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Ideological Representations in Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Khrushchev and Kennedy’s speeches on the Missile Crisis in Cuba

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Dedications

To the memory of my Father, Benkhira Snoussi.

To my beloved mother, Benkhira Khadoudj.

To all the students who are seeking their ways to graduate.

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Abstract

The application of critical discourse analysis in the field of politics of communication within the political context examines the use of language by politicians at various stages to win votes, impose an ideology, or deal with critical crises with caution. Based on Teun Van Dijk's framework for political discourse analysis, this dissertation studies the speeches of both American president John F. Kennedy and Soviet president Nikita Khrushchev in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. The analysis included a micro-level analysis of the discursive devices introduced by Van Dijk (2005), and a macro-level analysis, which is based on the dichotomy of 'positive self-representation' and 'negative other-representation.' The analysis demonstrates that both presidents adopt different discursive strategies to transmit their political ideologies. The American president employs more discursive devices than his Soviet opponent does, especially in terms of actor description, authority, consensus, hyperbole and lexicalization. However, the Soviet President, Nikita Khrushchev tends to overuse the discursive device, number game, to bring credibility and evidence to his letter to Kennedy. At the Macro-level of analysis, the findings show that both President Kennedy and Khrushchev's speeches depict 'Positive self-representation' and 'Negative-other-representation' as strategies to achieve credibility and solidarity. While President Kennedy focuses on the negative image of the other to refer to the threat coming from the East, President Khrushchev stresses his positive image and the positive portrayal of Russia, on many occasions, to absolve himself and his country of the American accusations. It is worth mentioning that according to the findings of this research, both presidents hold similar views on global peace and the avoidance of nuclear war, and opposing opinions on the importance of military bases near each of their respective nations.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, discourse, ideology, political discourse, representations

List of Abbreviations

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

USA: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

JFK: John F. Kennedy

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General Introduction

Critical discourse analysis is a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting, and explaining the ways in which discourse is being used through exposing ideology and power by demonstrating the relationships between texts, social cognition, talk, society, power, and culture. CDA helps to uncover what has been kept hidden for the purpose of accomplishing personal goals. In academia, the goal of critical discourse analysis is to critically explore concerns in connected texts. Its goal is to assist the analyst in understanding the societal issues that are mediated by mainstream ideology and power dynamics, all of which are perpetuated through the usage of written texts in our everyday and professional lives.

Ideology is central to critical discourse analysis. Researchers are concerned with how discourse produces, supports, or challenges ideologies by means of linguistic and content analysis. Ideology is defined as a signification or constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction, or transformation of relations of domination. In this dissertation, the notion of ideology will be employed to analyze two texts produced by President Kennedy and President Khrushchev during the missile crisis in Cuba in 1962.

Recently, researchers have grown particularly interested in CDA and how it links to ideology, as well as how it exploits language to suit political purposes. A recent study by Shakoury (2018) has drawn on CDA theories to investigate the political representations in the speeches of Iranian politicians.

This dissertation is devoted to the analytical study of CDA in political discourse. The texts selected are the speeches published in October 1962 by the President of the United States of America, John F. Kennedy, and the President of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, during the Cuban missile Crisis. When American spying jets detected unusual missiles on the island of Cuba, the American government accused the Soviet Union of their irresponsible act by planting nuclear-armed ballistic missiles so close to the borders of the United States, with evidence and proof. John F. Kennedy also accused Nikita Khrushchev of his carelessness about world peace. Moreover, the

American president threatened his opponent with taking whatever action is needed, and the path of surrender is not in the American plans.

What motivates me to select these two speeches for a critical discourse analysis is that this crisis had threatened the world's peace and all the countries around the world were holding their breath in dread of a nuclear war breaking out. More than that, I was fascinated about how, after all of this worldwide peril, both presidents managed to control the situation. This really pushed me to learn more about it. Dobbs (2008) in his paper *Why We Should Still Study the Cuban Missile Crisis*, explains that the Cuban missile crisis has been researched as a case study in presidential authority and crisis management. It is considered as the best view of presidential power's limitations.

The objectives of this research are to examine the discursive strategies adopted by President Kennedy and President Khrushchev to face the crisis as well as to uncover the ideological assumptions standing behind their linguistic choices. My main reason for choosing this topic was my interest in both the Cold War and critical discourse studies. I wanted to examine the impact of language on the political outcomes of the crisis.

In terms of methodology, the study is based on Teun Van Dijk's (2005) socio-cognitive approach. This model provides researchers with a checklist of 25 discursive devices to examine while looking at the presence of ideologies in discourse. It also allows a macro-analysis level by analyzing positive-self representations and others' negative representations in discourse.

The research questions that I addressed in this research are as follows:

- Which linguistic strategies did President Kennedy and President Khrushchev adopt to respond to the crisis?
- Which ideological assumptions may stand behind these linguistic choices?

Since the results, in this qualitative research design, are emergent and not predictable, no hypotheses have been formulated.

My dissertation is composed of three chapters. Chapter one begins by laying out the theoretical dimensions of the research. It deals with the general concepts of critical discourse analysis and the approaches of Norman Fairclough, Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk. In addition to this, the chapter presents the features, goals, and prominent figures of critical discourse analysis.

The second chapter is concerned with the methodology followed for this study. It presents Teun Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, description of the corpus, as well as the

procedure for carrying out this research. The last part of the chapter is devoted to the definitions of the 25 discursive devices proposed by Van Dijk.

The third chapter deals with the critical discourse analysis of the selected texts. It also introduces the results of the Micro-Level and the Macro-Level of analyses.



Chapter One

Ideology in Political Discourse

Chapter One: Ideology in Political Discourse

Introduction

This chapter explains critical discourse analysis concepts as well as their aims, goals, and principles. It also presents Fairclough's socio-semiotic method, Wodak's discourse-historical approach, and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach as key approaches for their contributions to the area. In addition to this, some crucial points regarding the production of ideologies in political discourse will be highlighted. We have drawn on a variety of sources to explain the concept of ideology in depth and to relate it to discourse. We have also referred to some previous studies to illustrate researchers' interest in the study of the perpetuation of ideologies in discourse.

1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The development of theories about the study of language in social context resulted in the birth of a new style of discourse analysis known as "critical discourse analysis." In CDA, researchers consider language to be one of many types of social practices, and the texts are created by "socially positioned speakers and writers" (Kress 1989). In other words, language users interact linguistically based on their social status and position. As a result, linguistic traits found in texts are the result of social processes that are never random.

According to Van Dijk (1995), critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to language that seeks to concentrate on the nature of social domination and power by revealing the interconnected links between texts, social cognition, conversation, society, power, and culture. Fairclough (1995) points out that CDA is a method of analysis that is used in the sociopolitical and sociocultural spheres to reveal the infiltrated ideology that has become naturalized over time and is seen as common sense.

Roger Fowler's «Critical Linguistics» (CL) at the University of East Anglia first initiated the focus on critical discourse analysis and discourse at the end of the 1970s. The word "critical linguistics" has recently been supplanted by "critical discourse analysis," as Wodak (2002, p.1) stated, "The terms Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are frequently used interchangeably." In reality, the phrase "critical discourse analysis" appears to have lately gained favor and is now being used to refer to the theory once known as "Critical Linguistics." The word was first used at the Lancaster School of Linguistics, where Norman Fairclough had a leading role. Kress, Hodge, and Tony Trew's (1979) work was chosen to exemplify the key assumptions and

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ideas. Then there is Van Dijk's (1985), Norman Fairclough's (1989), and Wodak's (1989) work, which explains the techniques of what was then called Critical Linguistics. Aside from linguistic theory, the notion of critical discourse analysis is derived from social theory and contribution, and was coined by Karl Marx, Jürgen Habermas, Antonio Gramsci, and Michael Foucault to investigate ideologies and power in conversation. According to them, languages are connected to the social because they are the main area of ideology, and ideology has been described as the basis of how a group sees itself.

For the cause, “CDA has to theoretically bridge the well-known “gap” between micro and macro approaches, which is of course a distinction that is a sociological construct in its own right” (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 354).

1.2 Principles of CDA

It is critical to emphasize at the beginning of this section that defining the unique ideas, practices, goals, theories, or methodologies of CDA is difficult (Van Dijk, 1995). However, any research that purports to be based on the CDA paradigm should meet a set of basic criteria. Those requirements, first specified by Kress (1990), are expanded upon by Fairclough & Wodak (1997), who provide some fundamental principles for a CDA program (Cf. Wodak, 2001: p5). According to Van Dijk (2003), critical discourse research must meet a number of criteria in order to effectively achieve its goals. CDA especially focuses on group relations of power, dominance, and inequality and the ways these are reproduced or resisted by social group members through text and talk. Much of CDA's work focuses on the underlying ideas that contribute to the reproduction of or opposition to dominance and inequality. Thus, CDA research aims to unearth, unveil, or reveal what is implicit, hidden, or otherwise not immediately apparent in discursively performed dominance relationships or their underlying ideologies. That is, CDA focuses on manipulative, legitimizing, fabricating consent, and other discursive methods of influencing people's thinking (and subsequently their behavior) in the interests of the powerful. Finally, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argued that the main goal of CDA is to investigate the ambiguous relationship of determination and causality between texts, discursive practices, wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes, and events in order to explore how such events, texts, and practices arise out of and are ideologically shaped by the struggles over power.

1.3 Approaches

Language is conceived as one element of the social process, dialectically interconnected with others, according to Fairclough & Graham (2002, p. 188). CDA analyses real instances of social interaction that take a complete or partial linguistic form as it aims to make visible "the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power" that underlie them (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). According to Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999), critical discourse analysis examines social practices based on their discourse moments. It emphasizes "the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power" and the way they are used and discussed in discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 272). CDA is used to analyze texts in order to discover what "structures, strategies, or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction, or communicative events play a role" in the production or reproduction of unequal power relations (Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 250).

1.3.1 Fairclough's Critical Approach

Fairclough's (2001a) theoretical objectives have stemmed from linguistics and those studies in sociolinguistics, which focus on "language in its social context" and the relationship between language and power.

Fairclough's (2001a) theoretical objectives have stemmed from linguistics and those studies in sociolinguistics, which focus on "language in its social context" and on relationships between language and power (p. 1). However, in spite of their contribution to Fairclough's critical approach, these approaches have major weaknesses from a critical point of view: Fairclough (2001a, p. 5) describes "language as a potential, a system, or an abstract competence, rather than attempting to describe actual language practice" (Fairclough, 2001a, p. 5). Following the notion of *langue* (language) and *parole* (speaking) by Ferdinand de Saussure, the main concern of linguistics is *langue* rather than *parole*. Saussure assumed that the language of a community, for all practical purposes, was invariant for that particular community. As a consequence, he stated that the study of *langue* should be synchronic, as a static system at a given point in time, rather than historical, which regards IJELS 2 (4):28-35, 2014 30 the study of *langue* dynamically as it changes through time (Fairclough, 2001a). Therefore, Fairclough (Fairclough,2001.) criticized Saussure's viewpoint as it fails to consider that language is shaped socially. Sociolinguistics, in contrast, emphasizes that "language use is shaped socially and not individually" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 63). It

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concentrates on socially variable language use and shows that there are systematic relationships between variations in linguistic form (phonological, morphological, syntactic) and social variables (social relationships between participants, differences in social setting, differences in topic, etc.). (Fairclough, 2001a). According to Fairclough (ibid.), while sociolinguistics is strong in describing what the facts of variations are, it fails to explain that these facts are the product of power relations and struggles. In Fairclough's (2001a) approach, discourse is viewed as "a form of social practice" which shows that it is a mode of action (recognized by Austin, 1962; Levinson, 1983). This means that spoken or written utterances constitute the performance of speech acts such as promising, asking, asserting, warning, and so forth.

Moreover, Fairclough's (2001a) considers language as a part of society, explaining that there is a dialectical relationship between language and society. That is to say, on the one hand, "linguistic phenomena are social" in the sense that interactions are, both determined socially and have social effects. On the other hand, "social phenomena are linguistic" in the sense that language activity that occurs in social contexts is part of social processes and practices rather than merely an expression and reflection of them (Fairclough, 2001). Subsequently, Fairclough (2001a) regards language as a social process, which means that discourse is the process of text production and interpretation. Finally, he considers language as a socially conditioned process. Namely, discourse involves social conditions of production and interpretation, which relate to different levels of social organizations: "the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution, which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and the level of society as a whole" (Fairclough, 2001a, pp. 20-21).

1.3.2 Wodak's Discourse-historical Approach

Wodak (2001) defines discourse "as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral, or written tokens, very often as "texts" (p. 66).

Wodak (2001), like Fairclough, views texts as the products of discourse and defines texts "as materially durable products of linguistic actions" (p. 66). The discourse historical approach considers intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts, genres, and discourses, as well as sociological variables, and situational frames. In this approach, intertextuality means that texts are connected to other texts, while interdiscursivity means that discourses are connected to

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each other. The approach focuses on all these relationships to explore how discourses, genres, and texts change in relationship to socio-political change (Wodak, 2001). For the analysis of the interrelationship between discursive and other social practices and structures, Wodak (2001) employs a principle of triangulation, which combines different interdisciplinary approaches. For example, to investigate the discursive construction of collective groups like races, nations, and ethnicities, the interdisciplinary approach has combined historical, socio-political, as well as linguistic perspectives. Moreover, the principle of triangulation implies different methods of collecting data and analysis of different corpora and genres.

Wodak's (2001, p. 67) triangulator approach is based on context and takes into account four dimensions: (1) "the immediate language or text internal co-text"; (2) "the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses"; (3) "the social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a particular context or situation"; and (4) "the broader socio-political and historical context which the discursive practises are embedded

1.3.3 Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach

Like Fairclough's (2001) approach, Van Dijk's approach attempts to connect the micro-structure of language to the macro-structure of society (Kintsch & Van Dijk, 1978). However, instead of discursive practice, Van Dijk (1993a) focuses on social cognition as the mediating part between text and society. Van Dijk (*ibid.*) defines social cognition as "socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups, and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing, and learning" (p. 257). Kintsch and Van Dijk (1978) have distinguished between a text's micro-structure and macro-structure. At the macro level, it refers to power, dominance, and inequality between social groups, whereas at the micro level, it refers to language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication (Van Dijk, 2001b). Van Dijk (*ibid.*) argues that actors and their minds are the link between societal structures and discourse structures.

Van Dijk (2000a) has approached critical discourse analysis on the basis of understanding the ideological structures and social relations of power involved in discourse. There is an argument that news texts are controlled by dominant power (Herman & Chomsky, 2002; Van Dijk, 1991). According to Van Dijk (2000a), ideologies may determine all structures of text or talk, and they may be expressed explicitly or implicitly in the structure of discourse. Van Dijk (2001b) defines

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social power as control and asserts that groups have power if they can control the acts and minds of other groups. Van Dijk (*ibid.*, p. 355) distinguishes two main types of power: (1) the "coercive power", which is based on force, i.e., power of the military, power of violent men, etc.; and, (2) the "persuasive power," which is "based on knowledge, information, or authority," such as "the power of parents, professors, or journalists" (Gramsci, 1971).

1.4 Prominent Figures

The term critical discourse analysis first saw the light at the Lancaster School of Linguistics, where Norman Fairclough was the most prominent figure. The work of Kress, Hodge, and Tony Trew (1979) was commissioned to illustrate the main assumptions and principles of the field. Then came the work of Van Dijk (1985), Norman Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (1989), which served to explain the procedures of what had then become known as Critical Linguistics. In addition to linguistic theory, the social theory built by Karl Marx, Jürgen Habermas, Antonio Gramsci, and Michael Foucault was highly involved in the emergence of CDA. According to the social theory, languages connect with the social by being the primary locus of ideology.

1.5 Political Discourse

Researchers in critical discourse analysis are concerned with analyzing the relationships between power and ideology in political discourse.

A discourse is considered political if it meets two criteria. Firstly, it must be functional. This means that it arises in politics, within special historical and cultural frameworks. Secondly, it must be thematic and relevant to politics (Schaffner, 1996). For Van Dijk (1998, cited in Jalali & Sadeghi, 2014, p. 11), political discourse is "a socially constituted set of genres, associated with a social domain or field." According to another definition of political discourse, "agnostic ability" (the competitive nature of political discourse), aggressiveness, ideological character, and theatricality" (Kenzhekanova, 2015, p. 197) are the essential features of political discourse.

Discourse is a common form of social communication. Fairclough (1993; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1997) defines it as "all types of language utilised by communicators in a society." The term "discussion" refers to a group of people. Discourse is the exchange of linguistic sentences between the speaker or writer and the listener or reader on the one hand. Discourse is defined by Van Dijk (1997, p.2) as "the form that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social context". Meanwhile, political discourse is an interdisciplinary

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subject in which politics, sociology, psychology, sociolinguistics, and other fields of study interact. Its significance arises from the impact that this debate has on the country's future or any other current situation. Since politicians have a direct impact on economic, social, cultural, and political issues, as most people are aware, However, politics has a significant impact on war, peace, stability, and conflict decisions. As a result, political speeches have drawn the attention of academics who are attempting to decipher all forms of messages, whether implicit or explicit, and determine what they signify in reality, according to Sheveleva, (2012). According to Van Dijk (1998), political discourse analysis deals with political authority abuse, supremacy, or dominance. Thus, he views political discourse as a class of genres defined by the domain of politics but not a genre by itself. Thus, political speeches, electoral debates, parliamentary deliberations, political programs, and government discussions are some of the genres related to politics.

On the other hand, political language is usually simple because the speaker tries to communicate with people who cannot understand complex language. Moreover, political speeches have a number of functions. It is used to transform and deepen a particular phenomenon. It is used to convince listeners of the speaker's ideas by using some techniques such as analysis and explanation. As Seidel (1985) pointed out, political speech may constitute a domain, field, or genre. It is also an incredible achievement at a particular place and at a particular time and contains three major elements, which are the addressor or the speaker, the addressee or the hearer, and the political speech itself.

CDA has been used in the process of analyzing political speeches in several studies throughout the world. In a recent study, Noor-ALdeen Ahmad Faleh Awawdeh (2020) used Fairclough's three-dimensional model to analyze President Trump's ideological assumptions about COVID-19. In 2021, Ziane et al. conducted a study using CDA to analyze the speech of the Algerian president, Tebboune, after he had contracted the coronavirus. Another critical discourse analysis study has been published in the International Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR) by Mohammad Eid Alshammari (2020). His research has been carried out to analyze the speech of Donald Trump for the sake of knowing his domestic political considerations, individualism in decision-making, and political vision. Trump's dialogues disclose an ideology consistent with the tactical patterns of us versus them.

This study was conducted to analyze both of John F. Kennedy's and Nikita Khrushchev's speeches delivered during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. Drawing on Van Dijk's method of

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analysis, we attempted to examine the connections between linguistic choices and political decisions.

1.6 Ideology

According to Maurice Cranston (1980). Ideology has been a word with a strong emotional connotation from its birth. The word "idéologie" was bound to have a powerfully laudatory tone for Destutt de Tracy, given his intense dedication to the study of ideas and the high moral worth and purpose he attached to it. Similarly, when Napoleon associated the term "idéologie" with the components of Revolutionary philosophy that he despised, he imbued the same word with all of his feelings of disapproval and suspicion. From then on, the word "ideology" had to be both a compliment and an insult, not just in French but also in German, English, Italian, and all the other languages of the world where it was translated or not.

Ideology in the stricter sense stays fairly close to Destutt de Tracy's original conception and may be identified by five characteristics: (1) it contains an explanatory theory of a more or less comprehensive kind about human experience and the external world; (2) it sets out a program, in generalized and abstract terms, of social and political organization; (3) it conceives the realization of this program as entailing a struggle; (4) it seeks not merely to persuade but to recruit loyal adherents, demanding what is sometimes called commitment; (5) it addresses a wide audience but may tend to confer some special role of leadership on intellectuals. In this article, the noun ideology is used only in its strict sense; the adjective ideological is used to refer to ideology as broadly defined (Online at Britannica).

Ideology is omnipresent in texts. Fairclough (2004) argues that ideologies attach to key words which evoke but leave implicit sets of ideological assumptions. The writer's ideology (ies) can be seen in the idea(s) he/she presupposes from the start. In addition, the type of discourse/s used and the language associated with it are significant in showing ideology. "Both selections amongst available discourses and the selection of particular ways of articulating them together are likely to be ideologically significant choices" (Fairclough: 2004, p.102). Text analysis is not enough for analyzing or understanding ideological practices; reception, interpretation, and social effects of texts should also be considered (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Ideologies in texts are analyzed not for the sake of analysis itself, but as a way of changing these practices in language as a manifestation of the beliefs of the dominant groups in societies, since ideologies may sometimes

Chapter One: Ideology in Political Discourse

be false or ungrounded constructions of society" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Besides that, the goal of CDA, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), is to investigate the ambiguous relationship of determination and causality between texts, discursive practices, broader social and cultural structures, relationships, and processes, and events in order to understand how such events, texts, and practices emerge from and are ideologically shaped by power struggles.

In clearer terms, ideology is a form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones. It is a set of ideas that strive to both explain and transform the world. Also, ideology is linked to CDA in that the writer's or speaker's ideology is not obvious in the text. The CDA approaches assist in grasping ideology because they help to clarify and expose hidden meanings in the text.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we first discussed what "critical discourse analysis" meant for the scholars and founders of this interdisciplinary field of study, such as Norman Fairclough, Wodak, Van Dijk, and Tony Trew. Then, we dealt with the principles and aims of critical discourse analysis, as well as how it is applied in general. We also looked at the three most frequent analytical approaches in critical discourse analysis: Norman Fairclough's critical approach, Wodak's discourse-historical approach, and Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, to see how important they are in completing this analytical study. Then, using a critical perspective, we defined political discourse and examined its role in the perpetuation of ideology. Finally, we established the origins of ideology by looking at how Destutt de Tracy and Napoleon looked at it.



Chapter Two

Methodology

Salim QG

Chapter Two : Methodology

Introduction

The previous chapter presented the key concepts, theories, and approaches in critical discourse analysis. It also introduced some ideas about political discourse and the notion of ideology in political discourse. This chapter is devoted to the research methodology. It will present the corpus, the research procedure, and the method of analysis. Teun Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model will be introduced in detail. The discursive devices that represent micro and macro analysis will be explained. The last part of the chapter will deal with the distribution of the discursive devices in the presidents' speeches.

2.1 The Corpus

The corpus selected for this study is the transcript of two political speeches by presidents. The first is an 18:42-long televised speech delivered by Mr. John F. Kennedy, the former president of the United States of America. This speech was broadcast on October 22, 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The American president delivered his speech in English, discussing the cause while providing details of the Soviet operation using 2422 English words. The televised version can be found on the YouTube channel: "David Von Pein's JFK Channel," published on August 31, 2013. The written form used for this study was extracted from the website: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/>

The second speech was delivered in the style of a letter that Soviet President Nikita Khrushchev sent to the President of the United States of America in order to respond to the decision that was outlined in the first speech. The talk was released in 1480 English words on the 26th of October 1962. It is available on the website: <https://www.atomicarchive.com>

The corpus was selected based on the purpose of this study. Both texts were released as a reaction to a crisis between the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R regarding the threatening existence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. So, all the circumstances surrounding the crisis led to the production, which was a straight threat to the U.S.A. So, all that is mentioned above labored a "political discourse" worth studying in terms of power, decision-making and ideologies. The on the next page summarizes useful information about the texts.

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Table.2.1. Crucial Information about the Presidents’ Speeches

Presidents	John F. Kennedy	Nikita Khrushchev
Date	22/10/1962	26/10/1962
Presidential session	1 st	1 st
Duration	18m 42s	Written form
Word count	2422 word	1480 word

2.2 Procedure

To fulfil the purpose of this study, the selected data has been collected from the following sites: www.mtholyoke.edu and www.atomicarchive.com. The data selected was verified to make sure of the accuracy of the written version. To apply Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach to the corpus, scanning reading techniques had to be applied several times in order to extract the discursive devices at the micro-level of analysis and self-positive representation and others’ negative representation at the macro-level of analysis.

2.3 Analytical Framework

In the 1980s, Van Dijk proposed a CDA socio-cognitive model. It combines discourse and social cognitive analysis. Cognition, according to Van Dijk (1995), is an intermediary between discourse and society. Van Dijk's framework is essential for applying a structured analysis in order to move beyond the meaning of the text and reveal the deep intentions as well as test the discourse on many levels, such as production, comprehension, and reception levels (Sajjad, 2015). This model comprises two levels of analysis; the micro-level analysis and the macro-level analysis. The micro-level analysis deals with the lexicon, syntax, topics, local semantics, and schematic structures. Moreover, the macro-level analysis reveals power, dominance, and inequality among social groups.

Van Dijk’s model of political discourse analysis (2005) is a complete tool to identify the ideological opposition in discourse (Van Dijk 2005; Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Bello 2013). It is used to analyze the discourse based on four principles:

- Emphasize “our” good things: to impose the self-positive action.
- Emphasize “their” bad things: to impose the other’s negative actions.

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- Ignore “our” bad things: to neglect their self-bad actions.
- Ignore “their” good things to: to neglect other’s positive actions.

These four principles are important in the contextual approach of “positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation”. Positive self-representation interferes with the individual’s behavior while showing positive things about “Us” and mentioning bad behaviors about “Them”. Negative other representation interferes with the individual’s behavior showing negative things about “Them” and exposing positive things about “Us”. (Van Dijk 2000.2004).

This ideological opposition can be pinned to a "fundamental dichotomy" that polarizes the actors within the group. It shows how the actors expose their positive sides and downgrade their negative sides, while they project the negative sides of others and downgrade their positive sides (Bello 2013). Within the process, "our" group will derive its speeches and debates from the positive topics and associate the political opponent with the negative topics such as wars, drugs, lack of freedom, and crimes (Van Dijk, 2005: p.734). The self-positive representation and other negative-representations are both semantic strategies. Meanwhile, the dichotomy is used for the point of "face-keeping" while eliminating the opposition. The general purpose of this classification is to expose oneself as "good, superior and us" and the other as "bad, inferior and them" (Van Dijk 2005: p.739).

In addition, other tools such as syntax, lexical items, and discursive devices at the micro-level can be used to expand the positive ideology within the mind of the receiver (Van Dijk.2005). Van Dijk proposed 25 discursive devices, which are "general strategies of ideological discourse production and also a handy discovery or recognition procedure for ideological analysis of political discourse" (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 735).

2.4.1 Definitions of the Discursive Devices

2.4.1.1. Actor Description

According to Van Dijk, actor description shows detailed and clear information about a figure, such as a place, person, or thing. The manner in which this figure plays its role in a social or political context, either positively or negatively (Rashidi and Souzandehfar, 2010). Our ideologies impose the way entities are explained in discourse (speech or talk). In-group members tend to be described in a neutral or positive way, and outgroup members in a negative way.

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Similarly, people tend to "mitigate negative descriptions of members of their own and emphasize the attributed negative characteristics of others" (Van Dijk, 2005, p735).

2.4.1.2. Authority

It refers to the expertise of the discourse doers on a topic by referring to evidence provided by authorities, which will affect and show the producer's beliefs, opinions, or claims to track down the feelings of the audience. In addition, authority refers to the producer's employment of deductive or cognitive reasoning to convince the listeners as well, and it is used to refer to the expertise of the listeners. (Van Dijk, 2005).

2.4.1.3. Burden

Van Dijk claimed that topo's meant the loss of life or money for a group, no matter how big or small, and it also meant to victimize, abuse, or make the audience feel something. More than that, it helps to gain the attention of the audience for politicians. (Van Dijk, 2005; Rashidi and Souzandehfar, 2010)

2.4.1.4. Categorization

It is applied to classify people in terms of their viewpoints and actions, such as political and religious ones. As Van Dijk (2005, p735) states, "people tend to categorize people."

2.4.1.5. Comparison

In general, a comparison is used to demonstrate the similarities and contrasts between two entities, such as people, places, processes, events, and things. Comparison in discourse, in the words of Van Dijk (2005), is made to "compare ingroups and outgroups" (p735). He adds, "outgroups are compared negatively, and ingroups positively" (2005, p.735).

2.4.1.6. Consensus

Simply put, consensus is developed to foster and build solidarity and agreement. For Van Dijk (2005), in a political context, consensus is a "cross-party or national" (p.736) device to defend a country against external threats.

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2.4.1.7. Counterfactual

It is an expression to show what something or someday would be like if certain conditions are met or not. "Counterfactual" is "a persuasive argumentative move that is also related to the move of asking for empathy" (Van Dijk, 2005, p.736).

2.4.1.8. Disclaimers

A disclaimer is seen as an ideological-based strategy to demonstrate positive attributes of an entity such as a person, or thing, and then present a denial of the attribute using particular terms such as "but" (Van Dijk, 2005). Van Dijk adds that "disclaimers briefly save face by mentioning our positive characteristics, but then focus rather exclusively on their negative attributes" (2005, p.376).

2.4.1.9. Euphemism

A euphemism is the use of milder or less harsh words instead of derogatory or direct terms. Van Dijk explains that euphemism is a "semantic move for mitigation which plays an important role in talk" (2005; p.736). He adds that euphemism is used to mitigate "the negative impression formation of others" and "the negative acts of the own group" (2005, p.736).

2.4.1.10. Evidentiality

It is used to provide facts or proof by a discourse producer to support their own opinion, belief, or information. (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010; Van Dijk, ,2005). Also, Van Dijk argues that "This may happen by references to authority figures or institutions or by various forms of evidentiality" (2005; p.736). To expose the importance of evidentiality, Van Dijk adds that "it is an important move to convey objectivity, reliability, and hence credibility" (2005, p.735).

2.4.1.11. Illustration

It refers to the fact of proving to the audience with factual or fictional examples by which the discourse producer tries to back up his opinion or make his or her beliefs more conceivable (2005, p.736).

2.4.1.12. Generalization

Generalization is the attribution of negative or positive aspects of a person or small group to a larger population (Muzhir & Darweesh 2016 & Van Dijk 2005).

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2.4.1.13. Hyperbole

It is the employment of exaggerated language to intentionally put stress on something. Van Dijk contends hyperbole is "a semantic rhetorical device for the enhancement of meaning" (2005, p. 737). He adds, "the alleged bad actions or properties of others are expressed in hyperbolic terms and vice versa (2005, p.737).

2.4.1.14. Implication

In clearer terms, implication refers to understanding what is not explicitly expressed in discourse. The context in which a discourse is produced includes the producer avoiding sharing their information and perspective implicitly; therefore, it is the recipient's responsibility to infer what more is expressed in the discourse (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 737).

2.4.1.15. Irony

Irony is the deliberate contrast between what is said and what the speaker intends to convey through language use, often humorously. Van Dijk asserts that "accusations may come across as more effective when they are not made point blank, but in apparently lighter forms of irony" (2005, p.737).

2.4.1.16. Lexicalization

It indicates using semantic features to represent or describe a figure rather positively or negatively (Van Dijk 2005).

2.4.1.17. Metaphor

It is the comparison of two things or phenomena which bear no resemblance that assigns the attributes of one to another.

2.4.1.18. National self-glorification

It creates a positive representation of one's country through "positive references such as its principles, history, and traditions" (Van Dijk, 2005; p.738).

2.4.1.19. Norm Expression

Norm expression is used to convey norms about how something should or should not be done, or about what someone should or should not do (Van Dijk, 2005).

2.4.1.20. Number Game

It is a strategy used to include numbers assumed by authorities. Discourse producers use this strategy to convince the audience (Van Dijk 2005).

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2.4.1.21. Polarization

It refers to the categorization of people, whether the ingroup and its positive characteristics or the outgroup ones with their negative properties (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010; Van Dijk, 2005).

2.4.1.22. Populism

Populism is the set of political ideas and activities that are intended to represent ordinary people's needs and wishes.

2.4.1.23. Presupposition

It is an idea or proposition that is included in a discourse but lacks proof (Jones and Peccei, 2004). Also, Van Dijk believes that "strategically, presuppositions are often used to assume the truth of some proposition when such truth is not established at all" (2005, p.739).

2.4.1.24. Vagueness

It is the use of language by which discourse producers "create uncertainty and ambiguity, as in talking about delicate issues like immigration and the expression of possibility" (Darweesh & Muzhir, 2016, p.43). Van Dijk believes that "virtually in all contexts, speakers may use vagueness expressions, that is, expressions that do not have a well-defined referent, or which refer to fuzzy sets." (Van Dijk 2005, p739).

2.4.1.25. Victimization

It represents the out-group members negatively and in-group members as the victims of unfair/bad treatment.

2.4.2. The Distribution of the Discursive Devices in the Presidents' Speeches

Before analyzing the ideologies that may stand behind the use of the discursive devices in the selected political speeches, we have decided to look at the frequency of occurrence of each device. According to the table 2.2, President Kennedy employs discursive devices 106 times, for a percentage of 28.624%. In his speech, he uses actor description 27 times (28.62%), authority 16 times (16.96%), consensus 13 times (13.78%), lexicalization 7 times (7.42%), and hyperbole 6 times (6.36%), and implication 6 times (6.36%), disclaimers 5 times (5.30%). The president uses comparison 4 times (4.24%), evidentiality 4 times (4.24%), illustration 4 times (4.24%), national self-glorification 3 times (3.18%), polarization 3 times (3.78%). It is worth mentioning that some

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devices have not been used by the president, like categorization, euphemism, irony, norm expression, number game, presuppositions, and vagueness.

Meanwhile, president Nikita Khrushchev made use of the discursive devices 55 times. In his speech, actor description occurred 15 times (8.25%), authority 10 times (5.55%), implication 5 times (2.75%), consensus 3 times (1.65%), disclaimers 3 times (1.65%). The president uses lexicalization 3 times (1.65%), victimization 3 times (1.65%), counterfactual 2 times (1.10%), evidentiality 2 times (1.10%), illustration 2 times (1.10%), polarization 2 times (1.10%), comparison just 1 time (0.55%), Hyperbole 1 time (0.55%), and number game 1 time (0.55%). President Khrushchev does not make use of following discursive devices: burden, categorization, euphemism, generalization, irony, metaphor, national self-glorification, norm expression, populism, presupposition, and vagueness.

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Table 2.2. Frequency of the Occurrence of Discursive Devices in the Speeches

Discursive devices	John F. Kennedy	Nikita Khrushchev
Actor description	27	15
Authority	16	10
Burden	0	0
Categorization	0	0
Comparison	4	1
Consensus	13	3
Counterfactuals	2	2
Disclaimers	5	3
Euphemism	0	0
Evidentiality	4	2
Illustration	4	2
Generalization	0	0
Hyperbole	6	1
Implication	6	5
Irony	0	0
Lexicalization	7	3
Metaphor	2	0
National self-glorification	3	0
Norm expression	0	0
Number game	0	1
Polarization	3	2
Populism	1	0
Presupposition	0	0
Vagueness	0	0
Victimization	3	3
Total score:	106	55

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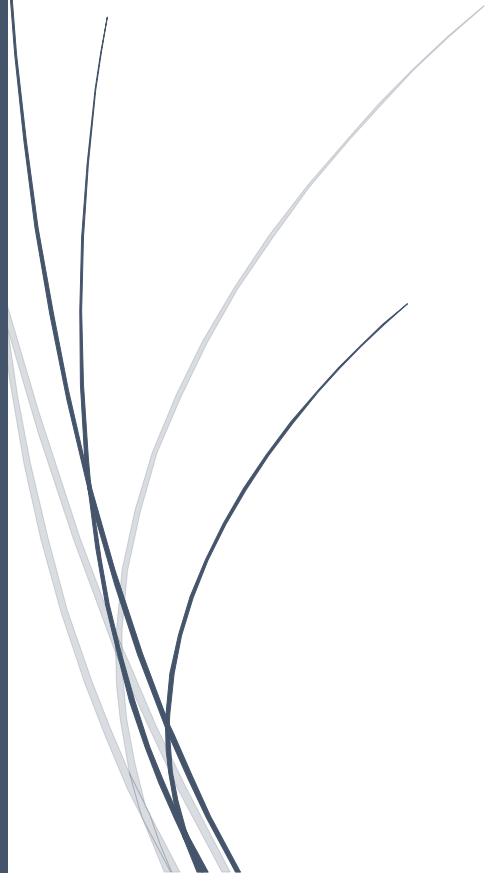
Conclusion

In this chapter, we first discussed the initial information about the corpus selected for this study. The two speeches chosen were delivered by the American president, John F. Kennedy, and the Soviet president, Nikita Khrushchev. After that, we stated the sources and references for the speeches and compared the speeches in terms of form, time, length, and word count. Then, we presented a description of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, referring to micro and macro levels of analysis.. The next chapter will deal with the critical discourse analysis of the selected texts.

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Chapter Three:

Data analysis and Discussion



Chapter Three: Data analysis and Discussion

Introduction

The previous chapter was devoted to the research methodology. It presented mainly Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to the analysis of ideology in political discourse. This chapter is dedicated to the analytical framework. We have applied Van Dijk's model of analysis to the examination of ideology in two political speeches delivered by two political figures, Kennedy and Khrushchev. The socio-cognitive inventory applied includes 25 devices, which are used to detect ideological representations in discourse, in this chapter We will conduct both a micro-level analysis and a macro-level analysis. The findings will be discussed based on Van Dijk's model.

3.1 Analysis

As mentioned previously, the main aim of this research is to examine the linguistic features in Kennedy and Khrushchev's speeches, which may reveal hidden ideologies and attitudes. The socio-cognitive model of analysis proposed by Van Dijk (2005) was used to address the research problem. Van Dijk's approach basically attempts to connect the micro-structure of language to the macro-structure of society (Kintsch & Van Dijk, 1978). Van Dijk (1993a) focuses on social cognition as the mediating part between text and society. He defines social cognition as "socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups, and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking, arguing, inferencing, and learning" (p. 257).

Van Dijk's model of analysis consists of using the dichotomy of ideological square "Self-Positive Representation" and "Other-Negative Representation" by applying 25 discursive devices. (Van Dijk, 2005). However, this study focuses only on five discursive devices because of their high frequency of occurrence.

3.1.1 Context of Text Production

The two texts were produced in 1962 during the Cuban missile crisis. When the U.S.S.R deployed offensive missiles, as JFK claimed, in Cuba, near the U.S.A, the incident started when American spying jets detected various unknown missiles on the island of Cuba. After getting unmistakable evidence of their origin, Kennedy showed up in a televised speech to announce the threat to the American people, the Western Hemisphere and the Cuban people as well. John F. Kennedy stated the threat of possessing such missiles in Cuba. He accused the U.S.S.R of being behind the cause and accused them of their carelessness about world peace. While the president of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, answered in a written letter to the American president.

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Khrushchev said that the missiles in Cuba were only there for defense, and he promised that these missiles were in the hands of Soviet officers and that there was no major danger inside. Moreover, Khrushchev claimed his right to defend his country by stating facts according to high American military sources that the U.S.S.R was surrounded by American military bases in Europe.

3.2 The Micro-Level Analysis

3.2.1 Actor Description

According to Van Dijk (2005), an actor's description shows clear and full information about an entity, whether it is a person, a location, or a circumstance, and how it plays a role in a social or political environment, either positively or negatively. In this respect, president Kennedy tends to use the discursive device *actor description* more than the soviet president does within the speech. He used *actor description* 27 times with a percentage of (27.62%) in his speech (1962), meanwhile Khrushchev used the same discursive device 15 times with a percentage of (8.25%) This shows that the frequent use of this discursive device within important discourses allows the speaker to provide more explanation and details about an event or a person and offers the audience an opportunity to learn more about the issues being discussed. President Kennedy uses the adjectives “offensive” and “destructive” several times in his speech to describe and give an impression about of the Soviet military buildup in Cuba as dangerous, in the same vein, as self-positive representations and other-negative representations.

“Neither the United States of America nor the world community can tolerate deliberate deception nor offensive threats on the part of any nation large or small.” (Kennedy, 1962).

In other spots of the speech, the American president accused the USSR of recklessness and threatening world peace by taking such actions, as he stated in his speech:

“I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate these clandestine, reckless and provocative threats to the world peace and to stable relations between our two nations.” (Kennedy, 1962).

On-the other hand, President Khrushchev uses the discursive device *Actor description*, in his letter to the American president, to remind him carefully of how the USSR is circled with the Western sentinels and rockets. He uses the adjectives “pointed” and “stationed” to refer to the

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deadly rockets as being located in Turkey, Britain and Italy. In his speech, he explicitly highlights the threat coming from the U.S. by using the word “rockets.”

“This is no secret, high-placed American officials demonstratively declare this, your rockets are stationed in Britain and Italy and pointed as us. Your rockets are stationed in Turkey.”

“Turkey lies next to us. Our sentinels are pacing up and down and watching each other.” (Khrushchev, 1962).

3.2.2 Authority

Authority is a discursive device that refers to the expertise of the discourse producer in a specific topic or subject to back up his/her opinion or belief or more to touch the feelings and convince the audience (Van Dijk, 2005: p. 735). The quantitative analysis of both speeches shows that both presidents use the discursive device *Authority* with varying intensities for different purposes. President Kennedy uses it 16 times with a percentage of **16.98%**, whereas President Khrushchev employs it 10 times with a percentage of **5.55%**. JFK uses *authority* to persuade the American people of the Soviet menace that has been revealed in Cuba.

“I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this Government feels obliged to report this new crisis to you in fullest detail.”

“Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D. C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.” (Kennedy, 1962).

President Khrushchev uses the same discursive device to justify the incident in Cuba, to enhance his good will towards Cuba and towards all people who seek the USSR’s help. As he stated:

“Our purpose has been and is to help Cuba, and no one can challenge the humanity of our motives aimed at allowing Cuba to

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live peacefully and develop as its people desire.” (Khrushchev, 1962).

In addition, the Soviet president uses *Authority* to save face-and to show his willingness to settle the problem if the Americans cooperate.

“I think that one could rapidly eliminate the conflict and normalize the situation. Then people would heave a sigh of relief.”
(Khrushchev, 1962).

3.2.3 Consensus

According to Van Dijk, *Consensus* is developed within discourse to build solidarity and agreement. However, in political context, *Consensus* is a “cross-party or national” device to defend a country against external threats. (p.736). This device is clearly used by the American president 13 times in a percentage of **13.78%**, and by President Khrushchev only 3 times with a percentage of **1.665%**. President Kennedy manages to use it in coordination with the general context of the meaning, mostly when talking to the American people and the western hemisphere about the threat coming right from the east, and also to demonstrate the non-fear of the communist Soviet missiles.

“But now further action is required-and it is under way; and these actions may only be the beginning”

“Should these offensive military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities; and I trust that in the interest of both the Cuban people and the Soviet technicians at the sites, the hazards to all concerned of continuing this threat will be recognized” (Kennedy, 1962).

On the other hand, President Khrushchev uses the discursive device *Consensus* 3 times only to restrain the tension within the crisis between the USA and the USSR, demonstrating his patience in dealing with the situation. That does not, however, imply an immediate surrender. President Khrushchev uses *Consensus* to defend his acts in a very careful way.

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“But how can we the Soviet Union and our government, assess your action which, in effect, mean that you have surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases, surrounded our allies with military bases, set up military bases literally around our country, and stationed your rocket weapons at them?”

“The weapons on Cuba, that you have mentioned and which, as you say, alarm you, are in the hands of Soviet officers. Therefore, any accidental use of them whatsoever to the detriment of the United States of America is excluded. These means are stationed in Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government and only in defensive aims.” (Khrushchev, 1962).

3.2.4 Hyperbole

Van Dijk argues that *Hyperbole* is the excessive and the exaggerated use of specific features of language in order to lay stress on something, “*Hyperbole* is a semantic rhetorical device for the enhancement of meaning” (2005, p.737). In the texts analyzed, the use of hyperbole is much more remarkable on the part of the American president’s speech than the Soviet one. President Kennedy uses hyperbole 6 times with a percentage of 6.36%, whereas his Soviet opponent uses hyperbole only once with a percentage of 0.55%, demonstrating President Kennedy's exaggeration to highlight the dangerous acts of the Soviets.

“But this secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles—in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship with the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy—. This sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil—is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.” (Kennedy, 1962).

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As stated in his letter to President Kennedy, President Khrushchev uses this discursive device only once to describe the global reaction to the incident. He could have used different and less exaggerated words to convey the same meaning.

Hyperbole is used here to give the American president the impression that the immediate announcement of the incident should be made as soon as possible.

“Why would I like to achieve this? Because the entire world is now agitated and expects reasonable actions from us. The greatest pleasure for all the peoples would be an announcement on our agreement, on nipping in the bud the conflict that has arisen.”
(Kennedy, 1962).

3.2.5 Lexicalization

Lexicalization refers to using semantic features of words in order to portray someone or something either positively or negatively (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010; Van Dijk 2005). Van Dijk assumes that the discourse producer’s choice of lexical item depends on the position, role, goals, opinion or the point of view of the speaker (2005, p. 7388). President Kennedy uses the discursive device *Lexicalization* within his speech 7 times with a percentage of **7.42%**, while the Soviet president uses it three times only with a percentage of **1.65%**. On many occasions, In his speech, President Kennedy was tempted to use *Lexicalization* to approve and demonstrate himself and his government -including the whole western hemisphere- as words and promise keepers. Also, as a friend to the Cuban people, as he claimed:

“We are also true to our word. Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country, and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere.” (Kennedy, 1962).

“I speak to you as a friend, as one who knows of your deep attachment to your fatherland, as one who shares your aspirations for liberty and justice for all.” (Kennedy, 1962).

The American president uses *Lexicalization* to increase the American people's perception of imminent threat

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“American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bull's-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines.” (Kennedy, 1962).

Even in the very first lines of the letter he wrote to President Kennedy, the Soviet leader used the discursive device of lexicalization in an unexpected way to demonstrate that he understood the decisions that had been made by the American president. This was done in order to demonstrate that he was acting in good faith.

“This reasonable step on your part persuades me that you are showing solicitude for the preservation of peace” (Khrushchev, 1962)

3.3 The Macro-level Analysis

At the macro-level of analysis, it is shown that the use of the ideological "positive self-representation and negative other-representation" is not balanced between both of the speeches.

3.3.1 Positive Self-Representation in the Speeches

The analytical framework elaborated by Van Dijk (Van Dijk, 2000; 2004) employs two macro strategies, positive-self representation and negative-other representation. This implies highlighting positive things about “Us” and negative things about the “other”.

After reading the texts, We noticed a difference in the employment of the dichotomy of "positive self-representation" and "negative-other representation." Both John F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev use these strategies for different reasons and in different ways. What they have in common is the intention to portray themselves as super heroes and their nations as powerful and indestructible. However, what makes the difference is the fact that both presidents are not on the same wavelength, especially in terms of power.

In the speech, Kennedy uses the strategy of positive self-glorification many times compared to Khrushchev. This reliance on the positive image is due to his extreme popularity in the United States. During his 1960 presidential campaign against Republican nominee Richard Nixon, Kennedy painted a heroic vision of himself, declaring that he and the American people would join forces in an urgent task of national self-renewal (White, 2013). Which is noticeable in his speech upon the missile crisis in 1962. In his inauguration speech on January 20, 1961,

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JFK portrayed the 1960s as an era of acute struggle that would need a unique type of leadership that only he could deliver, as well as self-sacrifice that the American people would have to be willing to make (White, 2013). Moreover, president Kennedy did not miss a chance to portray himself as friend to the Cuban people and to include the American people's feelings and emotions by positive self-description.

“Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation, which leads a worldwide alliance.

We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics.” (Kennedy, 1962).

“The cost of freedom is always high-but Americans have always paid it” (Kennedy, 1962).

The Soviet president, on the other hand, used 25% of his letter to JFK to defend himself and the USSR. Khrushchev was described as someone known to have contacts with the world leaders that were an unknown audience to His former leader Joseph Stalin, such as Tito, Nehru, Mao Tse-tung, Eden, and Queen Elizabeth II” (Medlin, 1959, p. 175). According to Medlin (1959) he was He was well-liked in his home nation and well-known around the globe due to his constant personal relationships. In the speech, Khrushchev represents himself and his nation in a positive way, especially when discussing the assistance requested by the Cuban government to advance the Cuban defence capabilities.

“Our purpose has been and is to help Cuba, and no one can challenge the humanity of our motives aimed at allowing Cuba to live peacefully and develop as its people desire” (Khrushchev, 1962).

3.3.2 Negative Other-Representation

The negative other-representation consists of emphasizing the bad/negative actions of the “other” and de-emphasize their good actions. (Van Dijk 2005; Blommeart & Bulcaen 2000; Bello 2013). This strategy is also more recurrent in the American president's speeches than in the Soviet president. While Kennedy insists on portraying the Soviet Union as traitors and outlaws regarding the situation, he also uses it to demonstrate the positive side of his government and the whole western hemisphere.

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“In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger—although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat” (Kennedy, 1962).

Whereas on the communist side, Khrushchev applies this strategy carefully and wisely in order not to enlarge the crisis from a misunderstanding to a serious worldwide threat to peace. The Soviet president also demonstrates the unfairness when describing the bases circling his entire state. This reflects the negative other-representation in a subtle way.

“You have stationed devastating rocket weapons which you call offensive, in Turkey literally right next to us. How does recognition of your equal military possibilities tally with such unequal relations between our great states? This does not tally at all.” (Khrushchev, 1962).

Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to the socio-cognitive analysis of the political speeches of the American president, Kennedy, and the Russian president, Khrushchev. The model used to detect the ideological representations in both texts, was elaborated by Teun Van Dijk (2005). The findings show that both politicians adopted different discursive strategies to make their points clear Vis-à-Vis the missile crisis in Cuba and to impose their ideas.

General Conclusion

The aim of the present research was to examine the linguistic choices made by the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, and the Soviet President, Nikita Khrushchev in response to the missile crisis in Cuba. Investigating political discourse offers us the opportunity to understand how politicians can falsify or distort reality for their ideological purposes. Using Van Dijk's (2005) CDA framework for analyzing political discourse, I examined the presidents' speeches by using a checklist of 25 discursive devices, and by detecting the presence of the ideological square dichotomy "Positive self-representation" and "negative-other representation"

This study has shown that the presidents differ in using the discursive devices. The American president employed 106 discursive devices while the Soviet president used only 55 discursive devices. It is worth noting that Kennedy used the discursive devices actor description, authority, consensus, hyperbole, and lexicalization with a high frequency to show his dominance at the national and international level. While Nikita Khrushchev used discursive devices less frequently to demonstrate his wise contribution to a critical crisis in 1962,

Taken together, these results suggest that the linguistic choices made by political actors (participants) can be very revealing in terms of power, attitude, and beliefs. The way they describe things and people, the way they use numbers to justify or clarify points, and the way they generalize assumptions to achieve credibility, can lead to the creation of ideologies. As regards the Missile Cuban Crisis, the choice of words and grammatical structures greatly affected the public's opinions and contributed to shaping the political scene. While Kennedy portrayed himself as a rescuer of the world and a hero of the United States of America, Khrushchev looked at the situation from a different angle. He looked at it as a perfect opportunity to push American military bases away from the borders of the Soviet Union.

The major limitation of this study is that the analysis, in the third chapter, covered only five devices among the 25 devices presented in Van Dijk's model. Further research requires a focus on the linguistic, political and historical parameters.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

John F. Kennedy:

WASHINGTON, *October 22, 1962*

Good evening my fellow citizens:

This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.

Upon receiving the first preliminary hard information of this nature last Tuesday morning at 9A.M., I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this Government feels obliged to report this new crisis to you in fullest detail.

The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D. C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.

Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles—capable of traveling more than twice as far—and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western Hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base—by the presence of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction--constitutes an

explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio Pact of 1947, the traditions of this Nation and hemisphere, the joint resolution of the 87th Congress, the Charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on September 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms buildup in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station strategic missiles on the territory of any other nation.

The size of this undertaking makes clear that it has been planned for some months. Yet only last month, after I had made clear the distinction between any introduction of ground-to-ground missiles and the existence of defensive anti-aircraft missiles, the Soviet Government publicly stated on September 11 that, and I quote, "the armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes," that, and I quote the Soviet Government, "there is no need for the Soviet Government to shift its weapons... for a retaliatory blow to any other country, for instance Cuba," and that, and I quote their government, "the Soviet Union has so powerful rockets to carry these nuclear warheads that there is no need to search for sites for them beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union." That statement was false.

Only last Thursday, as evidence of this rapid offensive buildup was already in my hand, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko told me in my office that he was instructed to make it clear once again, as he said his government had already done, that Soviet assistance to Cuba, and I quote, "pursued solely the purpose of contributing to the defense capabilities of Cuba," that, and I quote him, "training by Soviet specialists of Cuban nationals in handling defensive armaments was by no means offensive, and if it were otherwise," Mr. Gromyko went on, "the Soviet Government would never become involved in rendering such assistance." That statement also was false.

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.

For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States, recognizing this fact, have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history—unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II-- demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bull's-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines.

In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger—although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat.

But this secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles—in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy—this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil—is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

The 1930's taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to go unchecked, ultimately leads to war. This nation is opposed to war. We are also true to our word. Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country, and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere.

Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation, which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. But now further action is required—and it is under way; and these actions may only be the beginning. We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth—but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the Resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following *initial* steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. The foreign ministers of the OAS, in their communiqué of October 6, rejected secrecy on such matters in this hemisphere. Should these offensive military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities; and I trust that in the interest of both the Cuban people and the Soviet technicians at the sites, the hazards to all concerned of continuing this threat will be recognized.

Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Fourth: As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo, evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a standby alert basis.

Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty in support of all necessary action. The United Nations Charter allows for regional security arrangements—and the nations of this hemisphere decided long ago against the military presence of outside powers. Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.

Sixth: Under the Charter of the United Nations, we are asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of U.N. observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless, and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and to transform the history of man. He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction—by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba—by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis—and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

This Nation is prepared to present its case against the Soviet threat to peace, and our own proposals for a peaceful world, at any time and in any forum—in the OAS, in the United Nations, or in any other meeting that could be useful—without limiting our freedom of action. We have in the past made strenuous efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proposed the elimination of all arms and military bases in a fair and effective disarmament treaty. We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides—including the possibilities of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union—for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of intimidation. That is why this latest Soviet threat—or any other threat which is made either independently or in response to our actions this week—must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed—including in particular the brave people of West Berlin—will be met by whatever action is needed.

Finally, I want to say a few words to the captive people of Cuba, to whom this speech is being directly carried by special radio facilities. I speak to you as a friend, as one who knows of your deep attachment to your fatherland, as one who shares your aspirations for liberty and justice for all. And I have watched and the American people have watched with deep sorrow how your nationalist revolution was betrayed—and how your fatherland fell under foreign domination. Now your leaders are no longer Cuban leaders inspired by Cuban ideals. They are puppets and agents of an international conspiracy which has turned Cuba against your friends and neighbors in the

Americas—and turned it into the first Latin American country to become a target for nuclear war—the first Latin American country to have these weapons on its soil.

These new weapons are not in your interest. They contribute nothing to your peace and well-being. They can only undermine it. But this country has no wish to cause you to suffer or to impose any system upon you. We know that your lives and land are being used as pawns by those who deny your freedom. Many times, in the past, the Cuban people have risen to throw out tyrants who destroyed their liberty. And I have no doubt that most Cubans today look forward to the time when they will be truly free—free from foreign domination, free to choose their own leaders, free to select their own system, free to own their own land, free to speak and write and worship without fear or degradation. And then shall Cuba be welcomed back to the society of free nations and to the associations of this hemisphere.

My fellow citizens: let no one doubt that this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can foresee precisely what course it will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred. Many months of sacrifice and self-discipline lie ahead—months in which both our patience and our will, will be tested—months in which many threats and denunciations will keep us aware of our dangers. But the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing.

The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are—but it is the one most consistent with our character and courage as a nation and our commitments around the world. The cost of freedom is always high—but Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or submission.

Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right—not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace *and* freedom, here in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved.

Thank you and good night.

Appendix 2

Nikita Khrushchev:

Dear Mr. President:

It is with great satisfaction that I studied your reply to Mr. U Thant on the adoption of measures in order to avoid contact by our ships and thus avoid irreparable fatal consequences. This reasonable step on your part persuades me that you are showing solicitude for the preservation of peace, and I note this with satisfaction.

I have already said that the only concern of our people and government and myself personally as chairman of the Council of Ministers is to develop our country and have it hold a worthy place among all people of the world in economic competition, advance of culture and arts, and most necessary field for competition which will only benefit both the winner and loser, because this benefit is peace and an increase in the facilities by means of which man lives and obtains pleasure.

In your statement, you said that the main aim lies not only in reaching an agreement and adopting measures to avert contact of our ships, and consequently, a deepening of the crisis, which because of this contact can spark off the fire of military conflict after which any talks would be superfluous because others forces and other laws would begin to operate--the laws of war. I agree with your that this is only a first step. The main thing is to normalize and stabilize the situation in the world between states and between people.

I understand your concern for the security of the United States, Mr. President, because this is the first duty of the president. However, these questions are also uppermost in our minds. The same duties rest with me as chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. You have been worried over our assisting Cuba with arms designed to strengthen its defensive potential--precisely defensive potential--because Cuba, no matter that weapons it had, could not compare with you since these are different dimensions, the more so given up-to-date means of extermination.

Our purpose has been and is to help Cuba, and no one can challenge the humanity of our motives aimed at allowing Cuba to live peacefully and develop as its people desire. You want to relieve your country from danger and this is understandable. However, Cuba also wants this. All countries want to relieve your country from danger. But how can we the Soviet Union and our government, assess your action which, in effect, mean that you have surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases, surrounded our allies with military bases, set up military bases literally around our country, and stationed your rocket weapons at them? This is no secret. High-placed American officials demonstratively declare this. Your rockets are stationed in Britain and in Italy and pointed at us. Your rockets are stationed in Turkey.

You are worried over Cuba. You say that that it worries you because it lies at a distance of ninety miles across the sea from the shores of the United States. However, Turkey lies next to us. Our sentinels are pacing up and down and watching each other. Do you believe that you have the right to demand security for your country and the removal of such weapons that you qualify as offensive, while not recognizing this right for us?

You have stationed devastating rocket weapons which you call offensive, in Turkey literally right next to us. How does recognition of your equal military possibilities tally with such unequal relations between our great states? This does not tally at all.

It is good, Mr. President, that you agreed for our representatives to meet and begin talks, apparently with the participation of the U.N. Acting Secretary General U Thant. Consequently, to some extent, he assumes the role of intermediary, and we believe that he can cope with the responsible mission if, of course, every side that is drawn in to this conflict shows good will.

I think that one could rapidly eliminate the conflict and normalize the situation. Then people would heave a sigh of relief, considering that the statesmen who bear the responsibility have sober minds, and awareness of their responsibility, and an ability to solve complicated problems and not allow matters to slide to the disaster of war.

This is why I make this proposal: We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous weapons from Turkey. Let us reach an understanding on what time you and we need to put this into effect.

After this, representatives of the U.N. Security Council could control on-the-spot the fulfillment of these commitments. Of course, it is necessary that the Governments of Cuba and Turkey would allow these representatives to come to their countries and check fulfillment of this commitment, which each side undertakes. Apparently, it would be better if these representatives enjoyed the trust of the Security Council as ours -the United States and the Soviet Union-as well as of Turkey and Cuba. I think that it will not be difficult to find such people who enjoy the trust and respect of all interested sides.

We having assumed this commitment in order to give satisfaction and hope to the peoples of Cuba and Turkey and to increase their confidence in their security, will make a statement in the Security Council to the effect that the Soviet Government gives a solemn pledge to respect the integrity of the frontiers and the sovereignty of Turkey, not to intervene in its domestic affairs, not to invade Turkey, not to make available its territory as a place d'armes for such invasion, and also will restrain those who would think of launching an aggression against Turkey either from Soviet territory or from the territory of other states bordering on Turkey.

The U.S. Government will make the same statement in the Security Council with regard to Cuba. It will declare that the United States will respect the integrity of the frontiers of Cuba, its sovereignty, undertakes not to intervene in its domestic affairs, not to invade and not to make its territory available as a place d'armes for the invasion of Cuba, and also will restrain those who would think of launching an aggression against Cuba either from U.S. territory or from the territory of other states bordering on Cuba.

Of course, for this we would have to reach agreement with you and arrange for some deadline. Let us agree to give some time, but not delay, two or three weeks, not more than a month.

The weapons on Cuba, that you have mentioned and which, as you say, alarm you, are in the hands of Soviet officers. Therefore, any accidental use of them whatsoever to the detriment of the United States of America is excluded. These means are stationed in Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government and only in defensive aims. Therefore, if there is no invasion of Cuba, or an

attack on the Soviet Union, or other of our allies then, of course, these means do not threaten anyone and will not threaten. For they do not pursue offensive aims.

If you accept my proposal, Mr. President, we would send our representatives to New York, to the United Nations, and would give them exhaustive instructions to order to come to terms sooner. If you would also appoint your men and give them appropriate instructions, this problem could be solved soon.

Why would I like to achieve this? Because the entire world is now agitated and expects reasonable actions from us. The greatest pleasure for all the peoples would be an announcement on our agreement, on nipping in the bud the conflict that has arisen. I attach a great importance to such understanding because it might be a good beginning and, specifically, facilitate a nuclear test ban agreement. The problem of tests could be solved simultaneously, not linking one with the other, because they are different problems. However, it is important to reach an understanding to both these problems in order to make a good gift to the people, to let them rejoice in the news that a nuclear test ban agreement as also been reached and thus there will be no further contamination of the atmosphere. Your and our positions on this issue are very close.

All this possibly, would serve as a good impetus to searching for mutually acceptable agreements on other disputed issues, too, on which there is an exchange of opinion between us. These problems have not yet been solved, but they wait from an urgent solution which would clear the international atmosphere. We are ready for this.

These are my proposals, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours,