false analogy, Bush tricks the American people. President Bush uses non-gray rhetoric throughout the rest of the speech. In terms of the representation of the complex, President Bush oversimplifies throughout the speech. The demand to the Taliban is also an example of this:

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

By framing the complex demands in simple sentences, President Bush creates the impression that these demands would be possible for the Taliban to meet. In reality, he creates an ultimatum that is impossible to meet, and sets the Taliban up for failure. President Bush deceived the American people by stating the demands in such a simplistic manner. The Taliban could never have met the demands, especially without discussion, and by stating that the demands “are not open to negotiation or discussion,” he created war.

Another representation of the complex in overly simplistic terms occurs when President Bush states, “Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children.” The public asked a legitimate question to the President on the brink of war, “What will this cost us?”. The President answered in an overly simplistic and idealistic fashion. The real cost of war is money, disenchantment, and most expensive of all, American lives. By answering this question in a simple, utopian manner, the President deceived the public.

The avoidance of “true knowledge,” also occurs throughout the text. Most strikingly, President Bush states, “We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.” True knowledge involves the explanation of known facts and the recognition of the unknown. It is unethical for the President to make arrogant predictions without true knowledge of the possibility for success. He also states, regarding al Qaeda, “Their leaders are self-appointed.” The very concept of leadership hints at some sort of symbiotic acknowledgement between leader and follower, this statement is unfounded and simply untrue. Every leader needs followers, and it is clear that al Qaeda’s followers obeyed and respected their leaders enough to sacrifice their lives for their leader’s

agenda. In another clear avoidance of true knowledge, President Bush explains al Qaeda's goals and reasons. Bin Laden, however, did not release his reasons for the attack until a year after this speech. President Bush was guessing at al Qaeda's goals, but he presented them as fact.

Ingrained language is the key to this speech's deception. By comparing al Qaeda with Nazism and totalitarianism, President Bush forces the audience to automatically begin constructing a traditional enemy. This helps audiences contextualize the new enemy by using old frameworks. Problems arise when the new enemy has nothing to do with old frameworks, when the enemy is essentially and literally new, like al Qaeda. President Bush uses the words freedom and liberty constantly in the speech to receive unquestioning support for his arguments. The words have positive connotations for every American, but freedom means something different for every individual. By using these vague terms, President Bush generated compliance without specifying what the actual act of compliance was for. Most Americans probably didn't realize that "defending liberty" was a synonym for war.

This speech is based on trickery rather than truth. The statements, "This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all those who believe in progress or pluralism, tolerance and freedom," gives assumed authority to Bush. What power does one individual have to define "civilization's fight?" This call to arms is not based on fact, but once again based on ingrained words, like "progress," "pluralism," "tolerance," and "freedom." By linking all four words, President Bush also tricks the audience into thinking they are all related, and all share some sort of inner-dependence on one-another.

This speech could have been more gray if President Bush had admitted that the situation was a complex problem from the start. He then could have stated the facts. Without making false analogies and metaphors, he could have let the audience make comparisons and deductions. More importantly, concerning “true knowledge,” President Bush could have stated what information the government lacked at the time. He could have admitted the situation was still gray, still uncertain. President Bush could have made the decision to stay away from vague and coercive terms. Finally he could have aimed to deliver Americans the truth and the facts, rather than use trickery to persuade.

The consequences of gray rhetoric must be mentioned as to their effectiveness. President Bush’s speech gave Americans reassurance and comfort through the creation of a “simple” enemy. Americans may have wanted, or even needed, this reassurance, but reassurance at the cost of deceit is unethical. President Bush’s rhetoric may indeed have been effective in rallying public opinion, but a gray version of the speech would have been more honest and ethical. It also could have helped avert or diminish years of cost, conflict, and casualties.

### Chapter 3

## Getting Grayer

President Obama's remarks to the nation on December 1, 2009 at West Point on the way forward in Afghanistan mark a great departure from the rhetoric Americans experienced during Bush's presidency. Most apparent is the lack of flowery language and extended metaphors used so often by Bush's speechwriters. Obama's rhetorical product is grounded in reason; it is marked by its somber, rational tone. Bush's speech made the decision to invade a black and white scenario; Obama presents his argument in a gray manner.

It is important to note that Bush's rhetoric in his address to a joint session of congress is virtually the paradigm for anti-gray rhetoric. In all four areas it fails to be gray. As the President who follows a president who, in his final days, was approved by only 28% of Americans, it is natural that President Obama speaks a type of rhetoric that was as different as possible from the rhetoric that inspired two unpopular wars (Gallup, 2009). Although it is extremely gray, it is impossible to know whether its "grayness" comes from a desire to be an ethical rhetorician, or if it is haphazardly gray because of its effort to be "other" than that of Bush. Regardless, this rhetorical product manages to be almost the perfect shade of gray.

The speech begins with an overview of the initial causes and events that began the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Next he briefly discusses the end of the Iraq war, which then flows into the escalated problems in Afghanistan. Following the description of the

current situation, Obama discusses the conclusions of his review of the United States' strategy in Afghanistan. He then expresses the need for troop escalation in Afghanistan followed by a discussion of why escalation is the proper course of action.

Obama's rhetoric makes a much greater effort to recognize the complexity of the situation at hand. This can be seen through several quotations, including but not limited to: "I do not make this decision lightly.", "So, no, I do not make this decision lightly.", "I recognize that there are a range of concerns about our approach.", and "Now let me be clear: none of this will be easy."

Obama's speechwriters made a huge effort to stress to the audience that Obama was not taking his decision to escalate troops in Afghanistan lightly. This is a very gray manner of addressing the problem at hand. By demonstrating that the situation is not one with a black/white decision paradigm, Obama is highlighting the complexity of the condition in Afghanistan. He is highlighting the "grayness" of the dilemma. Bush's rhetoric was not marked by hesitation or uncertainty. His unwavering confidence created an oversimplified state of affairs. By saying, "I recognize that there are a range of concerns about our approach," Obama recognizes the complexity of the problem by insinuating that there were numerous valid options that he considered before making his decision. War is, essentially, complex. Obama states, "Now let me be clear: none of this will be easy." This statement is a profound departure from Bush's description of events and from his absolute confidence in a swift American victory. Obama makes no such claims. He prepares Americans for the reality of war by presenting the realities in their complex form.

In terms of “true knowledge,” Obama’s speech also has several gray areas. The foundation for the speech’s strength in “true knowledge” is found in the constant delivery of actual figures and numbers. The “logos” in the speech is strong; the arguments are backed by fact, data, and numbers. This trend is found throughout the speech, beginning with “19 men hijacked four airplanes...” in the second paragraph, and followed by the exact Senate and House votes for the 2001 authorization, the number of troops in both countries at the beginning of his term, the number of troops his escalation will require, and the likely monetary repercussions of such an escalation. His continual use of numbers indicates a “true knowledge” of both the past and present situation. It also emphasizes a degree of honesty about the costs of escalation, both economically and physically. When compared to Bush’s answer to the question, “What is asked of us?” Obama’s specific reference to troop number and cost provide a positive contrast to Bush’s “hugs”.

The only shortcoming in terms of “true knowledge” as it pertains to this particular rhetorical product, is that it fails to recognize the unknown. Obama could have highlighted areas of his review that remained uncertain, and areas that contributed to the complexity of his decision-making process. More detail also could have been provided about how the specific deadline for troop withdrawal was created.

In terms of ingrained language, Obama is careful to avoid words like “freedom,” “liberty,” “evil” and other coercive expressions that are deeply rooted in the American value system. Contrary to Bush’s constant appeals to freedom, Obama chooses a more simple rationale for increased participation from the armed services in Afghanistan, security. Appeals to both domestic and global security are made over fifteen times in the

speech. 9/11 threatened, at its most basic level, our security. We were still free in many senses of the word after the attacks, but we did not feel secure. Obama's appeal to security is not only more logical, but it is less coercive. The word is not as embedded in our national identity as the word freedom. It is a grayer call to arms.

Instead of using an abundance of confusing metaphors, Obama attempts to dismantle current false analogies in popular belief. He does this by discrediting the relationship between Vietnam and Afghanistan. The only metaphor Obama uses is that of the storm. "For values are not simply words written into a parchment—they are a creed that calls us together, and that has carried us through the darkest of storms as one nation, as one people." The connection between our nation's hardships and the image of a storm is not coercive. It does not aim to make a false analogy or to deceive the audience. Rather, it is an emotional appeal to the senses that simply helps to render his otherwise factual and logic-based rhetorical product more appealing to the senses.

Finally there are virtually no discernable acts of trickery or deception. Obama's discipline in structure throughout the speech makes it virtually impossible to commit acts of deceit. Traces of truth are found in his honest answers to three different concerns about his approach. The acknowledgement of these concerns and his discussion of them render his argument much stronger. This logical flow of ideas is also apparent in his discussion of the three-pronged strategy. Contrary to Bush's product, Obama offers the audience a carefully considered strategy.

Overall Obama's speech has very gray tendencies. Although there are areas upon which he could improve, like the acknowledgement of areas where his review was



incomplete, what exactly the review had consisted of, and more detail as to the decision process as a whole, the rhetorical product was overall ethical, honest, and gray.

In a globalized world of increasing violence, communication can be used as an instrument of peace. The President is America's most prominent identity. As such, he must use his global podium to advance accurate portrayals of the American people and their role in the international arena. He must also serve as an example to other world leaders. By treating the American audience as equals, he will demonstrate to rhetoricians across the world that every global citizen deserves respect. The positive potential for communication can only be unleashed through its ethical use. Gray rhetoric may not be the sole solution to the world's complex problems, but it is certainly one of them.

## Chapter 4

### Back to Black?

In February of 2011 Libya experienced the unrest sweeping through much of the rest of the Arab world. Organized anti-government efforts in Tripoli and Benghazi were met with Colonel Qaddafi's forces, which attacked the anti-government groups with a stronger level of violence than the other uprisings across North Africa and the Middle East had experienced. On March 19<sup>th</sup> American and European forces began a campaign against Qaddafi and his forces. The level of Western military intervention in this campaign is comparable with the warplane and missile use seen during the beginning years of the Iraq War.

As a similar situation to Iraq has unfolded in Libya, President Obama's rhetoric has become more closely linked to that of President Bush than his earlier speeches on the status of Iraq and Afghanistan. On March 24<sup>th</sup>, President Obama made remarks at the National Defense University in Washington. The Washington Post highlighted several examples of strikingly similar rhetorical styles between the two Presidents in their remarks on Iraq and Libya, respectively:

BUSH: "Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill, and would be dishonorable to abandon. Yet because we have acted in the great liberating tradition of this nation, tens of millions have achieved their freedom. And as hope kindles hope, millions more will find it (Shear, 2011)."

OBAMA: "For generations, the United States of America has played a unique role as an anchor of global security and as an advocate for human freedom. Mindful of the risks and costs of military action, we are naturally reluctant to use

force to solve the world's many challenges. But when our interests and values are at stake, we have a responsibility to act (Shear, 2011)."

There are undeniable similarities between these two excerpts. President Obama remains attached to his emphasis on security, but he has added, from Bush, the rhetorical appeals to freedom. President Obama also frames the issue in Libya as a responsibility. Bush also placed emphasis on this responsibility, saying it would be "dishonorable" not to participate. Obligation and responsibility give false authority to both speakers. What right do these two individuals have to define America's responsibility in the world?

Another two excerpts are;

BUSH: "All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: the United States will not ignore your oppression, or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you (Shear, 2011)."

OBAMA: "Born, as we are, out of a revolution by those who longed to be free, we welcome the fact that history is on the move in the Middle East and North Africa, and that young people are leading the way. Because wherever people long to be free, they will find a friend in the United States (Shear, 2011)."

These excerpts demonstrate the use of ingrained terminology and concepts and the reduction of the complex. Obama appeals to Americans' value of "freedom." He also appeals to the concept of our own Revolution, which is a hugely coercive appeal. No American would deny the great effects of our revolution. President Obama links the American Revolution the revolutions in North Africa and the Middle East, thus making them one. As Americans cannot deny the American Revolution, they will not deny the value of the revolution in Libya. One last example is:

BUSH: "We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world (Shear, 2011)."

OBAMA: “For generations, we have done the hard work of protecting our own people, as well as millions around the globe. We have done so because we know that our own future is safer, our own future is brighter, if more of mankind can live with the bright light of freedom and dignity (Shear, 2011).”

In terms of gray rhetoric, President Obama has most strikingly strayed from his emphasis on the logic, and has moved towards means of trickery, reduction of the complex, and ingrained, coercive terminology. In these last two examples we can once again see the coercive appeals to “freedom” and the use of metaphors like “bright light.” This is reminiscent of President Bush’s black and white, evil and good dichotomy. President Obama also makes an argument to tradition, acting as though intervention in Libya is only in accordance with American tradition.

It is undeniable that President Obama’s style of rhetoric concerning Libya has become less gray and more black and white. Reasons for this change could be varied. After the midterm election’s President Obama’s ratings have steadily decreased. Before the intervention in Libya, they rested at roughly 50%. They have since fallen to mid-40% (National Review, 2011). Perhaps Obama’s rhetoric is an attempt to rally and unify American forces around the intervention to distract them from domestic strife. Whatever the cause, it is clear that a shift in rhetorical style has been made. Ideally, President Obama will move back to grayer tendencies in order to represent the conflict in North Africa and the Middle East in an ethical and honest manner.

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1

## **Methodological Approach of Heidelberg Institute of International Conflict**

### **(As stated by their research team)**

The Heidelberg Institute on International Conflict Research (HIIK) bases its research on a qualitative definition of conflict and war. Wars and conflicts of lesser intensity are classified according to the actual amount of violence observed, and not according to the number of fatalities. This approach ensures that even in the case of historical changes in the way conflicts are carried out, the conflict remains recordable and comparable. The characteristics, duration and frequency of the conflict measures implemented are crucial in the classification of conflicts into the different intensity levels. These measures are documented in the COSIMO/CONIS database as well as encoded and attributed to the actor in question. Over the past years, the view on international conflicts has shifted considerably. While interstate conflicts were of top-most interest to conflict researchers for years, the much higher number of intrastate conflicts has now pushed to the front. We have enhanced our methodological approach in order to account for the new questions arising from this development.

Due to the fact that many conflicts can be observed in weakened or collapsed states who are unable to intervene with their own troops, the HIIK has enhanced its definition of conflict for the first time since 1991. From now on, conflicts will be recorded even if there is no state among the conflict parties. The national value of the conflict items remains decisive.

### **Widened Scale of Intensities**

The HIIK has widened its intensity levels in order to be able to better account for peculiarities of violent conflicts as well for the dynamics of escalation and deescalation: there are now five intensity levels instead of four. In order to allow a more differentiated view on the transition of non-violent to violent conflicts, a medium level has been installed. It captures single or occasional acts of violence like e.g. riots, coups d'états or terrorist attacks. The table below depicts the range of the widened intensity scale by naming exemplary key occurrences for each level. In addition, there is a direct comparison to the former scale.

### **Widened Conflict Items**

Modifications were also made on the part of the conflict items. Instead of formerly three, there can now be recorded an unlimited number of conflict items. The former conflict items of Territory, Secession, Autonomy, Ideology/ System, National Power, International Power and Resources have been further differentiated. E.g. for the category of Resources this means that it can now be clearly recorded which resource (oil, diamonds, water...) is under dispute. The conflict item of Regional Predominance was newly included. It stands for conflicts in which an intrastate group attempts to gain control over a certain area without the goal of gaining power over the entire state (National Power) or of forming a new state (Secession).

### **Development of COSIMO 2.0/CONIS**

In order to increase the number of descriptive variables, to depict the graphs of conflicts more exactly and also to enhance the possibilities of analysis, KOSIMO was



transferred into a relational database system. For the future, this will allow us to record an unlimited amount of data concerning conflicts and actors involved. Additions and expansions can be added at any time. By linking e.g. data on conflict dynamics and structural country data comprehensive analyses can be made that allow new insights into decisive factors of conflict dynamics.

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