

## **I. Resumé**

### **Idealisme og Bevidst Uvidenhed – *Manifest Destiny*-ideologien i Amerikansk Udenrigspolitik**

*Formålet med dette speciale er at undersøge, hvorvidt det er plausibelt, at Manifest Destiny-ideologien bliver brugt i Amerikansk politisk diskurs til at fremme bevidst uvidenhed i forhold til USAs udenrigspolitik.*

USA har spillet en unik rolle i verdenshistorien og har opnået enestående politisk, militær og kulturel indflydelse. Sådan en anelig magtposition kommer dog ikke problemfrit, og amerikansk indblanding i internationale anliggender er ofte blevet kritiseret og fordømt af store dele af verdenssamfundet. Især USAs villighed til at bruge sit enorme militærapparat til at opnå mål har givet anledning til modvilje.

*Bush-doktrinens* fokus på *præventiv krig* og *Bush-administrationens* beslutning om at invadere Irak i 2003 konsoliderede billedet af USA som en aggressiv og arrogant stormagt. Denne indstilling er blevet et problem for USA, eftersom mange i dag anser USA som den største trussel mod verdensfreden.

Den amerikanske militærhistoriker og udenrigspolitiske rådgiver *Max Boot* forsvarer invasionen med, at Amerikansk udenrigspolitik altid har været motiveret af idealisme og et ønske om at beskytte menneskeheden. Denne tro på, at USA besidder en iboende retskaffenhed og er drevet af messianske motiver, er meget nært beslægtet med *Manifest Destiny*-ideologien – den amerikanske ide om at USA er udvalgt af gud som et skinnende historisk eksempel, der skal lede verden frem mod lyset. Ifølge den amerikanske historiker *Anders Stephanson* er *Manifest Destiny*-ideologien dybt rodfastet i det amerikanske samfund, og den kan spores helt tilbage til de tidligste Puritanske nybyggere.

Den Amerikanske lingvist og politiske samfundskritiker, *Noam Chomsky*, stiller sig mere tvivlsomt overfor den iboende retskaffenhed i amerikansk udenrigspolitik og mener, at amerikanere praktiserer *bevidst uvidenhed* i forhold til amerikansk

udenrigspolitik – forstået på den måde at USA ikke lever op til de høje idealer og målsætninger, der opstilles i den udenrigspolitiske diskurs.

Ifølge den engelske professor i lingvistik *Norman Fairclough*, er styrken af en ideologi knyttet til dens evne til at blive en del af vores ”sunde fornuft” og derved en implicit filosofi, der udfylder huller i vores forståelsesramme. Den engelske kulturteoretiker *Terry Eagleton* tilføjer, at ideologi drejer sig om at legitimere etablerede magtforhold.

På baggrund af tre af de ovennævnte teoretikere og empirisk data i form af tre relevante case-studier (Første Verdenskrig, Koreakrigen og Irakkrigen), har jeg udført en kvalitativ og deduktiv analyse, der har ført til følgende resultater:

*Manifest Destiny*-ideologien kan spores i diskurs fra den amerikanske politiske, religiøse og intellektuelle elite i tidlig amerikansk historie op til nutidige politiske ledere. De tre taler analyseret i denne afhandling bærer alle præg heraf.

De tre case-studier viser, at USA i mange henseender ikke har levet op til idealer og mål erklæret i den tilhørende diskurs. Dertil kommer, at mens USA kæmpede i udlandet for at håndhæve amerikanske værdier som frihed og demokrati, blev disse værdier underkendt i USA af regeringen under henholdsvis *the Sedition Act*, *McCarthyism* og *the PATRIOT Act*.

Med udgangspunkt i de førnævnte teoretikere og den analyserede empiri er det i høj grad plausibelt at *Manifest Destiny*-ideologien er en *implicit filosofi*, der udfylder huller i den gængse amerikaners forståelsesramme og bliver brugt i Amerikansk politisk diskurs til at fremme *bevidst uvidenhed* i forhold til Amerikansk udenrigspolitik.



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## **1.0 Chapter One – Introduction**

The United States has played a unique role in world history, and its development as a nation and rise to power have been exceptional to say the least. The Declaration of Independence marked the inception of a nation that would come to hold a level of political, military, and cultural influence unmatched by any nation in history.

Naturally, such an overwhelmingly dominant position of power does not come easily, and much US involvement in international affairs has been criticised and condemned by many parties of the world community. In particular, the willingness of the US to flex its unprecedented military muscle to achieve its objectives has given rise to animosity.

The Bush Doctrine's policy of pre-emptive strike and the decision to invade Iraq in 2003, despite international protests and UN sanctions, solidified the perception of the US as an arrogant, "trigger-happy" hyper power. This attitude has become a problem for the US as many people now view the US as the greatest threat to world peace.

In defence of the Bush administration's decision to invade Iraq, the American military historian and member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Max Boot, published an article in the New York Times in which he stated that US foreign Policy has an inherent:

*... strain of idealism at which the cynical Europeans have scoffed. In the case of Iraq, they just can't seem to accept that we might be acting for, say, the general safety and security of the world. After more than 200 years, Europe still hasn't figured out what makes America tick. (Appendix 1, p 2)*

Moreover, in the same article, Boot stated that: *Europeans are projecting their own behaviour onto us. They know that their own foreign policies have in the past often been driven by avarice (ibid. p 2).*

Inherent in Boot's claims seems to be the basic belief that the US is historically exceptional, and that it is driven by righteous and messianic motives – a notion which

is very closely related to the ideology of *Manifest Destiny*, which in short is the *American idea of providential and historical chosenness* (Stephanson, 1995 p xiii).

According to American Historian Anders Stephanson, the ideology of *Manifest Destiny* is deeply rooted in American society and can be traced all the way back to the very first Puritan settlers and their spiritual leader John Winthrop. Moreover, in his book, *Manifest Destiny – American Expansion and the Empire of Right I* (Stephanson, 1995), Stephanson argues that the ideology of *Manifest Destiny* had signal importance to the way the American people came to envision themselves and their relation to the rest of the world.

However, not all American political thinkers lend as much credit to the inherent righteousness of US Foreign Policy as Max Boot does. In the book *Hegemony or Survival – America’s Quest for Global Dominance* (Chomsky, 2004), American Professor of linguistics and renowned political writer Noam Chomsky warns that the elevated ideals accompanying US Foreign Policy *may be stirring in their nobility, but should be examined in practice not just rhetoric* (ibid. p 46). According to Chomsky the basic assumption of American righteousness is such a widespread truism that the US deems itself exempt from the scrutiny it adopts when evaluating the standards of official enemies. Chomsky calls this stance *Intentional Ignorance* (ibid. p 43) and argues that it is facilitated by the virtuous self-image projected by the ideology of Manifest Destiny and generally taken for granted in US society.

According to the English Professor of Linguistics, Norman Fairclough, the power of ideology is linked to its ability to become part of our common sense background and form the basis of our everyday decisions as an implicit philosophy that automatically is used for gap-filling in complex or paradoxical matters. Moreover, Fairclough emphasises that ideology and discourse are inextricably linked, in the sense that discourse is the means by which ideology is disseminated.

British Professor of Cultural Theory, Terry Eagleton, shares this view of ideology and discourse and adds that ideology is concerned with legitimising and sustaining existing relations of power and dominance. In continuation hereof, Eagleton presents *Six Strategies of Legitimation* (Eagleton, 2007), one of which is *Obscuring Social Reality*.

## **1.1 Motivation**

Given the scope of American influence on a global scale, US Foreign Policy affects every living human being. For that reason, I think it is important to try and understand what goes on “behind the scenes”. In extension hereof, the idea that the US “sells” its foreign policy on premises and elevated ideals that may have very little grounding in reality is an alarming notion that deserves close scrutiny. Moreover, due to my background in international business communication, I find the correlation between ideology and discourse intriguing. Therefore, the combination of US Foreign Policy, discourse and ideology is an obvious focal point for my master thesis.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

*I wish to examine to which extent it is plausible that the ideology of Manifest Destiny is used in American political discourse to facilitate Intentional Ignorance in relation to US Foreign Policy.*

**Hypothesis one:** *The ideology of Manifest Destiny can be traced in present day American political discourse.*

**Hypothesis two:** *American leaders proclaim elevated ideals and set very high standards that they often do not live up to in practice.*

**Hypothesis three:** *It is plausible that the ideology of Manifest Destiny works as an implicit philosophy in US society and is used for gap-filling in paradoxical or complicated situations.*

## **1.3 Methodology**

In order to examine the problem statement and test the stated hypotheses, I have chosen to use three case studies as empirical data. These cases are WWI, the Korean War and the Invasion of Iraq (Operation Iraqi Freedom). In relation to each case, my examination will revolve around three main areas of focus:

1. The discourse used by the respective presidents regarding the war
2. To which extent the US, in practice, lives up to the goals and ideals set forth in the accompanying rhetoric
3. The state of affairs in the US at the time of the respective wars in regards to American core virtues such as civil rights, liberty and freedom.

### **1.3.1 Qualitative vs. Quantitative Analysis**

I have thus chosen to perform a qualitative rather than a quantitative analysis. I chose this approach due to the fact that this thesis revolves around an issue of ideology. Therefore, I find it most relevant and conducive to perform an in-depth analysis of three relevant cases rather than carrying out a quantitative analysis based on a broad variety of surveys, statistics and opinion polls. Moreover, the three cases are highly relevant in relation to US Foreign Policy and ideology as WWI, the Korean War and the Iraq War represent three major turning points in US Foreign Policy where American core virtues in essence were pitted against opposing ideologies. Moreover, the three cases span a period of more than 80 years and thus present an opportunity to gain a broad insight into the tendency of how the Ideology of Manifest Destiny has been used in political discourse in connection with major foreign policy issues.

I was inspired to use such a qualitative approach by one of the main theorists featured in this thesis Anders Stephanson. In his book *Manifest Destiny – American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (Stephanson, 1995), Stephanson traces the development of the ideology of Manifest Destiny and its influence on US society by use of a qualitative analysis of among other things speeches by the US religious, intellectual and political elite. Stephanson thus paints an illustrative picture of the staying power of the ideology of Manifest Destiny – In a sense one could argue that I am picking up where Stephanson left off.

### **1.3.2 Deductive Method**

As mentioned above, much of my inspiration comes from reading Stephanson's book on the historical influence of the ideology of Manifest Destiny. However, reading

Chomsky's book *Hegemony or Survival* (Chomsky, 2004), which introduced me to the idea of Intentional Ignorance, was the turning point at which I became seriously interested in examining the role of the ideology of Manifest Destiny in relation to US Foreign Policy.

The idea of Intentional Ignorance seemed fascinating and alarming all at once, and thus I decided to perform my own personal analysis in order to test whether Chomsky's theory was plausible. I used a "top-down" deductive approach as I started with a general overall hypothesis and used three specific cases as a means of testing to which extent the hypotheses would hold water in reality.

### **1.3.3 Data Retrieval**

The data used in this thesis was partly retrieved from the Internet and partly from a variety of books on the subject of ideology, the Manifest Destiny, US Foreign Policy, as well as US history in general. The three presidential speeches, for example, were retrieved in their entirety from the Internet, in addition to this, the Internet proved a good source for finding figures on among other things the civilian death toll in relation to the invasion and occupation of Iraq.

### **1.3.4 Thesis Outline**

The purpose of this outline is to provide the reader with an insight into the structure of the thesis and a better basis for understanding the coherence of the argumentation process.

**Chapter one: Introduction:** A general introduction to the thesis – the "problem", the main theorists, the main terms, as well as the methodology used during the analysis and examination process.

**Chapter two: Theoretical Background.**

This chapter functions as an introduction to the theoretical background of the analysis and discussion chapters.

**Chapter three: Empirical Data.**

This chapter presents the empirical data by way of the three case studies: WWI, the Korean War and the Invasion of Iraq. Moreover, the three presidential speeches are introduced in edited form in this chapter.

#### **Chapter four: Analysis.**

**Analysis A:** Analysis of the speeches in order to examine to which extent the ideology of Manifest Destiny can be traced in present day foreign policy discourse. In addition to this, Eagleton's Six Strategies of Legitimation will be featured as a parameter for analysis A.

**Analysis B:** This part of the analysis focuses on the practical side of the three case studies in order to determine to which extent the implementation of US Foreign Policy lives up to the elevated ideals and goals set forth in the accompanying discourse.

#### **Chapter five: Discussion.**

Here I will look at the outcome of the analysis chapter and apply the arguments and theories of Chomsky, Stephanson and Fairclough and Eagleton in order to discuss which conclusions one can draw from the analysis.

#### **Chapter six: Conclusion.**

In this part I will sum up the entire thesis and present the main conclusion I have come to via the analysis and discussion chapters based on the theoretical background and the empirical data.

#### **Chapter seven: Putting it all into Perspective.**

In this short chapter I will look at the present-day situation and demonstrate my thoughts on why the subject matter of the thesis is relevant today for anyone under the influence of US Foreign Policy.

### **1.3.5 Delimitation**

Because of the subject matter of the thesis, I have chosen to focus on the relationship between ideology and discourse, rather than classic aspects of rhetoric such as speech acts and the appeal forms Ethos, Pathos and Logos.

## **2.0 Chapter Two: Theoretical background**

### **2.1 Manifest Destiny according to John L. O'Sullivan**

In 1845, John L. O'Sullivan coined the term *Manifest Destiny* in reference to a growing conviction that the US was preordained by God to expand throughout North America and exercise hegemony over its neighbours. In the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (July–August 1845, p. 5) he argued for "*the fulfilment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.*"

Around the time of O'Sullivan's writing, the US saw an extraordinary territorial growth of 1.2 million square miles, an enlargement of more than 60 percent. The expansion happened at such an accelerated rate that people like O'Sullivan thought that even larger expansions were inevitable, necessary, and indeed desirable. Moreover, it was the divine right of the American people to acquire and dominate more land because they had a superior political system, the most developed culture and belonged to the most advanced race (Stephanson, 1995).

The concept caught on very well among a growing expansionist majority, who saw the rapid expansion of US borders during the first 50 years after the Declaration of Independence (1776) as a clear testament to the destiny of the US and an argument for more expansion westward.

With the rising number of immigrants and settlers who dreamt of reaping the benefits that the frontier promised, the logic of the Manifest Destiny became popular in public opinion, and paintings and illustrations from the 19th century underline the focus on the positive aspects of the winning of the frontier. One of the most popular images of the time was John Gast's painting from 1872, *American Progress*.





American Progress John Gast, 1872, (<http://www.legendsofamerica.com/WE-Women.html>)

The US, in the shape of a woman carrying the imperial star on her forehead, moves westward. She is holding a schoolbook in one arm and drawing telegraph wires behind her. In front of her, Indians and wild animals are fleeing, and in her wake, American civilisation is on its way in the shape of farmers and settlers riding trains and horse wagons.

Also the intellectual elite of the 19th century was occupied with the importance of US expansionism, and the most influential piece of writing on the positive benefits of the westward expansion was Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Turner, 2008).

Turner's belief was that the hardships of frontier life had shaped American values and character traits. He defined the frontier as the line between savagery and civilisation and argued that the westward movement of the common man and the recline of the frontier laid the ground for liberty and democracy as it, in contrast to the east and Europe, offered every man the chance to acquire land and become an independent member of society. Thus Turner categorically stated:

*The American intellect owes its striking characteristics to the frontier. That coarseness of strength, combined with acuteness and acquisitiveness; that practical inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to the effect great; that restless, nervous*

*energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and evil; and withal, that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom – these are the traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.* (Turner, 2008 p 37)

Turner, who saw the frontier as the very driving force behind America, was concerned with the consequences of the inevitable closing of the frontier. Tying the moving frontier and the American psyche very closely, Turner thought that it was imperative for America to keep expanding in order to fulfil its destiny, and he called for *a vigorous foreign policy and the extension of American influence to outlying islands and adjoining countries.* (Turner, 2008 pp. 55)

## **2.2 Manifest Destiny According to Anders Stephanson**

In his book, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (Stephanson, 1995), American Professor of history, Anders Stephanson, presents a very interesting and in-depth analysis of the ideology of *Manifest Destiny* and its impact on US history.

Stephanson expands on O’Sullivan’s use of the term Manifest Destiny and uses it as the widespread belief in a providentially assigned role of the US to lead the world to new and better things. Stephanson argues that this belief in a prophetic and universal mission has animated American ideas about itself, the world and relations between the two from the earliest colonisation to the present. Furthermore, he argues that it has supported two contradictory American stances toward the outside world. On the one hand, Americans have sought to build an exemplary state separate from the corrupt and fallen world, letting others emulate it the best they can. On the other hand, the position has been to redeem the world through intervention.

Stephanson places particular emphasis on the Puritans and their strict doctrine of Calvinism and identifies four salient features of Puritan faith and argues that their secular and religious themes came to define America as a unique mission and project in time and space.

These themes are:

- **Election and covenant**
- **Choice and apostasy**
- **Prophecy, revelation and the end of history**
- **Territory, mission and community**

### **Election and covenant**

The puritans borrowed the Hebrew concept of divine election, in which God had appointed the Israelites to be his chosen people in the fallen world. The Puritans transferred the concept of divine election to themselves, which was natural as they saw themselves as the purest of Christians. They saw their own persecution and subsequent journey across the sea as a parallel to events in the Old Testament.

The emphasis here is on a predetermined destination and the journey to a divine destination. The process of overcoming the wilderness on the way is a process of reconciliation with God, and the wilderness takes on a sacred importance as it makes the chosen people worthy of inheriting the land of milk and honey that they have been destined to populate. However, the territorial conquest is only a means to an end – the population and establishment of a society in the Promised Land lead to the universal enlightenment and a final goal of reconciliation between humankind and God (Stephanson, 2005).

### **Choice and Apostasy**

The success of the divine plan was based on a pact that could be broken if the chosen people did not live up to the agreement. To the Puritans, history was therefore a series of choices between right and wrong in relation to the contract with God and therefore also a continuous test. Following this line of thought, there lies an enormous responsibility on the shoulders of the Chosen as the fate of the world is at stake. Anxiety, guilt and relentless self-inspection are combined with an ever-present imperative to intervene righteously in the world in order to bring mankind closer to God.

## **Prophecy, revelation and the end**

An important part of the responsibility that the Puritans assumed was rediscovering the true word of God, which had been distorted by generations of heresy. To the Puritans, the bible was the exact prophetic word of God, and current events were fulfilments of the scriptures. Therefore, mastering the bible was the key to understanding God's plan and conforming to the divine will. Not doing so constituted atheism.

The most prophetically important part of the bible is the Book of Revelation. In short, the Book of Revelation describes the fight between God and Satan and prophesies the different stages of the battle ultimately ending with the forces of evil being destroyed, heaven descending to earth, the righteous being allowed to stay in paradise and the sinners being sent to burn in hell for all eternity.

The Puritans were strong believers in the apocalypse, and, needless to say, the notion of being "on the wrong side" was terrifying. Moreover, the puritans believed that the reformation represented the initial stage of the battle, and that it could not have been coincidental that God had revealed the New World at such a crucial time. In continuation hereof, living up to the predetermined divine plan and proving one's obedience to God was imperative.

## **Territory, mission and community**

The New World was the place where the divine battle would take place and reveal to the world what Providence had in mind. In this respect the New World became much more than an outpost of European civilisation, it was of crucial importance to the divine mission and the fate of the world. Accordingly, every activity was part of the war against the Antichrist and the heathens and thus gave rise to a very strict view of the division between sacred and profane. The community was to be kept as pure as possible, and Calvin himself put it like this: *It is the godly man's duty to abstain from all familiarity with the wicked and not to enmesh himself with them in any voluntary relationship* (Stephanson, 1995 p 11).

This meant that anyone who did not conform to strict Puritan-style Protestantism was considered ungodly and part of the "enemy". As a result, Catholics, Jesuits, Jews or any other heathens were persecuted and brutally hounded. Historians mention

hundreds of cases where high-ranking Puritan leaders such as John Winthrop banished, severely punished or sentenced to death citizens who did not comply with Puritan ethos. The legendary witch-hunts of Salem are an example of Puritan determination to keep the community God-fearing and pure.

Stephanson claims that these four themes were the driving force behind the Puritans and their exodus to the New World. Furthermore, they were central to the way the New England Puritans envisioned themselves and their place in the New World. Moreover, they acted as a good indication of the sense of urgency and mission and historical relevance that was instilled into the common mindset in early US society.

### **Visions of National Greatness**

According to Stephanson, the original Puritan urgency declined in step with the rationalism that followed the progressive period of the Enlightenment and the many innovations, industrial developments and commercial expansion that ensued. However, during the 1730's and 40's, the Great Awakening swept across British North America as a religious revival that gave rise to a reinvigoration of the original Puritan vision of national greatness.

Stephanson particularly emphasises the role of Congregational preacher, theologian and missionary, Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), who was one of the most influential figures of the Great Awakening. Edwards subscribed to strict Calvinist doctrine, but recognised the huge secular potential of America as an industrial and commercial power and thus envisioned that:

*... the most glorious renovation of the world shall originate from the new continent, and the church of God in that respect be from hence. And so it is probable that will come to pass in spirituals, which has taken place in temporals, with respect to America; that whereas, till of late, the world was supplied with its silver, and gold, and earthly treasures from the old continent, now it is supplied chiefly from the new; so the course of things in spiritual respects will be in like manner turned. – And it is worthy to be noted, that America was discovered about the time of the reformation, or but little before: which reformation was the first thing that God did towards the glorious renovation of the world, after it had sunk into the depths of darkness and ruin, under the great anti-Christian apostacy. So that, as soon as this new world*

*stands forth in view, God presently goes about doing some great thing in order to make way for the introduction of the church's latter-day glory – which is to have its first seat in, and is to take its rise from, that new world.*

(<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/edwards/works1.ix.iii.ii.html>)

Stephanson argues that this marriage between the sacred and the secular, established the US not only as a moral and religious beacon for the rest of the world, but also as a future commercial giant that would fulfil the materialistic needs of the world community. Following this trail of thought, there could be no other logical conclusion than the one that the extension of US influence was inevitable and indeed crucial to the development of the world.

Stephanson goes on to explain that Edwards thus combined the original sacred Puritan vision with a more modern secular vision, in which the idea of mission was extended to include the whole of Anglophone America and all white Anglo Saxons. In this way, the Puritan matrix could be projected onto more recent models of enlightenment and profit, generating a modern nationhood of process and mission (Stephanson, 2005).

In Stephanson's view, Edwards' vision was fitting as a proto-national story that easily could be adopted by the young nation to be, and in extension hereof the American Revolution gave prophetic sense. The New World would be distinguished more sharply from the Old World, reconfirming America as an immense new project that was indeed the fulfilment of the sacred promise.

Imagining the US as a world-historical event in process and a great experiment for the demonstration of higher purpose was also a way to confront the question of identity: what the nation self might mean, and how it might be projected.

A set of simple symbols was required that would distill the past, set the present into perspective and at the same time proclaim the future, and, Stephanson argues, the Declaration of Independence served this purpose perfectly.

Firstly, the Declaration of Independence was testament to the fact that the US had managed to wrest itself from Britain, the most powerful empire in the world.

Secondly, it cemented the American ethos: *that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness* (Nye, 2003 p 247).

And thirdly, the use of phrasings such as *the Laws of Nature and Nature's God, the Opinions of Mankind, We hold these truths to be self-evident*, (ibid. p 247) and the mention of *a firm Reliance on the Protection of the divine Providence* (ibid. p 250) made it clear that the American ethos was not only righteous and applicable in an American context, but to all of humanity and history in general.

The past had prevented the struggling universal human from freely pursuing his natural happiness, and, as the first people in freedom, Americans were now escaping this crushing nightmare of history and creating a completely new society. The Declaration of Independence became a document of mythical proportions, an embodiment of American values that also gave the Founding Fathers status as biblical patriarchs.

Stephanson's conclusion is that American nationalism can be said to have emerged in the form of a diffuse disposition towards the world rather than any explicit ideology. What one shared was a sense of an entirely new kind of country, uniquely marked by social, economic and spatial openness. Common to all, too, was the related notion that the US was a sacred-secular project, a mission of world-historical significance and a designated continental setting of no determinate limits (Stephanson, 1995).

## **2.3 Noam Chomsky and Intentional Ignorance**

All though he is best known for having revolutionised the scientific study of language with the theory of Transformational Grammar, the American Professor of Linguistics and philosophy, Noam Chomsky, is a critically acclaimed political writer and activist, who has published a large number books on US Foreign Policy. According to the New York Times Book Review: *Chomsky may be the most widely read American voice on foreign policy on the planet today* (<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/04/books/the-everything-explainer.html?pagewanted=1>).

Having been politically active since his teenage years, Chomsky has followed

American politics closely for more than four decades and has been a constant voice of dissent and a critical commentator of the US political system.

In the context of this thesis, Chomsky's most interesting work is the book *Hegemony or Survival: America's quest for Global Dominance* (Chomsky, 2004). In this book, Chomsky speaks of the US pursuing an aggressive foreign policy that throughout history has revolved around US interests and securing US world dominance. According to Chomsky, the struggle for democracy and human rights has only had signal value, and in reality it has functioned as a cover for what he calls the *Imperial Grand Strategy* (Chomsky, 2004). In Chomsky's own words:

*The fundamental assumption that lies behind the imperial grand strategy, often considered unnecessary to formulate because its truth is taken to be so obvious, is the guiding principle of Wilsonian idealism: We – at least the circles who provide the leadership and advise them – are good even noble. Hence our intentions are necessarily righteous in intent...* (Chomsky, 2004 pp. 42).

Furthermore, Chomsky adds a guiding principle in US Foreign Policy that he calls *America as historical vanguard* which he explains as the assumption that *by virtue of its unique comprehension and manifestation of history's purpose, America is entitled, indeed obligated, to act as its leaders determine to be best, for the good of all, whether others understand or not.* (Chomsky, 2004. P 43). *America as historical vanguard* and Manifest Destiny are thus based on the same ideological framework and the same assumptions.

Chomsky claims that every recent inhabitant of the Oval Office, regardless of party, has adhered to these principles, and that these principles have become so firmly rooted that contesting the moral background of US Foreign Policy essentially constitutes anti-Americanism.

According to Chomsky, in order to reassure themselves that the powerful are motivated by elevated ideals and benevolence, Americans must assume a stance that he calls Intentional Ignorance. By intentionally ignoring or overlooking certain elements and actions of their foreign policy, Americans can tidy up the past and assign a saintly humanitarian aspect to their interventions abroad.

Chomsky points out that there is rarely any *shortage of elevated ideals to accompany*



*the resort to violence* (Chomsky, 2004 pp. 46) and while the words *may be stirring in their nobility, they should also be examined in practice not just rhetoric* (ibid. pp. 46). Chomsky's argument is that proclaiming noble intentions is predictable and in itself has no value, and that the only way to give them value is by living up to the intentions and ideals in reality. In this context Chomsky states that: *Those who are seriously interested in understanding the world will adopt the same standards whether they are evaluating their own political elites or those of official enemies*. After which he adds: *One might fairly ask how much would survive this elementary exercise of rationality and honesty...* (Chomsky, 2004 p 49).

As an example Chomsky mentions the fact that the US supports harsh and repressive regimes such as Turkey and Colombia where prominent writers, journalists, academics, publishers and others are persecuted for daring to exercise freedom of speech and protest atrocities and draconian laws. Chomsky's point is that if the US really were preoccupied with spreading Democracy and freedom, which it so often claims, they would be supporting the courageous individuals who do stand up for their civil rights and individual freedom.

## **2.4 Ideology According to Norman Fairclough**

English Professor of Linguistics, Norman Fairclough is occupied with the relationship between language and power. As the founder of Critical Discourse Analysis, he belongs to the Critical Linguistics tradition and focuses on how ideologies are accepted as common sense because they are embedded in features of discourse (Fairclough, 2002).

Fairclough refers to sociologist Harold Garfinkel who proposes that the decisions we make on an everyday basis are founded on assumptions and expectations that are based in our subconscious. The power of ideology is linked to its ability to become part of our common sense background and forms the basis of our everyday decisions. Fairclough refers to Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci who views ideology as an *implicit philosophy* that is taken for granted (2001:70).

Chapter 4 of Norman Fairclough's *Language and Power* (Fairclough, 2002) addresses

the subject of gap-filling. According to Fairclough, our everyday conversations are full of gaps that we fill in based on assumptions. Our ability to fill in the gaps illustrate that we are part of a community, in other words, that we belong. The more mechanical the gap-filling becomes in our attempt at creating a coherent text, the less likely it is to become visible. If we stop noticing the assumptions, the ideology is hidden underneath the surface and becomes increasingly protected (Fairclough, 2002).

## **2.5 Terry Eagleton's Six Strategies of Legitimation**

In the book *Ideology: an Introduction* (Eagleton, 2007), British Professor of Cultural Theory and literary theorist, Terry Eagleton, examines the nature of ideology and its practical application in society and contends that: *What persuades men and women to mistake each other for gods or vermin is ideology* (Eagleton, 2007 p xxii).

Eagleton is thus preoccupied with the power of ideology, and although he does not propose one final and indisputable definition of ideology, his main theory is that ideology is concerned with legitimating the power of a dominant social group or class and sustaining the existing relations of dominance. Eagleton agrees with Fairclough that ideology and discourse are inextricably linked, in the sense that ideology is disseminated via discourse, and goes on to provide us with Six Strategies of Legitimation that have been frequently utilized throughout history (Fairclough, 2007 p 5-6). These six strategies are:

- 1. Promoting beliefs:** The dominant power needs to emphasize the importance of the values and beliefs their domination is based on.
- 2. Naturalizing beliefs:** It is important for the dominant power that beliefs become common sense, and are integrated into the worldview of the people and become part of the subconscious.
- 3. Universalising beliefs:** In order for a group to promote their values and interests it is important that these are portrayed as the values and interests of all humanity.
- 4. Denigration of challenging ideas:** This strategy is based on taking away the credibility of any other ideas, values and beliefs that may challenge the values and

beliefs of the dominant power.

**5. Excluding rival forms of thought:** By presenting contradicting ideological frameworks as illogical and invalid, the dominant power is able to exclude these as rivals.

**6. Obscuring social reality:** By not acknowledging certain selected aspects of social reality, the dominant power is able to protect their own ideology.

## **2.6 Max Boot and US Foreign Policy**

Renowned American military historian Max Boot who is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, published an article in the New York Times on 13 February, 2003 which he called: *A War for Oil? Not This Time* (Appendix 1). The article was a response to the growing critical sentiment in Europe against the invasion of Iraq. In defence of the Bush administration's decision to invade Iraq, Boot wrote in the article that US Foreign Policy has a *...strain of idealism at which the cynical Europeans have scoffed. In the case of Iraq, they just can't seem to accept that we might be acting for, say, the general safety and security of the world. After more than 200 years, Europe still hasn't figured out what makes America tick* (Appendix 1 p 2).

In the same article, Boot presented his own theory on the European criticism: *Europeans are projecting their own behaviour onto us. They know that their own foreign policies have in the past often been driven by avarice* (ibid. p 2).

Although Boot is a well-known historian who has an enormous body of knowledge to base his statements on, it is important to remember that he is far from impartial in the matter of Operation Iraqi Freedom. Boot is a member of the Neo-Conservative think tank, the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) established in 1997 by doctrinaire conservatives who felt that Clinton's approach to foreign policy was too soft. The goal was to promote American global leadership and the PNAC Statement of Principles stated the following:

*The history of the 20th century should have taught us that it is important to shape circumstances before crises emerge, and to meet threats before they become dire. The*

*history of this century should have taught us to embrace the cause of American leadership.* (<http://www.newamericancentury.org/>)

Furthermore, the Statement of Principles stresses the need to “increase defense spending significantly”, “challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values” and “accept responsibility for America’s unique role in preserving and extending an international order”.

The PNAC had even sent letters to Bill Clinton urging him to remove Saddam Hussein from power, and they published articles in magazines and papers arguing that Saddam Hussein was a threat to national and international safety. As one article reveals, the PNAC had already laid out a plan for how to attack Iraq. The PNAC would play a decisive role in US foreign policy in the 21st century as many of its members came to occupy central positions in the Bush administration. These members include Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.



([http://s65605.gridserver.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/rumaylah\\_oil\\_fields\\_us\\_army1.jpg](http://s65605.gridserver.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/rumaylah_oil_fields_us_army1.jpg))

## **3.0 Chapter Three Empirical Data**

### **3.1 World War I**

#### **The dilemma of neutrality**

The outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 caught the US by surprise. Heeding popular opinion, the advice of the Founding Fathers and the Monroe Doctrine's emphasis on disentanglement from European affairs, President Woodrow Wilson issued a formal declaration of neutrality in August 1914. However, implementing a policy of true neutrality would prove a difficult task because any inaction or action on the part of the US would most likely give one side of the conflicting European parties an advantage over the other.

One of the earliest challenges to US neutrality was the dilemma over wartime munitions trade. Technically both Germany and Great Britain could buy weapons from the US, but the British blockade on European waters had the effect of denying Germany American-made weapons and ammunition. The US chose to continue supplying the allies based on the argument that the US was not responsible for the doings of Great Britain and that Germany was welcome to shop in the US if it could get past the blockades. Thus the US was not choosing sides or intervening in the European conflict (Brogan, 2001). As a result, the US became the primary munitions supplier to Great Britain and the Allies, and as the war progressed, the Allies obtained larger and larger loans on Wall Street from among others J.P. Morgan & Company allowing them to continue purchasing American weapons and ammunition. This development was very much to the joy of US manufacturers who otherwise would have been struggling with an economic recession (Brogan, 2001).

The proclaimed neutral stance of the US was challenged once again when Germany began its submarine attacks on February 5, 1915 by declaring the seas around Great Britain a war zone. On March 28 German submarines sank the British liner *Falaba*, killing one American and setting off a heated debate in the Wilson Administration: On the one hand, Americans travelling on belligerent vessels, did so at their own risk, but on the other hand, the US had to defend the rights of Americans to travel on

Allied ships. True neutrality demanded inaction on the part of the US, and Wilson did not protest the German action.

On May 7, a German U-boat attacked and sunk the British passenger liner *Lusitania*. A total of 128 Americans were among the 1,198 who died. The Germans had warned American citizens not to travel with the *Lusitania*, which also carried munitions supplies; nevertheless, American opinion was appalled at the brutality of the German submarine strategy. In response, Wilson sent a diplomatic note to Germany demanding that it disavow the sinking, pay damages and stop its attacks on passenger ships. Only in 1916 did Germany agree to assume some liability for its actions.

Wilson considered breaking diplomatic relations, and Germany sought to reduce tensions by secretly ordering its submarines not to attack unarmed passenger ships. This policy was followed until August 1915 when, in violation of these orders, the *Arabic* was sunk. In yet another attempt to defuse the growing conflict, Germany announced that it would not attack unarmed passenger ships without warning unless they tried to escape. In spite of this pledge, German attacks did not stop, and on March 16, 1916, Berlin announced a policy of attacking unarmed merchant ships without warning.

On March 24, several Americans were injured when German submarines attacked the French passenger liner *Sussex* in the English Channel. This was a direct violation of the *Arabic* pledge, and on May 4, Germany issued the *Sussex* pledge in an effort to head off war. In it, Berlin promised not to attack merchant ships without warning.

Wilson campaigned in 1916 as a candidate of peace and won the re-election by promising to keep the US out of war. Prior to the election, in January 1916, Wilson sent one of his closest advisers, Colonel Edward House, to Europe to bring an end to the war. House reached an agreement with British foreign minister Sir Edward Grey on a memorandum stating that whenever Great Britain and France felt the conditions were right, the US would call a peace conference. Under its terms, the United States would “probably” intervene on the side of the Allies if Germany either refused to attend the conference or refused reasonable terms at the conference. Nothing came of the House-Grey Memorandum.

After the election Wilson again sought to play peacemaker. He prepared identical

notes to the two sides proposing a peace conference. However, prior to sending these notes, Germany notified Wilson on December 12, 1916 that it wished to discuss peace terms. This placed him in the awkward position of siding with Germany against the Allies in ending the war. Wilson temporized, and on January 22, 1917 he addressed the Senate and called for a “peace without victory” and for the creation of a League of Nations. However, Wilson’s vision satisfied neither the Allied nor the Central powers. Germany responded on January 31 by declaring a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare.

Initially Wilson resisted advice to arm American merchant ships. His reluctance evaporated with the release of the Zimmermann Telegram. Intercepted and decoded by the British, it was a communication from German foreign minister Arthur Zimmermann to the German minister in Mexico instructing him to inquire about Mexico’s willingness to go to war against the US. In return Mexico would receive its lost territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.

When the Zimmermann Telegram was made public, Congress was considering Wilson’s request for authority to arm US merchant ships as part of a policy of “armed neutrality.”

### **The New World Order**

On April 2, 1917 Wilson set a new course for the nation when he delivered his war message to Congress presenting his idealistic vision of the role the US would play the European conflict and in ensuring world peace:

*The challenge is to all mankind.... The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life... Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world... Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples... The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve... It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage*

*upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance... we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts -- for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. (Appendix 2).*

Four days later Congress passed a formal declaration of war by a vote of 373-50 in the House and 82-6 in the Senate, and Wilson thus carried a substantially united America into war on the promise of universal peace and democracy.

The American contribution to the Allies' victory was significant on several levels. Firstly, the US Navy in cooperation with the Royal Navy rid the Atlantic of the submarine menace, and US ground forces played a key role in repelling Germany's last great offensive in March 1918. Secondly, by bypassing the regular cabinet, Wilson appointed outsiders in the form of wealthy and powerful businessmen to oversee the war effort, which resulted in very effective management. Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street financier, headed the War Industries Board; in effect he was economic dictator, controlling the whole vast field of American manufacturing in the interest of the war effort. Herbert Hoover, who made a fortune as a mining engineer and earned international fame by his work to relieve the starving people of Belgium and occupied France, was made Food Administrator. Hoover boosted American farm production to unheard heights and tripled exports to the Allied countries that might otherwise have failed from hunger (Brogan, 2001).

### **Fourteen Points**

In January 1918, nine months after the US declaration of war on Germany, Wilson addressed congress and outlined 14 points that would function as the basis for peace between the contending forces. The Fourteen Points made an impact when the Central Powers faced certain defeat by late summer of 1918. The Germans accepted Wilson's



terms, hoping that the moderate gist of the Fourteen Points would let them off lightly in the peace negotiations. Wilson responded to the German offer without consulting the Allies. He insisted that they accept the Fourteen Points before he would consider negotiations. It was not easy, however, to bring Britain and France to the side of moderation as this would require them to adjust their war aims – assuring freedom of the seas in the case of Britain and not forcing severe reparations on the Germans in the case of France. Moreover, the Allies were sceptical of the simple and idealistic approach to world politics that Wilson firmly believed in.

But subject to certain modification and reinterpretation, the Points became the basis of the armistice concluded on November 11, 1918. The resulting Treaty of Versailles, however, went far beyond the moderate proposal of the Fourteen Points and left a legacy of bitterness and recrimination among the Germans, whose government had signed the Pre-Armistice Agreement on November 5 on the presumption that the Fourteen Points would largely shape the resulting peace treaty.

The US played a leading role in the negotiations during the Treaty of Versailles, as President Wilson sought to construct a peace built around his Fourteen Points. A key element in his vision of the future of the world was establishing a League of Nations to guarantee world peace and the political and territorial integrity of the US, however, the US Senate refused to ratify the treaty as negotiated or with amendments.

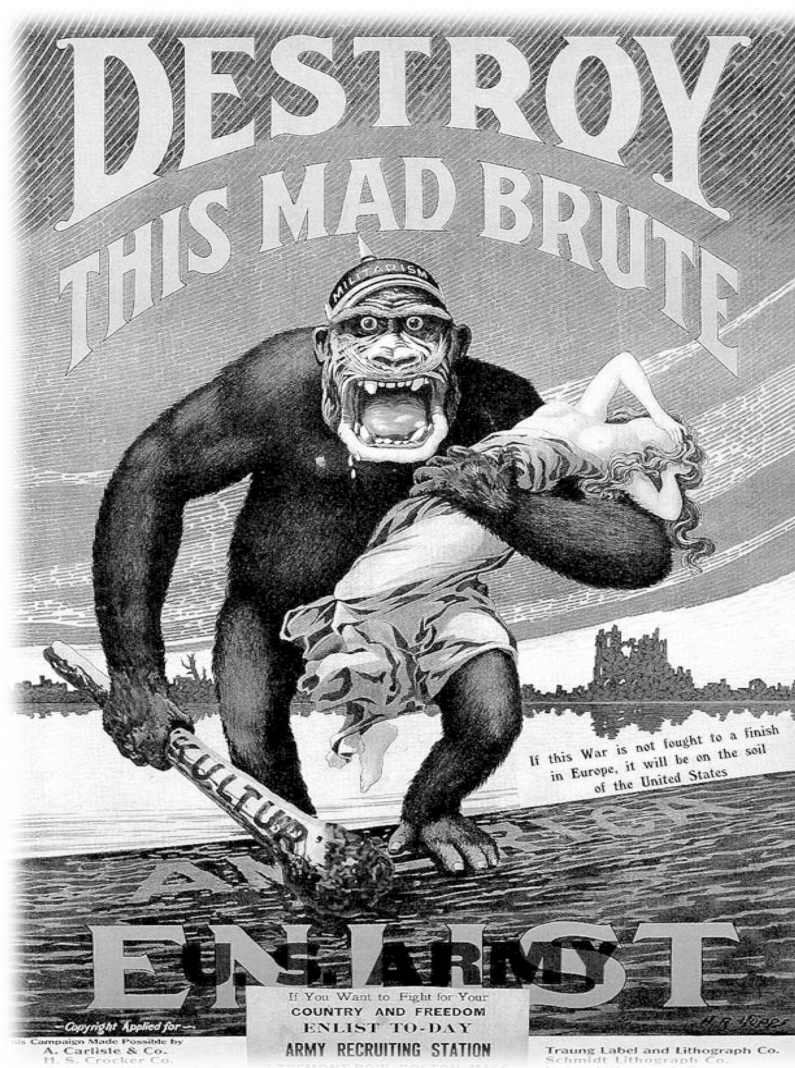
### **The war at home**

In the US, hostility towards the Germans was so intense that it led to a campaign of persecution against the whole German-American community. The Wilson Administration pushed through the Sedition Act on May 16, 1918 as an amendment to Section 3 of the Espionage Act June 15, 1917. In short the Sedition Act entailed that any act that was not in support of the war or which in some way expressed support for the “enemy” would be punished with a fine or imprisonment.

As a result German music, German literature, German philosophy and the German language were all denounced; German books were removed from libraries, German-language newspapers were suppressed, and German-American citizens were

vindictively hounded. The radical and pacifist opposition to the war was stigmatized as pro-German and persecuted accordingly.

At the same time, immigration from Europe was cut off, and a huge market for unskilled labour arose in the North. The opportunity was seized by the African-Americans who began to leave the south in large numbers to fill the war-built factories. This great migration encouraged hostility in the North among white workers facing this new competition. As a result several race riots broke out leading to the death of many blacks and a handful of whites. In addition, the retribution excreted from the white community led to many more African-American deaths and life-sentences, moreover lynching experienced a revival in the South and some 454 Afro-Americans were lynched between 1918 and 1927 (Brogan, 2001).



([http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.1/images/frese\\_fig03b.jpg](http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.1/images/frese_fig03b.jpg))

### **3.2 The Korean War**

#### **From occupation to proxy war**

For centuries Korea had been an independent, unified nation, however, in the early 20th century, the country was overrun and occupied by expansionist Japan. The occupation was bitterly resented by most Koreans, and they hoped that the defeat of Japan at the end of WWII would end the occupation and leave Korea free and independent once again. The Japanese occupation was effectively brought to an end; however, due Korea's strategically important geographical position of filling the gap between Japan and China, both the US and the Soviet Union were interested in maintaining a strong military presence in Korea after the war. As a result, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel, which roughly cuts across the centre of the peninsula – the Soviet Union would occupy the northern half, and the US would occupy the southern half.

In South Korea several different groups emerged eager to represent the new Korean government. Ignoring them all, the US occupation force turned to former Japanese officials for help to run the country. At this point there were still a large number of Japanese soldiers and civil servants present in Korea who dedicated themselves to helping the US occupation force. Needless to say, the Korean people were disappointed that their liberators turned to the hated Japanese for assistance in leading the country.

After a period of political unrest and frequent rearrangement, the US brought back the exiled Korean leader Syngman Rhee, who had left Korea at the beginning of the Japanese occupation. Being fiercely anti-communist and having studied at Harvard and Princeton, Rhee was the natural US candidate for political control over South Korea, and despite the fact that he was a ruthless and corrupt leader who had no real interest in popular democracy and personal freedom, Rhee was inaugurated as the president of the new Republic of Korea in 1948 (Isaacs & Downing 2008).

The following period was marked by tension between the two Korean regimes, and in the South left-wing activists by the thousands were arrested and imprisoned. Meanwhile the Red Army withdrew from the North leaving behind only a few

military advisors, and in June 1949 the US army withdrew from the South as the situation in Europe was deemed more important. A few months later Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China marking the end of a long struggle between the communist forces and the armies of Chiang Kai-shek. Since 1945 the US had given Chiang Kai-shek \$2 billion worth of military aid, and his defeat was a major disaster for the US as they had imagined Chiang's China as a major player in the UN Security Council. However, there was more bad news in store for the Americans: The Soviet Union successfully detonated an atom bomb, and on 14 February Mao and Stalin signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Help. This meant that the US no longer had atomic monopoly, and that the Cold War had a new front in Asia.

### **The Korean War**

Kim Il Sung had repeatedly asked permission from Stalin and Mao to launch an attack on South Korea in an attempt to reunite the country under the red flag. However, Stalin had long hesitated because he was weary of the potential US response. Nevertheless, the new Russian atomic status meant that Kim Il Sung finally got the go ahead from Stalin as well as an agreement for Russian military and technical assistance from Moscow.

On June 25, 1950 approximately 75,000 North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel along a 125-mile front and invaded South Korea (Isaacs & Downing, 2008). The attack caught the US off guard both politically and militarily. The Truman administration responded by calling for an emergency session of the UN Security Council, however, it did not ask Congress for a declaration of war or a resolution of support. Although the Soviet Union was one of the five permanent Security Council members - along with the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the Republic of China - it had boycotted the meeting in protest of the US effort to block the admission of the People's Republic of China. Because of their failure to show up at the Security Council meeting, the Soviet Union was unable to exercise its veto power against the American call for a "police action" on the Korean peninsula.

The Truman Doctrine 1947 and the following Containment Policy, which

characterized US foreign policy during the Cold War, emphasized the importance of containing communism. This was based on the theory that communism would spread by means of subversion and revolution from country to country creating a domino-effect if it were not contained by means of military force and intervention as well as economic aid.

Overnight the defence of South Korea became a high priority for Truman and a test of his resolve to stop Communist aggression, and in his next State of The Union Address Truman said:

*The actions you (Congress) take will be watched by the whole world... The threat of world conquest by Soviet Russia endangers our liberty and endangers the kind of world in which the free spirit of man can survive. This threat is aimed at all peoples who strive to win or defend their own freedom and national independence... The free nations do not have any aggressive purpose. We want only peace in the world - peace for all countries. No threat to the security of any nation is concealed in our plans and programs.... If they (The Soviet imperialists) think they can get away with outright warfare, they resort to external aggression. This is what they did when they loosed the armies of their puppet states against the Republic of Korea, in an evil war by proxy... We must take the leadership in meeting the challenge to freedom and in helping to protect the rights of independent nations... Next to the United States, Europe is the largest workshop in the world. It is also a homeland of the great religious beliefs shared by many of our citizens - beliefs which are now threatened by the tide of atheistic communism... Our country has always stood for freedom for the peoples of Asia... We have demonstrated it in the Philippines... The principles for which we are fighting in Korea are right and just... Korea is not only a country undergoing the torment of aggression; it is also a symbol. It stands for right and justice in the world against oppression and slavery... Peace is precious to us. But more precious than peace are freedom and justice... These are the things that give meaning to our lives, and which we acknowledge to be greater than ourselves. This is our cause - peace, freedom, justice. We will pursue this cause with determination and humility, asking divine guidance that in all we do we may follow the will of God (Appendix 3).*

Truman ordered US troops into battle as part of a UN peace-keeping force, and on June 27, 1950 they landed on the Korean peninsula to join the South Korean forces there, but the North Koreans soon drove them all the way to Pusan at the extreme south-eastern end of the peninsula. Soon afterwards, however, General Douglas MacArthur abruptly shifted the tide of the war by landing a massive force at Inchon, some 100 miles south of the 38th parallel and well behind North Korean lines. He thus cut the North Korean army in two and began moving northwards. The Truman Administration now changed its goals from defending South Korea to uniting the two Koreas. To that end, it decided to send US forces across the 38th parallel into North Korea. US forces advanced well into North Korea approaching the Yalu River, which served as the North Korean–Chinese border, despite stern warnings from China that that it would not take lightly to enemy troops so close to its borders. This was a very dangerous move on the part of the US, as it was an act of aggression rather than “police intervention”, and it posed an actual threat to China that could have pushed the conflict into nuclear war.

Chinese forces counterattacked, and on November 26 some 200,000 Chinese troops pushed MacArthur’s forces back into South Korea. Thanks to relentless bombing by allied forces, the Communist force did not manage to move any further into South Korean territory, and thus began a lengthy stalemate that would characterize the remainder of the war.

Peace talks began in July 1951 at Panmunjom, which was located on the 38th parallel. The talks stalemated and resumed. Republican presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower promised that, if elected, he would go to Korea and end the conflict. Eisenhower won the election and went to Korea but could not break the deadlock. A major stumbling block was the inability to arrange for an exchange of prisoners of war. Truman and Eisenhower were unwilling to send captured Chinese and North Korean soldiers home.

The Eisenhower administration pushed to end the Korean conflict in 1953 by threatening to widen the war. It hinted at the use of atomic weapons against China and the possible resumption of civil war in China through the support of an offensive by Nationalist forces now based on Formosa. Together with Joseph Stalin’s death, these actions are credited with bringing about an armistice on July 27, 1953 that established

a demilitarized zone between the two states, redrew the existing boundary slightly in South Korea's favour and established a committee made up of neutral states to address the disposition of POWs.

### **The result of the war**

The Korean War did not result in a liberated or unified Korea, in fact Korea was still an occupied and divided country as it had been prior to the conflict, however, military presence was of course much more concentrated on either side of the 38th parallel.

The US had lost an estimated 54,000 men and 100,000 were wounded. The other UN nations had lost more than 3,000 men and nearly 12,000 wounded. The Chinese lost up to half a million men. However, Korea suffered the greatest casualties – the South Korean army lost 415,000 men, and it is estimated that the North Korean army suffered nearly a million deaths (Isaacs & Downing, 2008). To this must be added the civilian casualties that are undisclosed, in the South at least 5 million refugees were left homeless, and most of the major cities had been reduced to rubble. Several incidents during the war resulted in large numbers of civilian deaths – for instance 50 thousand civilians were killed in the crossfire during the liberation of Seoul on 25 September 1950 (Isaac & Downing, 2008).

### **The war at home**

While the US army was engaged in its mission of fighting to win the *evil proxy war* and spreading justice and freedom in Korea, justice and freedom in US society were suffering under what became popularly known as McCarthyism. The McCarthy era represented the height of the post-war Red Scare and took the form of an open witch hunt for citizens suspected of being involved with or affiliated with subversive or communist activities. Moreover, the period from 1950 to 1953 demonstrated the degree to which paranoia about the spread of communism gripped America. This paranoia was to a large extent instigated by Joseph McCarthy, a US Senator from Wisconsin, who conducted highly publicised congressional hearings to uncover subversive elements within US culture, government and military.

McCarthy's methods, which were questionable to say the least, were legitimised by the Alien Registration Act of 1940 which provided a fine of up to \$ 10,000 and ten years in prison for attempting to undermine the morale of the armed forces, moreover, it provided the same penalties for anyone who advocated the violent overthrow of the government or in any other way was involved in publishing or distributing any material supporting such actions (Isaac & Downing, 2008).

In February 1950 McCarthy became involved in the search for subversive elements within the government and became chairman of the Government Committee on Operations of the Senate. Using this position, McCarthy began investigating possible Communist infiltration of various government agencies. McCarthy worked closely with the FBI, which supplied McCarthy with the information that he needed to keep his committee hearings effective. Government employees found to have ties to the Communist Party or other left-wing groups were removed from office and forced to divulge the names of other individuals affiliated with leftist organisations.

McCarthy's committee also targeted the Overseas Library Program. The Government Committee on Operations of the Senate identified and banned over 30,000 books thought to have been written by communist sympathisers or to contain procommunist themes. Many public libraries across the US removed these books from their shelves.

McCarthy's operations further expanded into the realm of American politics. His committee conducted disinformation campaigns to thwart the re-election bids of politicians that opposed him. McCarthy even targeted the Truman administration, including President Harry S. Truman himself and George Marshall for being perceived as soft on communism in Korea.

### **3.3 The Iraq War**

#### **War on Terrorism**

In the wake of the attacks On September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush proclaimed a global war against terrorism and those who aided and abetted terrorists. While the initial focus of American military action was on the Taliban government of



Afghanistan, many within the Bush administration lobbied for expanding the war against Terrorism to include Iraq. Numbering among them were Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. All served President George H.W. Bush during the Persian Gulf War when the decision was made not to forcibly remove Saddam Hussein from power. Secretary of State Colin Powell was also a member of that administration, but he alone of these individuals opposed war with Iraq.

At first President George W. Bush did not endorse military action against Iraq in America's immediate plans for a war against terrorism. However, once the war in Afghanistan was successfully concluded, he signalled that an expansion in the war against terrorism was about to begin. In his 2002 State of the Union address Bush identified Iraq, Iran and North Korea as comprising an axis of evil.

### **The Bush Doctrine**

Additional evidence that the US was about to go on the offensive came with the release of a new national security doctrine rejecting deterrence and emphasizing pre-emption. On 20 September, 2002 Bush put forward a new national security strategy for the US asserting that the long-standing American policy of deterrence could no longer work. In its place he announced that the US would adopt a policy of pre-emption and take anticipatory action and strike first in self-defence; this policy is popularly known as the Bush Doctrine.

Strategists were concerned that the Bush administration was embarking on a dangerous policy, and that they were blurring the distinction between pre-emptive military action and preventive military action. Both pre-emptive and preventive action involve striking first in self-defence, however, they differ in their timeframe, as do the precipitating threats. Prevention involves striking first when the danger to one's national security appears great and war is inevitable but not imminent. Pre-emption involves striking first when war appears unavoidable and imminent. In the former case, war may be years or months away. In the latter it may be only a matter of hours. World politics recognises the legitimacy of pre-emption but is less supportive of prevention.

A second concern with the Bush doctrine of pre-emption focused on the danger that other states might also adopt this policy thus creating an international system perpetually on the brink of war or beset by international crises as states engage in a dialogue of competitive pre-emptions.

### **UN approval?**

The key issue argued diplomatically and politically in 2002 was whether or not the US would seek UN approval for military action against Iraq, and, if requested, whether it would be given. The leading advocates of military action against Iraq asserted that the US could act unilaterally arguing that, not only did the US have a right to self-defence, but Iraq was still in violation of UN resolutions issued after the Persian Gulf War. Bush decided to move forward and seek formal international support for military action. In a speech delivered at the UN on the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, Bush challenged the UN to face up to the Iraqi threat or stand aside and allow the US to act.

Within a week of Bush's address, Iraq promised to permit weapons inspectors, and the UN hailed the announcement an indispensable first step, moreover, it led Russia, France, and others to question whether a new resolution was now needed. Opposition arose in the Security Council to the expansive language of the American draft resolution that gave the US full and automatic authority to use force if Iraq did not comply and the right to conduct its own inspections. An attempt at a compromise in October failed, and the Bush Administration insisted that American military action could not be held hostage to a Security Council vote. A successful compromise was not crafted until November 8, 2002 when the Security Council unanimously approved Resolution 1441, giving Iraq 30 days to give a current, full, and complete report on all aspects of its weapons of mass destruction program. Iraq accepted the UN resolution on November 13. On November 18 UN inspectors began arriving in Baghdad. Iraq's report to the UN was submitted on December 7, 2002. It was 1,200 pages long, but UN weapons inspectors judged that it was not enough to create confidence that Iraq was disarming. Subsequent reports referenced Iraq's increased willingness to participate in the inspection process but continued to identify failings in the quality of its participation.

Unhappy with the pace and tenor of the verification process, in December the Bush administration set late January as the decision deadline for Iraq and began moving forces into the region. An estimated 125,000 American troops had already been ordered to the Persian Gulf when on January 20 France indicated that it would block any new Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. The Bush administration then repeated its position that it was willing to go to war without UN support, and eight days later in his State of the Union Address Bush stated:

*The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. The American flag stands for more than our power and our interests. Our Founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted and defend the peace and confound the designs of evil men... As our Nation moves troops and builds alliances to make our world safer, we must also remember our calling as a blessed country is to make the world better. And this Nation is leading the world in confronting and defeating the manmade evil of international terrorism... Once again, this Nation and all our friends are all that stand between a world at peace and a world of chaos and constant alarm. Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility... This Nation fights reluctantly, because we know the cost and we dread the days of mourning that always come... If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means, sparing, in every way we can, the innocent... And we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country. Americans are a resolute people who have risen to every test of our time. Adversity has revealed the character of our country, to the world and to ourselves. America is a strong nation and honorable in the use of our strength. We exercise power without conquest, and we sacrifice for the liberty of strangers. Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity. We Americans have faith in ourselves, but not in ourselves alone. We do not know--we do not claim to know all the ways of providence, yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the loving God behind all of life and all of history (Appendix 4).*

On 5 March Germany, France, Russia and China all announced that they would vote against any resolution authorising war with Iraq. Once again President Bush indicated that he was prepared to go ahead without UN support. In preparing to go to war without a supporting UN resolution, Bush moved to put together an alliance of supportive states – this grouping became known as the Coalition of the Willing. Shortly after the war began, the administration claimed that the Coalition of the Willing had grown to 46 states, exceeding the number of states that supported the US in the Persian Gulf War. The extent of many of these contributions, however, was quite limited. Six states – Palau, Costa Rica, Iceland, the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, and the Solomon Islands – had no army. Furthermore NATO was absent from this coalition.

The diplomatic manoeuvring leading up to war entered into the endgame phase on March 16 when the US, Great Britain, and Spain held a one-hour Summit Conference in the Azores. It ended with President Bush issuing an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein to go into exile or face military action. The next evening President Bush addressed the nation and gave Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave Iraq. On Tuesday, March 18, Saddam Hussein rejected Bush's ultimatum.

### **Operation Iraqi Freedom**

The first blow in the war, which the coalition forces dubbed Operation Iraqi Freedom, was struck in the early morning hours of March 20 when President Bush ordered a decapitation air strike against the Iraqi leadership. The ground war began early in the evening on 20 March as American and British forces crossed into Iraq from Kuwait. Their progress was uneven. American troops met with little effective resistance, but the British encountered stiffer resistance, especially around Basra. A central premise of the war plan was that the US would be welcomed as a liberator – this was now in doubt. In late March a weeklong pause in the ground offensive took place as Pentagon officials reassessed their strategy. When the offensive resumed, US ground forces rapidly advanced on the elite Republican Guard units defending Baghdad. Baghdad fell on April 9. Along with the ground war, the US pursued a robust air war. After the initial decapitation strike the air force engaged in “Shock and Awe” bombing that was designed to destroy Iraq's willingness to resist.

## **Mission Accomplished**

On May 1, aboard the USS *Abraham Lincoln*, President Bush declared victory in Operation Iraqi Freedom, however, celebrations of peace were short-lived. American forces found themselves engaged in a series of highly charged encounters with Iraqi civilians in several Iraqi cities. In a very short period of time the US had gone from liberator to enemy. Tens of thousands took to the streets in Baghdad to protest the US presence, and looting and disorder were rampant in Baghdad. It seemed that the coalition had not planned the occupation quite as thoroughly as the invasion, and while the oilfields were protected, museums were left open to raids.

One of the measures thought to ensure democracy was a privatisation of the Iraqi economy; however, the constitution of Iraq forbids privatisation of important economic resources and foreign ownership of Iraqi companies. In reply to this, the US installed a Coalition Provisional Authority, which overturned Iraqi laws, and Order 39 of the CPA opened the Iraqi economy to foreign investors (<http://www.cpa-iraq.org>).



([http://digitalrhetor.files.wordpress.com/2009/05/mission\\_accomplish\\_1112950c.jpg](http://digitalrhetor.files.wordpress.com/2009/05/mission_accomplish_1112950c.jpg))

Many private companies were eager to take part in the reconstruction of Iraq not least the American company Halliburton Co., for which Vice President Dick Cheney once served as CEO. Halliburton Co. was awarded billion-dollar government contracts to rebuild Iraq without going through a competitive bidding process.

The Bush Administration finally succeeded in hunting down and executing Saddam Hussein, however, the UN weapons inspectors who entered after the invasion found

no signs of WMD's, and no definite proof was provided linking the Hussein regime to the Al Qaeda network.

### **Humanitarian consequences**

In 2004, accounts came to public attention of US soldiers routinely abusing prisoners physically, psychologically and sexually. Later the same year, the Taguba Report – a criminal investigation by the US Criminal Investigation Command of the methods used in the Abu Ghraib prison – confirmed that US soldiers used methods of torture and humiliation on female as well as male inmates – these methods included beatings, rape, sodomy, electrocution, using un-muzzled military work dogs for intimidation and arranging naked prisoners in humiliating positions for photo shoots with US soldiers mocking them (<http://news.findlaw.com/hdocs/docs/iraq/tagubarpt.html#ThR1.9>).

To the human rights abuses carried out by US forces in operation Iraqi Freedom can be added:

- The Mukaradeeb Killings – the shooting and bombing of a wedding party in a small village near the border of Syria during which 42 civilians were killed.
- The Haditha Killings where 24 Iraqi men, women and children were killed, of which at least 15 were non-combatant civilians.
- The use of white phosphorus in civilian areas.

Moreover, according to the Iraq Body Count Project, the documented civilian death toll is 91,912 – 100,339 as of 12 May, 2009 (<http://www.iraqbodycount.org/>).

In addition to this, in March 2008 the Red Cross described the humanitarian crisis in Iraq as one of the most critical in the world. Furthermore, Iraq is fifth on the Fund for Peace's Failed States Index. According to the Fund for Peace, the common indicators of a failed state include the central government being so weak or ineffective that it has little practical control over its territory, sharp economic decline and widespread corruption and criminality ([fundforpeace.org](http://fundforpeace.org)).

## **The War at Home**

Officially known as the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act, the PATRIOT Act was adopted by Congress on October 25, 2001 and signed into law the following day by President Bush.

The PATRIOT Act, a 324-page document, emerged as the Bush administration's immediate legislative response to the attacks on 9/11. Its intent was to provide law enforcement officials with an enhanced ability to investigate and prosecute terrorism.

One of its provisions expanded the definition of engagement in terrorist activity to include providing support for groups that an individual knew or should have known to be a terrorist. Among its primary targets were the monetary transactions and electronic communications employed by terrorists. Under the PATRIOT Act, financial institutions and agents had to provide additional verifiable information about their customers. The government also had easier access to electronic information. Rather than obtain a wiretap order, authorities were able to use search warrants to read opened voicemail messages and e-mail from Internet providers. Also controversial was the extended time that aliens suspected of being involved in acts of terrorism could be detained.

Many of the provisions of the PATRIOT Act and the speed with which it was passed have raised concerns among onlookers. The legislation was passed so quickly that there were no committee reports or votes taken, thus denying law-enforcement officials and outside experts the opportunity to comment on its provisions. Furthermore, the absence of typical committee hearings deprived implementers and legal officials of insight into the congressional intent in passing the PATRIOT Act.

## 4.0 Chapter Four – Analysis

### 4.1 Analysis A: The three Presidential Speeches

Although the three speeches were given by three different presidents, in connection with three different wars over the span of more than 80 years, they draw upon much of the same imagery and the same themes. Moreover, these themes are very similar to the salient themes of Puritanism identified by Stephanson, which in turn are prominent features in the ideology of the Manifest Destiny.

#### Visions of the apocalypse

One of the most striking features of all three speeches is the extent to which Wilson, Truman and Bush universalise the threat posed by the enemy; be it Germany, Communism or Saddam Hussein. By declaring that *the challenge is to mankind* (Appendix 2 p 1) and that the wrongs of Germany *cut to the very roots of human life* (ibid. p 2), Wilson leaves no doubt that the battle at hand is one to be fought against a deeply deplorable and evil enemy that *has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck* (ibid. p 4). Moreover, Wilson conjures an image of a universal war of apocalyptic proportions with *civilization itself seeming to be in the balance* (ibid. p 4).

Truman used much of the same imagery during the Cold War and stated that the *threat of world conquest by Soviet Russia endangers our liberty and endangers the kind of world in which the free spirit of man can survive. This threat is aimed at all peoples who strive to win or defend their own freedom and national independence* (Appendix 3 p 1).

In the same speech, Truman emphasised that the *great religious beliefs* shared by the Anglo-Saxon people were *now threatened by the tide of atheistic communism* (ibid. p 3). In saying so, Truman implied that the stand against communism in Korea had both a secular and a sacred aspect; at stake were not just the core American liberties, the very God attributed with facilitating these liberties was under attack. Continuing this



line of thought, the US was not just defending humanity, it was defending God and the entire Christian world against a Godless heathen aggressor.

No less ominous was the message delivered by President Bush in connection with the threat he thought Saddam Hussein's regime represented: *this Nation and all our friends are all that stand between a world at peace and a world of chaos and constant alarm. Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people and the hopes of all mankind* (Appendix 4 p 5). Bush leaves no ambiguity in his message that the entire whole world would be doomed if the US were to remain passive and let Hussein carry out his sinister plot against humanity.

The discourse used in the examples above draws upon biblical imagery from the Book of Revelations and is very much in tune with the original Puritan preoccupation with the apocalypse and battle between good and evil. Following Stephanson's theory of the evolution of the ideology Manifest Destiny, Wilson prophesising that victory in WWI would *bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free* can be seen as a continuation of the Puritan narrative that the final battle of Armageddon would be led by the New World and won by the righteous and purest of all people on earth finally leading to the reconciliation between humankind and God. The narrative thus continues with Truman turning the Cold War into a showdown between *great religious beliefs* and *atheistic communism* and Bush envisaging a potential *world of chaos and constant alarm* if it were left to the will of a rogue dictator.

### **Divine mission and covenant**

The Puritan fixation on the divine mission and the covenant between the chosen people and God – cornerstones in the ideology of the Manifest Destiny – can also be traced in all three speeches.

Wilson made it clear that the objective of the US *now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world* (Appendix 2 p 2). Moreover, Wilson stated that:

*... the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other* (ibid. p 4)

Much like the Puritans, Wilson's perception was that along with being the chosen people comes a responsibility to lead the world at critical times. With WWI the time had come to honour the covenant with God.

Truman followed this narrative and stated that the mission of the US was to ensure *peace, freedom and justice*, and that the US would *pursue this cause with determination and humility, asking divine guidance that in all we do we may follow the will of God* (Appendix 3 p 7). Truman thus also emphasised the importance of following God's will and honouring the covenant with God in pursuing the divine mission.

Bush too referred to the divine mission and said: *we must also remember our calling as a blessed country is to make this world better* (Appendix 4 p 4). What is more, Bush went on to say: *The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity* (ibid. p 8). In saying so, Bush implied that the US was cooperating with providence in passing the gift of liberty from the hand of God to the peoples of the world. Last but not least Bush put a final emphasis on the divine influence on the actions of the US when he stated: *we do not claim to know all the ways of providence yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the loving God behind all life and all history* (ibid. p 8). Being confident that the *God behind all life and history* has "got one's back" and trusting in *the ways of providence* makes it pretty clear that one is acting in the service of a higher power.

Such rhetoric harks back to John Winthrop's famous City upon a Hill sermon from 1630:

*For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world..*

(<http://www.answers.com/city%20upon%20a%20hill>)

Winthrop points to the divine mission by stating that the role of the Puritans is to act as an example (a city upon a hill) for the rest of the world, however, he underlines that God's help is not unconditional, and that the Puritans must keep their end of the deal in order to stay worthy of God's grace. If the Puritans fail to keep their end of the bargain, they will be remembered by the world as the ones who dealt *falsely* with God.

### **Morality and righteous intervention**

According to Stephanson, the Puritans saw history as a constant test and a series of moral choices in relation to the divine covenant. This resulted in a combination of guilt, self-inspection and an ever-present imperative to intervene righteously in the world in order to bring mankind closer to God. This preoccupation with morality and righteous intervention can also be traced in all three speeches.

*We have no selfish ends to serve...* Wilson said in 1917, and added that *It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them* (Appendix 2 p 4). Truman almost reciting Wilson said: *The free nations do not have any aggressive purpose. We want only peace in the world - peace for all countries. No threat to the security of any nation is concealed in our plans and programs* (Appendix 3 p 1). Later in the same speech he added: *The principles for which we are fighting in Korea are right and just* (ibid. p 4).

50 years later Bush proclaimed much in the same spirit:

*If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means, sparing, in every way we can, the innocent... America is a strong nation and honorable in the use of our strength. We exercise power without conquest, and we sacrifice for the liberty of strangers* (Appendix 4 p 8).

It is noteworthy that all three presidents underline that US interventions are righteous, serve a higher just cause, and that the US does not expect anything in return for the selfless sacrifices it makes for the benefit of humanity.

This preoccupation with righteousness can also be explained by the fact that the New World was built on the concept of breaking definitively with the Old World and everything it stood for. Therefore imperialism and avarice were no longer justifiable and every action even if it resembled old school imperialism, e.g. exterminating the indigenous population, had to be ideologically founded and justified as an initiative that would help all of mankind.

### **Promoting, Naturalising and Universalising beliefs**

Eagleton's theory that ideology is a method of legitimising and sustaining power relations is especially relevant due to the fact that each of his Six Strategies of Legitimation is used in all three presidential speeches analysed in this thesis.

The use of the first three strategies Promoting beliefs, Naturalising beliefs and Universalising beliefs is strikingly clear in all three speeches – from Wilson proclaiming that *the world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted on the tested foundations of political liberty* (Appendix 2 p 4) to Truman stating that *the principles for which we are fighting in Korea are right and just and that these are the things that give meaning to our lives, and which we acknowledge to be greater than ourselves* (Appendix 3 p 7) over to Bush declaring that *Our Founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life and that the liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity* (Appendix 4 p 8).

In the examples above it is evident that in all three speeches the American values and beliefs are promoted as fair, just and important. Furthermore, these values and beliefs are presented as a natural and sound approach to dealing with international crises. In addition to this, the American values are portrayed as being in the interest of all humanity in fact they are presented as being *God's gift to humanity*.

### **Denigration of challenging ideas and excluding rival forms of thought**

The next two strategies, Denigration of Challenging Ideas and Excluding Rival Forms of Thought are also clearly used in all three speeches. In each case, the enemy or

ideology is presented in the worst possible way making it clear that the opposition is evil and bent on stripping humanity of its dignity.

Wilson referred to Germany as an *irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck* (Appendix 2 p 4). Truman stated that *the threat of world conquest by Soviet Russia endangers our liberty and endangers the kind of world in which the free spirit of man can survive* (Appendix 3 p 1), what is more, he called the situation in Korea *an evil war by proxy*. Bush took it all the way and said that the US was defending the world against *the designs of evil men and the manmade evil of international terrorism* (Appendix 4 p 3).

By presenting the enemy as *evil* and indifferent to *considerations of humanity*, the underlying worldview or ideas are immediately stripped of all credibility. There seem to be no extenuating circumstances and the contradicting ideological framework is thus categorically pronounced invalid and excluded as a qualified rival system of belief that could benefit mankind in any way.

The enemy is in all three cases presented as a totalitarian and oppressive power that forces its opinions on its people, who really want to be free and live like Americans. Nowhere is there any inkling that the ways of the opposing ideology might in fact be based on an actual desire to make the world a better place. As a result, anyone who chooses to support the opposing ideology must by logic also be evil.

### **Obscuring social reality**

The sixth Strategy of Legitimation is Obscuring Social Reality, the idea being that by not acknowledging certain selected aspects of social reality, the dominant power is able to protect its own ideology. This strategy is interesting because all three speeches show clear signs of not acknowledging certain aspects of reality.

Wilson, Truman and Bush all three emphasise freedom and liberty as the natural right of every man and the basis for a well-functioning and righteous society and condemn the enemy for its threat against these virtues. Nevertheless, coinciding with each of the three speeches the US government used methods of oppression and surveillance that were typical of totalitarian and oppressive systems and arguably unconstitutional

due to the fact that they undermined the First and Fourth Amendments of The Bill of Rights.

During WWI the US government initiated the Sedition Act seriously compromising the civil rights of any person suspected of being sympathetic of the enemy. During the Korean War the Red Scare paranoia peaked and McCarthyism was rampant in the US. Backed by the Government, Senator Joseph McCarthy persecuted thousands of US citizens and stripped off their civil rights. And last but definitely not least, under the Bush Administration the PATRIOT Act was passed seriously compromising the constitutional rights of all Americans and expanding the government's authority to use surveillance and hold back people suspected of terrorist affiliation. (More details on the subject of obscuring reality will follow in the next part of the analysis).

If we were to believe only the rhetoric of the three speakers, such violations of personal freedom would simply not be able to take place in the US – the model society. In this context it is also interesting that Truman stated that the *US has always stood for freedom for the peoples of Asia* (Appendix 3 p 4) and mentioned the Philippines as an example when taking into consideration the invasion was followed by years of fighting between the US occupational forces and the local population who rejected the US presence. Moreover, it is also worth noting that Bush contended that *this nation fights reluctantly* (Appendix 4 p 8) at the very time he and his administration were waging a preventive war against a country that posed no imminent threat to the US.

#### **4.1.2 Sub-Conclusion**

Although the three speeches were given by three different presidents, in connection with three different wars over the span of more than 80 years, they draw upon much of the same imagery and the same themes. These themes include visions of the apocalypse, divine mission and covenant, morality and righteous intervention – all salient themes of Puritan faith and the ideology of Manifest Destiny. Moreover all three speeches feature Eagleton's *Six Strategies of Legitimation*.

## **4.2 Analysis B: Conduct of the US in Relation to Discourse**

### **4.2.1 WWI**

The Great War was a decisive turning point in US Foreign Policy as it marked the first time the US intervened in a conflict of international proportions and displayed its muscle as an international force that could tip the scales in favour of either of the conflicting parties. Up until then, the Monroe Doctrine and the advice of the Founding Fathers had set an isolationist course for US Foreign Policy.

The US entered WWI reluctantly having signalled its disinclination via Wilson's declaration of neutrality in August 1914. However, the fact alone that the US supplied munitions to Great Britain and the allies is enough to question whether the US ever actually practised the neutrality it preached. The argument that Germany was welcome to shop in the US if it could get past the British blockade seems more like an excuse than actual evidence of neutrality – if they truly had a desire to remain neutral, they would surely have denied arms to both sides of the conflict. Moreover, the US economy benefited greatly from the munitions trade not least due to the loans taken on Wall Street by the Allies, which had the effect of pulling the US out of the pre-war recession.

Nevertheless, the US kept out of the war for a long time and assuming the role as mediator between the Allies and the Central Powers trying to offer a diplomatic solution to the conflict on several occasions. Wilson's Peace without Victory, Fourteen Points and several other diplomatic initiatives were all illustrative of a desire to restore world peace based on principles of international law and balance of power – not war. Moreover, the US showed true restraint and resisted retaliation even after the German submarine strategy had claimed the lives of many US citizens in several submarine attacks on international waters. It was not until the Zimmerman telegraph brought the conflict in close proximity that Wilson could muster the backup to justify leading the *great peaceful people into war* (Appendix 2 p 4). In this light, it does seem as though the US entered the war without animus or enmity and truly believed

that the US would *vindicate peace and justice in the life of the world* (ibid. p 2). It is also worth mentioning that Germany chose to turn itself over to the US rather than the allied powers because they expected to get a more fair treatment from Wilson than any of the allied powers.

Nevertheless, one could argue that Wilson's statement: *We have no selfish ends to serve* (ibid. p 3) was moral hyperbole, and that the US acted unilaterally from the moment that war was declared. Firstly, by bypassing the normal cabinet and privatising the war effort and putting hardcore Wall Street businessmen in charge of the War Industries Board, ensuring that the US would make a great deal of money on the War. Granted the solution was beneficial for the war-stricken European countries, however, the US tripled its exports to Europe and set the scene for a lucrative business environment for US goods in post-war Europe.

Secondly, while Wilson's Fourteen Points set a number of limitations on allied and central powers, they mentioned nothing that would compromise US interests or the Monroe Doctrine's statement of hegemony in the western hemisphere.

In addition to this, the extent of US unilateralism was expressed when the US after having laid the grounds for the League of Nations chose to withdraw from the cooperation. Thus signalling that the US saw itself as being above international law, and that the US did not need to be part of such an effort to ensure peace and diplomacy.

Wilson also stated in his War Message that the US would fight for *democracy, for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments* (ibid. p 4) – a statement that in hindsight seems empty and without substance when one considers that, while the US was fighting to vindicate American virtues of liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the rest of the world, the US government under the Sedition Act was practicing policies of repression and persecution on its own people. German language and German newspapers were banned, and German books were removed from libraries in effect disregarding the First and Second Amendment of the Bill of Rights – the very embodiment of the American ethos. What is more, the methods used under the Sedition Act are reminiscent of the methods that the Nazis would employ against Jews three decades later. In addition to this, because of the surge of black competition on the labour market as a result of the low rate of



immigration from Europe, race riots and lynching were widespread in the North as well as the South claiming the lives of hundreds of Afro-American citizens. It is difficult not to question the actual extent to which the people truly enjoy freedom and liberty in a society where such crimes against humanity not only are allowed but supported by the government; nevertheless, Wilson, the idealist, apparently saw no paradox or predicament.

There is no doubt that the US played a decisive role in ending the War to End all Wars, and there is no doubt that Germany was a dangerous and aggressive enemy that showed little concern for the *considerations of humanity and of right* (ibid. p 4). However, in light of the analysis above, one must seriously question the *considerations of humanity and right* that the US displayed just as one must question the degree to which the US entered the war without *selfish ends to serve*.

#### **4.2.2 The Korean War**

The Korean War was another turning point in US Foreign Policy as it marked the first military clash of the Cold War between Soviet backed Communist forces and the US and its allies. The status of the Soviet Union as a nuclear power and the Sino-Soviet Treaty combined with Korea's strategic position between Communist China and the US-friendly developing capitalist democracy of Japan put an enormous pressure on Truman to live up to his doctrine of containment, and Truman responded immediately with military force by sending US-led UN forces to fight the communist advance from North Korea. In fact Truman was in such a hurry that he did not ask for a declaration of war from congress, instead he went straight through the UN; a move made possible due to the Soviet boycott in response to the UN denying the People's Republic of China entry.

These facts combine to paint a very clear picture that the US definitely had *selfish ends to serve* in this case, and that the US thus engaged in a proxy war that relatively easily could have led to direct war between the US and the Soviet Union and escalated into nuclear war. For this reason alone many historians cite the Korean War as one of the potentially most dangerous wars in world history. In this light, the lack of diplomacy displayed by the US is alarming, and it seems a rather aggressive

strategy to resort to military intervention as a first choice. Therefore, Truman stating that *we want only peace in the world and that no threat to the security of any nation is concealed in our plans* (Appendix 3 p 1) seems pretty much as empty rhetoric. Moreover, the fact that the US decided to cross the 38th parallel and advanced all the way up to the Chinese border despite stern warnings from China can only be seen as a blatant act of aggression that made the threat of nuclear war all the more real. In this light, Truman *saying the free nations do not have any aggressive purpose* (ibid. p 1) is unmistakably a false statement that leaves a serious dent in the credibility of the US.

Although one could argue that the principles the US was fighting in Korea were *right and just*, the example the US set *in meeting the challenge to freedom and in helping to protect the rights of independent nations* (ibid. p 2) is questionable to say the least taking into consideration the history the US had as a military occupation force in South Korea. I would argue that dismissing the Korean people's own representatives and turning to the previous occupation force for help to run the nation is not protecting the rights of independent nations. Moreover, the fact that the US appointed, as the head of the Korean government, Syngman Rhee who was ruthless and corrupt and did not abide by any rules of democracy, liberty or personal freedom makes Truman's statement that the US *has always stood for freedom for the peoples of Asia* and that Korea *stands for right and justice in the world against oppression and slavery* (ibid. p 4) seem paradoxical to say the least.

Several other factors also question the humanitarian role of the US hereunder the fact that peace negotiations broke down on several occasions due to the fact that the US refused to send Chinese and North Korean Prisoners of War home, and the huge toll the war took on the civilian population of Korea.

While the US Army was engaged in its mission of fighting to win the evil proxy war in Korea and promoting freedom and justice – American virtues that according to Truman are *the things that give meaning to our lives, and which we acknowledge to be greater than ourselves* (ibid. p 7) – these virtues were being put seriously to the test in the US. The Red Scare was at its peak, and McCarthyism was rampant from 1950 to 1953 demonstrating the degree to which communist paranoia gripped the US, and much like the Sedition Act during WWI, McCarthyism was a form of government supported persecution of anyone suspected of being in league with or sympathetic of

“the enemy”. As a result of McCarthyism, the first and fourth amendment were once again pushed aside by the very government that condemned communism because it *endangers our liberty* (ibid. p 1). Joseph McCarthy cooperated with the FBI in investigating Communist infiltration of government agencies, and McCarthyism even targeted President Truman for being too soft on the Communist threat. What is more, over 30,000 books thought to have been written by communist sympathisers or to contain pro-communist themes were banned from libraries across the US.

### **4.2.3 The Iraq War**

The Iraq War was yet another turning point in US Foreign Policy as it marked the practical implementation of the Bush Doctrine’s emphasis on pre-emption. The Bush Doctrine was a rather controversial national security policy as it in principle meant that the US reserved the right preventively to attack any enemy that posed a potential threat to national security thus enabling the US to strike down a perceived threat prior to it becoming dire.

One could argue – as did the UN and many others critics – that such a policy is a unilateral, arrogant and overly aggressive strategy for any country, let alone a hyper power, to pursue. This combined with the fact that the US, having no concrete evidence that Iraq possessed WMDs or had links to Al Qaeda, waged war against a theoretical aggressor that posed no imminent threat brings me to the conclusion that there is little to support Bush’s assertion that *this Nation fights reluctantly* (Appendix 4 p 8). Moreover, considering the aggressive nature of a pre-emptive or preventive strategy, and the inherent danger that widespread use of such a strategy would bring about a world perpetually on the brink of war, gives a paradoxical twist to Bush’s statement that *this Nation and all our friends are all that stand between a world at peace and a world of chaos and constant alarm* (ibid. p 5).

Furthermore, bearing in mind that the dictionary definition of the word *Terrorism* reads: *(threats of) violent action for political purposes* (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=82104&dict=CALD>), one could be inclined to

question whether Bush was right in saying that *this Nation is leading the world in confronting and defeating the manmade evil of international terrorism* (ibid. p 4).

In addition to this, the unilateralism displayed by the US in defying UN sanctions and protests in its determination to use military force against Iraq makes me question to which extent the US *builds alliances to make our world safer* (ibid. p 4).

In light of the fact that the US never found evidence that *Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction*, (ibid. p 7) it seems almost ironic that Bush claimed that *we will fight in a just cause and by just means* (ibid. p 8).

Even more ironic is the fact that Bush added that they would do so *sparing in every way we can the innocent* (ibid. p 8) when one considers the extensive humanitarian consequences suffered during Operation Iraqi Freedom and the occupation of Iraq, including the Mukaradeeb and Haditha Killings, and the fact that the documented civilian death toll is between 91,912 and 100,339 as of 12 May, 2009 (<http://www.iraqbodycount.org/>). Moreover, the atrocities that were allowed to routinely take place in the Abu Ghraib prison bring serious doubt to the extent to which the US fought with *just means* and was *honorable* (ibid. p 8) in the use of its strength.

Another interesting aspect of Operation Iraqi Freedom is the fact that one of the earliest initiatives following the invasion was the establishment of the Coalition Provisional Authority, which effectively overturned Iraqi laws and left the economy open to foreign investment. As a result US companies, like Halliburton Co. with close ties to the Bush Administration, were awarded billion-dollar contracts to rebuild Iraq without going through a bidding process. Such prioritisation brings about a natural inclination to question the extent to which the US really did *exercise power without conquest* as well as the extent to which they *sacrifice for the liberty of strangers* (ibid. p 8).

In relation to the exercising power and the liberty of strangers, Bush mentioned that *The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad* (ibid. p 3) and later emphasised that *Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation*

(ibid. p 8). It is quite interesting that Bush emphasised the standards of the US as a parameter for the ideal standard of foreign countries when considering that the Bush Administration's PATRIOT Act from late 2001 was coming into full effect at the very time Bush addressed the nation. As mentioned in an earlier part of the thesis, the PATRIOT Act had several controversial points that compromised the civil rights of US citizens and contradicted the First and Fourth Amendment of the Bill of Rights. In addition to this, the PATRIOT Act also extended the time US authorities could detain aliens suspected of being involved in terrorist activity.

#### **4.2.4 Sub-conclusion**

In connection with all three cases: WWI, the Korean War and the War in Iraq, the US acted unilaterally and in many respects did not live up to the ideals and goals set forth in the accompanying presidential speeches. In some cases, the US intervention even seems paradoxical in relation to the vision and mission proclaimed in the associated discourse. In addition to this, it is striking that in each case, while the US was fighting to universalise the American virtues of liberty and freedom, these virtues were being severely undermined by the government and the people of the US under the Sedition Act, McCarthyism and the PATRIOT Act – all three involving methods typically used by totalitarian governments.

## **5.0 Chapter Five – Discussion**

As illustrated by Stephanson (Stephanson, 1995) and the analysis in chapter four, the ideology of the Manifest Destiny has been featured in the discourse of the American religious, academic and political leadership from Winthrop and Edwards to O’Sullivan and Turner over to Wilson, Truman and Bush.

Therefore, based on Stephanson’s assertion that the ideology of Manifest Destiny is deeply embedded in the American self-image and Fairclough’s contention that ideology becomes common sense when it is embedded in features of discourse, it is plausible that the ideology of Manifest Destiny is an implicit philosophy that is accepted as part of the common sense background which shapes the decisions of the average American. In extension hereof, it is also conceivable that the ideology of Manifest Destiny acts as method of gap-filling (Fairclough, 2002) that creates coherence in complicated or paradoxical matters.

In fact, one could argue that the ideology of Manifest Destiny has functioned as a gap-filler in US society since its very inception, as it would seem that O’Sullivan coined the phrase specifically to justify the territorial expansion of the US. The very notion of extending the sphere of American dominance outside the national borders gave rise to an identity-related and moral predicament: Since America was built on the concept of breaking with the shackles of the old world and developing a new, free and superior society, how could one defend exercising what was essentially old school imperialism? The ideology of Manifest Destiny presented an argument that filled this moral gap perfectly: It was the destiny of the American people to lead the world to new and better things because, among all the people on earth, God had chosen them to fulfil this sacred mission. Therefore, God had given them the means to create a culture superior to that of any society in history, and thus the expansion of American dominance was crucial to the fate of the world. In addition to this, the end would justify the means, and American actions would be rendered perpetually righteous – even if they bore traits characteristic of the Old World such as imperialism and genocide.

Continuing this line of thought, the ideology of Manifest Destiny is a powerful instrument of persuasion in the sense that, by continuing the narrative of the Manifest Destiny and evoking an idealised self-image, it is possible to strike a common chord that at some level is shared by most Americans. Therefore, it can also be argued that by using discourse derived from the Manifest Destiny and dedicating intervention to universalising American virtues such as liberty and the pursuit of happiness, Commanders in Chief like Wilson, Truman and Bush are able to present very difficult decisions and delicate matters as common sense choices – in essence the choice between good and evil.

Moreover, it seems that the logic of the Manifest Destiny can be used to make foreign intervention more palatable and rationalise the use of power in facilitating such intervention, thus reassuring the American people that their leaders are indeed motivated by elevated ideals. However, this brings to mind Chomsky's word of warning that such elevated ideals *may be stirring in their nobility, but should be examined in practice not just rhetoric* (Chomsky, 2004 p 46). Chomsky's point becomes all the more relevant due to the fact that Analysis B pointed to the fact that there is a lack of correlation between the actual conduct of the US and the ideals and goals set forth in the accompanying discourse.

Eagleton's theory of ideology as a method of legitimising and sustaining power relations further supports the theory that the ideology of Manifest Destiny can be used as an instrument of persuasion. Moreover, Eagleton's theory becomes all the more relevant due to the fact that all Six Strategies of Legitimation are featured in the three presidential speeches. Especially the sixth strategy Obscuring Social Reality is highly relevant to the subject matter in this thesis, as one could argue that Obscuring Social Reality and Intentional Ignorance both revolve around shifting focus from reality with the intention of justifying certain methods and incidents that otherwise are difficult to defend rationally.

At this point in the discussion, I think it is relevant and illustrative to bring Max Boot into the equation. I find it rather interesting that a respected Military Historian and Foreign Policy Counsellor chooses to justify an aggressive military invasion with a simple claim that US Foreign Policy historically has been guided by a strain of idealism and that the main concern thus is the safety of the world. Boot does not

present any arguments that support his claim, moreover, Boot brushes off critics with the simple assertion that they are projecting their own immoral behaviour onto the US, and that they are too cynical to understand the humanitarian motives behind US foreign intervention.

One could thus argue that Boot's argument features strategies of legitimization such as Universalising beliefs and Denigration of challenging ideas. Moreover, taking into consideration that Boot is a member of the PNAC and consequently a long time advocate of a more aggressive policy towards Iraq, one could also argue that Boot makes use of the strategy of Obscuring social reality in the sense that he, after the invasion, passes it off as a humanitarian act, when in fact he supported the invasion long before WMD's were brought into the argumentation for bringing down the Hussein Regime. In extension hereof, it would seem that Boot's article in the New York Times features all the elements that are associated with the theory of Intentional Ignorance.

In light of the discussion above, it seems plausible to a large extent that the Ideology of Manifest Destiny at times is used in American political discourse to facilitate Intentional Ignorance in relation to US Foreign Policy.

On a personal note I must add that, although I am critical of the way the US conducts its foreign policy and question the underlying motives, I am a proponent of values such as liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and I believe in the virtues of democracy. In addition to this, I am very happy that Denmark is not called the *Socialist Republic of Denmark* – a notion that would have been all the more plausible had the US not won the Cold War.

## **5.1 Sub-conclusion**

The ideology of Manifest Destiny has been featured in the discourse of the American religious, academic and political leadership from Winthrop and Edwards to O'Sullivan and Turner over to Wilson, Truman and Bush.



Based on Stephanson, Fairclough and Eagleton's theories it is plausible that the ideology of Manifest Destiny is an implicit philosophy that can be used as a powerful instrument of persuasion shifting focus from reality with the intention of justifying certain methods that otherwise are difficult to defend rationally. Consequently, it is to a large extent plausible that the Ideology of Manifest Destiny at times is used in American political discourse to facilitate Intentional Ignorance in relation to US Foreign Policy.



(<http://images2.layoutsparks.com/1/158276/soldier-flag-country-guns.jpg>)

## 6.0 Chapter Six – Conclusion

In the introduction I presented the theory that the assumption of American righteousness inherent in the ideology of Manifest Destiny is such a widespread truism that the US deems itself exempt from the scrutiny it adopts when evaluating the standards of official enemies. This led me to examine *to which extent it is plausible that the ideology of Manifest Destiny is used in American political discourse to facilitate Intentional Ignorance in relation to US Foreign Policy*. Moreover, I wanted to test three related hypotheses:

- *The ideology of Manifest Destiny can be traced in present day American political discourse.*
- *American leaders proclaim elevated ideals and set very high standards that they cannot always live up to in practice.*
- *It is plausible that the ideology of Manifest Destiny works as an implicit philosophy in US society that is used for gap-filling in paradoxical or complicated situations.*

Based on empirical data in the form of three case studies: WWI, the Korean War and the Iraq War as well as the theories of Chomsky, Stephanson, Fairclough and Eagleton, I have performed a qualitative analysis which has presented me with the following findings: The ideology of Manifest Destiny has been featured in the discourse of the American religious, academic and political leadership from Winthrop and Edwards to O’Sullivan and Turner over to present day political leaders such as Wilson, Truman and Bush. All three speeches analysed in this thesis – although given by three different presidents, in connection with three different wars over the span of more than 80 years – draw upon much of the same imagery and the same themes. These themes include visions of the apocalypse, divine mission and covenant, morality and righteous intervention – all salient themes of Puritan faith and the ideology of Manifest Destiny.

In connection with all three cases: WWI, the Korean War and the War in Iraq, the US acted unilaterally and in many respects did not live up to the ideals and goals set forth in the accompanying presidential speeches. In some cases, the US intervention even seemed paradoxical in relation to the vision and mission proclaimed in the associated discourse. In addition to this, in each case, while the US was fighting to universalise the American virtues of liberty and freedom, these virtues were being severely undermined by the government and the people of the US under the Sedition Act, McCarthyism and the PATRIOT Act.

Based on Stephanson, Fairclough and Eagleton's theories it is plausible that the ideology of Manifest Destiny is an implicit philosophy accepted as part of the common sense background which shapes the decisions of the average American and functions as a method of gap-filling. Moreover, it is plausible that it can be used as a powerful instrument of persuasion shifting focus from reality with the intention of justifying certain methods that otherwise are difficult to defend rationally.

All of this has lead me to the final conclusion that to a large extent it is plausible that the Ideology of Manifest Destiny can be used in American political discourse to facilitate Intentional Ignorance in relation to US Foreign Policy.

## 7.0 Chapter Seven – Putting it all into Perspective

Given the scope of American influence on a global scale, US Foreign Policy affects every living human being on the planet. Moreover, the current global economic recession goes a long way in substantiating the old saying: *when American sneezes the world gets a cold*. Consequently, I believe that all people – regardless of nationality or locality – should make it a priority to examine the motives underlying US Foreign Policy. Moreover, keeping in mind the fact that my research indicates that it is entirely plausible that the US political leadership assumes a stance of Intentional Ignorance toward its own foreign policy, I believe the priority should be to examine these motives in practice not just rhetoric.



([http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/files/images/080211\\_change.jpg](http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/files/images/080211_change.jpg))

The current resident of the White House is an extremely charismatic and eloquent Commander in Chief who has achieved messianic status and brought hope to people all over the world with promises of change and proclamations of putting an end to *petty grievances and false promises* (<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/20/us/politics/20text-obama.html>).

Nevertheless, amidst the elation and anticipation, one should not lose focus on the fact that history has taught us that elevated ideals are difficult to live up to, and that there is a long way from preaching to practicing such ideals. In this light, I believe that it is more important than ever to assume, not a cynical, but a critical stance towards US Foreign Policy and the Intentional Ignorance that may follow in its wake.

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## Appendix One

### **Max Boot: A War for Oil? Not This Time - February 13, 2003**

When Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld visited "Old Europe" last week, the placards and protesters lining his path were a visceral reminder of what the Bush administration already knew: Solid majorities in key European countries think that greed is our motive for wanting to depose Saddam Hussein. In fact, in a recent Pew Research Center poll 75 percent of respondents in France, 54 percent in Germany and 76 percent in Russia said that America wants to invade Iraq because "the U.S. wants to control Iraqi oil."

Although Americans are divided on the wisdom of an invasion, only 22 percent of us subscribe to the cynical view that it's just about oil. Even Jimmy Carter, hardly a hawk, rebutted the accusation at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony: "I know my country, I know my people, and I can assure you that's not the policy of my government."

What accounts for this trans-Atlantic disconnect? To answer that question, start by considering the accusation on the merits: Is America going into Iraq in search of "black gold"?

The charge has a surface plausibility because Iraq does have the second-largest known reserves in the world. But we certainly don't need to send 250,000 soldiers to get at it. Saddam Hussein would gladly sell us all the oil we wanted. The only thing preventing unlimited sales are the United States-enforced sanctions, which Baghdad (and the big oil companies) would love to see lifted. Washington has refused to go along because Saddam Hussein flouts United Nations resolutions. This suggests that our primary focus is the threat he poses, not the oil he possesses.

It's true that overthrowing Saddam Hussein would lead to the lifting of sanctions and a possible increase in oil exports. But it would take a lot of time and money to rebuild Iraq's dilapidated oil industry, even if the regime didn't torch everything on the way out. A study from the Council on Foreign Relations and the James A. Baker III Institute at Rice University estimated that it would take three years and \$5 billion to restore Iraqi production just to its pre-1990 level of 3.5 million barrels a day. That would increase total world production by only 1.3 percent, and might not reduce prices at all if other countries cut output or banded together to keep prices stable.

Some optimists think a postwar Iraq would stiff OPEC and slash prices radically. This seems unlikely, if the experience of Kuwait is anything to go by. While oil prices spiked before the Persian Gulf war and plummeted afterward, the long-term impact has been close to nil. Kuwait hasn't exactly been offering to fill up American sport utility vehicles free out of gratitude for being liberated. It hasn't even carried out its pledge to allow direct foreign investment in state-owned oil fields.

As with Kuwait, a liberated Iraq would likely remain an enthusiastic member of OPEC because it would need to establish its nationalist credentials and maintain amicable relations with its oil-cartel neighbors.

For that matter, would our government really want a steep drop in prices? The domestic oil patch -- including President Bush's home state, Texas -- was devastated in the 1980's when prices fell as low as \$10 a barrel. Washington is generally happy with a range of \$18 to \$25 a barrel, about where oil was before the strikes in Venezuela and jitters about Iraq helped push prices over \$34 a barrel. If we were really concerned about cheap oil above all, we'd be sending troops to Caracas, not Baghdad.

The other possible economic advantage in Iraq would be for American companies to win contracts to put out fires, repair refineries and help operate the oil industry, as they did in Kuwait. What's the total value of such work? It's impossible to say, but last year Iraq signed a deal with Russian companies (since canceled by Saddam Hussein) to rebuild oil and other industries, valued at \$40 billion over five years.

Yet the White House estimates the military operation alone would cost \$50 billion to \$60 billion. (Others suggest the figure would be far higher.) And rebuilding of the country's cities, roads and public

facilities would cost \$20 billion to \$100 billion more, with much of that money in the initial years coming from the "international community" (read: Uncle Sam).

Thus, if a capitalist cabal were running the war, it would have to conclude it wasn't a paying proposition.

This doesn't mean that oil is entirely irrelevant to the subject of Iraq. It does matter in one very important way: Oil revenues make Saddam Hussein much more dangerous than your run-of-the-mill dictator, because they give him the ability to build not only palaces but also top-of-the-line weapons of mass destruction.

Americans recognize this. Europeans don't. Why not? Here's my theory: Europeans are projecting their own behavior onto us. They know that their own foreign policies have in the past often been driven by avarice -- all those imperialists after East Indian spices or African diamonds. (This tradition is going strong today in Russia and France, whose Iraq policies seem driven at least in part by oil companies that were granted lucrative concessions by Saddam Hussein.)

Nobody would claim that America's global intentions have always been entirely pure. Still, our foreign policy -- from the Barbary war to Kosovo -- has usually had a strain of idealism at which the cynical Europeans have scoffed. In the case of Iraq, they just can't seem to accept that we might be acting for, say, the general safety and security of the world. After more than 200 years, Europe still hasn't figured out what makes America tick.

**<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/13/opinion/a-war-for-oil-not-this-time.html?pagewanted=print>**



## Appendix Two

### Woodrow Wilson: Wilson's War Message to Congress 2 April, 1917

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3d of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the 1st day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe-conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage that law has been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last, I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our

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people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavour to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation....

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

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We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honour.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted [[Zimmermann](zimmerman.html)] note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us -- however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship -- exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy, who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts -- for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

**[http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s\\_War\\_Message\\_to\\_Congress](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson%27s_War_Message_to_Congress)**

## **Appendix Three**

### **Harry S. Truman – State of the Union Address January 8, 1951**

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members Of the Congress:

This 82d Congress faces as grave a task as any Congress in the history of our Republic. The actions you take will be watched by the whole world. These actions will measure the ability of a free people, acting through their chosen representatives and their free institutions, to meet a deadly challenge to their way of life.

We can meet this challenge foolishly or wisely. We can meet it timidly or bravely, shamefully or honorably.

I know that the 82d Congress will meet this challenge in a way worthy of our great heritage. I know that your debates will be earnest, responsible, constructive, and to the point. I know that from these debates there will come the great decisions needed to carry us forward.

At this critical time, I am glad to say that our country is in a healthy condition. Our democratic institutions are sound and strong. We have more men and women at work than ever before. We are able to produce more than ever before in fact, far more than any country ever produced in the history of the world.

I am confident that we can succeed in the great task that lies before us.

We will succeed, but we must all do our part. We must all act together as citizens of this great Republic.

As we meet here today, American soldiers are fighting a bitter campaign in Korea. We pay tribute to their courage, devotion, and gallantry.

Our men are fighting, alongside their United Nations allies, because they know, as we do, that the aggression in Korea is part of the attempt of the Russian Communist dictatorship to take over the world, step by step.

Our men are fighting a long way from home, but they are fighting for our lives and our liberties. They are fighting to protect our right to meet here today-our right to govern ourselves as a free nation.

The threat of world conquest by Soviet Russia endangers our liberty and endangers the kind of world in which the free spirit of man can survive. This threat is aimed at all peoples who strive to win or defend their own freedom and national independence.

Indeed, the state of our Nation is in great part the state of our friends and allies throughout the world. The gun that points at them points at us, also. The threat is a total threat and the danger is a common danger.

All free nations are exposed and all are in peril. Their only security lies in banding together. No one nation can find protection in a selfish search for a safe haven from the storm.

The free nations do not have any aggressive purpose. We want only peace in the world-peace for all countries. No threat to the security of any nation is concealed in our plans and programs.

We had hoped that the Soviet Union, with its security assured by the Charter of the United Nations, would be willing to live and let live. But I am sorry to say that has not been the case.

The imperialism of the czars has been replaced by the even more ambitious, more crafty, and more menacing imperialism of the rulers of the Soviet Union.

This new imperialism has powerful military forces. It is keeping millions of men under arms. It has a large air force and a strong submarine force. It has complete control of the men and equipment of its satellites. It has kept its subject peoples and its economy in a state of perpetual mobilization.

The present rulers of the Soviet Union have shown that they are willing to use this power to destroy the free nations and win domination over the whole world.

The Soviet imperialists have two ways of going about their destructive work. They use the method of subversion and internal revolution, and they use the method of external aggression. In preparation for either of these methods of attack, they stir up class strife and disorder. They encourage sabotage. They put out poisonous propaganda. They deliberately try to prevent economic improvement.

If their efforts are successful, they foment a revolution, as they did in Czechoslovakia and China, and as they tried, unsuccessfully, to do in Greece. If their methods of subversion are blocked, and if they think they can get away with outright warfare, they resort to external aggression. This is what they did when they loosed the armies of their puppet states against the Republic of Korea, in an evil war by proxy.

We of the free world must be ready to meet both of these methods of Soviet action. We must not neglect one or the other.

The free world has power and resources to meet these two forms of aggression resources that are far greater than those of the Soviet dictatorship. We have skilled and vigorous peoples, great industrial strength, and abundant sources of raw materials. And above all, we cherish liberty. Our common ideals are a great part of our strength. These ideals are the driving force of human progress.

The free nations believe in the dignity and the worth of man.

We believe in independence for all nations.

We believe that free and independent nations can band together into a world order based on law. We have laid the cornerstone of such a peaceful world in the United Nations.

We believe that such a world order can and should spread the benefits of modern science and industry, better health and education, more food and rising standards of living-throughout the world.

These ideals give our cause a power and vitality that Russian communism can never command.

The free nations, however, are bound together by more than ideals. They are a real community bound together also by the ties of self-interest and self-preservation. If they should fall apart, the results would be fatal to human freedom.

Our own national security is deeply involved with that of the other free nations. While they need our support, we equally need theirs. Our national safety would be gravely prejudiced if the Soviet Union were to succeed in harnessing to its war machine the resources and the manpower of the free nations on the borders of its empire.

If Western Europe were to fall to Soviet Russia, it would double the Soviet supply of coal and triple the Soviet supply of steel. If the free countries of Asia and Africa should fall to Soviet Russia, we would lose the sources of many of our most vital raw materials, including uranium, which is the basis of our atomic power. And Soviet command of the manpower of the free nations of Europe and Asia would confront us with military forces which we could never hope to equal.

In such a situation, the Soviet Union could impose its demands on the world, without resort to conflict, simply through the preponderance of its economic and military power. The Soviet Union does not have to attack the United States to secure domination of the world. It can achieve its ends by isolating us and swallowing up all our allies.

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Therefore, even if we were craven enough-I do not believe we could be-but, I say, even if we were craven enough to abandon our ideals, it would be disastrous for us to withdraw from the community of free nations.

We are the most powerful single member of this community, and we have a special responsibility. We must take the leadership in meeting the challenge to freedom and in helping to protect the rights of independent nations.

This country has a practical, realistic program of action for meeting this challenge.

First, we shall have to extend economic assistance, where it can be effective. The best way to stop subversion by the Kremlin is to strike at the roots of social injustice and economic disorder. People who have jobs, homes, and hopes for the future will defend themselves against the underground agents of the Kremlin. Our programs of economic aid have done much to turn back communism.

In Europe the Marshall plan has had an electrifying result. As European recovery progressed, the strikes led by the Kremlin's agents in Italy and France failed. All over Western Europe the Communist Party took worse and worse beatings at the polls.

The countries which have received Marshall Plan aid have been able, through hard work, to expand their productive strength in many cases, to levels higher than ever before in their history. Without this strength they would be completely incapable of defending themselves today. They are now ready to use this strength in helping to build a strong combined defense against aggression.

We shall need to continue some economic aid to European countries. This aid should now be specifically related to the building of their defenses.

In other parts of the world our economic assistance will need to be more broadly directed toward economic development. In the Near East, in Africa, in Asia, we must do what we can to help people who are striving to advance from misery, poverty, and hunger. We must also continue to help the economic growth of our good neighbors in this hemisphere. These actions will bring greater strength for the free world. They will give many people a real stake in the future and reason to defend their freedom. They will mean increased production of goods they need and materials we need.

Second, we shall need to continue our military assistance to countries which want to defend themselves.

The heart of our common defense effort is the North Atlantic community. The defense of Europe is the basis for the defense of the whole free world-ourselves included. Next to the United States, Europe is the largest workshop in the world. It is also a homeland of the great religious beliefs shared by many of our citizens-beliefs which are now threatened by the tide of atheistic communism.

Strategically, economically, and morally, the defense of Europe is a part of our own defense. That is why we have joined with the countries of Europe in the North Atlantic Treaty, pledging ourselves to work with them.

There has been much discussion recently over whether the European countries are willing to defend themselves. Their actions are answering this question.

Our North Atlantic Treaty partners have strict systems of universal military training. Several have recently increased the term of service. All have taken measures to improve the quality of training. Forces are being trained and expanded as rapidly as the necessary arms and equipment can be supplied from their factories and ours. Our North Atlantic Treaty partners, together, are building armies bigger than our own.

None of the North Atlantic Treaty countries, including our own country, has done enough yet. But real progress is being made. Together, we have worked out defense plans. The military leaders of our own country took part in working out these plans, and we agreed that they are sound and within our capabilities.

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To put these plans into action, we sent to Europe last week one of our greatest military commanders, General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

General Eisenhower went to Europe to assume command of the united forces of the North Atlantic Treaty countries, including our own forces in Germany.

The people of Europe have confidence in General Eisenhower. They know his ability to put together a fighting force of allies. His mission is vital to our security. We should all stand behind him, and give him every bit of help we can.

Part of our job will be to reinforce the military strength of our European partners by sending them weapons and equipment as our military production expands.

Our program of military assistance extends to the nations in the Near East and the Far East which are trying to defend their freedom. Soviet communism is trying to make these nations into colonies, and to use their people as cannon fodder in new wars of conquest. We want their people to be free men and to enjoy peace.

Our country has always stood for freedom for the peoples of Asia. Long, long ago it stood for the freedom of the peoples of Asia. Our history shows this. We have demonstrated it in the Philippines. We have demonstrated it in our relations with Indonesia, India, and with China. We hope to join in restoring the people of Japan to membership in the community of free nations.

It is in the Far East that we have taken up arms, under the United Nations, to preserve the principle of independence for free nations. We are fighting to keep the forces of Communist aggression from making a slave state out of Korea.

Korea has tremendous significance for the world. It means that free nations, acting through the United Nations, are fighting together against aggression.

We will understand the importance of this best if we look back into history. If the democracies had stood up against the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, or the attack on Ethiopia in 1935, or the seizure of Austria in 1938, if they had stood together against aggression on those occasions as the United Nations has done in Korea, the whole history of our time would have been different.

The principles for which we are fighting in Korea are right and just. They are the foundations of collective security and of the future of free nations. Korea is not only a country undergoing the torment of aggression; it is also a symbol. It stands for right and justice in the world against oppression and slavery. The free world must always stand for these principles-and we will stand with the free world.

As the third part of our program, we will continue to work for peaceful settlements in international disputes. We will support the United Nations and remain loyal to the great principles of international cooperation laid down in its charter.

We are willing, as we have always been, to negotiate honorable settlements with the Soviet Union. But we will not engage in appeasement.

The Soviet rulers have made it clear that we must have strength as well as right on our side. If we build our strength-and we are building it-the Soviet rulers may face the facts and lay aside their plans to take over the world.

That is what we hope will happen, and that is what we are trying to bring about. That is the only realistic road to peace.

These are the main elements of the course our Nation must follow as a member of the community of free nations. These are the things we must do to preserve our security and help create a peaceful world. But they will be successful only if we increase the strength of our own country.

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Here at home we have some very big jobs to do. We are building much stronger military forces-and we are building them fast. We are preparing for full wartime mobilization, if that should be necessary. And we are continuing to build a strong and growing economy, able to maintain whatever effort may be required for as long as necessary.

We are building our own Army, Navy, and Air Force to an active strength of nearly 3 1/2 million men and women. We are stepping up the training of the reserve forces, and establishing more training facilities, so that we can rapidly increase our active forces far more on short notice.

We are going to produce all the weapons and equipment that such an armed force will need. Furthermore, we will make weapons for our allies, and weapons for our own reserve supplies. On top of this, we will build the capacity to turn out on short notice arms and supplies that may be needed for a full-scale war.

Fortunately, we have a good start on this because of our enormous plant capacity and because of the equipment on hand from the last war. For example, many combat ships are being returned to active duty from the "mothball fleet" and many others can be put into service on very short notice. We have large reserves of arms and ammunition and thousands of workers skilled in arms production.

In many cases, however, our stocks of weapons are low. In other cases, those on hand are not the most modern. We have made remarkable technical advances. We have developed new types of jet planes and powerful new tanks. We are concentrating on producing the newest types of weapons and producing them as fast as we can.

This production drive is more selective than the one we had during World War II, but it is just as urgent and intense. It is a big program and it is a costly one.

Let me give you two concrete examples. Our present program calls for expanding the aircraft industry so that it will have the capacity to produce 50,000 modern military planes a year. We are preparing the capacity to produce 35,000 tanks a year. We are not now ordering that many planes or that many tanks, and we hope that we never have to, but we mean to be able to turn them out if we need them.

The planes we are producing now are much bigger, much better, and much more expensive than the planes we had during the last war.

We used to think that the B-17 was a huge plane, and the blockbuster it carried a huge load. But the B-36 can carry five of these blockbusters in its belly, and it can carry them five times as far. Of course, the B-36 is much more complicated to build than the B-17, and far more expensive. One B-17 costs \$275,000, while now one B-36 costs 3 million.

I ask you to remember that what we are doing is to provide the best and most modern military equipment in the world for our fighting forces.

This kind of defense production program has two parts. The first part is to get our defense production going as fast as possible. We have to convert plants and channel materials to defense production. This means heavy cuts in civilian uses of copper, aluminum, rubber, and other essential materials. It means shortages in various consumer goods.

The second part is to increase our capacity to produce and to keep our economy strong for the long pull. We do not know how long Communist aggression will threaten the world.

Only by increasing our output can we carry the burden of preparedness for an indefinite period in the future. This means that we will have to build more power plants and more steel mills, grow more cotton, mine more copper, and expand our capacity in many other ways.

The Congress will need to consider legislation, at this session, affecting all the aspects of our mobilization job. The main subjects on which legislation will be needed are:

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First, appropriations for our military buildup.

Second, extension and revision of the Selective Service Act.

Third, military and economic aid to help build up the strength of the free world.

Fourth, revision and extension of the authority to expand production and to stabilize prices, wages, and rents.

Fifth, improvement of our agricultural laws to help obtain the kinds of farm products we need for the defense effort.

Sixth, improvement of our labor laws to help provide stable labor-management relations and to make sure that we have steady production in this emergency.

Seventh, housing and training of defense workers and the full use of all our manpower resources.

Eighth, means for increasing the supply of doctors, nurses, and other trained medical personnel critically needed for the defense effort.

Ninth, aid to the States to meet the most urgent needs of our elementary and secondary schools. Some of our plans will have to be deferred for the time being. But we should do all we can to make sure our children are being trained as good and useful citizens in the critical times ahead.

Tenth, a major increase in taxes to meet the cost of the defense effort.

The Economic Report and the Budget Message will discuss these subjects further. In addition, I shall send to the Congress special messages containing detailed recommendations on legislation needed at this session.

In the months ahead the Government must give priority to activities that are urgent-like military procurement and atomic energy and power development. It must practice rigid economy in its non defense activities. Many of the things we would normally do must be curtailed or postponed.

But in a long-term defense effort like this one, we cannot neglect the measures needed to maintain a strong economy and a healthy democratic society.

The Congress, therefore, should give continued attention to the measures which our country will need for the long pull. And it should act upon such legislation as promptly as circumstances permit.

To take just one example-we need to continue and complete the work of rounding out our system of social insurance. We still need to improve our protection against unemployment and old age. We still need to provide insurance against the loss of earnings through sickness, and against the high costs of modern medical care.

And above all, we must remember that the fundamentals of our strength rest upon the freedoms of our people. We must continue our efforts to achieve the full realization of our democratic ideals. We must uphold the freedom of speech and the freedom of conscience in our land. We must assure equal rights and equal opportunities to all our citizens.

As we go forward this year in the defense of freedom, let us keep clearly before us the nature of our present effort.

We are building up our strength, in concert with other free nations, to meet the danger of aggression that has been turned loose on the world. The strength of the free nations is the world's best hope of peace.

I ask the Congress for unity in these crucial days.

Make no mistake about my meaning. I do not ask, or expect, unanimity. I do not ask for an end to debate.

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Only by debate can we arrive at decisions which are wise, and which reflect the desires of the American people.

We do not have a dictatorship in this country, and we never will have one in this country.

When I request unity, what I am really asking for is a sense of responsibility on the part of every Member of this Congress. Let us debate the issues, but let every man among us weigh his words and his deeds. There is a sharp difference between harmful criticism and constructive criticism. If we are truly responsible as individuals, I am sure that we will be unified as a government.

Let us keep our eyes on the issues and work for the things we all believe in.

Let each of us put our country ahead of our party, and ahead of our own personal interests.

I had the honor to be a Member of the Senate during World War II, and I know from experience that unity of purpose and of effort is possible in the Congress without any lessening of the vitality of our two party system.

Let us all stand together as Americans. Let us stand together with all men every where who believe in human liberty.

Peace is precious to us. It is the way of life we strive for with all the strength and wisdom we possess. But more precious than peace are freedom and justice. We will fight, if fight we must, to keep our freedom and to prevent justice from being destroyed.

These are the things that give meaning to our lives, and which we acknowledge to be greater than ourselves.

This is our cause-peace, freedom, justice. We will pursue this cause with determination and humility, asking divine guidance that in all we do we may follow the will of God.

**<http://www.presidential-speeches.org/State-of-the-Union-1951-Harry-Truman.php>**

## Appendix Four

### George W. Bush – State of the Union Address, 2003

Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished citizens and fellow citizens: Every year, by law and by custom, we meet here to consider the state of the union. This year, we gather in this chamber deeply aware of decisive days that lie ahead.

You and I serve our country in a time of great consequence. During this session of Congress, we have the duty to reform domestic programs vital to our country; we have the opportunity to save millions of lives abroad from a terrible disease. We will work for a prosperity that is broadly shared, and we will answer every danger and every enemy that threatens the American people. (Applause.)

In all these days of promise and days of reckoning, we can be confident. In a whirlwind of change and hope and peril, our faith is sure, our resolve is firm, and our union is strong. (Applause.)

This country has many challenges. We will not deny, we will not ignore, we will not pass along our problems to other Congresses, to other presidents, and other generations. (Applause.) We will confront them with focus and clarity and courage.

During the last two years, we have seen what can be accomplished when we work together. To lift the standards of our public schools, we achieved historic education reform -- which must now be carried out in every school and in every classroom, so that every child in America can read and learn and succeed in life. (Applause.) To protect our country, we reorganized our government and created the Department of Homeland Security, which is mobilizing against the threats of a new era. To bring our economy out of recession, we delivered the largest tax relief in a generation. (Applause.) To insist on integrity in American business we passed tough reforms, and we are holding corporate criminals to account. (Applause.)

Some might call this a good record; I call it a good start. Tonight I ask the House and Senate to join me in the next bold steps to serve our fellow citizens.

Our first goal is clear: We must have an economy that grows fast enough to employ every man and woman who seeks a job. (Applause.) After recession, terrorist attacks, corporate scandals and stock market declines, our economy is recovering -- yet it's not growing fast enough, or strongly enough. With unemployment rising, our nation needs more small businesses to open, more companies to invest and expand, more employers to put up the sign that says, "Help Wanted." (Applause.)

Jobs are created when the economy grows; the economy grows when Americans have more money to spend and invest; and the best and fairest way to make sure Americans have that money is not to tax it away in the first place. (Applause.)

I am proposing that all the income tax reductions set for 2004 and 2006 be made permanent and effective this year. (Applause.) And under my plan, as soon as I sign the bill, this extra money will start showing up in workers' paychecks. Instead of gradually reducing the marriage penalty, we should do it now. (Applause.) Instead of slowly raising the child credit to \$1,000, we should send the checks to American families now. (Applause.)

The tax relief is for everyone who pays income taxes -- and it will help our economy immediately: 92 million Americans will keep, this year, an average of almost \$1,000 more of their own money. A family of four with an income of \$40,000 would see their federal income taxes fall from \$1,178 to \$45 per year. (Applause.) Our plan will improve the bottom line for more than 23 million small businesses.

You, the Congress, have already passed all these reductions, and promised them for future years.

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If this tax relief is good for Americans three, or five, or seven years from now, it is even better for Americans today. (Applause.)

We should also strengthen the economy by treating investors equally in our tax laws. It's fair to tax a company's profits. It is not fair to again tax the shareholder on the same profits. (Applause.) To boost investor confidence, and to help the nearly 10 million senior who receive dividend income, I ask you to end the unfair double taxation of dividends. (Applause.)

Lower taxes and greater investment will help this economy expand. More jobs mean more taxpayers, and higher revenues to our government. The best way to address the deficit and move toward a balanced budget is to encourage economic growth, and to show some spending discipline in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

We must work together to fund only our most important priorities. I will send you a budget that increases discretionary spending by 4 percent next year -- about as much as the average family's income is expected to grow. And that is a good benchmark for us. Federal spending should not rise any faster than the paychecks of American families. (Applause.)

A growing economy and a focus on essential priorities will also be crucial to the future of Social Security. As we continue to work together to keep Social Security sound and reliable, we must offer younger workers a chance to invest in retirement accounts that they will control and they will own. (Applause.)

Our second goal is high quality, affordable health care for all Americans. (Applause.) The American system of medicine is a model of skill and innovation, with a pace of discovery that is adding good years to our lives. Yet for many people, medical care costs too much -- and many have no coverage at all. These problems will not be solved with a nationalized health care system that dictates coverage and rations care. (Applause.)

Instead, we must work toward a system in which all Americans have a good insurance policy, choose their own doctors, and seniors and low-income Americans receive the help they need. (Applause.) Instead of bureaucrats and trial lawyers and HMOs, we must put doctors and nurses and patients back in charge of American medicine. (Applause.)

Health care reform must begin with Medicare; Medicare is the binding commitment of a caring society. (Applause.) We must renew that commitment by giving seniors access to preventive medicine and new drugs that are transforming health care in America.

Seniors happy with the current Medicare system should be able to keep their coverage just the way it is. (Applause.) And just like you -- the members of Congress, and your staffs, and other federal employees -- all seniors should have the choice of a health care plan that provides prescription drugs. (Applause.)

My budget will commit an additional \$400 billion over the next decade to reform and strengthen Medicare. Leaders of both political parties have talked for years about strengthening Medicare. I urge the members of this new Congress to act this year. (Applause.)

To improve our health care system, we must address one of the prime causes of higher cost, the constant threat that physicians and hospitals will be unfairly sued. (Applause.) Because of excessive litigation, everybody pays more for health care, and many parts of America are losing fine doctors. No one has ever been healed by a frivolous lawsuit. I urge the Congress to pass medical liability reform. (Applause.)

Our third goal is to promote energy independence for our country, while dramatically improving the environment. (Applause.) I have sent you a comprehensive energy plan to promote energy efficiency and conservation, to develop cleaner technology, and to produce more energy at home. (Applause.) I have sent you Clear Skies legislation that mandates a 70-percent cut in air pollution from power plants over the next 15 years. (Applause.)

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I have sent you a Healthy Forests Initiative, to help prevent the catastrophic fires that devastate communities, kill wildlife, and burn away millions of acres of treasured forest. (Applause.)

I urge you to pass these measures, for the good of both our environment and our economy. (Applause.) Even more, I ask you to take a crucial step and protect our environment in ways that generations before us could not have imagined.

In this century, the greatest environmental progress will come about not through endless lawsuits or command-and-control regulations, but through technology and innovation. Tonight I'm proposing \$1.2 billion in research funding so that America can lead the world in developing clean, hydrogen-powered automobiles. (Applause.)

A single chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen generates energy, which can be used to power a car -- producing only water, not exhaust fumes. With a new national commitment, our scientists and engineers will overcome obstacles to taking these cars from laboratory to showroom, so that the first car driven by a child born today could be powered by hydrogen, and pollution-free. (Applause.)

Join me in this important innovation to make our air significantly cleaner, and our country much less dependent on foreign sources of energy. (Applause.)

Our fourth goal is to apply the compassion of America to the deepest problems of America. For so many in our country -- the homeless and the fatherless, the addicted -- the need is great. Yet there's power, wonder-working power, in the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people.

Americans are doing the work of compassion every day -- visiting prisoners, providing shelter for battered women, bringing companionship to lonely seniors. These good works deserve our praise; they deserve our personal support; and when appropriate, they deserve the assistance of the federal government. (Applause.)

I urge you to pass both my faith-based initiative and the Citizen Service Act, to encourage acts of compassion that can transform America, one heart and one soul at a time. (Applause.)

Last year, I called on my fellow citizens to participate in the USA Freedom Corps, which is enlisting tens of thousands of new volunteers across America. Tonight I ask Congress and the American people to focus the spirit of service and the resources of government on the needs of some of our most vulnerable citizens -- boys and girls trying to grow up without guidance and attention, and children who have to go through a prison gate to be hugged by their mom or dad.

I propose a \$450-million initiative to bring mentors to more than a million disadvantaged junior high students and children of prisoners. Government will support the training and recruiting of mentors; yet it is the men and women of America who will fill the need. One mentor, one person can change a life forever. And I urge you to be that one person. (Applause.)

Another cause of hopelessness is addiction to drugs. Addiction crowds out friendship, ambition, moral conviction, and reduces all the richness of life to a single destructive desire. As a government, we are fighting illegal drugs by cutting off supplies and reducing demand through anti-drug education programs. Yet for those already addicted, the fight against drugs is a fight for their own lives. Too many Americans in search of treatment cannot get it. So tonight I propose a new \$600-million program to help an additional 300,000 Americans receive treatment over the next three years. (Applause.)

Our nation is blessed with recovery programs that do amazing work. One of them is found at the Healing Place Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. A man in the program said, "God does miracles in people's lives, and you never think it could be you." Tonight, let us bring to all Americans who struggle with drug addiction this message of hope: The miracle of recovery is possible, and it could be you. (Applause.) By caring for children who need mentors, and for addicted men and women who need treatment, we are building a more welcoming society -- a culture that values every life.

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And in this work we must not overlook the weakest among us. I ask you to protect infants at the very hour of their birth and end the practice of partial-birth abortion. (Applause.) And because no human life should be started or ended as the object of an experiment, I ask you to set a high standard for humanity, and pass a law against all human cloning. (Applause.)

The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. The American flag stands for more than our power and our interests. Our founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity, the rights of every person, and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted, and defend the peace, and confound the designs of evil men.

In Afghanistan, we helped liberate an oppressed people. And we will continue helping them secure their country, rebuild their society, and educate all their children -- boys and girls. (Applause.) In the Middle East, we will continue to seek peace between a secure Israel and a democratic Palestine. (Applause.) Across the Earth, America is feeding the hungry -- more than 60 percent of international food aid comes as a gift from the people of the United States. As our nation moves troops and builds alliances to make our world safer, we must also remember our calling as a blessed country is to make this world better.

Today, on the continent of Africa, nearly 30 million people have the AIDS virus -- including 3 million children under the age 15. There are whole countries in Africa where more than one-third of the adult population carries the infection. More than 4 million require immediate drug treatment. Yet across that continent, only 50,000 AIDS victims -- only 50,000 -- are receiving the medicine they need.

Because the AIDS diagnosis is considered a death sentence, many do not seek treatment. Almost all who do are turned away. A doctor in rural South Africa describes his frustration. He says, "We have no medicines. Many hospitals tell people, you've got AIDS, we can't help you. Go home and die." In an age of miraculous medicines, no person should have to hear those words. (Applause.)

AIDS can be prevented. Anti-retroviral drugs can extend life for many years. And the cost of those drugs has dropped from \$12,000 a year to under \$300 a year -- which places a tremendous possibility within our grasp. Ladies and gentlemen, seldom has history offered a greater opportunity to do so much for so many.

We have confronted, and will continue to confront, HIV/AIDS in our own country. And to meet a severe and urgent crisis abroad, tonight I propose the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief -- a work of mercy beyond all current international efforts to help the people of Africa. This comprehensive plan will prevent 7 million new AIDS infections, treat at least 2 million people with life-extending drugs, and provide humane care for millions of people suffering from AIDS, and for children orphaned by AIDS. (Applause.)

I ask the Congress to commit \$15 billion over the next five years, including nearly \$10 billion in new money, to turn the tide against AIDS in the most afflicted nations of Africa and the Caribbean. (Applause.)

This nation can lead the world in sparing innocent people from a plague of nature. And this nation is leading the world in confronting and defeating the man-made evil of international terrorism. (Applause.)

There are days when our fellow citizens do not hear news about the war on terror. There's never a day when I do not learn of another threat, or receive reports of operations in progress, or give an order in this global war against a scattered network of killers. The war goes on, and we are winning. (Applause.)

To date, we've arrested or otherwise dealt with many key commanders of al Qaeda. They include a man who directed logistics and funding for the September the 11th attacks; the chief of al Qaeda operations in the Persian Gulf, who planned the bombings of our embassies in East Africa and the USS Cole; an al Qaeda operations chief from Southeast Asia; a former director of al Qaeda's training camps in Afghanistan; a key al Qaeda operative in Europe; a major al Qaeda leader in Yemen. All told, more than 3,000 suspected terrorists have been arrested in many countries.

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Many others have met a different fate. Let's put it this way -- they are no longer a problem to the United States and our friends and allies. (Applause.)

We are working closely with other nations to prevent further attacks. America and coalition countries have uncovered and stopped terrorist conspiracies targeting the American embassy in Yemen, the American embassy in Singapore, a Saudi military base, ships in the Straits of Hormuz and the Straits of Gibraltar. We've broken al Qaeda cells in Hamburg, Milan, Madrid, London, Paris, as well as, Buffalo, New York.

We have the terrorists on the run. We're keeping them on the run. One by one, the terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice. (Applause.)

As we fight this war, we will remember where it began -- here, in our own country. This government is taking unprecedented measures to protect our people and defend our homeland. We've intensified security at the borders and ports of entry, posted more than 50,000 newly-trained federal screeners in airports, begun inoculating troops and first responders against smallpox, and are deploying the nation's first early warning network of sensors to detect biological attack. And this year, for the first time, we are beginning to field a defense to protect this nation against ballistic missiles. (Applause.)

I thank the Congress for supporting these measures. I ask you tonight to add to our future security with a major research and production effort to guard our people against bioterrorism, called Project Bioshield. The budget I send you will propose almost \$6 billion to quickly make available effective vaccines and treatments against agents like anthrax, botulinum toxin, Ebola, and plague. We must assume that our enemies would use these diseases as weapons, and we must act before the dangers are upon us. (Applause.)

Since September the 11th, our intelligence and law enforcement agencies have worked more closely than ever to track and disrupt the terrorists. The FBI is improving its ability to analyze intelligence, and is transforming itself to meet new threats. Tonight, I am instructing the leaders of the FBI, the CIA, the Homeland Security, and the Department of Defense to develop a Terrorist Threat Integration Center, to merge and analyze all threat information in a single location. Our government must have the very best information possible, and we will use it to make sure the right people are in the right places to protect all our citizens. (Applause.)

Our war against terror is a contest of will in which perseverance is power. In the ruins of two towers, at the western wall of the Pentagon, on a field in Pennsylvania, this nation made a pledge, and we renew that pledge tonight: Whatever the duration of this struggle, and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men -- free people will set the course of history. (Applause.)

Today, the gravest danger in the war on terror, the gravest danger facing America and the world, is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror, and mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to terrorist allies, who would use them without the least hesitation.

This threat is new; America's duty is familiar. Throughout the 20th century, small groups of men seized control of great nations, built armies and arsenals, and set out to dominate the weak and intimidate the world. In each case, their ambitions of cruelty and murder had no limit. In each case, the ambitions of Hitlerism, militarism, and communism were defeated by the will of free peoples, by the strength of great alliances, and by the might of the United States of America. (Applause.)

Now, in this century, the ideology of power and domination has appeared again, and seeks to gain the ultimate weapons of terror. Once again, this nation and all our friends are all that stand between a world at peace, and a world of chaos and constant alarm. Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people, and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility. (Applause.)

America is making a broad and determined effort to confront these dangers. We have called on the United Nations to fulfill its charter and stand by its demand that Iraq disarm. We're strongly supporting the International Atomic Energy Agency in its mission to track and control nuclear materials around the world.



We're working with other governments to secure nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union, and to strengthen global treaties banning the production and shipment of missile technologies and weapons of mass destruction.

In all these efforts, however, America's purpose is more than to follow a process -- it is to achieve a result: the end of terrible threats to the civilized world. All free nations have a stake in preventing sudden and catastrophic attacks. And we're asking them to join us, and many are doing so. Yet the course of this nation does not depend on the decisions of others. (Applause.) Whatever action is required, whenever action is necessary, I will defend the freedom and security of the American people. (Applause.)

Different threats require different strategies. In Iran, we continue to see a government that represses its people, pursues weapons of mass destruction, and supports terror. We also see Iranian citizens risking intimidation and death as they speak out for liberty and human rights and democracy. Iranians, like all people, have a right to choose their own government and determine their own destiny -- and the United States supports their aspirations to live in freedom. (Applause.)

On the Korean Peninsula, an oppressive regime rules a people living in fear and starvation. Throughout the 1990s, the United States relied on a negotiated framework to keep North Korea from gaining nuclear weapons. We now know that that regime was deceiving the world, and developing those weapons all along. And today the North Korean regime is using its nuclear program to incite fear and seek concessions. America and the world will not be blackmailed. (Applause.)

America is working with the countries of the region -- South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia -- to find a peaceful solution, and to show the North Korean government that nuclear weapons will bring only isolation, economic stagnation, and continued hardship. (Applause.) The North Korean regime will find respect in the world and revival for its people only when it turns away from its nuclear ambitions. (Applause.)

Our nation and the world must learn the lessons of the Korean Peninsula and not allow an even greater threat to rise up in Iraq. A brutal dictator, with a history of reckless aggression, with ties to terrorism, with great potential wealth, will not be permitted to dominate a vital region and threaten the United States. (Applause.)

Twelve years ago, Saddam Hussein faced the prospect of being the last casualty in a war he had started and lost. To spare himself, he agreed to disarm of all weapons of mass destruction. For the next 12 years, he systematically violated that agreement. He pursued chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, even while inspectors were in his country. Nothing to date has restrained him from his pursuit of these weapons -- not economic sanctions, not isolation from the civilized world, not even cruise missile strikes on his military facilities.

Almost three months ago, the United Nations Security Council gave Saddam Hussein his final chance to disarm. He has shown instead utter contempt for the United Nations, and for the opinion of the world. The 108 U.N. inspectors were sent to conduct -- were not sent to conduct a scavenger hunt for hidden materials across a country the size of California. The job of the inspectors is to verify that Iraq's regime is disarming. It is up to Iraq to show exactly where it is hiding its banned weapons, lay those weapons out for the world to see, and destroy them as directed. Nothing like this has happened.

The United Nations concluded in 1999 that Saddam Hussein had biological weapons sufficient to produce over 25,000 liters of anthrax -- enough doses to kill several million people. He hasn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

The United Nations concluded that Saddam Hussein had materials sufficient to produce more than 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin -- enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure. He hadn't accounted for that material. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

Our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard and VX nerve agent. In such quantities, these chemical agents could also kill untold thousands. He's not accounted for these materials. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

U.S. intelligence indicates that Saddam Hussein had upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents. Inspectors recently turned up 16 of them -- despite Iraq's recent declaration denying their existence. Saddam Hussein has not accounted for the remaining 29,984 of these prohibited munitions. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

From three Iraqi defectors we know that Iraq, in the late 1990s, had several mobile biological weapons labs. These are designed to produce germ warfare agents, and can be moved from place to a place to evade inspectors. Saddam Hussein has not disclosed these facilities. He's given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

The International Atomic Energy Agency confirmed in the 1990s that Saddam Hussein had an advanced nuclear weapons development program, had a design for a nuclear weapon and was working on five different methods of enriching uranium for a bomb. The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa. Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes suitable for nuclear weapons production. Saddam Hussein has not credibly explained these activities. He clearly has much to hide.

The dictator of Iraq is not disarming. To the contrary; he is deceiving. From intelligence sources we know, for instance, that thousands of Iraqi security personnel are at work hiding documents and materials from the U.N. inspectors, sanitizing inspection sites and monitoring the inspectors themselves. Iraqi officials accompany the inspectors in order to intimidate witnesses.

Iraq is blocking U-2 surveillance flights requested by the United Nations. Iraqi intelligence officers are posing as the scientists inspectors are supposed to interview. Real scientists have been coached by Iraqi officials on what to say. Intelligence sources indicate that Saddam Hussein has ordered that scientists who cooperate with U.N. inspectors in disarming Iraq will be killed, along with their families.

Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks to build and keep weapons of mass destruction. But why? The only possible explanation, the only possible use he could have for those weapons, is to dominate, intimidate, or attack.

With nuclear arms or a full arsenal of chemical and biological weapons, Saddam Hussein could resume his ambitions of conquest in the Middle East and create deadly havoc in that region. And this Congress and the America people must recognize another threat. Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of al Qaeda. Secretly, and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, or help them develop their own.

Before September the 11th, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans -- this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that that day never comes. (Applause.)

Some have said we must not act until the threat is imminent. Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice before they strike? If this threat is permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late. Trusting in the sanity and restraint of Saddam Hussein is not a strategy, and it is not an option. (Applause.)

The dictator who is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons has already used them on whole villages -- leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured. Iraqi refugees tell us how forced confessions are obtained -- by torturing children while their parents are made to watch. International human rights groups have catalogued other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape. If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning. (Applause.)

And tonight I have a message for the brave and oppressed people of Iraq: Your enemy is not surrounding your country -- your enemy is ruling your country. (Applause.) And the day he and his regime are removed from power will be the day of your liberation. (Applause.)

The world has waited 12 years for Iraq to disarm. America will not accept a serious and mounting threat to our country, and our friends and our allies. The United States will ask the U.N. Security Council to convene on February the 5th to consider the facts of Iraq's ongoing defiance of the world. Secretary of State Powell will present information and intelligence about Iraqi's legal -- Iraq's illegal weapons programs, its attempt to hide those weapons from inspectors, and its links to terrorist groups.

We will consult. But let there be no misunderstanding: If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, for the safety of our people and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him. (Applause.)

Tonight I have a message for the men and women who will keep the peace, members of the American Armed Forces: Many of you are assembling in or near the Middle East, and some crucial hours may lay ahead. In those hours, the success of our cause will depend on you. Your training has prepared you. Your honor will guide you. You believe in America, and America believes in you. (Applause.)

Sending Americans into battle is the most profound decision a President can make. The technologies of war have changed; the risks and suffering of war have not. For the brave Americans who bear the risk, no victory is free from sorrow. This nation fights reluctantly, because we know the cost and we dread the days of mourning that always come.

We seek peace. We strive for peace. And sometimes peace must be defended. A future lived at the mercy of terrible threats is no peace at all. If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means -- sparing, in every way we can, the innocent. And if war is forced upon us, we will fight with the full force and might of the United States military -- and we will prevail. (Applause.)

And as we and our coalition partners are doing in Afghanistan, we will bring to the Iraqi people food and medicines and supplies -- and freedom. (Applause.)

Many challenges, abroad and at home, have arrived in a single season. In two years, America has gone from a sense of invulnerability to an awareness of peril; from bitter division in small matters to calm unity in great causes. And we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country.

Americans are a resolute people who have risen to every test of our time. Adversity has revealed the character of our country, to the world and to ourselves. America is a strong nation, and honorable in the use of our strength. We exercise power without conquest, and we sacrifice for the liberty of strangers.

Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity. (Applause.)

We Americans have faith in ourselves, but not in ourselves alone. We do not know -- we do not claim to know all the ways of Providence, yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the loving God behind all of life, and all of history.

May He guide us now. And may God continue to bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

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