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**Trauma and Heroism in the American Public Discourse on the Vietnam War.
A Study in Anthropological Linguistics.**

(An Interdisciplinary Rhetorical Analysis on the Basis of Selected Speeches
Delivered by the Leaders of Anti-War Movements and U.S. Presidents within the
Period from 1954 to 1975)

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**Trauma i heroizm w amerykańskim dyskursie publicznym z okresu wojny w
Wietnamie. Studium antropolingwistyczne.**

(Interdyscyplinarna analiza retoryczna na podstawie wybranych przemówień
liderów ruchów antywojennych i prezydentów Stanów Zjednoczonych z lat 1954–
1975)

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List of abbreviations

AFL–CIO	The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
AMP	Another Mother for Peace
FSM	The Free Speech Movement
LBJ	Lyndon Baines Johnson
MLK	Martin Luther King Jr.
NASA	The National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NOW	The National Organization for Women
PTSD	Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
SALT	The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
VVAW	Vietnam Veterans Against the War
WSP	Women Strike for Peace

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0. Introduction

Conducting an analysis of links between language and its broad social and cultural context seems to be a fascinating and inexhaustible exercise. Although this issue has been at the center of academic research for many years, it still reveals new connections between these two phenomena. This dissertation is a contribution to the field of anthropological linguistics, a discipline which integrates numerous scientific perspectives and allows one to establish new links between human beings, their language, as well as their broad social and cultural environment. Considering the above assumption, at this juncture only general remarks are outlined, whereas a more detailed view is described below.

To begin with, in the first chapter, apart from a detailed description of key terms used in this dissertation, ample space is given to the scientific foundations of this study. This is due to the fact that such a detailed description allows one to observe the extremely broad and complex nature of these selected phenomena embedded in the domain of anthropological linguistics which have great impact on human beings and are omnipresent in their life. Furthermore, in the second chapter, the aim of the author is to describe selected methods of linguistic analysis used in this study and to illustrate the wide and complex context of the research conducted in the third chapter of this dissertation. As a consequence, a broad and possibly exhausting description of the social and cultural context of the speeches is delivered. Moreover, special attention is given to two groups of discourse producers, namely presidents of the United States and leaders of movements opposed to the Vietnam War. This approach is justified by the fact that one of the greatest values of analysis conducted in anthropological linguistics lies not only in linguistic studies of numerous layers of a speech, but is rather in a full understanding of the deepest connections between language used at a given time and place and the broad social and cultural context in which spoken words are immersed. Before going to a more detailed analysis, in the following subsections of this dissertation, its subject matter, research perspective, as well as research material, are briefly described.

0.1. Subject matter

The subject matter of this study is concentrated on selected examples of the American public discourse on the Vietnam War which contain references to trauma and heroism and are

based on speeches delivered by both American policymakers and the leaders of social movements opposed to the Vietnam War. In other words, the range of this multidisciplinary analysis is focused on studying some changes and differences in discourse and includes, primarily, a comparison of the length of both groups of texts, namely those delivered by politicians and social leaders, an identification of passages containing links to trauma and heroism, as well as an analysis of their mutual interrelationship in regard to selected categories, including wartime, socio-political and economic references. Furthermore, special attention is given to rhetorical components of these above-mentioned passages with the goal of revealing the intentions and aims of the speakers, their attempts to shape the context and desired reaction of the audience through a broad range of rhetorical devices and references to explicitly expressed intertextuality used in the speeches, as well as their social and cultural preferences and views which are hidden under a layer of words. Moreover, these factors listed above are compared with regard to each speech examined here and an attempt to outline individual style of each speaker is made.

0.2. Research perspective

In this dissertation, the research perspective is embedded in anthropological linguistics, namely a field of studies which lies at the crossroads between linguistics and anthropology. This particular view contributes to the multidisciplinary character of this analysis, which combines studies of both strictly linguistic phenomena and their broad social and cultural context. **In other words, in this dissertation the relationship between language and society, culture, and reality is investigated.** Furthermore, one particular subdomain of anthropological linguistics, namely pragmatics, is of great importance in this study. This field of linguistic knowledge is concentrated on describing a direct situation of using language, the types of discourse manifested in the process of communication, as well as the discursive practices displayed by its participants (Chruszczewski 2016: 68). Briefly speaking, pragmatics “(...) can be conceptualized as the study of discourse-dependent meaning in context (...)” (Norrick & Ilie 2018: 4). To put it in other words, this subdomain of anthropological linguistics goes beyond the structures of language towards its numerous links with a surrounding background in which the process of communication is observed. Moreover, three additional perspectives are in support of this study, namely rhetorical, textual and quantitative. Whereas the rhetorical perspective is broadly implemented in this dissertation and

pays attention to the style and strategies preferred by the speakers in order to achieve their political and social goals, the textual perspective is focused on a study of intertextuality expressed in an explicit form. Last but not least, the quantitative approach is focused on the number of structures analyzed here which are, subsequently, calculated in order to formulate more general conclusions regarding the speeches analyzed in this study and the style of the speakers.

0.3. Research material

The research material analyzed in this study includes ten speeches delivered by American policymakers and the leaders of movements opposing to the Vietnam War, all of which were delivered between 1954 and 1975. The selection of speeches is based on either their links with the Vietnam War, which is directly mentioned in the speeches themselves, or they were given in the broad context of a public debate in which this war was one of its most important elements. The collection of pro-war speeches includes: *An Excerpt from President Eisenhower's Thirty-fourth Presidential Press Conference* delivered on 7th April 1954, during which the meaning of "The Domino Theory" was explained, namely a concept fundamental for understanding American strategy in Vietnam; *Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy at a Conference America's Stake in Vietnam Sponsored by the American Friends of Vietnam* and delivered on 1st June 1956; *Remarks of Lyndon B. Johnson on Vietnam and Not Seeking Reelection*, a television broadcast delivered on 31st March 1968; *The Great Silent Majority*, a famous televised speech delivered on 3th November 1969 by President Richard M. Nixon which outlined a new American strategy of Vietnamization; and, finally, *President Gerald R. Ford's Address at a Tulane University Convocation*, delivered on 23rd April 1975, in which American failure in the Vietnam War was publically admitted for the first time.

The second group of speeches consists of these delivered by the leaders of the antiwar movement and includes: Mario Savio's *Speech at Vietnam Day Teach-In* which was delivered on 21st May 1965, namely at the climax of the students protests at American universities; Martin Luther King Jr.'s iconic address *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence* which was delivered on 4th April 1967; *Remarks on an Appraisal of the Conflict in Vietnam* delivered by Shirley Anita Chisholm, the first African American congresswomen, on 26th March 1969; John Forbes Kerry's momentous *Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee*, delivered on 22nd April 1971; and, finally, a transcript of Jane Seymour Fonda's *Broadcast over Radio Hanoi* which was

delivered in September 1972. Whereas all these speeches are unquestionably landmarks of the American public discourse on the Vietnam War, to the best of the author's knowledge, they have not been analyzed using such an integrated methodology as implemented in this study. Therefore, this study aims at revealing a new perspective on the public debate concerning the Vietnam War from the point of view of anthropological linguistics.

1. Key concepts and foundations of study

This chapter aims to explain (1) key terms and (2) scientific foundations of this dissertation, in particular their selected definitions and interpretation. Firstly, the domain between language and anthropology is analyzed in order to show mutual interconnections between cultural linguistics, linguistic anthropology and anthropological linguistics. Moreover, the main subdomains of anthropological linguistics, including field linguistics, typological linguistics, contact linguistics, sociolinguistics, as well as pragmatics are briefly characterized. Finally, the shift in key paradigms of anthropological linguistics is outlined. A further section is devoted to the notion of trauma. The origin and the evolution of the term are sketched out, including selected definitions and constituent elements of this phenomenon. Furthermore, full attention is paid to numerous research perspectives on trauma and the most important differences which are observed between the two main types of traumatic experiences, namely psychological and socio-cultural traumas, are discussed. The following section focuses on studies on heroism and its manifestation in various forms of human activity. Firstly, the origin and evolution of the term are outlined. Moreover, selected definitions and types of both heroic individuals and heroism are analyzed through the prism of three research perspectives which are dominant in contemporary studies on heroism, namely psychological, sociological and linguistic. In the final section, some selected conclusions based on the presented materials are drawn.

The aim of the following subsections is to describe selected elements of the scientific foundations of this dissertation. In order to meet this challenge, four components, deeply embedded in the domain of anthropological linguistics, are outlined, namely the concepts of culture, communication, language and discourse. First of all, ample space is given over to characterizing the concept of culture. This section begins with an outline of the evolution of the term analyzed here, and runs through the study focusing on the unique features of American culture to views regarding the most visible features of political culture in the United States. Moreover, an overall outline of communication is presented. Apart from an attempt to analyze this concept and its properties, selected models and types of communication are also scrutinized. Furthermore, the concept of language is sketched out. This analysis points to the theories focused on describing its origins, selected definitions, properties and functions. In the following subsections, full attention is given over to discourse, including not only certain views describing this concept, but also an

analysis of its selected components and types. A number of observations made by experts in the field is summarized together with more general conclusions. Finally, the whole chapter is summarized in a brief conclusion.

1.1. In search of anthropological linguistics

There are many criteria which are used to define the broad domain of research between anthropology and linguistics including as follows: the mutual interrelations of both fields in reference to their branches and specialisms, analysis of subfields derived from the main disciplines and, finally, development of the paradigms within the fields under discussion. This space between language, culture and society has been carefully analyzed for decades with studies dating back as far as the nineteenth century having been conducted from various methodological standpoints (Beeman 2012: 531). Furthermore, constant progress in both anthropology and linguistics has led to further specialization and acceleration in the growth of knowledge. Over the course of time, the links between anthropology and linguistics have become exceptionally strong and mutual references more visible. Consequently, three main domains have been developed, including cultural linguistics, anthropological linguistics and linguistic anthropology (Chruszczewski 2011a: 54). A brief outline of the above-mentioned fields is provided below.

Cultural linguistics is viewed as a multidisciplinary field of science. The essential part of research conducted by cultural linguists is defined as exploration of “(...) conceptualizations that have a cultural basis and are encoded in and communicated through features of human language” (Sharifian 2017: 34). In other words, language is a medium used to express culturally embedded symbols which are present in the collective mind of a particular speech community (Palmer 1996: 3). One of the key concepts within cultural linguistics is focused on links between used language and its broader cultural background. As Gladkova (2015: 47) has observed: “[g]rammatically elaborated areas of a language commonly embed meanings or ideas that are particularly salient in the collective psyche of a people. Knowledge of these meanings or ideas can equip cultural outsiders with more effective and successful tools of communication with the representatives of the culture.” Therefore, studies in cultural linguistics are a suitable tool in order to gain considerable knowledge regarding the cultural patterns which are encoded in a given language. It also allows

more effective communication due to broader understanding of both language itself and its full submergence in a particular culture.

Anthropological linguistics and **linguistic anthropology** are often viewed as two sides of the same coin. According to Duranti (1997: 1): “[t]he two terms ‘linguistic anthropology’ and ‘anthropological linguistics’ have been used in the past more or less interchangeably (...)” Furthermore, some scholars deny the existence of anthropological linguistics as a separated field of science. This opinion is expressed by Teeter (1964: 878): “[t]here is linguistics, there is linguistics in anthropology, and there is linguistic anthropology, but if we wish our terms to have unambiguous and pertinent references, there is no ‘anthropological linguistics.’” These words direct sharp criticism towards studies in anthropological linguistics and point out that the methodological boundaries between the two above-mentioned disciplines are difficult to perceive. The latter observation is also reflected in Duranti’s view (1997: 3) that anthropological linguistics is a mere variant of linguistic anthropology. Similarly, Ottenheimer & Pine ([2013] 2019: 2) highlight the dominant position of linguistics anthropology as a discipline which is focused on the context and situations of using language. Moreover, according to Sidky (2021: 125), studies in anthropological linguistics seem to be extremely interesting and important for non-anthropological scholars.

Two broadly accepted definitions referring to both the terms analyzed here have been coined by two experts in the field. According to Foley (1997: 3): “[a]nthropological linguistics is that sub-field of linguistics (and anthropology) which is concerned with the place of language in its wide social and cultural context, its role in forging and sustaining cultural practices and social structures (...) through the prism of the core anthropological concept, culture, and, as such, seeks to uncover the meaning behind the use, misuse or non-use of language, its different forms, registers and styles.” Whereas according to Duranti (1997: 2–3): “(...) linguistic anthropology will be presented as *the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice*. As an inherently interdisciplinary field, it relies on and expends existing methods in other disciplines (...) with the general goal of providing an understanding of the multifarious aspects of language as a set of cultural practices, that is, as a system of communication that allows for interpsychological (between individuals) and intrapsychological (in the same individual) representations of the social order and helps people use such representations for constitutive social acts.” Moreover, this view is developed in his later work (Duranti 2011: 46), in which the same author places emphasis on the

fact that language is a non-neutral medium, used by speakers to shape their broad social and cultural sphere of life. Both definitions unanimously indicate a link between language, society and culture. Language is a “[v]ehicle for the expression or exchanging of thoughts, concepts, knowledge, and information as well as the fixing and transmission of experience and knowledge” (Bussmann [1990] 2006: 627). Being such a phenomenon, language is a basic element of scientific research, while its pivotal role is perceived as a bridge between culture and society. Foley (1997: 3), in his definition, interprets language as a tool used to maintain both social and cultural processes. Language has proven to be a central element of human activity which is powerful enough to have an impact on society and culture.

Simultaneously, Duranti (1997: 2–3), in referring to linguistic anthropology, accentuates the cultural importance of the process of communication. In his view, this means that while culture plays a fundamental role, language is seen as immersed in a much broader concept. This view suggests a dominant position of anthropology over linguistics and, in turn, is deemed historically justified as linguistic anthropology is traditionally viewed as one of four key sub-disciplines of anthropology, including also physical (biological) anthropology, cultural anthropology, and archeology (historical anthropology) which are all focused on conducting a holistic approach in studies on human beings (*cf.* Barnard [2000] 2020: 27–28; Duranti 2011: 28; Ottenheimer & Pine [2013] 2019: 15). A similar view is also expressed in the observation: “(...) the interest of the linguistic anthropologist is in speech use and the relations that exist between language, on the one hand, and society and culture, on the other” (Stanlaw *et al.* [1993] 2012: 13). What is more, all of the analyzed definitions are focused on the broad range and multidisciplinary character of the terms under discussion which are viewed as much broader than only being limited to a linguistic analysis of the message being conveyed. The above-mentioned observation is confirmed by Duranti (1997: 3) who states that, from a perspective of linguistic anthropology, a speaker is a social actor. In parallel, according to Foley (1997: 4), the subject matter of anthropological linguistics is concentrated on choices in the use of language in society under changeable circumstances. As a consequence, even silence is of great importance.

1.2. Selected subfields of anthropological linguistics

Other significant criteria used to describe the domain of anthropological linguistics are based on the fact that within the whole discipline several autonomously existing subfields are distinguished, including field linguistics, typological linguistics, contact linguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics (Chruszczewski 2011a: 51–54). Although all of these disciplines are located at the crossroads of traditionally defined anthropology and linguistics, each of them describes the place of language from a different standpoint. The above-mentioned subfields are presented below.

Field linguistics

Field linguistics refers to a practice of collecting linguistic evidence and providing data obtained directly from native speakers, usually users of an endangered language. First of all, such a group of speakers must be identified. Secondly, the formation of a strong relationship between the informant and the researcher is essential in order to conduct fully controlled studies (Vaux & Cooper [1999] 2005: 19). Finally, the main model of collecting data is based on **participant observation**, a concept coined by Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942) and defined as a strategy of “[l]iving in the village with no other business but to follow native life (...)” (Malinowski 1922: 18). While such a methodological approach is fruitful, every field linguist must be fully aware that “(...) the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation” (Labov 1972: 209), a conclusion which is commonly known as **the observer paradox**. Another important element of a field work is based on an assumption that “[t]he results of scientific research (...) ought to be presented in a manner absolutely candid and above board” (Malinowski 1922: 2). In other words, the results of a study are expected to be obtained avoiding impropriety and bias. A similar view is expressed by Boas ([1911] 1938: 4) who stresses the risk of conducting field works while having a strong conviction about the dominant position of European civilization. According to Samarin (1967: 1–6), correctly implemented methods of field linguistics are able to provide interesting data referring to language in its social and cultural contexts, not to mention the fact that this data is also used in further analyses in order to conduct non-linguistic research, draw conclusions embedded in social sciences and, last but not least, to gain personal satisfaction. Briefly speaking, the area of field linguistics endeavors to outline a broad range of possibilities which are given to us by human language (Crowley 2007: 12).

Typological linguistics

Typological linguistics is focused on distinguishing and arranging different languages using selected criteria *e.g.* referring to their origins, common features, as well as lexical and grammatical similarities. The beginning of systematic studies focusing on the comparison of languages is connected with the pioneering work of Sir William Jones (1746–1794), a linguist who drew analogies between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin (Ruhlen 1994: 12). Furthermore, in the American tradition, the greatest contribution to the field under discussion here was made by John Wesley Powell (1834–1902) who “(...) approved (...) [the] suggestion for use of linguistic classification in organizing the chaotic information on North American Indians (...)” (Hymes 1983: 27). Having sufficient resources, the pioneers in the field were able to organize languages into smaller domains and classes. Consequently, the emergence of the discipline under discussion took place. According to Körtvélyessy (2017: 2), the term typological linguistics is defined as “(...) a system of study that divides languages into smaller groups according to similar properties they have.” As a result, studies conducted in this field allows one to compare various languages through the prism of similarities and differences between them (Greenberg 1973: 158). Furthermore, the distinctions between languages are based on various perspectives including those which are phonetic, typological, morphological and lexical (Körtvélyessy 2017: 2). The obtained results generate, to a degree, a complex system which is based on data collected from fieldwork and theoretical studies. Among the many achievements of typological linguistics, particular consideration is given to the observation that it is impossible to translate one language into another (Clahsen 2016: 612). Moreover, this discipline is also crucial in multidisciplinary projects which combine both linguistics and anthropological knowledge, studies on particular societies and cultures, as well as discoveries within the linguistic domain.

Contact linguistics

Contact linguistics is inseparably connected with language users and their mutual interactions which are “(...) considered by some anthropologists as but one aspect of culture contact, and language interference as a facet of cultural diffusion and acculturation” (Weinreich [1953] 1968:

5). At the center of scientific analysis of this discipline is the process of **language contact** which is defined as “(...) the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time” (Thomason 2001: 1). Moreover, such contact between the speakers of different languages is primarily functional, namely is established as a result of a communicative interaction focused on practical goals expressed through a given language (Matras [2009] 2020: 7). This, in turn, refers not only to language itself, but also it is observed at both a social and cultural level. Another distinctive feature of studies in contact linguistics is their propensity to focus on interaction and communication (Chruszczewski 2011b: 124). Therefore, contact linguistics is perceived as “(...) a natural tendency (...) to seek ways of bypassing the communicative barriers (...) by seeking compromise between (...) forms of speech” (Winford 2003: 2). The types of contact between languages are observed from different views. As language is fundamental to human activity, interactions between people and groups exert an impact on their languages leading to change, the development of new variants (**pidgins, creoles**), or even the death of a language. These are exemplary fields of analyses within the domain of contact linguistics.

Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is a broad and complex domain, one relatively young but fully independent in terms of its research perspective and implemented tools (Gumperz & Cook–Gumperz 2008: 532). Briefly speaking, sociolinguistics is focused on the social nature of language (*cf.* Wardhaugh & Fuller [1986] 2021: 3; Holmes & Wilson [1992] 2017: 1; Chruszczewski 2011b: 152; van Herk [2012] 2018: 2) and is defined through the prism of society as “(...) the study of language variation and the identification of features that systematically differ from other varieties” (Morgan 2004: 3). Hence, this domain is concentrated on diversified variants of language used at many levels of interactions among language users within a society. In general, there are two broad domains of sociolinguistics, namely macro–sociolinguistics (sociology of language) and micro–sociolinguistics. Whereas “(...) macro–sociolinguistics is concerned with the sociolinguistics of society (...), micro–sociolinguistics typically focuses on the sociolinguistics of language, the influence of social interaction on language use” (Nevalainen & Raumolin–Brunberg 2012: 30).

From its beginning, as outlined in Haver C. Currie’s work (1952), through its further development (Labov 1963), there have been many types of sociolinguistic studies conducted by

experts in the field. A significant variety of methods is employed to obtain research results and create sociolinguistic data (Meyerhoff 2006: 2). This diversity is possible due to various types of connections between language and the areas of social life. Among recent sociolinguistic concepts, special attention has been paid to certain social phenomena, including ethnicity, class, age, sex, voice quality, gender, as well as similar idiosyncratic features (*cf.* Morgan 2004: 10; Baugh 2011: 17). All of them are carefully analyzed in order to develop sociolinguistic knowledge.

Pragmatics

Yet another discipline which has developed within anthropological linguistics is pragmatics, namely a research field which is primarily focused on the direct situation of using language, types of a discourse manifested in the process of communication, describing discursive practices and emphasizing the phenomenon of anti-language (Chruszczewski 2016: 68). It is worth noting that this domain was first outlined by Charles William Morris (1901–1979), a scholar who coined this term to describe a relationship between signs and their interpreters (Stalmaszczyk 2014: 67). Lately, this new discipline has been greatly developed amongst others by Geoffrey Neil Leech (1936–2014), a linguist who defined pragmalinguistic knowledge as “(...) the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions” (Leech 1983: 11). This means that the concept discussed here includes various elements present in a particular language which are used by a speaker to select proper forms and strategies under particular circumstances and with an intention of being successful in communication. As a field of linguistic debate, pragmalinguistics is often contrasted with sociopragmatics which, in turn, is focused on more distant elements of context analysis, including the social distance between the participants of a given communicational event, the rules and norms in a particular society, as well as the discourse practices and behavior of the participants (Marmaridou 2011: 77). Both the above-mentioned fields are complementary within the concept of pragmatics and the main distinction between them is based on the fact that “[s]ociopragmatics relates to social rules, whereas pragmalinguistics covers the linguistic tools necessary to express speech intentions” (Roever 2013: 87). One of the new areas in which pragmatics has been recently developing is the field of foreign language acquisition. This rapid progress in pragmatics is fueled by a global trend to promote communication in foreign languages and is expected to increase in the foreseeable future (Rodriguez 2017: 2).

All of the disciplines analyzed here allow one to look at languages in use from a different point of view. This, in turn, illustrates not only the range but also the evolution of studies in anthropological linguistics. To complete the picture, and in order to obtain a more comprehensible image of the concept analyzed here, one more perspective is introduced, namely that based on the idea of paradigms.

1.3. The idea of paradigms in anthropological linguistics

One commonly used criterion to describe the field of anthropological linguistics refers to its paradigms. As has been observed in every branch of contemporary studies, the field under discussion here is dynamically developing and evolving from simple concepts into more complex conceptual structures. Moreover, anthropological linguistics is multidisciplinary in nature. In other words, the selected tools and scientific approach used in its research are based on achievements and methodology created by experts from many different fields including linguistics, cultural anthropology, ethnography and archeology (Chruszczewski 2011a: 52). Therefore, in order to better understand the specific, scientific perspective accepted by anthropological linguistics, it is necessary to define its paradigms, in particular, their impact on scholars and further research.

Over the course of time, people have been enriching their understanding of human nature and the surrounding environment. This process is scientifically analyzed within the frameworks of the **theory of knowledge** (Lemos 2007: ix). There are two key approaches used to describe the model in which human knowledge and cognition are established, namely cumulative and noncumulative (Vickers 2011: 372). The former broadly accepts the view that every single discovery and theory can extend the horizon of human knowledge while, at the same time, also being anchored in previously gained knowledge. This view accentuates that human understanding is possible due to a process which is continuous, literal and ahistorical (Walczak 2015: 70). Moreover, it means that the accumulation of knowledge is based on enriching and developing previously collected data and conducted analyses. In contrast, there is also the noncumulative approach which suggests that an increase in knowledge cannot be merely perceived as a slow, predictable and unidirectional process, but there is also knowledge which “(...) is not what can be measured and accepted as a fact” (Hvolbek 2019: 76). In this model, every change is viewed as an

intellectual revolution which is able to completely transform all previously held beliefs. These two above-mentioned approaches, namely either a slow and evolutionary progress or a rapid and revolutionary change, are the main frameworks used in academic debate.

One of the key elements of this debate is the concept of “paradigm” which was initially coined by Thomas Samuel Kuhn (1922–1996) (Orman 2016: 47). Originally borrowed from ancient Greek and translated into English as a “pattern” (Walczak 2015: 72), it has been strongly evolving through the centuries. The term discussed here suggests “(...) that some accepted examples of actual scientific practice – examples which include law, theory, application, and instrumentation together – provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research” (Kuhn [1962] 1970: 10). To put it in other words, a **paradigm** is based on a broad consensus regarding some fundamental rules and traditions within a particular scientific field. Hence, the main aim of a paradigm is to explain in order that this explanation may be used as the foundation of further studies (Bird 2012: 861). To sum up, a paradigm is defined as a reflection of beliefs and opinions, which are formulated by scholars in a given time and place, with an intention of explaining their vision of the world and analyzed matters (Kivunja & Kuyini 2017: 26).

In the approach under discussion here, it seems to be extremely important to indicate some essential elements of a paradigm, namely symbolically expressed generalizations that are commonly accepted within a given community, as well as a broad consensus regarding heuristic models, research values and metaphysically-centered assumptions (Boucher 2008: 34). In addition, as Csordas (1990: 5) observes: “[b]y paradigm I mean simply a consistent methodological perspective that encourages reanalysis of existing data and suggests new questions for empirical research.” The above-presented opinion indicates the most important features of a paradigm. To create a research paradigm, it is not enough to establish a scientific perspective which is both transparent and coherent, but is also necessary to re-examine gathered data and formulate a catalogue of new research questions. Moreover, referring to methodological perspective is not the only one consideration. In order to express the complex nature of a paradigm, it is also necessary to take into consideration, as listed by Kivunja & Kuyini (2017: 26–28), epistemology (*i.e.* how to verify the truth included in assumptions), ontology (*i.e.* what constitutes the essence of investigating matter), and axiology (*i.e.* moral judgment of the analyzed issues).

As in many other research fields, anthropological linguistics has developed some principles, namely a set of frameworks which are fundamental to understand and explain events and interactions which are observed between language, society and culture. This tendency to define paradigms in anthropological linguistics is expressed in the following passage:

[w]hereas the first paradigm, initiated by Boas, was mostly devoted to documentation, grammatical description, and classification (especially of North American indigenous languages) and focused on linguistic relativity, the second paradigm, developed in the 1960s, took advantage of new recording technology and new theoretical insights to examine language use in context, introducing new units of analysis such as the speech event. Although it was meant to be part of anthropology at large, it marked an intellectual separation from the rest of anthropology. The third paradigm, with its focus on identity formation, narrativity, and ideology, constitutes a new attempt to connect with the rest of anthropology by extending linguistic methods to the study of issues previously identified in other (sub)fields. Although each new paradigm has reduced the influence and appeal of the preceding one, all three paradigms persist today, and confrontation of their differences is in the best interest of the discipline. (Duranti 2003: 323)

The above-presented view distinguishes three main paradigms under which anthropological linguistics has developed from the birth of this discipline. Moreover, two significant tendencies are observed. Firstly, the scope of anthropological linguistics shows a tendency to have extended from some initial attempts, undertaken as a part of anthropological research, throughout studies on communication, which is much closer to linguistics and its subdomains, until more detailed contemporary studies focused on an analysis of anthropological issues based on linguistic methodology and tools. Secondly, each phase in the development of these paradigms means that the previous one was not sufficiently satisfactory in enhancing the complex meaning of anthropological linguistics and, as a consequence, a new view became dominant. In addition, current studies on language in its broad social and cultural perspective seem to have become more embedded in multileveled layers of linguistics than in the past. With the aim of providing a deeper insight into the key paradigms of anthropological linguistics, each of these is analyzed below.

The scientific field between anthropology and linguistics has been continuously developing for more than one hundred years. Shortly after the birth of anthropology as a separate discipline, a linguistic perspective was adopted and implemented in such research projects. This synthesis was

extremely fruitful and a large number of subfields soon emerged. Moreover, it is also worth mentioning that “Boas saw linguistics as a tool for cultural and historical analysis (...)” (Stanlaw *et al.* [1993] 2012: 23). Indeed, this was the beginning of the field linguistics, namely a discipline which combines anthropological and linguistic tools. Shortly afterwards, the intellectual debate initiated by the pioneers of studies in anthropology and linguistics led to a fundamental question regarding the mutual interconnections between language and culture. As a consequence, the linguistic relativity hypothesis was formulated as an attempt to explain and identify various connections between language and the vision of the world which is embedded in the human mind (Chruszczewski 2011b: 94).

Another shift was observed in works written by Dell Hymes and John Gumperz who declared that “[l]anguage must be studied within a social context or situation and go beyond the studies of grammar” (Stanlaw *et al.* [1993] 2012: 23). Even a sound knowledge of linguistic components including grammar, phonetics, phonology and morphology does not fully explain the uniqueness of language which is seen much more broadly than only as a tool of communication. The key idea developed by scholars focused on the second paradigm revolves around ethnography of communication. Indeed, the discussed term here “[f]or anthropologists and anthropologically-minded investigators from other disciplines (...) seems best to indicate the necessary scope, and to convey and encourage the fundamental contribution they best can make: studies ethnographic in basis, and of communication in the scope and kind of patterned complexity with which they deal” (Hymes 1964: 2). Hence, the second paradigm underpinned the view that language is a truly social and cultural phenomenon and, as such, has to be investigated within, not without the community in which it is used.

Over the course of time, a third paradigm in anthropological linguistics emerged. As the link between social processes and language was accentuated, another research perspective opened itself up to experts in the field. The fundamental change was observed in “(...) a shift away from looking at language forms to looking at the way language is involved in symbolic domination, identity construction, power relations, and other issues of ideology” (Stanlaw *et al.* [1993] 2012: 24). From the point of view of the third paradigm, language is perceived in its broad context, as an integrated element of social relations and a tool used to shape the position of individuals and groups within the social hierarchy.

Finally, the fourth paradigm is defined as a view focused on communication in a broad and interdisciplinary environment. Language is not a mere collection of rules which were developed in a given culture to assure effective communication, but rather is actively involved in organizing main domains of human life (Chruszczewski 2011b: 268). The evolution of studies in anthropology and linguistics shows how broad and multidisciplinary this domain is. As language penetrates into almost every sphere of human life, people use languages not only to communicate but also in order to see the world through the prism of the spoken word. This is the universal truth that there is a connection between language itself and the reasons behind its usage and this link is fundamentally important for recognizing and understanding numerous linguistic forms (Saville–Troike [1982] 2003: 3). Linguistic studies are, therefore, truly unique, as they allow one to understand human beings, their life, reactions, mental patterns, as well as their cultural and social environment.

1.3.1. The first paradigm of anthropological linguistics

The first paradigm, which is defined as being **focused on documentation** (Chruszczewski 2011b: 94), is connected with the process of recording tribal languages used by Native Americans. The most urgent task that first linguistic anthropologists had to face was to save and classify various types of languages and cultural patterns within groups of Native Americans in order to prevent their heritage from facing extinction, as well as to obtain a comprehensible system of American's native languages. One of the conclusions deduced from the task undertaken was that "(...) the Indians (...) differ in type as much among themselves as do the members of other races" (Boas 1911: 6). The methodology used was based on **participant observation**, which is a scientific approach borrowed from anthropological studies, the aim being to preserve languages used by Native Americans in their everyday communication. Hence, language was seen as a code used to transmit knowledge (Duranti 2009: 274). In other words, anthropological linguistics is able to go much further than a typical linguistic analysis, which is focused mainly on superficial structures within a given language and whose exemplary fields of interest include grammar, morphology and phonetics. In contrast, the first paradigm in anthropological linguistics indicates the fact that language plays a central role in the mutual interplay between linguistic, social and cultural factors, to mention just a few (Denham & Lobeck [2009] 2012: 350). Therefore, language is a perfect tool in order to analyze anthropological phenomena.

Further development in anthropological linguistics was marked by the continuators of the Boasian tradition, namely Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941). Their contribution to the discipline discussed here is basically viewed through the prism of the **hypothesis of linguistic relativity** which was, in turn, based on previous reflections expressed by two great German scholars, namely Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) (Penn 1972: 11). In particular, it is believed that Humboldt was the first to observe that there is a connection between how people speak and how they think, and this link is based on language they use (Wang 2017: 21). Hence, language allows one to see the world from one perspective while preventing one from perceiving other dimensions of reality.

Sapir and Whorf gave the hypothesis of linguistic relativity its solid shape, seeing language as a means used to identify, describe and express patterns of interpersonal relations. In particular, it was Whorf who observed that the impact of language on culture is asymmetrical and more significant than the similar impact exerted by culture on language (Chruszczewski 2011b: 101). As stated by Whorf ([1941] 1956: 252): “(...) every language is a vast pattern–system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness.” A similar view is expressed by Sapir ([1933] 2008: 504) when he states: “[i]f a man who has never seen more than a single elephant (...) speaks without the slightest hesitation of ten elephants or a million elephants or a herd of elephants or of elephants walking two by two or three by three or of generations of elephants, it is obvious that language has the power to analyze experience into theoretically dissociable elements and to create the world of the potential intergrading with the actual which enables human beings to transcend the immediately given in their individual experiences and to join in a larger common understanding.” Both the above–presented viewpoints express the outline of the hypothesis discussed here which places emphasis on the fact that language as a component of culture has the power to have an impact on how the participants of a given culture think and perceive the world (Denham & Lobeck [2009] 2012: 346). In particular, the impact of language on the processes of learning and memorizing has been successfully investigated in recent years (Boroditsky 2011: 65). In other words, language is used to describe the various connections in which human beings are embedded and is able to actively create an image of reality. This approach,

in particular its less radical version, is still vivid and influential. Language seems to unquestionably shape reality, including language users and their view of their cultural and social environment.

1.3.2. The second paradigm of anthropological linguistics

The development of Boasian ideas resulted in language being given a position of priority in anthropological studies. This tendency is seen in **the second paradigm** which is defined as **referring to cultural and linguistic proximity** (Chruszczewski 2011b: 117). This shift in paradigms was initiated thanks to studies conducted by Dell Hathaway Hymes (1927–2009) and John Joseph Gumperz (1922–2013). Both scholars significantly contributed to the development of anthropological linguistics by focusing on a new approach towards scientific research, namely the **ethnography of communication**. The main aims of the new approach are expressed in the following passage:

[i]n short, ‘ethnography of communication’ implies two characteristics (...). First, (...) it must call attention to the need (...) to investigate directly the use of language in contexts of situation so as to discern patterns (...) which escape separate studies of grammar, of personality, of religion, of kinship and the like (...). Secondly, such an approach (...) must take as context a community, investigating its communicative habits as a whole (...). (Hymes 1964: 2–3)

In brief, ethnography of communication is seen through the prism of two main dimensions. Firstly, the interdisciplinary character of the studies which is definitely much broader than only focusing on linguistic and communicative patterns. Secondly, the main point of analysis is centered around a community, a group of people who commonly employ language practices which are immersed into their own communicative, cultural and social patterns.

The above-mentioned statement is also expressed in an interrogative form in the following excerpt: “[t]he subject matter of the ethnography of communication is best illustrated by one of its most general questions: what does a speaker need to know to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community, and how does he or she learn to do so?” (Saville-Troike [1982] 2003: 2). There are three elements which must be taken into account whenever an attempt to describe ethnography of communication is made, namely linguistic knowledge, understanding interaction abilities and cultural knowledge (Chruszczewski 2011b: 158). Hence, a broad knowledge of the

social and cultural context in a given society is essential in order to communicate effectively while the second paradigm endeavors to provide language users with this necessary knowledge.

According to another observation within the approach being analyzed here: “[e]thnography of communication relates ethnography, the description and structural–functional analysis of society and culture, with the ‘language’ – a cultural behavior that navigates and helps to share knowledge, acts, moral, beliefs and everything acquired by man as a member of society” (Ray & Biswas 2011: 33). A similar view is also expressed in the following words: “[i]n the second paradigm, language is seen as too ambiguous as a concept and it is thus reconceptualized in terms of variety, registers, styles, or genres. Instead of working with individual speakers on their linguistic competence, linguistic anthropologists examine language use in specific activities or events” (Duranti 2009: 274). By way of drawing conclusion from both the views presented above, the second paradigm is focused on studies of language not through its theoretical and formal properties, but rather as an integrated element of interpersonal interactions within a given society. Language is, therefore, viewed as a phenomenon able to transmit both social and cultural patterns from one generation to another.

1.3.3. The third paradigm of anthropological linguistics

The third paradigm in anthropological linguistics is defined as a **transformational** paradigm (Chruszczewski 2011b: 151). There are at least two main approaches to the phenomenon studied here:

[i]n the third paradigm, language is a project, an achievement, a flux of indexical values (fed by memory and senses) that can be captured by (a) close attention to the moment–by–moment construction of messages and activities and (b) by socio–historical analysis that relies on concepts often borrowed from social theorists (...). Linguistic analyses tend to present speakers as complex human beings who use language in their daily struggle (...). (Duranti 2009: 274)

The above–mentioned viewpoint shows a further development within anthropological linguistics. The shift in the view on linguistic, social and cultural issues is mainly observed in a diversified methodological approach. Linguistic methods are used to analyze selected excerpts of speeches with an intention to reveal different layers of the message and their power to transform both

individuals and groups. This view seem to be reflected in the statement that “[l]inguistic knowledge entails understanding many different beautiful systems of logical analysis” (Whorf [1941] 1956: 264). By deeper understanding of the linguistic layers of an analyzed text, it is also possible to interpret various phenomena derived from social and cultural studies.

It is safe to state that language penetrates into almost every human activity. This is due to the fact that speaking is essential for every human community (Foley 1997: 24). This observation also leads to a conclusion that by language analysis, in particular by implementation of the linguistic tools and methods, researchers are able to describe and uncover the message encoded in a text which is beyond words. In addition, it is worth noting that such a deep analysis is also both universal and interdisciplinary. Proponents of linguistic studies encompassing the third paradigm refer their research to a broad range of theories derived from the domain of social science. The main stimulus of this type of studies lies in the assumption that “(...) there are dimensions of speaking that can only be captured by studying what people actually *do* with language, by matching words, silences, and gestures with the context in which those signs are produced” (Duranti 1997: 9). Hence, language is similar to an open gate which leads to the speaker’s world. By proper interpretation, a researcher is able to reveal much more than merely spoken words. To sum up, the third paradigm combines linguistic methodology with social sciences in order to understand not only mere words but basically to reveal the transformations which are caused by them. Although these words may refer to the social position of the users, along with the ideologies and beliefs embedded in a given community, their main aim is to transform both an individual and society, even though this aim is not expressed directly in the text.

1.3.4. The fourth paradigm of anthropological linguistics

Another paradigm in anthropological linguistics is described as **communicational–discursive** (Chruszczewski 2011b: 199). The term is used in reference to both the concept of communication and the phenomenon of discourse which is perceived as a fundamental element in the characteristics of a speech community. It is worth noting that whereas the first, second, as well as third paradigm were introduced to linguistic studies by Duranti, the fourth was added by Chruszczewski (Kudła & Knapik 2019: 150). One of the key terms used in the fourth paradigm is the notion of **communicational grammar of discourse**. The term discussed here consists of three

elements. Firstly, grammar “(...) teaches us *how to make use of words*; that is to say, it teaches us how to make use of them in a proper manner (...)” (Cobbett [1818] 1983: 33). This means that grammar is a set of established instructions in order to organize the structure of language (Chruszczewski 2011b: 202). Secondly, communication is defined as “(...) intersubjective, purposive interaction by means of doubly articulated human language based on symbols” (Rosengren [2000] 2006: 38). Such a view points towards communication as an intentional and mutually conscious activity which is conducted with, and aims to express human thoughts using both signs and verbal symbols. Thirdly, the notion of discourse is briefly expressed by Duszak (1998: 7) as a text and context. In other words, the term discussed here is used to “(...) underscore that language use, or language practice, has cultural and ideological implications and is related to power structures” (Risager 2020: 625). To conclude, the notion of communicational grammar of discourse refers to a collection of reactions, both verbal and non-verbal, which occur in particular situations and within given institutions in which they are present and embedded (Chruszczewski 2011b: 204).

It is interesting to compare the third and the fourth paradigms, as the difference between them seems to be both subtle and important. Whereas the third paradigm is transformational, *i.e.* the main aim of the conducted analyses is to show how a given language used in its context impacts on reality and both individual and social transformations (Duranti 2009: 274), the fourth paradigm is undeniably less focused on transformation, while being primarily concentrated on the processes of communication within a society (Chruszczewski 2011b: 199). Therefore, in the third paradigm full attention is given to phenomena which reflect changes, including identity, formation, narrativity and ideology (Duranti 2003: 323). In contrast, in the fourth paradigm the key place is taken by communication with its pivotal elements being primarily described and scrutinized.

To conclude, considering the range of all the paradigms described here, the fourth paradigm in anthropological linguistics seems to be the most important from the point of view of this dissertation. As the aim of this study is to conduct an analysis regarding rhetorical strategies chosen by ten public speakers and to reveal their attempt to shape the context in which every speech was delivered, this is entirely consistent with the domain of the fourth paradigm which is focused on a study of the communication and discursive practices preferred by speakers. While the results of this methodological decision are seen in the third chapter of this dissertation, in the following

subsections two further terms, both of which are extremely vital for this study, are analyzed, namely the concepts of trauma and heroism.

1.4. The evolution of the concept of trauma

The word “trauma” is extremely ambiguous and is used in various disciplines. This is due to the fact that language is always reconstructed in the minds of its users and every attempt to give only a single definition of a given word is doomed to failure (Keiser 1967: 781). This observation indicates that in the process of meaning-making there are two contradictory factors. On the one hand, the interpretation of a word changes in time and space, while on the other hand, there are constant efforts to enhance a stable and precise meaning. Similar regularity is also observed in the case of the term under discussion here which is used in several ways with the precise understanding of its connotations having evolved over time.

Originally introduced to European languages from ancient Greek, more precisely from the verb *diatitreno* which means “to penetrate” (Soutis 2006: 1302), the notion of trauma was primarily used in medicine to describe both a physical wound and a psychological injury, the latter of which is defined as a state of great shock and excitation (Dass–Brailsford 2007: 3). In this first, technical meaning, the term is strongly interrelated with the definition of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) which evolved from description of a mental state typical of war veterans to an umbrella term which includes a broad range of contemporary experienced traumas (Breslau *et al.* 1998: 626). In addition, there are many further interdisciplinary studies in trauma which are being conducted including sociological, psychological and linguistic perspectives. This tendency has led to increasing popularity of the term in contemporary public discourse.

In modern era, the term “trauma” gained popularity in the 1870s as a result of studies conducted by the French neurobiologist Jean–Martin Charcot (1825–1893) and his followers, namely Pierre Marie Félix Janet (1859–1947) and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), who transferred an ancient term to modern discourse (Dass–Brailsford 2007: 3). In particular, the latter is considered to be a pioneer in the studies on the complex nature of trauma which were extremely influential in the twentieth century (Caruth 1996: 29). As a consequence, the term under discussion here was intensely exploited in the public domain, in particular after the First World War, when the expression “shell shock” gained popularity as a term used to describe traumatic experiences of

war veterans (Gruszczyk 2017: 90). Furthermore, the Jewish *Shoah* during the Second World War further popularized the term, coining the phrase “Holocaust trauma” (Kellermann 2009: 1). Finally, the contemporary meaning of trauma is inextricably connected with the 1970s and both the experience of the Vietnam War (1954–1975) and the birth of the Women’s Liberation Movement and, in particular, its opposition to violence directed against women (Dass–Brailsford 2007: 4). This brief outline proves that the word “trauma” has been differently interpreted in various periods while, at the same time, containing a universal core which is a description of the deepest human feelings and emotions.

1.4.1. On the notion of trauma

Multiple contexts in which the word “trauma” occurs indicate that there is not only one commonly accepted definition of the term. As Keiser (1967: 781) has observed: “(...) the problem is compounded, since words frequently have both a popular and technical meaning. A new use of a word may reflect a shift towards technical precision or the very opposite.” There is no difference in the case analyzed here. Traumatic experiences are seen from many points of view and, consequently, many different definitions and interpretations of the term have been coined. Although used in a large number of discourses, and therefore difficult to be defined, the dominant meaning of the term is beautifully explained in the following words:

[w]e describe as ‘traumatic’ any excitations from outside which are powerful enough to break through the protective shield. It seems to me that the concept of trauma necessarily implies a connection of this kind with a breach in an otherwise efficacious barrier against stimuli. Such an event as an external trauma is bound to provoke a disturbance on a large scale in the functioning of the organism’s energy and to set in motion every possible defensive measure. (Freud [1920] 2015: 23)

The above–presented passage points towards a **psychological definition of trauma**, namely an intensive, dynamic process, exerting an impact on the whole body. Moreover, according to Gruszczyk (2017: 73) and her interpretation of the theory of Jonathan Shay, trauma is a destructive force able to infiltrate and devastate *thémis*, namely a system of human values and inner harmony. Similarly, Caruth (1996: 30) states that trauma is caused by a disturbance between what is inside

and outside of a person. All the above-mentioned observations place emphasis on the fact that trauma is a form of transgression, a devastating force which is able to penetrate and destroy the internal structure of both individuals and groups. This external stimulus is powerful enough to reach the deepest layers of human consciousness and, at the same time, is also able to cause serious problems in medical, psychological and sociological terms.

A **sociological definition of trauma** is different from a similar term, namely **anomie**, which was coined by Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) in order to describe a state of normlessness, namely a situation in which social life fluctuates dynamically and traditional norms and rules seem to be practically meaningless to people (Franzese 2009: 34). The difference between both above-mentioned terms is explained by Gruszczyk (2017: 72), who observes that whereas trauma is defined as an external force of a unique character, anomie is seen as an internal disturbance of a permanent character.

Better understanding of the phenomenon of trauma is possible due to a multidisciplinary approach, as well as thanks to tools offered by linguistics, in particular, through “(...) the attempt to gain access to a traumatic history (...) listening beyond pathology of individual suffering, to the reality of a history that its crisis can only be perceived in its unassimilable forms” (Caruth 1995: 156). Selected tools based on the linguistic analysis of words spoken under particular circumstances can significantly broaden one’s understanding of the term. The linguistic structure of traumatic experiences is heterogeneous and often based on both linguistic and paralinguistic devices. This, in turn, requires in-depth analysis due to the complexity of the whole construct (Matei 2013: 521). In other words, it is also possible to distinguish a **linguistic definition of trauma**. Trauma is transmitted, in this view, in an integrally organized utterance which is analyzed using linguistic tools and, as a consequence, the inner layers of the message beyond its literal meaning are revealed. This observation is neatly encapsulated in the view that traumatic recollections, while being accurate and precise when stored in one’s memory, are largely beyond one’s consciousness and cannot be recalled and controlled (Caruth 1995: 151). This, in turn, opens the way to further meta-interpretations of trauma, including its immersion in a broad social and cultural context.

One more interesting observation which refers to the term under discussion here is connected with the concept of **vicarious trauma** which is defined as: “(...) indirect exposure to a traumatic event [which] can result in both transference of psychological distress and changes to memory systems, including prior views of self and the world” (McCormack *et al.* 2011: 274). In

other words, the constant presence of a person affected by a serious traumatic experience is a trigger to transfer traumatic experiences onto another person only by contact, excluding direct exposure to the traumatic stimuli. Furthermore, traumas can be transmitted from one generation to another, a process which is described as **multigenerational trauma** (Dass–Brailsford 2007: 5). This is one of the most interesting properties of trauma, namely the fact that the negative impact of traumatic experiences is maintained not only at the time when it occurs, but also afterwards (by way of anticipation and reconstruction), even as a result of an imagined event which never occurred (Pedović & Hedrih 2019: 28). In addition, elements which are highly constituent for society, including gender, age, social class and level of education (Matei 2013: 521), can significantly impact the perception of traumatic event in a particular case.

1.4.2. On collective trauma

The complex nature of trauma is similar to a piece with no match which does not fit the mold of human nature. A painful memory of devastating events has a tendency to return as a flashback and is not only limited to an unbearable experience, often mitigated by repression or amnesia, but also is partially rejected by one's consciousness (Caruth 1995: 152). Thus, trauma is a heavy burden and, as a consequence, destroys and deprives human *élan vital* due to its constant presence between consciousness and unconsciousness (O'Shea Brown 2021: 13). There is, in addition, another level of traumatic experiences, namely **collective trauma**. One of the definitions developed to explain this phenomenon states: “[a]n inevitable consequence of natural and human–caused disaster is what we refer to as ‘collective trauma,’ the shared injuries to a population’s social, cultural, and physical ecologies” (Saul 2014: 1). Collective trauma is seen as a large scale disaster. Individual trauma is a terrible experience for a single person whereas collective trauma affects the whole group. Moreover, the disastrous and traumatic consequences aim at devastating the fabric of a community, breaching in particular social, cultural or physical bonds within the affected group.

In addition, there are further differences between both types of the phenomena analyzed here. Collective trauma is believed to be transmitted through different channels and is connected with certain changes in collective identity, as well as the reconstruction of collective memory (Eyerman 2001: 1). The presented process is different from individual experiences due to the fact that collective trauma takes root in the awareness of its victims in a slow and concealed process

and, therefore, is different from its individual type (Erikson 1976: 154). Particular stages of this process include, according to Gruszczyk (2017: 86), horizontal diffusion (expansion onto family and friends), group identity (identification with a particular group), as well as further expansion towards other social groups and alienation (trauma as an element of collective identity). Although the process is long, the devastating consequences of collective trauma are similar to those an individual faces, including the fact that community is deprived of effectiveness as a source of support and has lost a vital part of the self (Erikson 1976: 154). Therefore, the feelings of regret and depression are identical in both the above-mentioned forms.

In an attempt to characterize the concept of collective trauma, which is embedded in the social or cultural experience of a given society, another observation is worth mentioning. The devastating results are not necessarily connected with historical truth and individual suffering. As Alexander (2012: 4) has aptly concluded: “[t]he truth of a cultural script depends not on its empirical accuracy, but on its symbolic power and enactment. Yet, while the trauma process is not rational, it is intentional. It is people who make traumatic meanings, in circumstances they have not themselves created and which they do not fully comprehend.” Hence, the symbolic domain of human activity plays its own role in creating collective traumas, in which there is not much space for rational justification to explain why some events are viewed as traumatic as the selected criteria responsible for evaluation are usually intangible and beyond the control of the participants, either due to the fact that they occur irrespectively of the will of the people involved in the process of trauma formation or as a consequence of the fact that they are not fully realized. Last but not least, knowledge concerning devastating events is usually transmitted to the public by “affected groups” using a broad range of tools, in particular different types of mass media (Eyerman 2001: 3).

To conclude, the phenomenon under discussion here shows a number of different characteristics while considering it in relation to an individual person. The whole community is prone to collective traumas which are, in many instances, different from a devastating experience of an individual character. Trauma at a social level develops not so much rapidly and directly, but slowly, and penetrates into the social fabric over time, in a step-by-step infiltrating process. The channels of absorption are usually not based on a first-hand experience. Furthermore, collective trauma is delivered through mass media including the Internet, television, radio and press. Another interesting property of the analyzed term is the fact that it is developed on the basis of statements which are proclaimed and promoted usually by politicians and opinion leaders. Although the link

with reality is not essential and sometimes it cannot be determined, it is still possible. Finally, collective trauma is focused on a symbolic power which may be expressed by the use of language in its particular, social or cultural context. Therefore, such a phenomenon is a perfect subject for a linguistically-centered analysis within the domain of anthropological linguistics.

People affected by trauma are treated using a broad range of therapeutic means including psychotherapy, pharmacotherapy, as well as support received from their family and relatives. A whole community can also collectively recover from traumatic experiences. There are many possible procedures in order to restore well-being at the level of a group including external practitioners and internal collaborators (Saul 2014: 2). Furthermore, the above-presented channels of healing collective traumas are supported by a series of social practices in which language plays a pivotal role. The process of communication may be used to overcome the crisis by a flexible reaction regarding particular circumstances which arise in a given time and place, as well as by developing a steady and supportive vision of recovery. In both cases, it is necessary to remember that healing collective traumas is, similarly to individual cases, a time-consuming and bumpy process.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a view which extends beyond Sigmund Freud's definition of the phenomenon analyzed here (Freud [1920] 2015: 23) by saying that collective trauma is seen as a destructive force which strikes the whole of social life, devastates the bonds that exist between people in their environment and, consequently, cause an imbalances in one's sense of community (Erikson 1976: 153). In other words, apart from all the above-presented differences between individual and collective traumas, the devastating and destructive results of this phenomenon are equally detrimental for both a single person and society as a whole (Hirschberger & Ein-Dor 2020: 110–111). Therefore, further studies are expected to help significantly in dealing with the serious problems with which contemporary societies are confronted.

1.4.3. Selected types of trauma

The typology of trauma is a matter of a vigorous academic debate. There are various opinions amongst scholars which are also reflected in a non-unified terminology. Some of them are presented in this subsection. In general, however, there are two main types of trauma, namely, psychological and cultural. The mutual interrelationship between them is explained by Eyerman

(2004: 61) as one based on differences in the number of affected individuals. Whereas **psychological trauma** refers to great pain which is experienced by a single person, the notion of cultural trauma is used to describe a lack of integrity and unity within a society. A similar view is expressed by Pedović & Hedrih (2019: 28) in the following observation: “[u]nlike psychological or physical trauma, which necessarily include an injury and experience of great emotional pain suffered by the individual, cultural trauma refers to a dramatic loss of identity and social structure (...).” Although both the scale and the range of these types of trauma are different, what they have in common is a feeling of unbearable pain and suffering. Furthermore, the most visible consequence of psychological trauma is a state diagnosed as PTSD. Interestingly, in psychotherapy there are two separate groups of individuals who suffer from the above-mentioned disturbance, namely, either patients with a simple PTSD, who were exposed on a single traumatic event, or patients with its complex form in which the traumatic stressor was of a chronic character (Hunt 2010: 9).

There are many definitions of **cultural trauma**. According to one of these the term refers to a situation: “[w]hen members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (Alexander 2012: 1). A similar view is expressed by Sztompka (2000: 449) who links collective experiences of a society with uncontrolled and rapid changes. Furthermore, Smelser (2004: 38) defines the term as “[a]n invasive and overwhelming event that is believed to undermine or overwhelm one of several essential ingredients of a culture or the culture as a whole.” According to Aarelaid-Tart (2006: 45–46) cultural trauma is a type of “(...) a distinct discourse during long symbolical arguments, dialogues between different groups of eyewitnesses, but also through statements from post-traumatic power-holders.” The broad range of traumatic effects shows that not only some spheres of human life are vulnerable to dramatic changes but also the whole domain of culture is not immune to protecting itself against reinterpretation through the prism of traumatic experiences of particular groups.

In addition, there are two domains that are frequently indicated in definitions of the term under discussion here. As has been stated by Alexander (2012: 1): “(...) cultural trauma is first of all an empirical, scientific concept, suggesting new meaningful and causal relationships between previously unrelated events, structures, perceptions, and actions. But this new scientific concept

also illuminates an emerging domain of social responsibility and political action.” A similar view is expressed by Kleber *et al.* (1995: 6–7) who analyzes the roots of the situation of abuse in society and identifies both societal and political factors. These opinions indicate two domains of human activity which create two separated fields of trauma, namely social trauma and political trauma. To put it briefly, the scope of **social trauma** not only refers to traumatic experiences of a society, but is also created by a society itself (Alexander 2004: 2). Moreover, social trauma can impact on both society and individuals (Pedović & Hedrih 2019: 36) and is studied using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Igreja & Baines 2019: 252). Furthermore, **political trauma** is defined as “(...) the psychosocial destruction of the individual and/or the social and political structures of a society (...). Political trauma is understood as a product of gross human right violations and of State violence against individuals or groups” (Donoso 2018: 420–421). This definition shows that political trauma refers to traumatic experiences which are caused by political activities, in particular those which are focused on repression and violence directed against citizens. Similarly, this type of trauma is generated within a society and affects both groups and individuals. In general, the difference between both above-mentioned types of trauma is often difficult to distinguish and depends on the author’s methodology.

There are two further types of trauma which are often identified and labeled regarding traumatic events, namely, the devastating experience of war and economic difficulties. On the one hand, **war trauma** is defined broadly as being “(...) concerned with the responses of people to their war experiences” (Hunt 2010: 8). There are many factors responsible for this type of trauma which are, briefly speaking, included into four groups, namely biological, psychological, cultural and social (Gruszczuk 2017: 62). The former two refer basically to an individual experience in a conflict zone whereas the latter two refer to more general background experienced by particular groups within society, or even a society as a whole. On the other hand, **economic trauma** is caused by “(...) a threat of foreign invasion, a collapse of the economic system, a technological catastrophe, or the emergence of rancorous conflicts over values, practices, and priorities” (Neal 1998: 5) which include a broad range of difficulties caused by unexpected accidents and events which, in turn, are responsible for poverty and a great loss to people, their families, countries, as well as society as a whole (Schlueter 1970: 915). One of the typical references to this type of trauma is the American experience of the Great Depression which showed that the individual’s efforts, while being enormous and remarkable, were not sufficient in order to make the American dream

come true (Neal 1998: 57). In this sense, economic trauma became a tough confrontation with the myth of America as a land of unlimited opportunities and permanent progress. Both the above-discussed types of trauma affect individuals and groups equally.

1.5. The evolution of the concept of heroism

The origin of the concept of heroism is seen in ancient Sumerian literature, in particular in *The Epic of Gilgamesh* which dates back to 2100 BC (Kraft–Todd & Rand 2019: 6). Etymologically speaking, the term under discussion here is derived from the Greek word “hero” which stands for a “warrior,” “protector,” “defender” (Stenstrom & Curtis 2012: 1085). Interestingly, heroism in Homeric Greece was viewed as a universal concept and was equally prescribed to both sides of the Trojan War, namely the Trojans and the Greeks (Richardson 1996: 14). In fact, respect and admiration for great individuals were widespread not only in antiquity but also in subsequent eras, and these feelings were shared among different human communities around the world. This approach has also been present in views expressed by famous scholars throughout the centuries, a selection of which is collected below. The typology of views is based on the influence of the author on later researchers.

Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) in his *opus vitae* entitled *Principi di una scienza nuova intorno alla natura delle nazioni* is believed to have coined the word “heroic” (Vico [1725] 1961: 214). His concept was derived from ancient etymology which viewed a close interrelationship between extraordinary people, growing admiration for them (*eros*) and their ability to influence ordinary people (*rhetoric*) (Bayer 2008: 1133). This triad indicates a link between the place of great individuals in collective memory, rhetorical strategies used by public speakers to promote great deeds and, simultaneously, their intention to disseminate desirable views and attitudes throughout society. According to the thesis presented by Vico (Verene 2009: 161), the path of education is viewed as a source of heroic inspiration. More generally, this means that, in the process of enculturation, selected heroes/heroines from the past are often presented as a model of social attitudes which are expected to be reproduced. Moreover, in the Age of Enlightenment, the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) referred to the characteristics of the ancient heroes/heroines and their extraordinary impact. In particular, this author outlined how physical strength and supernatural wisdom, which were demonstrated by great individuals, are extremely

appealing to ordinary people (Rousseau [1782] 2002: 15). As a result, human communities admire heroes/heroines and guard the memory of their deeds.

More contemporary analysis of the notions of heroism is displayed in a book written by Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (Carlyle [1841] 2013). This author's view of history seems to be completely determined by the impact of great individuals and their achievements. This is illustrated by the fact that for the author under discussion here the whole of history is a series of events caused and inspired by them. Great individuals are not only leaders, but also architects of social and cultural institutions. Therefore, their fundamental role and achievements in history are depicted using the metaphor of light.

The above-mentioned perspective seems to correspond with Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche's (1844–1900) statement: “[a]nd that is the great noon, where human beings stand at the midpoint of their course between animal and overman and celebrate their way to evening as their highest hope: for it is a way to a new morning” (Nietzsche [1883–1885] 2006: 59). This view indicates a secret human desire for admiration and passionate anticipation of an individual who can take the place of God. Great people (*Übermenschen*) are viewed in Nietzsche's thought as an integral part of ancient Greek society together with ordinary people (*Untermenschen*) and lower classes (*Nebemmenschen*) (Fortich 2010: 76). Moreover, even the image of the Olympians Gods is based on criteria referring to great people (Huddleston 2019: 14).

In addition, the work of Joseph Campbell (1904–1987) *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Campbell [1949] 2004) refers to the idea of great people and their extraordinary deeds. A courageous individual is characterized as “(...) the man or woman who has been able to battle past his personal and local historical limitations to the generally valid, normally human forms” (Campbell [1949] 2004: 18). Greatness is, thus, connected with a form of sacrifice. In other words, heroes and heroines are expected to abandon ordinary life and devote their powers and spirit for the good of the community they belong to, even if it goes against human instinct.

All the views presented above describe the typical features and evolution of the concepts which is extremely attractive even in the contemporary world (Korte & Falkenhayner 2021: 2). Heroism is seen in connection with admiration towards individuals who have epitomized this idea, as well as their impact on society being accentuated. Brave people are usually perceived as being able to arouse fascination, as well as evoke positive feelings. In addition, such people are also unforgettable leaders (Allison & Goethals 2020: 95). This means that they can impose their will

aimed at shaping social order, determining the paths of progress and, consequently, taking a seat usually reserved only for God. Finally, heroism is expressed in a heroic manner, *i.e.* it requires heroic individuals to devote themselves to and suffer for the sake of the community. This accumulation of positive view indicates the fact that people truly search for heroic individuals, while the memory of great heroic deeds is recalled and preserved from generation to generation.

1.5.1. On the notion of heroism

There is a set of characteristic features which are usually indicated in an attempt to form a **psychological definition of heroism**. As Stenstrom and Curtis (2012: 1085) have observed: “(...) a heroic act is typically associated with some degree of danger or a martial act in performing the prosocial behavior to help others in need. However, in modern use a hero has evolved beyond physical and dangerous acts to include a wider variety of positive action (...).” This viewpoint confirms the evolution of the view of heroic deeds, which are not only mere examples of bravery, but also contain a very complex mosaic of reactions which, in turn, are commonly interpreted as “being of a hero/heroine.” This shows that an initially narrowly defined concept evolved and became both more general and broader in its meaning.

One more possible attempt to explain the psychological concept of heroism is in describing some typical features of heroes and heroines. This approach allows one both to better understand and precisely determine the constituent elements of this phenomenon. According to the results of a survey conducted by a group of scholars (Green *et al.* 2017: 508), it is stated that heroism manifests itself in eight features, which are important markers of human nature, namely intelligence, strength, selflessness, care, charisma, resilience, reliability and the ability to inspire. Although this catalogue is undeniably open, it allows one to gain insight into the set of constituent elements within the concept under discussion here. In addition, further components have been added by experts in the field, including creativity (Carlyle [1841] 2013: 21), support (Campbell [1949] 2004: 257) and leadership (Wansink *et al.* 2008: 547).

Yet another view states: “[c]urrently accepted concepts of heroism emphasize primarily its physical risk without adequately addressing other components of heroic acts, such as nobility of purpose and non-violent acts of personal sacrifice” (Zimbardo 2008: 461). The above-presented statement adds several new elements. First of all, it is expressed that the factor of risk seems to be

dominant in contemporary studies regarding heroism. Secondly, a perspective focused solely on risk does not include all aspects of the issue being analyzed here, in particular, those connected with the intentions of a brave individual and unveiled forces hidden in one's mind which are not directly expressed. Finally, there are also acts of sacrifice which are not based on confrontation. Paradoxically, heroism is sometimes expressed in a peaceful and non-violent manner.

It is also interesting to analyze the distinction between courage and heroism. In many instances both terms are similar, the former having been briefly defined as an ability to carry on despite fears (Treasurer 2008: 49). A more complex observation states that “[m]ost well-known examples of heroism have emphasized acts of courage that involved bravery, gallantry, and risk of serious physical injury or death (...) the combination of courage and nobility of purpose is more likely to result in someone being considered a hero than just courage alone” (Zimbardo 2008: 461). According to the above view, heroism is different from courage. The former consist of at least two elements, namely nobility of purpose and courage. To become heroic it is not enough to show great courage, it is necessary to prove some sort of nobility which is typically connected with a system of values prescribed to a particular society.

Searching for a **sociological definition of heroism**, it is worth mentioning another view that “[h]eroism represents the ideal of citizens transforming civic virtue into the highest form of civic action, accepting either physical peril or social sacrifice” (Franco *et al.* 2011: 99). In other words, this vision of heroism is based on the fact that real values entail doing great deeds. In being a great individual, however, it is not enough to act bravely, but also such a person must display a flawless character and absolute honesty. Furthermore, acting bravely requires an acceptance of danger which means that both physical and social costs must be taken into consideration. Another view is expressed in the words: “[o]ne commonality among the various definitions (...) appears to be the concept of risk to the hero, even if that risk involves serious physical consequences or loss of life” (Stenstrom & Curtis 2012: 1085). Similarly, this view clearly points to the fact that heroism has its price, namely while acting in a heroic manner, people should also accept either the risk of failure or the dramatic results which may lead even to death. Such a price is calculated as a cost of the unique social status which is given to a heroic individual in society.

Selected features of a **linguistic definition of heroism** are described by Annas (2016: 1–2) who observes that heroism is permanently embedded in ordinary discourse; it is omnipresent in society beginning with children's fairy-tales, lessons of history, as well as numerous examples

communicated by the media. In other words, the concept of heroism is expressed through integrally organized utterances which indicate particular examples of heroism. In the end, however, the accepted and commonly known catalogue of heroic deeds is under constant reconstruction and every generation interprets it in a new manner. This, in turn, shows that heroic archetypes are viewed as central and universal figures for human nature regardless of a particular culture and human community (Stenstrom & Curtis 2012: 1085). An interesting observation has been made by Zimbardo (2008: 461) who distinguishes between old and modern definitions of heroism. On the one hand, in the past there was only a limited number of words which were used in the context of heroism. On the other hand, modern lexicons are focused on a broad range of powerful words which have great impact on the participants of a communicational event. This reflects two processes which have been observed in recent years, namely, a tendency to define the elements of lexicon accurately and give them a precise meaning, as well as an attempt to systematically investigate semiotic domains. Unquestionably, however, a great deal of effort is needed to develop our state of knowledge regarding these issues.

To conclude, heroism is a complex and multidisciplinary issue. All the above-presented views, however, are centered around some common elements which seem to be an inseparable part of the concept being analyzed here. While great deeds bring great glory, the possible price to be paid is also extremely high. A heroic individual must accept the risk and be ready to incur the costs. In some cases a brave deed may lead to a death, serious injury, as well as strong emotional and psychological loss. Therefore, a view which seems to be conclusive for the definition of heroism states that “[f]irst, heroism involves taking one or more actions that are deemed to be morally good, or that are directed toward serving a noble principle or the greater good. Second, these good actions must be exceptional, not minor or ordinary. Third, heroism involves making a significant sacrifice. Fourth, heroism involves taking a great risk” (Allison *et al.* 2017: 5). This definition means that each and every case of heroic activity should be analyzed carefully and that all given circumstances should be considered in order to reveal the particular context in which an act of heroism is viewed. In the following section, more space is devoted to the typology of heroic individuals.

1.5.2. Selected types of heroic individuals

There are many positions from which the vision of a heroic individual is analyzed including psychological, sociological and cultural viewpoints. Interestingly, the elements of this typology, in many cases, mutually overlap and any attempt to investigate the image of a heroic individual requires a multidisciplinary approach. One perspective states that studies in heroism are seen as a domain which is strongly connected with studies concerning the human personality (Franco *et al.* 2011: 99). This **psychological view** shows a link between a **heroic individual and ego**. The latter is a term derived from psychodynamic psychotherapy and is used to describe a process of gaining full independence and separation in two phases: firstly, from the family home; and, secondly, from the homogenous mass of a community (Vogler [1998] 2007: 29). This process reflects the human desire to become a fully autonomous creature. To put it in other words, heroic deeds are seen as a tool in order to gain a desirable total separation.

An interesting observation regarding the types of heroic individuals is made by Wansink *et al.* (2008: 549) who distinguish two main types of heroic soldier on the basis of their traits of character, namely **the eager hero(ine)** and **the reluctant hero(ine)**. In other words, the psychological predispositions of an individual and the matrix of character traits are the key points in order to determine which type of heroism is displayed by a particular person. The eager hero(ine) typically shows self-discipline, resourcefulness, self-awareness, adventurousness, flexibility, as well as an openness to risk-taking. On the contrary, the reluctant hero(ine) is a team player who establishes close interpersonal relationships. Moreover, such a person is sociable, respectful to authority, as well as certainly less self-centered and self-confident. What is common for these both heroic types is the potential to be a great individual, namely a person who displays pro-social behavior and is the focus of public admiration. However, the eager hero(ine) seems to be more independent in actions, while the reluctant hero(ine) is more society-dependent. In line with the latter statement, there is a view expressed by Campbell ([1949] 2004: 354) that "(...) the individual is necessarily only a fraction and distortion of the total image of man." Therefore, the concept of reluctant hero(ine), who is strongly society-dependent, seems to demythologize, at least partially, the position taken by a heroic individual who is viewed here as being more mundane. This standpoint, apart from being deeply embedded into psychological perspective, is clearly connected with a **sociological view**, namely a position focused on a society seen as a complex system which is the main field of interactions between people.

One of the typologies, which is also seen within the above-mentioned sociological frameworks, is expressed in **the “exclusive” and “inclusive” types of heroic individuals** (Zimbardo *et al.* 2013: 221–224). This view assumes that the key role in political systems is played by heroic leaders who are able to dominate society. The “exclusive” vision consists of three elements, namely: (1) an improvement in the social position of a heroic leader which is caused by progress in the development of modern technology and a personal approach to politics; (2) an overriding need for heroes/heroines in contemporary societies; and, finally, (3) a state of democracy deficit, which is observed in many countries. This catalogue of elements points towards the dominant position of a leader. Simultaneously, the social position of particular groups within society is viewed as less and less important.

In contrast to the above-mentioned model, the “inclusive” vision of heroism is open to every individual as it assumes that every person can be a hero/heroine in everyday life. Hence, being a heroic individual is seen from a micro perspective *i.e.* people are able to show their heroism in common situations. This is an approach which is intended to demythologize the spectacular image of heroic individuals and replace it with another, namely an image of “local” heroes/heroines who show a heroic approach in their daily routine. Furthermore, although both “exclusive” and “inclusive” visions of heroism are present in various countries, the former seems to be more typical for authoritarian regimes and dictatorships, whereas the latter is more deeply embedded in democratic regimes.

Finally, **from the cultural point of view**, heroic individuals and their deeds are seen as an unlimited source of inspiration for artists, thinkers and people of the pen (Campbell [1949] 2004: 257). There are multiple examples of heroic individuals present in culture, with some of them being illustrated below. The first distinction is based on a contrast between **the hero(ine) and the anti-hero(ine)** (Vogler [1998] 2007: 34–35). Whereas the hero(ine) is reputable due to the fact of being a decent member of community, the anti-hero(ine), despite living on the fringes of society, also wins public acclaim. The latter type of hero(ine), which is based on opposition to a Romantic vision of heroism, was commonly present in the culture of the 1960s, particularly in the literature, theatre and cinematography of that time (Simmons 2008: 6). By providing extra information and skillfully creating atmosphere, the audience knows more about the advantages and disadvantages of the anti-hero(ine) and shows sympathy towards such an individual.

Another type of heroic individuals is determined by the level of their openness, seen in **group-oriented heroes/heroines and loner heroes/heroines** (Vogler [1998] 2007: 35–36). The key difference is based on the interaction between individuals under discussion here and their social background. While the group-oriented hero(ine) is eager to have many close interactions with others, the loner hero(ine) is usually isolated, wary and alone. The latter type of a hero(ine) was intensely popularized in America after the Second World War, in particular by writers of the Beat Generation (Simmons 2008: 15). One more distinguished type of heroic individual is termed **the catalyst hero(ine)**. These characters “(...) can act heroically, but (...) do not change much themselves because their main function is to bring about transformation in others” (Vogler [1998] 2007: 37). The main role of these heroic individuals is not to act bravely in order to protect human beings, but rather to help others in their own transformation. These heroic characters play a pivotal role as guardian-angels, protectors and motivators of the poor. This, in turn, reveals a more hidden nature to their heroism.

In addition, some studies pay more attention to the fact that all types of heroic individuals are usually portrayed as upper white class men (Pearson & Pope 1981: 4). This particular group is universally recognized as dominant in society, while other social actors, including racial minorities, the poor, women, are marginalized. This view seems to have evolved in recent years, in particular in studies on the position of women as heroines (*cf.* Murdock 1990; Jacey [2010] 2017; Marlina 2015; Wright 2016) and ordinary people as everyday heroes (*cf.* Britzman 2000; Zimbardo 2011; Devalve & Braswell 2021; Schwartz & Cohen 2021). To conclude, there are many criteria used to distinguish between different types of heroic individuals and their characteristics. Their common place in popular culture is expressed in the view that “[h]eroism is an approachable topic that appears to influence individuals and groups in extraordinary ways” (Kinsella *et al.* 2017: 19). Needless to say, the images of heroes and heroines exert great pressure on people and their vision of the world. This tendency is seen in every society in which one can identify groups of supporters and followers of heroic individuals.

1.5.3. Selected types of heroism

Similar to the many types of trauma, there are also multiple types of heroism. One of the most common refers to acts of courage during war. This broad concept does not mean that this type of

heroism is reserved only for soldiers on duty, but rather includes each individual who is involved in a war. One of the most important elements within the concept of **war heroism** seems to describe the deepest psychological layer of human nature. As it is observed: “(...) in matters of war, the ‘military attitude of the soul’ is something to be praised and cherished regardless of the particular military ends served” (Ryan 2014: 122). This viewpoint points towards the great value of psychological motivation in reference to heroism. War is a perfect place for heroic deeds as it creates a non–normative environment, namely a collection of circumstances which are not typical for ordinary human life (Kraft–Todd & Rand 2019: 7). On the contrary, war is a type of a borderline experience which is viewed as a state of deregulation from phenomenological, semiotic and anthropological points of view (Gruszczyk 2017: 27–39). In other words, war heroism refers to people involved in a historic moment who experience a dramatic challenge beyond their control. Therefore, war heroism is praised as it overcomes personal boundaries and confronts one with dramatic choices.

Another type of **heroism** is observed **in political and social activity** and brings to mind a pantheon of great individuals who are worshipped as the bearers of national values and who are admired as teachers of patriotism for further generations. The perspective discussed here, in reference to America, is interestingly depicted in the following words:

[e]ach nation has its heroes and heroines. In the United States, a number of political leaders have drawn upon or epitomized American heroic archetypes. George Washington symbolized republican values in the young nation, Andrew Jackson was the populist frontiersman and war hero, Teddy Roosevelt represented American energy and the adventurous spirit, and Martin Luther King has come to exemplify leadership for social justice. (Fried 1993: 490–491)

This list contains reputable figures who are admired as political and social heroes not only because they were great individuals, but also due to the fact that they showed great heroism in their political and social activity, in many cases coming under great pressure from other members of society and sometimes even acting against the majority of that society. In other words, the type of heroism discussed here often requires crossing the boundaries of commonly acceptable standards and norms and bearing unjustified criticism. Furthermore, heroism in the social and political domain is a form of teamwork in which a person involved is at risk of paying a high price (Kraft–Todd & Rand 2019:

7). This means that the main field of this type of heroism is deeply embedded in the social network in which an individual is immersed.

In addition, there is also **economic heroism** which refers to establishing a new level of economic development, one both unprecedented and visionary. The term discussed here refers to those entrepreneurs whose hard work and dreams to go beyond limitations have led to “(...) reward for heroic virtue [ascribed to] the entrepreneurial adventurer whose risk-taking made America great and strong” (Combs 1993: 81). In the above-mentioned view, there is a clear reference to economic heroism and one of the most popular elements of American culture, namely the idea of the “American Dream.” Economic heroism is, undoubtedly, deeply embedded in the American *ethos*; and, as such, is desirable and highly appreciated. Being successful in business also means being able to confront and fight many obstacles. Therefore, real personal success is possible only when an individual is strong and displays a broad range of heroic features. This is the reason why economic heroism is frequently mentioned in the American public discourse as a tool to instigate positive responses to the speaker and to build bridges between nations which share similar view on the role of free market and liberal economics. Selected examples of all three types of heroism in the context of the Vietnam War are analyzed in the last chapter of this dissertation.

1.6. Scientific foundations of study

In the following sections, an outline of the scientific foundations of this study is drawn. This is a multidisciplinary analysis that in many places refers not only to rhetorical studies, but also includes a broad range of concepts from both anthropology and linguistics. Thus, it seems to be justified to outline, at least in general term, some of them, in particular those that are strongly connected with the field of anthropological linguistics, namely the concepts of culture, communication, language and discourse. **The main intention is to sketch out the complex and multidisciplinary nature of analyses conducted in anthropological linguistics, as well as to show links between both linguistic and anthropological concepts, a point which seems to be essential in order to fully understand the scope of this study.** In other words, this analysis is not limited only the study of language in its rhetorical forms, but refers to different domains in order to paint a complete and comprehensive picture.

1.6.1. On the concept of culture

The term “culture” is differently interpreted in various contexts. According to Eliot ([1948] 2010: 1): “(...) *culture* has different associations according to whether we have in mind the development of an *individual*, of a *group* or *class*, or of a *whole society*.” Moreover, the main aim of the scientific analysis which is focused on the concept of culture is to discover certain patterns embedded in society and to describe their practical consequence (Hofstede 2013: 2). Etymologically speaking, the term stems from a Latin word *colere* – which means “to cultivate” – and originally, in its metaphorical meaning, was used by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) in his *Tusculan Disputations* (Cicero [106–43 BC] 1886: II: 5). Since antiquity, there have been many interpretations of its meaning, as well as multiple definitions being developed to express the complex and multidisciplinary nature of research in the cultural domain. A brief outline of this issue is described in the following sections.

From the contemporary viewpoint, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) is considered to be one of the founders of modern cultural studies. In a now–famous definition, he stated: “[c]ulture (...) is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Tylor [1871] 1974: 1). According to this view, culture is an extremely broad phenomenon which embraces multiple aspects of human life. Every single activity, either individual or in a group, is embedded in accepted traditions, social norms, as well as collective or individual practices which stem from culture.

The above definition was the first, but definitely not the last in the long list of attempts to describe the phenomenon under discussion here. In the classic work written by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 44–72), seven groups of definitions of culture, which are outlined below, are distinguished, including descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural, genetic, as well as those which are incomplete. **Descriptive definitions** are basically concentrated on the omnipresence of culture viewed as a dominant component in which all social and individual relationships are embedded. In this group, an attempt is made to list a number of dimensions and typical features of culture. **Historical definitions** of culture refer to heritage. Hence, the analyzed phenomenon is described as a long–lasting process based on the past and focused on cultivating bygone traditions and customs. A different approach is accepted while **normative definitions** are being considered. The concept of culture is here a powerful phenomenon which is able to shape

the patterns of behavior at both individual and collective levels. The power of culture is viewed through the prism of accepted traditions, norms, behaviors and mutual relationships between people.

Another group is formed by **psychological definitions** which are linked with the internal sphere of human existence. Therefore, culture is a tool which is used to find a solution to the problems encountered by human beings. In other words, people adapt themselves to reality and learn how to coexist, not only thanks to their acceptance of both common norms and customs, but also due to the role of the process of learning and repeated habits. **Structural definitions** are oriented towards culture viewed through the prism of patterns and historically justified institutions, which create the basis for human activities in a society. Here, people are both embedded in a world of social institutions while, simultaneously, being subordinated to them. **Genetic definitions** view a culture as a product of social processes and pose certain questions referring to the shape of a given culture. Within this group of definitions, the significance of ideas and symbols is pivotal. Finally, certain selected views are identified as **incomplete definitions** of culture.

The impact of the above-mentioned typology seems to be relevant and reflected in the works of many generations of scholars, including Thomas Stearns Eliot ([1948] 2010: 30) for whom culture includes the total number of human activities and interests, Antonina Kłoskowska ([1964] 1983: 40), who describes culture as mutual interactions in society which are based on commonly shared social patterns, and more recently by Terry Eagleton (2016: 1), who emphasizes the complex nature of this phenomenon. Interestingly, there are two concepts often viewed similarly, namely culture and civilization. Certain scholars use both terms interchangeably (Argaud 2006: 183). However, for the others the term “civilization” seems to be a more advanced form of culture (Kroeber & Kluckhohn 1952: 13). Simultaneously, the concept of general progress is viewed at two levels, namely intellectual and technological (Kuper 1999: 26). In relation to American sociology, the mutual interaction between both terms is even more complex. On the one hand, a link between culture and material goods produced as a result of progress in technological development is underlined. On the other hand, an emphasis is placed on the interchangeable character and equivalent position of the terms under discussion here (Kroeber & Kluckhohn 1952: 15).

To conclude, the concept of culture and its mediation is extremely broad and “(...) possesses a capacity to fashion the relationship between individuals and art and to produce social

effects including the acceptance or rejection of the influence of the cultivated *habitus*” (Fleury [2006] 2014: 112). Indeed, its analysis unquestionably requires proper tools and an exact methodological apparatus. As expressed by one of the leading anthropologists:

[t]he concept of culture (...) is essentially a semiotic one. Believing (...) that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical. (Geertz 1973: 5)

This view indicates one feature of culture, namely the semiotic character of this phenomenon. Human beings are surrounded by various signs, which are, on the one hand, readily interpreted. On the other hand, their relevance is hidden under the façade of traditional and commonly accepted institutions. Thanks to the ability to interpret signs, people intensify their understanding of meanings, namely they become cultural individuals. Moreover, there are many systems in which mankind is involved and, by the correct interpretation, it is possible for one to operate smoothly within them. Therefore, meaning seems to be the vital element of culture which is constantly being reinterpreted and rediscovered. Consequently, the relevant mechanism focused on conducting research in the cultural domain is not an experimental one, but is rather based on reading the signs and reflecting their history and socio-cultural context (Laniel 1995: 351). Finally, it is worth noting that an interpretation is always rather an extending than limiting process and produces multiple or even unlimited possible explanations (Moberg 2021: 18). This means that in the process of interpreting reality, different conclusions are drawn and the hidden meanings of culture are constantly reconstructed. The concept of culture is, therefore, always “fresh” which means it is reread anew by subsequent generations of scholars. In the following subsection, one view on the specific nature of American political culture is outlined.

1.6.1.1. Distinctive elements of American political culture

The concept of culture is always complex in the sense that even the most isolated culture contains a large number of unique components which are analyzed from various academic points of view. A similar observation has been expressed by the celebrated anthropologist, Bronisław Malinowski

([1944] 1960: 36): “[w]hether we consider a very simple or primitive culture or an extremely complex and developed one, we are confronted by a vast apparatus, partly material, partly human and partly spiritual, by which man is able to cope with the concrete, specific problems that face him.” On the basis of the above-mentioned view, it is clear that American culture is not an exception. In contrast, it is by definition complex and unique. Its origin is connected with a long and eventful evolution, including the time when native Americans formed their tribal states, the age of colonialism, expansion and contemporary American society which continues its existence and reflects the heritage of previous centuries. American culture is a mosaic of diversified components, namely material remnants, philosophical inspirations, as well as spiritual beliefs. Therefore, a significant effort is made to describe specific phenomena which create a unique American character and system of values. Various analyses referring to this field are not limited only to one research perspective. In contrast, “(...) cultural studies has incorporated a variety of approaches (...) it should be seen less as a melting-pot than a cage of bees, where feminism, anthropology, film criticism, Marxism, postcolonialism, literary criticism, postmodernism and queer theory swarm in debate. As a consequence, it currently has no single established methodology” (Brooker 2001: 201). Although the phenomenon under discussion here is extremely broad, there have been many attempts to describe the specific features of American culture and to produce a catalogue of American values. These attempts are expressed in the following passage:

[w]hile it is true that today’s America sets the pace in modern style, it is also true that, for much of its early history, however, the USA was culturally provincial, and its art was considered second rate, especially in painting and literature, where European artists set the tone (...). Britain especially served as reference for quality, due to its role in American history and due to the links of language and political institutions. (Cismas 2010: 389)

Initially, the secondary position of the United States compared with the influence of European powers was viewed in the evolution of American culture, namely from subordination to British dominance, through its slower emancipation, to the hegemonic position which it has achieved today. Considering all the twists and turns observed in the history of the United States during last several centuries, certain components of the American experience are often described, including egalitarianism, mobility, tolerance and consumerism (Weaver 1997: 18–20).

The concrete manifestation of **egalitarianism** is viewed in the historical processes concerning the United States, in particular, in its “open door” immigration policy, basically addressed to immigrants of European origin. The beginning of this policy is embedded in the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the principles of the French Revolution, namely: *liberté, égalité, fraternité* (Schalck de la Faverie 1919: 391). Immigrants, who sought better prospects, believed in an image of America as a place of equal opportunities for everyone. Egalitarianism meant also leaving behind conservative European structures and hopes for a new beginning regardless of one’s particular country of origin and one’s social and cultural background. In this sense, America was the “Promised Land” and a country of great opportunities. Moreover, the lack of rigid social frameworks led to a significant social transformation, giving way to the development of a new type of culture based on an amalgamation of diversified traditions and customs. Even today, mass entertainment seems to be an exemplification of this process. Moreover, it is worth noting that egalitarianism did not mean equal status for everyone. Native Americans as well as non-European immigrants, in particular those from Africa, were often regarded as second-class citizens (Naylor 1998: 59). This was one of the reasons behind the tragic events in American history, including the Civil War and the practice of racial segregation.

Mobility is also frequently considered as a typical feature of American culture (Weaver 1997: 18–20). Its origins are drawn from the fact that the newcomers, the tissue of American society, were deprived of their traditional social structures. As a result, they were mobile in two meanings, namely they were ready to move from one place to another, as well as being prepared to change their social status. This was the source of many stereotypes deeply embedded in American culture and developed by great American intellectuals. To illustrate, Henry Clay Sr. (1777–1852) coined the phrase “the Self-made Man” while James Truslow Adams (1878–1949) was the first to use the metaphor of the “American Dream” (Weaver 1997: 16). Interestingly, mobility was also an underlying cause of an uninterrupted expansion, which was explained by Frederic Jackson Turner (1861–1932) in the Frontier thesis (Gruszczuk 2017: 9). All these concepts were strongly linked with democracy, namely “(...) one of our nation’s core ideologies” (Brandt & Callie 2018: 14). Only being active and determined gave one a chance to change one’s social status. In other words, the position of an individual was not determined by the imposed social frameworks, but rather was shaped independently thanks to the courage and flexibility showed by American pioneers. Moreover, the mixture of mobility and individuality led to further features of

American culture, including determination to achieve success, concentration on hard work, fairness and materialism (Naylor 1998: 59).

Tolerance is also classified as a typical feature of American culture (Weaver 1997: 18–20). This phenomenon is analyzed from two points of view. Firstly, throughout the centuries, the American legal and political discourse has always placed an emphasis on freedom and the equal status of all people, both values being derived from the ideological frameworks of the Constitution of the United States. Interestingly, the concept of tolerance was initially limited to white men. The position of minorities, in particular African Americans, Native Americans and women, was subordinated and entirely neglected for a long time. Secondly, certain changes, initiated in the 1960s, allowed these minorities to achieve significant progress in terms of their legal status and social position (Santos 2019: 4). An interesting observation in relation to tolerance has been made by Naylor (1998: 60), namely: “[h]eroes are those who can overcome diversity, and this reinforces the belief the individual can succeed.” This view proves the role of tolerance in bridging social divisions. The United States, as a country of unlimited possibilities, allows its citizens to develop their skills, abilities and fulfill their dreams. Indeed, tolerance is viewed as a fundamental precondition for both individual progress and the development of society in a country which is defined as a cradle of culture (Weaver 1997: 18).

Another feature of American culture, **consumerism**, is linked with the dominance of the liberal economy. The interconnection between the Protestant ideology, promoted by the first settlers, and the free market has been a matter of investigation, at least from Max Weber’s ([1904] 2011) famous study devoted to this issue. Having unlimited possibilities to develop, consumerism became for Americans a tool to underline their spending power. Undoubtedly, mass media, including press, radio, television, and currently the Internet, play their role in providing entertainment and, simultaneously, consumerism (Brandt & Callie 2018: 14). On the one hand, consumerism is propelled by the development of advanced technologies which are virtually available to everyone. On the other hand, “[t]he desirability and value of the free market are tied to the importance of the individual and the equality that permits individual achievement and mobility” (Naylor 1998: 58). Hence, consumerism is viewed as a means to express social status and is important for the whole of society to maintain its dynamism which is the sum of actions undertaken by particular individuals.

Although all the above components of culture are well-known and present in many societies, their uniqueness lies in the fact that only the citizens of the United States were able to create an irreplaceable structure which is unforgettable and unmistakably interpreted as part of the American way of life. There are many factors which contribute to the final shape of this culture under discussion here, including its historic background, the ideology of Enlightenment, which seems to be the cornerstone of American state-building, but also the technological revolution and social evolution observed within particular groups in society. The most important factor, however, are Americans themselves, namely the mosaic of individuals of entirely different origins living together and sharing a common dream, the American dream. In the following analysis, special attention is paid to a more detailed issue within the domain of American culture, namely selected political traditions which exist and are upheld by American policymakers.

First of all, it is worth noting that the term “political culture” combines two domains, namely political studies and cultural analysis. This concept refers to: “(...) the shared values and beliefs of a group or society regarding political relationships and public policy (...)” (Swedlow 2013: 624). This phenomenon is a set of collective voices centered around politics, including key actors, their activities, as well as their impact on society. Moreover, the term under discussion here is also viewed through the prism of more detailed analyses. One suggested view is proposed by Gabriel Abraham Almond (1911–2002) and Sidney Verba (1932–2019), who distinguish three types of political culture, namely parochial, subject and authoritarian (Almond & Verba [1963] 1989: 16–18). This classification is based on the relationship between selected centralized and decentralized factors. **Parochial political culture** is typical for traditional communities where the link between the government and citizens is weak. In many cases, local residents are even not aware of the influence of the central authorities. In contrast, **subject political culture** refers to a situation in which all regional institutions and residents are subjugated to the central authorities. Moreover, **authoritarian political culture** describes a ruling system in which the central government is the most powerful institution, whereas local authorities and citizens are deprived of even the slightest measure of autonomy.

Transferring the above theoretical frameworks in the situation in the United States, it is stated that political culture in the country analyzed here is based on a long tradition and strongly linked with the local spirit of the population. In this case, certain elements of both parochial and subject political culture are observed. Essentially, there is a distinction to be made between the

federal and local levels, namely selected policies are exclusively restricted to the central authorities, whereas others are adopted by the local administration. Such a distribution of power is pivotal in order to characterize American political culture. According to the United States Constitution, the system of separation of powers is applied, as well as civil rights being guaranteed. The role of the Constitution, in a cultural context, is expressed in the following passage:

[t]he relationship of the political life of a country to the formal and informal structures of its constitution is a matter of great complexity. For centuries constitutions have been considered to be important for the maintenance of freedom and the rights of the individual, as well as ensuring order and stability in society. However, the view has been increasingly expressed that constitutional provisions (...) have little or no importance in determining the outcome of political struggles. It is argued that it is to ‘social forces’ that we must direct our attention if we are to understand the working of politics. (Vile [1970] 2007: 13)

As one may observe, constitutional frameworks are frequently mentioned in the American political discourse, but seem to be overgeneralized while considering particular problems. **In other words, the concept of political culture in the United States is governed not only by constitutional norms, even though their role in the legal and political discourse is undeniable, but rather is viewed as a “(...) set of beliefs and behavior associated with politics (...)”** (Hames & Rae 1996: 47). This shows that the term under discussion here is created by people and for people, refers to a broad range of political institutions, and is embedded in a long-lasting tradition and commonly accepted values. Although legal frameworks are able to outline the general range of political activity, they do not determine the behaviors and strategies used by particular political actors. It is rather a political tradition, mainly responsible for a particular view of the United States as a “Republic of Virtue,” which shapes the meaning of political culture in the United States (Gruszczyk 2017: 97). **The set of constituent components is embedded in the spirit of Americanism and includes liberalism, democracy, republican tradition, egalitarianism, distrust of government, pluralism, populism and Messianism** (Hames & Rae 1996: 47–49). This approach to making policy has a long history in the United States due to the fact that traditional values are a powerful factor in its political culture:

[i]n America, not only do municipal bodies exist, but they are kept alive and supported by public spirit. The township of New England possesses two advantages which infallibly secure the attentive interest of mankind, namely, independence and authority. Its sphere is indeed small and limited, but within that sphere its action is unrestrained; and its independence gives to it a real importance which its extent and population may not always ensure. (de Tocqueville [1835] 2002: 84)

On the basis of the above-mentioned view, it is worth noting that traditional values are a force able to propel political culture in America and seem to be a more important state-building indicator than territory and population. Furthermore, a link between social engagement in political life and forms of rules is highlighted (Moberg 2021: 28). On the one hand, political culture in the United States is outlined by the legal frameworks of the Constitution. On the other hand, it is mostly shaped by local initiatives and traditional values. In general, broadly interpreted backgrounds of this phenomenon lie in key ideological principles, namely American trust in democracy as a form of governance, as well as the long history, tradition and values deeply embedded in the American sense of politics.

1.6.2. On the concept of communication

Effective communication is the main aim of the use of language. According to Steinberg (2007: 40), when people communicate, their intention is to exchange messages containing a broad spectrum of meanings. Moreover, the phenomenon under discussion here always engages at least two participants and/or groups and is viewed as a multi-dimensional. Therefore, various theories have been developed to describe its components which are responsible for the transmission of the message. In general, it is safe to state that the process of communication is complex due to the fact that “[m]an is not a passive receptor, but an active agent in giving sense to sensation” (Barnlund [1968] 2008: 7). The above statement clearly underlines the involvement of the participants in the process of communication in order to exchange messages based on either their realizations regarding the surrounding reality or their emotions, feelings and immaterial ideas.

In analyzing communication as an important component in studies centered on anthropological linguistics, two links are worth mentioning, namely that in reference to language, as well as the social context of this phenomenon. The former is expressed in the view:

[h]uman natural languages are communicative systems, and the primary use of language is to communicate. The precise nature of the relationship between the communicative functions and the systemic properties of natural language may be disputed, but what cannot be disputed is that language is a vehicle for human communication. (Sinha 2004: 217)

As has been observed, language is the key to describe the process of communication (de Saussure & Rocci 2016: 4). Thanks to a better understanding of a particular language, it is possible to describe the internal layers of the message produced. Therefore, communication is always based on a meaningful system which is expressed in the form of language. Apart from this “inside” view of communication, there is also an “external” link to the reality outside the transmitted message. The above-mentioned relationship is expressed in the following passage:

[c]ommunication is a social activity requiring the coordinated efforts of two or more individuals. Mere talk to produce sentence, no matter how well formed or elegant the outcome, does not by itself constitute communication. Only when a move has elicited a response can we say communication is taking place. To participate in such verbal exchanges, that is, to create and sustain conversational involvement, we require knowledge and abilities which go considerably beyond the grammatical competence we need to decorate short isolated messages. (Gumperz [1982] 1999: 1)

Although language plays a vital role creating the shape of a message, the particular reason for communication lies in the social and cultural environment in which the participants of this process are embedded. The ultimate aim is to express one’s thoughts through the use of the commonly accepted and well-known principles of language usage. These rules refer to approximated variants of repertoire and similar views on both social and cultural institutions within a given community (Meyerhoff 2006: 36). Therefore, communication integrates, as it allows one to gain access to various outlooks which could not be viewed otherwise. This property is reflected in a statement: “(...) communication is a binding force in social relationships without at the same time being visible or having tangible and permanent forms” (McQuail & Windahl [1982] 1993: 4). That is to say, communication binds mutual interconnections between people, even though it is difficult to grasp and record the whole process.

The fundamental role of communication is also viewed not only as a process of exchange between participants, but also as a transaction between them which leads to a new relationship

(Steinberg 2007: 40). In particular, this transactional perspective is dominant in crisis scenario in which the only available solution is to clarify a particular position taken by the participant of the communication process. This is possible thanks to being in contact with other participants. The situation analyzed here is illustrated in the view that “[e]very significant human crisis begins or ends in a communicative encounter of one kind or another. It is here that differences are voiced. It is here that differences threaten. It is here that words can be heard. It is here that understanding may be reached, that men may cross the distance that divides them” (Barnlund [1968] 2008: 24). As it has been stated, the role of communication in the process of problem–solving is prominent, in particular, in complex and long–lasting disputes which require mediation between the involved participants. In such cases, efficient communication cannot be underestimated.

To conclude, communication is fundamental in the process of language use. There are many different theories referring to this phenomenon depending on the methodology implemented and the accepted research perspectives. Generally speaking, communication is analyzed with full attention given over to the linguistic means used to transmit a message or, taking a technical approach, focuses on the process itself (Steinberg 2007: 39). The former refers to strong links between communication and language, which is an essential basis for communication. The latter indicates that social dimensions are able to shape communication. This is due to the fact that people involved in the communication process are also in their own environment and their selected strategy always depends on the understanding of the social and cultural code which is included in a transferred message. In the following subsection, the wealth of theories regarding the processes of communication is outlined.

1.6.2.1. Selected elements of the concept of communication

There have been many attempts to describe the concept of communication. On the one hand, certain features of language are studied in order to extract a group of its specific properties which allow and propel the process of communication. On the other hand, particular models are created in order to describe the whole process of message transmission from the addresser to the addressee at multiple levels. Beginning with the former, it is noteworthy that even though the whole concept of the design features of language was created by Hockett (1960: 90), it is Yule ([1985] 2010: 11) who indicates its six important features, examined below, namely those which are particularly

important in the process of communication. In other words, language is viewed here as a medium used to transfer information (Jakobson 1960: 353). While analyzing specific interconnections between language and the message, it is possible to distinguish as follows: reflexivity, displacement, productivity, arbitrariness, cultural transmission, as well as duality (Yule ([1985] 2010: 11–15).

Reflexivity is an important feature of language in relation to communication. This is due to the fact that there is no other coherent system which allows one to transmit knowledge regarding communication except language itself. **Displacement** is another interesting phenomenon which is viewed as an ability to cross physical limitations. In other words, language is able to describe interrelations in time and space, including past, present and future events. Displacement is, therefore, responsible for crossing spatial and temporal boundaries and makes the domain of communication extremely broad-based. **Productivity** refers to an unlimited reservoir of language. Human beings are able to produce extremely complex utterances which describe a broad range of phenomena. Productivity is responsible not only for the quantity of communication produced, but an effectively delivered message is also fundamental for its quality, as well as clarity and readability.

Arbitrariness is crucial for communication due to the fact that the specific meaning of the message in a different context is interpreted differently, depending on the intentions, cultural and social institutions, and variable circumstances. Only by realizing the presence of these essential components are people able to communicate effectively. **Cultural transmission**, in a sense, complements the above-mentioned features since it allows one to transmit information regarding cultural institutions and common norms from one generation to another. As a result, a general environment of communication is established and, simultaneously, an increase in the awareness of norms and standards in a group of participants involved in a process of communication is observed. **Duality**, which reflects the idea of two levels in language, namely as a sound and as a concept, which also plays a role due to the fact that people use signals to transmit a message. Therefore, two levels of communication are observed, namely either that which is biophysical, which is determined by the types of signal and their reception in a body, and that which is intellectual, which decodes and explains the encoded meaning of the message. All the above-presented features of language are connected with communication, namely the process which is viewed as an exemplification of the term “language in use” (de Saussure & Rocci 2016: 3).

Although language seems to be a prerequisite for communication, the latter is viewed not only from a linguistic position. In contrast, it is also possible to distinguish certain components which are connected with the overall social and cultural background in which communication is analyzed. From this point of view, there are three different patterns:

[a]t the societal level, communication usually patterns in terms of its functions, categories of talk, and attitudes and conceptions about language and speakers. Communication also patterns according to particular roles and groups within a society, such as sex, age, social status, and occupation (...). Ways of speaking also pattern according to educational level, rural or urban residence, geographic region, and other features of social organization. (Saville–Troike [1982] 2003: 13)

The above passage emphasizes the role of social factors in the studies focused on communication which is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather seems to be deeply embedded in a society. Without a proper understanding of the signals in their context, it is impossible to interpret the message. One approach to understanding context is viewed through the prism of social levels focused on different types of communication. Moreover, the role of the participants of the communication process is important, as well as their practices referring to producing messages. To sum up, not only language determines communication, even though its position is invaluable, but also the phenomenon under discussion here is shaped and occurs between particular participants in relation to non–linguistic components. These social and cultural factors seems to be part and parcel of any communication process. Furthermore, apart from a broad range of components which are fundamental in order to guarantee successful communication, there are also multiple models which are focused on conducting a more comprehensive and overall analysis. A selection of models is presented below on the basis of their chronological development and significance in the field of communication studies. In particular, considering the range of this dissertation, those components which are focused on contemporary political communication are outlined.

One of the first modern model of communication was described by two reputable scholars, namely **Claude Elwood Shannon** (1916–2001) and **Warren Weaver** (1894–1978). According to these authors (Shannon & Weaver [1949] 1964: 34), there is a number of elements present in the process of communication, including: (1) the source of information; (2) the transmitter; (3) the signal; (4) external noises; (5) the receiver; and (6) the destination. The source of information is the first component in the model analyzed here. Its role is to produce a message which is expected

to be transmitted in the subsequent stages. The encoded message is processed by the transmitter into signals and sent through a selected channel. While being transmitted, the meaning of the message is vulnerable to distortions caused by various external factors. In the next step, the signal is detected and decoded by the receiver in order to restore the original meaning of the message and, finally, the information is conveyed.

Another recognizable model was described by **Harold Dwight Lasswell** (1902–1978) whose view is aptly contained in a famous sentence: “[w]ho, said what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect?” (Sapienza *et al.* 2015: 601). In other words, in this model of communication there are five components, namely: (1) the addresser; (2) the message; (3) the medium; (4) the addressee; and (5) the effects of communication. Interestingly, an approach focused on politics seems to be particularly important for the author analyzed here (Lasswell 1956: 961). This factor determines the impact of the message and indicates the ultimate aim of communication which is viewed as having an influence on the recipients, their actions or omissions. Therefore, this model clearly describes the requirements imposed on political speakers whose main aim in the process of communication is to have an effective impact on the audience. In particular, their intention to gain a dominant position in the public discourse and their determination to shape the social consensus are pivotal in a political context (Cap 2017: 2).

According to the model of communication proposed by **Roman Osipovich Jakobson** (1960: 353), there are six components which are fundamental in communication, including: (1) the message; (2) the addresser; (3) the addressee; (4) the context; (5) the contact; and (6) the code. The message is of the greatest importance (Shannon & Weaver [1949] 1964: 31). Without the message, which is in a form of meaningful signals transmitted from one person to another, there is no communication. Furthermore, the addresser is an individual who transmits a message. Whereas the particular form of this transmission is discretionary, of most importance is the fact that the message reflects certain views shared by the addresser (Stam *et al.* 1992: 16). Hence, the addresser is linked with the emotive function of language, as his/her personal point of view and emotions are expressed in the utterance (Jakobson 1960: 357). Moreover, there is also the addressee who is at the end of the channel of transmission. This participant in the communication process, after receiving the message, decodes and interprets it. It is worth noting that the position of the addressee is as important as that of the addresser. Furthermore, one possible aim of the message is to express commands, instructions and suggestions (Stam *et al.* 1992: 16). Therefore, the addressee is linked

with the conative function of language, namely certain reactions and behavior of the addressee are caused by the received message (Jakobson 1960: 357).

The message is not a separate phenomenon, but rather is embedded in the surrounding environment. As a consequence, the context is distinguished as a clear and sizable component, which is analyzed in order to avoid ambiguity and misinterpretation. The message is transmitted not only through the words spoken, but, more importantly, also thanks to their specific meaning interpreted under given circumstances, equally describing “(...) various phenomena in the actual world and the fictional world (...)” (Wang 2020: 213). The context is, consequently, connected with the referential function of language (Jakobson 1960: 357). The code is one more interesting aspect of language in the process of communication. This component is fully understood on the basis of general knowledge referring to language in the minds of the participants of the communication process. It is a set of rules established in order to decode and interpret the meaning of words (Stam *et al.* 1992: 17). When deprived of the code, sentences are meaningless and ordered in a chaotic manner. The code is able to organize the message and is linked with the metalingual function of language (Jakobson 1960: 357). Finally, the channel used to build up contact between the participants of the communication event is analyzed. In other words, the message is transmitted only when the participants are interested in maintaining communication. Although direct contact is not essential, certain forms of mutual interactions are necessary. This, in turn, is connected with the phatic function of language which is responsible for keeping this channel open (Stam *et al.* 1992: 16).

Among many further models of communication, special attention is given here to those focused on **mass communication**. This is due to the fact that they are reflected in certain speeches analyzed in the third chapter of this dissertation. Not only are they subjected to a much broader category, namely **public communication**, which is described as having “(...) the continual goal of maximizing the number of ‘shared visions,’ that is, common conceptions of current reality as well as its desired developments” (Cap 2017: 2), but also mass communication is viewed as constituting a specific domain which is described as communication directed to large groups of separated and anonymous people (Steinberg 2007: 63). The term under discussion here is prescribed to **the public sphere**, namely “(...) an intermediary system of communication between formally organized and informal face-to-face deliberations in arenas at both the top and bottom of the political system” (Habermas 2006: 415). Briefly speaking, the phenomenon of mass communication occupies a

special place in the domain of public speaking and its impact seems to be of particularly interest while analyzing political discourse.

Certain typical means of mass communication include the press, radio, television and, more recently, social networks and the Internet. One of the characteristic features of these media is their extremely broad social range which typically refers to the process of transmitting a message to many different addressees (Fatimayin 2018: 21), their great contribution in shaping public opinion (Pisarek 1979: 53), as well as their power to preserve spoken words in the social/collective memory (Johnson 2021: 9). Moreover, the opportunity to enter into a direct interaction with the addressers in the type of communication analyzed here is remarkably limited (Steinberg 2007: 63). This view is proved, in particular, when considering the early period of mass communication, namely that prior to the age of the Internet. As Sharma (2018: 15) has stated: “(...) mass communication is a one-way communication, as it opposed to being face to face communication, which is a diagonal or two ways in nature.” Hence, the most significant differences between mass communication of the pre-digital era and the other types of communication lie in the unique, one way direction of the message transition, as well as both the spatial and temporal isolation of the participant of the communication event. One more consequence is that the ability to obtain feedback is limited, namely the addresser(s) cannot notice the immediate reactions of the addressee(s) in the transmitting message. This, in turn, leads to the feeling of alienation.

To conclude this section, there is a link between language and communication while certain unique features of language play their role in order to allow a smooth process of communication. To complete the picture, there is also an interconnection between communication and the social and cultural environment. On the basis of both the above-mentioned factors, the most influential models of communication have been analyzed. Although they vary in their particular viewpoints, the common ground they share is that each of them indicates important components which are included within the domain of communication. Moreover, the concept of mass communication is of interest intellectually due to the fact that this concept is extremely effective in transmitting political discourse, a fact which is relevant to this dissertation.

There are many views regarding communication which are, in general, organized into three large categories, namely either those focused on **an action, an interaction or even a reaction** (McQuail & Windahl [1982] 1993: 5). This division is made through the prism of particular groups of factors which often overlap and are present in the whole process of communication. In particular,

whereas the participants are engaged in an action, they also generate reactions and produce mutual interactions. All these above-mentioned interrelations are possible due to the fact that they combine multiple types of communication, which are differently distinguished by various scholars. In the following subsection, a selection of the most popular typologies is outlined, considering certain views expressed by experts in the field.

First of all, a distinction between **verbal and non-verbal communication** is drawn, which indicates two main areas within the phenomenon under discussion here (Jackob *et al.* 2016: 39). Whereas the former gives the dominant position to language being used as a medium to transmit a message, the latter refers to many other forms of communication and underlines the special role of the other senses. Following more detailed analyses conducted in recent decades, the flourishing progress of communication studies seems to be, at least partially, caused by the unprecedented development of new channels of transmission in the contemporary world. This process, in turn, has led to many further distinctions and theories.

Another common distinction is that made between **oral, written and manual forms of communication** (Saville-Troike [1982] 2003: 19). Oral communication refers to a transmission which is produced by a speaker using a language-code and, subsequently, the message is interpreted by a listener. This type of communication impacts either directly, in a face-to-face interaction, or from a distance, using advanced technological devices. Whereas the process of transmission is possible thanks to sound waves, the process of decoding is based on the auditory sense which is fundamental for the subsequent stages of interpretation and understanding. Certain problems occur when the message is distorted or inaudible. In such cases, misunderstandings and communication errors are typically observed. Written communication is different, basically due to the fact that the sense of vision is used to interpret the message, which is in contrast to oral communication. Moreover, a common writing code, which is equally well-known by the participants of the communication process, is used. Finally, a manual form of communication, which refers to signs, expressed by gestures, is distinguished. Although manually performed signs carry a meaning, they usually do not constitute such a complex and developed system as in either oral or written forms of communication. Moreover, signals transmitted through signs stimulate the sense of vision, but are usually shorter and more incoherent. This type of communication is frequently used when there are huge differences between the participants in the communication

process, namely they either use different languages or they are strongly embedded in entirely different cultural and social contexts.

Another common distinction is expressed in the statement: “[w]hen we are involved in formal communication (...) we pay more attention to both our verbal and non-verbal messages (...). When we are involved in informal communication (...) we are more at ease and can communicate more naturally” (Steinberg 2007: 43). To put it in another way, **formal communication** occurs in more official, public situations. Typically, this occurs when a large number of people is involved and there are certain formal rules and frameworks imposed on the communication process. Moreover, the topics discussed here are usually viewed as important and addressed directly to the public. In contrast, **informal communication** occurs in more common situations of everyday life, the number of participants is limited, and the topics often refer to a well-known repertoire. The style of conversation, viewed from the sociological and cultural point of view, reflects the communicative practices of the participants (Gumperz 2001: 216).

One more typology of communication is based on the criterion of the awareness of the speaker: “[i]ntentional communication occurs when we communicate with a specific goal in mind (...). Unintentional communication refers to the occasions when communication takes place without the communicator being aware of it” (Steinberg 2007: 43). Hence, a particular type of communication is based on intentional or unintentional processes in the mind of the speaker. On the one hand, **communication is intentional** which means that it is viewed as a tool used in order to fulfill certain intended aims and expectations previously planned by the speaker. On the other hand, **communication is unintentional** which means that it is mainly used to maintain an interaction between the participants of the communication process. Such a form of communication is, in particular, interconnected with the phatic function of language (Nöth [1985] 1995: 187).

To conclude, there are many types of communication which are distinguished and carefully described in a process of a scientific analysis. In this section, only the most popular divisions were presented. What is common to the studies on the forms of communication is a general observation that many different criteria are used to classify particular types of communication, as well as the fact that these types often overlap and require a complex and multidisciplinary approach. In the following section, another broad phenomenon which is linked with the process of communication is described, namely the concept of language.

1.6.3. On the concept of language

Language is a fundamental tool in human interactions, one which allows the process of communication to occur. Moreover, a broad range of relationships between individuals and groups is established thanks to the use of language, exceeding far beyond the traditional domain of linguistics and directing one towards both social and cultural fields. As has been stated by Ray and Biswas (2011: 33) “[l]anguage carries and transmits social/cultural traits through generations.” The evolution of the human race and further development of its social and cultural institutions is possible mainly thanks to our ability to express thoughts through language. As this complex issue is extremely broad, it is exceedingly difficult to give only one commonly accepted definition of language, even after long and careful analysis (Danesi 2004: 8).

Language is also a highly sophisticated tool which is present in every human community. The process of communication is based on interpreting commonly recognizable codes regardless of the particular location of a given speech community and the level of complexity of a given language. In order to comprehend the main aspects of human activity, including social, cultural and political issues, it is vital to understand, first and foremost, the language which is used by a particular speech community. Interestingly, language is not only a constitutive element of human groups, but also animals and plants have their own systems of transmitting messages from one individual to another, even though it is broadly accepted that these non-human systems are less complex (Bussmann [1990] 2006: 62). The proper understanding of language seems to be, from the above-presented point of view, valuable in order to gain an insight into the broad range of human activities.

According to Danesi (2004: 8) “(...) language can be defined as the use of the tongue to create meaning-bearing signs.” This view proves the great social and cultural role of language and its substantial impact on human life. This is due to the fact that “[t]he gift of speech and a well ordered language are characteristic of every known group of human beings” (Sapir [1933] 2008: 503). As every aspect of reality is described by words, possessing a better understanding and sound knowledge of linguistics are of great value and have enormous potential to influence the development of the human race. In other words, constant progress in every domain of human activity is not complete without a profound knowledge of language. Therefore, in this section, scrupulous attention is paid to explaining the most important terms connected with language and

its overwhelming impact on society. In the following paragraphs, certain selected views on the origins of language, selected definitions of this phenomenon, as well as its properties and functions, are outlined.

1.6.3.1. The evolution of views on the origins of language

The origins of language have been analyzed for centuries. Among the most popular explanations of this problem, there are several hypotheses which attempt to identify the beginnings of language from various positions, including religious, cultural, sociological and biological views. In this subsection, selected hypotheses are presented on the basis of their chronological development and impact on contemporary directions in linguistic studies.

The origins of language were initially explained by **divine intervention** (Yule [1985] 2010: 2). This view, based on theological arguments, has been extremely persistent. God or gods are viewed as creator(s) able to offer people this outstanding gift. The origins of the approach analyzed here are embedded as far back as in the Bible (Mufwene 2013: 15). One illustration, which is derived from Judeo-Christian tradition, is reflected in the belief that “(...) God gave to Adam in the Garden of Eden dominion over all the animals, and Adam’s first exercise of this dominion consisted in naming them” (Carstairs-McCarthy [2001] 2017: 3). Furthermore, the great ancient thinker Plato (427–347 BC) also investigated the origins of language, in particular in his dialogue *Cratylus* (Plato [427–347 BC] 1997a). This great philosopher “(...) remained thoroughly committed to the principles of etymology, that is, to the possibility of successfully analyzing words as if they were time capsules – encoded packages of information left for us by our distant ancestors about the objects they designate” (Sedley 2003: 23). In other words, in Plato’s view, language combines the linguistic meaning of words with their origins and, as a consequence, it is helpful not only in communication, but also is important in transmitting information about culture and society from one generation to another. Moreover, according to one of the interpretations of Plato’s work, the origins of language are divine and are explained as the gift of the gods to human beings (Bolton [1923] 2013: 7).

Although almost twenty centuries after Plato, John Locke (1632–1704) still accepted the theory of divine influence, his view was also focused on the fact that “(...) articulated sounds (...) stand as marks for the ideas” (Locke [1690] 1999: III:1:2). Moreover, they are fundamental in the

process of transmitting thoughts and distinguishing between people and other creatures. Yet another observation was developed by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) in his hypothesis of **natural sounds** (Yule [1985] 2010: 2). For this scholar the origins of human language were in animal communication (Mufwene 2013: 21). In other words, human communication was based on the sounds which were produced by animals and, subsequently, were slowly implemented by people in the process of imitating nature. Moreover, also Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715–1780) endeavored to combine Locke’s view with the academic interest of the French encyclopedists (Elffers–Van Ketel 1996: 77). As a consequence, the hypothesis of **producing tools** was proposed (Yule [1985] 2010: 4). This means that manufacturers, in an attempt to produce more advanced tools, performed indifferently repetitive gestures. This progress in the production of more advanced and sophisticated tools ran in parallel to progress in the field of communication, in particular the use of language. Therefore, language is viewed here as a consequence of technological development.

Finally, two further hypotheses are focused on the explanation of the origins of language either by **physical adaptation** or by **genetic mutation** (Yule [1985] 2010: 5–6). Whereas both views are strongly embedded in biology, the difference between them lies basically in the period of time which is believed to be necessary to develop the faculty of speech. Briefly speaking, the usage of language may be the result of a long process of evolution or may have been acquired in a single genetic change. As evolutionary change in the world of nature constantly modifies and improves individual features, it is plausible that this led human beings to a stage of a language formation. This view seems to have been shared by Charles Darwin (1809– 1882) and his continuators for whom the evolution of language was subordinate to mental changes (Mufwene 2013: 41). Furthermore, the fact that people developed their intellectual skills also play a role, pointing to a conclusion that “(...) language is the outward sign and realization of that inward faculty which is called the faculty of abstraction, but which is better known to us by the homely name of Reason” (Müller [1862] 1996: 16). Hence, the origins of language are seen through the prism of both a biological and psychological evolution of the human race. This, explanation of the origins of human language being embedded in biology, is also, at least partially, supported by many contemporary linguists for whom language is “(...) the innate biological endowment (...)” (Carstairs–McCarthy [2001] 2017: 4).

To summarize the above hypotheses, one may observe that there are basically two groups of scholars, namely “nativists” and “empiricists” (Fitch 2010: 31). While the former places emphasis on the fact that language is a divine gift, the latter views language as a product of human intellect. Moreover, neither group involved in this academic dispute can proclaim complete victory over the other, or admit failure. Particular positions in this debate seem to be based on individual beliefs much more than on scientific evidence. Indeed, the evolution of views regarding the origins of language is undeniably an interesting and still open field of academic analysis. In the following subsection, an attempt to define the concept of language precisely is undertaken.

1.6.3.2. Selected definitions of language

Any attempt to define language in only one way seems to be an extremely risky proposition. Language is a complex phenomenon which is analyzed from different academic viewpoints. Moreover, even within an individual discipline there are various views which are, in many cases, mutually opposed to each other (Bussmann [1990] 2006: 627). Despite these difficulties, certain selected definitions are presented below on the basis of their influence on further generations of linguists. In particular, this selection is made through the prism of links between language and society in which this phenomenon is used, an approach which is highly appreciated by anthropological linguists.

Historically speaking, one of the first observations regarding language and its place within human community was expressed by Plato, who is believed to have supported a view that “(...) names should be interpreted as disguised descriptions (...)” (Kahn 2013: 70). In other words, a proper understanding of the semantic layer of language leads to a linguistic correctness. In contrast, any ambiguity causes only confusion and misunderstanding. This view was clearly expressed by Plato who stated: “[s]o mustn’t a rule–setter also know how to embody in sounds and syllables the name naturally suited to each thing? And if he is to be an authentic giver of names, mustn’t he, in making and giving each name, look to what a name itself is?” (Plato [427–347] 1997a: 389d). Further attempts to interpret the works of the great ancient thinker under discussion here point to his view that an ideal language would be like a “(...) mirror and reveal the branched structure of reality” (Barbosa 2015: 63). This is a significant observation as language is able to identify and reflect the complex structure of reality, including relationships between people and their mutual

interconnections. Furthermore, the concept of language expressed in the works of Plato was subsequently developed by Aristotle (384–322 BC) who made a distinction between voice and language (Wąsik 2015: 231–232). This distinction states that whereas the ability to produce sounds is broadly developed in the world of animals, only people are able to communicate using meaningful sounds which are linked with the human mind.

These ancient ideas were kept alive throughout the centuries. Moreover, they survive in the modern analysis focused on language, which was developed by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), the founder of structuralism in linguistics. According to this renowned linguist:

[l]anguage (...) is a self-contained whole and a principle of classification. As soon as we give language first place among the facts of speech, we introduce a natural order into a mass that lends itself to no other classification. (de Saussure [1916] 1959: 3)

This view indicates the key role of language which is unique and dominates other social phenomena. Language is viewed here as a complex structure which is used to interpret properly the processes observed both within and without a group of language users. One distinction introduced by the Swiss linguist seems to be extremely significant:

[l]anguage is a well-defined object in the heterogeneous mass of speech facts. (...) Language, unlike speaking, is something that we can study separately. (...) Whereas speech is heterogeneous, language, as defined, is homogeneous. (...) Language is concrete, no less so than speaking; and this is a help in our study of it. (de Saussure [1916] 1959: 14–15)

The above view emphasizes several features of language. Firstly, the phenomenon under discussion here is separate from the overwhelming mass of speech. Secondly, language refers to a comprehensive system which is viewed as a well-defined phenomenon, while speech is interpreted as an unorganized and dynamic mass which contains various meanings. In the Saussurean approach such a distinction seems to be extremely important. Thirdly, language is totally homogeneous, while speech, which refers to language in use, is viewed through the prism of particular circumstances. Consequently, speech is viewed as heterogeneous and frequently saturated with various meanings. Interestingly, while comparing both definitions, namely those developed by

Aristotle and de Saussure, it has been concluded that the social dimension of language is important for both of them (Araki 2015: 11).

Another view is expressed by Noam Chomsky who states: “[f]rom now on I will consider language to be a set (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements” (Chomsky 1957: 13). This definition places the emphasis on the complex structure of language. Although sentences are different in length, it is impossible to determine their total number. Language is, therefore, an infinite continuum which consists of a limited number of sentences which, in turn, are created from a limited number of components. In this view, the social and cultural background is reduced in significance and language is basically viewed as a natural, universal and innate phenomenon which operates using the rules of generative grammar and manifests itself in the first period of human life (*cf.* Carstairs–McCarthy [2001] 2017: 4; Wierzbicka 2011: 26). Similarly, while comparing both definitions, namely those developed by de Saussure and Chomsky, it has been concluded that whereas the former interprets language through the prism of words, the latter is more interested in an analysis of sentences and the rules of their creation (Grabias [1994] 2019: 26).

An opposing view, which connects language with its social and cultural background, is frequently expressed by another group of scholars, namely experts in anthropological linguistics (Foley 1997: 3). That is due to the multi–leveled properties of this phenomenon which is viewed as “(...) not merely a more or less systematic inventory of the various items of experience which seem relevant to the individual (...) but is also a self–contained, creative symbolic organization, which not only refers to experience largely acquired without its help but actually defines experience for us by reason of its formal completeness and because of our unconscious projection of its implicit expectations into the field of experience” (Sapir [1931] 2008: 498). That is to say, language is often viewed not only as a system of internal rules, but mainly as a “conveyor belt” which is able to transmit both social and cultural practices and accumulate knowledge collected by previous generations (Duranti 1997: 21). Therefore, from the viewpoint of anthropological linguistics, “[t]he study of a speech community is central to the understanding of human language and meaning–making because it is the product of prolonged interaction among those who operate within shared belief and value systems regarding their own culture, society, and history as well as their communication with others” (Morgan 2004: 3). The above statement accentuates the anthropological perspective in linguistics, which defines language not as a separate and abstract

phenomenon, but rather places it as close to language users as possible. Such a view “(...) creates a dichotomy between the knowledge developed by theorists versus the abstract communicative and linguistic knowledge of speakers involved in everyday interactions” (Morgan 2004: 10).

To conclude, there are two main approaches adopted when the definition of language is being considered. **On the one hand, language is viewed as a separate phenomenon which is studied in isolation from any other form of human activity.** This approach is present, in particular, in the ideas of generative grammar which views syntax as a key element in an attempt to understand the universal nature of language (Chomsky 1957: 13). **On the other hand, there is an approach which is focused on the social and cultural role of language, strictly connected with human practices, and, consequently, viewed as an integrated and inseparable component of anthropological studies.** This position is typical for anthropological linguists who believe that only in the process of integrating various components of human life is it possible to obtain a full and complete picture of human nature. Language studies are definitely one of its vital components. In the following subsection, special attention is given to the unique properties of human language.

1.6.3.3. Selected properties of human language

The system of human communication may be analyzed from various viewpoints. One possible approach is focused on the properties of language. According to this view, within the domain of language one can identify its unique features, namely the inimitable properties which are specifically attributed to language used in the process of communication. Generally, these unique properties are prescribed to human beings and it is a matter of academic dispute as to what extent, if any, they are also present in the animal world (Denham & Lobeck [2009] 2012: 6). The concept of language possessing “design features” was developed by Charles Francis Hockett (1916–2000), a famous American linguist. **The issue under discussion here is important, primarily, in order to distinguish the specific nature of human language in comparison with the other forms of communication used by living creatures and, secondly, to distinguish language and its unique properties from the overall sphere of human activities.** Although originally, thirteen particular designed features of language were classified, over the course of time, three more were added (Fitch 2010: 19). The full list is analyzed below.

First of all, there is “**the vocal auditory channel**” (Hockett 1960: 90). This feature is viewed from two standpoints. Whereas a message is transmitted through sound waves, the human ability to produce and receive sounds plays a pivotal role. This is beneficial due to the fact that the whole process of using language is continued thanks to the vocal tract and the ability to hear sounds without using any other devices (Nöth [1985] 1995: 235). Another two features are identified as “**broadcast transmission and directional reception**” and “**rapid fading**” (Hockett 1960: 90). The former describes the fact that human beings are able to distinguish different types of sounds and separate meaningful information from meaningless noises. Only when attention is focused on one specific type of signal, are effective transmission and communication assured. The latter describes the property of sounds which rapidly disappear directly after being emitted. In other words, this view is aptly concluded in an observation that “[s]ignals (...) do not ‘clog the airwaves’” (Fitch 2010: 19). Therefore, a link is established between spoken words used to convey a message and the laws of physics which describe how vibrations are propagated. The length of a period in which a message is available depends on the physical properties of a transmission medium.

Two further features are “**interchangeability**” and “**total feedback**” (Hockett 1960: 90). The former describes the position of the adult participant of the communication process, who is seen from two different viewpoints, namely either as a speaker or as a receiver of a message (Nöth [1985] 1995: 235). In other words, whereas one message is produced, another one is almost immediately received and interpreted by the same person. The latter refers to an observation that the speaker is focused on delivering the message and, simultaneously, is able to detect all the sounds around. While speaking, one interprets the context in which a message is embedded. In other words, the impact of the message is evaluated at the moment of delivery. One more analyzed feature is defined as “**specialization**” (Hockett 1960: 90). This term refers to an interaction between the type of absorbed signals and their interpretation. Therefore, this feature of language is sometimes described as a “speech as ‘trigger’” (Fitch 2010: 19). A link between the auditory sense and the human cognitive system is fundamental, meaning the captured signals are decoded and their meaning is interpreted.

Another design feature of language is defined as “**semanticity**” (Hockett 1960: 90). It is briefly explained by Denham and Lobeck ([2009] 2012: 4) as: “[s]pecific signals can be matched with specific meanings.” To put it in other words, the proper interpretation of signals allows one to understand the exact meaning of the transmitted message. Moreover, “**arbitrariness**” is also

identified as another feature of human language (Hockett 1960: 90). This is a unique ability to give a particular meaning to the transferred sounds, which depends on many factors, including intentions, context, as well as the particular situation in which language is used (Fitch 2010: 19). One more design feature of language is known as “**discreteness**” (Hockett 1960: 90). This term refers to the view that in a message each word differs from the others. As it has been encapsulated by Denham and Lobeck ([2009] 2012: 5): “[m]essages in the system are made up of smaller, repeatable parts rather than indivisible units.” As a consequence, both an ability to select the right order of words and an interpretation of their meaning from the broad context are beneficial in order to maintain proper communication. The term “**displacement**” is used by Hockett (1960: 90) in order to indicate that an utterance is able to refer to the past, present or future. The message is not limited only to its timeframes, but also describes different places and events (Crystal 1976: 17). As a result, language is a universal tool, able to express even complex and time-dependent processes.

Yet another design feature of language is “**productivity**” which has been mentioned as one of the most fundamental properties of language (Hockett 1960: 90). This feature allows one to explain the ability of producing sentences which have never been spoken before and understand utterances which have never been heard before (Denham & Lobeck [2009] 2012: 5). Consequently, the human ability to produce meaningful messages is unlimited. Every unit of language is easily combined with many others in order to create a fully understood message. The last two design features of language are identified by Hockett (1960: 90) as “**duality of patterning**” and “**traditional transmission.**” The former reflects an interesting property of language, namely its multi-leveled structure based on both simple and more complex components. The delivered message is analyzed through the prism of both smaller and bigger units which are modified, replaced and flexibly adopted. The latter places emphasis on the fact that language is not an isolated phenomenon. In contrast, it is broadly immersed in various contexts which are created and understood by a given speech community. Interestingly, it is possible to transfer and interpret this additional, cultural background typical for one speech community in other groups, regardless of differences between particular cultures and societies.

Uninterrupted studies on the design features of language have led to a considerable development of the above list. As a result of further analysis, three more features were added, namely “**prevarication**” as well as “**reflexiveness**” and “**learnability**” (Fitch 2010: 19). The first term describes the fact that language allows one to express both true and false statements. Although

there is, of course, a legal and ethical discrepancy between both types of statements, while referring solely to the rules of linguistics, both types are identical in terms of their structures and components. Furthermore, the term “reflexiveness” is defined as the property of language to describe itself. Thanks to this unique attribute, the development of linguistics is possible due to the fact that all linguistic findings are analyzed and testified using language. Last but not least, the concept of “learnability” emphasizes the fact that while using one language, it is also possible to learn another one (Crystal 1976: 17). To put it in other words, all components of one language can be explained and studied using the linguistic apparatus of another. This process is also known as “the learning–to–learn ability” (Kucker 2019: 121) and is fundamental in communication between the users of different languages.

The design features of language are connected with various forms of human activities. Despite their broad and complex nature, the common ground for all the properties mentioned here is in the unique character of human communication, an observation which is broadly accepted by experts in the field (Denham & Lobeck [2009] 2012: 4). The analysis of the design features of language is, unquestionably, a great step forward in an attempt to fully describe human beings and their language. In the following subsection, another equally important component of language is outlined, namely its functions.

1.6.3.4. An outline of the functions of language

The term “function” stems from Latin and is interpreted from various viewpoints (Wang 2020: 212). One view, which is important when analyzing language, refers to the functions of language. According to the definition coined by Nuyts (1989: 90): “[t]he notion ‘function’ in the language sciences first of all occurs with respect to entities related to the linguistic system, to specify properties they have or things they do by means of which they play a role for the functioning of other entities.” In particular, the term under discussion here refers to a systematic analysis of the reasons for the use of language. To put it differently, the concept of functions of language is a useful tool in explaining the aims of a language user while speaking in a given context. This means that when people use language to communicate, they are involved in an interaction to express much more than only the words uttered.

From a chronological point of view, the first systematic approach to studies focused on the functions of language was adopted by Karl Ludwig Bühler (1879–1963) and his *Organon-Modell*. The methodological apparatus used by this German linguist was based on a study of the relationship between “(...) three characteristic functions of language which are also functions of signs in general (...)” (Nöth [1985] 1995: 185). According to Bühler ([1934] 2011: 35), the first function, namely an **expressive function** (*Ausdrucksfunktion*), is focused on the speaker, namely his/her views and emotions. In other words, language is used to reveal the state of mind and feelings which are expressed in an utterance. As has been concluded by Wang (2020: 212), expressive function is focused on the characteristics of the speaker. Moreover, Bühler ([1934] 2011: 35) also distinguishes a **representative function** of language (*Darstellungsfunktion*). This function is connected with referential objects (Nöth [1985] 1995: 185). An utterance is viewed as a tool to describe either real or fictional phenomena which are separate from both the speaker and the listener. Finally, a **vocative function** (*Appellfunktion*) is distinguished, which is focused on the intention of the speaker to exert influence on the listener (Bühler [1934] 2011: 35). To put it in other words, the speaker aims at exerting pressure on the listener in order to trigger a desirable reaction.

The above-presented model was innovative basically in a sense that it combined various research perspectives. However, a limitation of the areas of analysis to only three functions of language was viewed as not fully satisfactory. Therefore, further progress in the field was observed, in particular by placing emphasis on a link between the functions of language and the model of communication, an approach which was proposed by Roman Osipovich Jakobson (1896–1982), and is analyzed in detail in the above subsection:

[t]he ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to (...), seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalized; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee (...); and, finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication. (Jakobson 1960: 353)

As expressed in the above passage, the interconnection between the speaker and the listener is not only at the level of direct interaction, but rather there are certain additional points which require consideration. Whereas the message is deprived of these components, which are prescribed to the

functions of language, it seems to be ambiguous and unable to fully convey its content. Among them, **the referential function** is identified as that being used to express facts and phenomena which are beyond the participants of the communication event. This is clearly a reference to the representational function in Bühler's model (Nöth [1985] 1995: 186). This means that this function refers to the context in which people are embedded while communicating (Stam *et al.* 1992: 17). Moreover, **the emotive function** cannot be underestimated. As this term refers to the ability of the speaker to express his/her attitudes and emotions, it is connected with the expressive function in Bühler's model (Wang 2020: 213). This is a component viewed to be on the verge of both human consciousness and unconsciousness, marking out a route to psychological studies. In other words, not only the literal message is important, but also the emotions and feelings hidden under the surface of an utterance.

Subsequently, **the conative function** is interpreted as being pointed towards the listener with an intention to stimulate expected reactions and behaviors. It is worth noting that in this function of language, utterances in the form of commands and interdictions prevail in communication, similar to the vocative function in Bühler's model (Stam *et al.* 1992: 16). Moreover, **the phatic function** is viewed as a general strategy to maintain social contact between the speaker and the listener. Its origins are derived from the term "phatic communication" which was coined by Bronisław Malinowski in order to describe his observation that words are uttered not always to inform but also to establish and prolong the interaction between participants of a communication event (Nöth [1985] 1995: 187). Therefore, this particular function of language plays its role in forming a channel for communication which is typically used in everyday contexts.

One more is **the metalingual function** of language which is focused on a message as a code of communication (Stam *et al.* 1992: 17). It is broadly accepted that every social phenomenon is clearly noticed only when it is separate from the others. Here, language occupies a special place, as it is used to give linguistic labels and distinguish multiple phenomena while, simultaneously, being also able to elucidate its own structures and properties. Finally, **the poetic function** is often viewed as being reduced only to poetry and its special rules (Wang 2020: 213). However, such a perspective is not satisfactory due to the fact that the exploration of the poetic function of language is extremely fruitful, in particular in modern business communication, including advertisements and slogans focusing on customer acquisition.

All the above-mentioned functions of language have a tendency to co-occur simultaneously in an utterance. **Such a situation is also observed in the speeches analyzed in this dissertation, in which various functions of language overlap and have an impact on the audience, in particular to convey messages, shape public opinion, have impact on emotions, maintain contact and popularize catchy phrases.** Moreover, there have been many further theories, which came into being in order to describe the functions of language, and which were developed in more or less coherent relation to the two models above, namely those which are most influential (Wang 2020: 213–215). This wealth of scientific views proves that language is a complex phenomenon whose multiple functions often co-occur simultaneously in the message. This observation is also expressed by Lubaś (2016: 118), who has stated: “[f]unctions of language may be classified and hierarchized on the basis of philosophical, anthropological, and pragmatic assumptions, which give language the highest rank in logic and culture systems (...).” Hence, there are different functions of language, encoded in a message, which can be hierarchically ordered from the most to the least dominant. Their analysis, based on implemented criteria and embedded in a given context, reveals mutual relationships between various domains of human activity. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that language is an excellent tool to describe complex interdependencies within speech communities. In the following subsection, the focus is placed on a more detailed phenomenon within linguistic studies, namely the concept of discourse.

1.6.4. On the concept of discourse

The term “discourse” seems to be omnipresent in contemporary humanities. Etymologically speaking, it is derived from the Medieval Latin and is used to describe a process of transmitting a message from one person to another (*cf.* Renkema 2004: 48; Czachur 2020: 110). The seeds of the concept are embedded not only in linguistics, but also in many different fields of social sciences, including sociology, psychology and political studies. As a consequence, the use of the term is often ambiguous and even seems to be deprived of meaning (Szacki [2003] 2005: 905). However, uninterrupted progress in an attempt to define the phenomenon under discussion here has been observed basically thanks to a number of works written by great linguists, including Zellig Sabbetai Harris ([1952] 1964), Michel Foucault ([1969] 1972), Paul Ricoeur (1976) and, more recently, Anna Duszak (1998), Teun van Dijk (2001), Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer ([2001] 2009),

Norman Fairclough (2003), Christopher Hart and Piotr Cap (2014), Theresa Catalano and Linda R. Waugh (2020), Waldemar Czachur (2020) to mention just a few. The various research perspectives referring to the concept of discourse are expressed in the following view:

[t]he question posed by language analysis of some discursive fact or other is always: according to what rules has a particular statement been made, and consequently, according to what rules could other similar statements be made? The description of the events of discourse poses a quite different question: how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another? (Foucault [1969] 1972: 27)

The above passage is fundamental in order to distinguish between two systematic approaches. On the one hand, the set of components which creates discourse is analyzed. In the first place, this refers to a composition which is considered to be much broader than sentences alone. It means that this view, preferred by structuralism, generally defines discourse as **structures of language** (Schiffrin 1994: 23). On the other hand, it is worth noting that “(...) text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not merely the linguistic analysis of texts” (Fairclough 2003: 3). That is to say, the understanding of a discourse is based on a broad analysis, including also the context in which a given text is embedded. This approach indicates the influences of functionalism and succinctly defines discourse as **language in context** (Duszak 1998: 7). Naturally, such a view leads to the observation that “[t]he same discourse (...) can be understood differently by different language users as well as understood differently in different contexts” (Paltridge [2006] 2012: 2–3). Therefore, an attempt to elucidate the original meanings, which are hidden under the surface of the analyzed text, seems to be of principal importance in order to conduct any analysis of a discourse. This observation is eloquently expressed by Wodak and Meyer ([2001] 2009: 5) who point to the fact that: **(1) language is primarily a social practice, and (2) the position of context is fundamental in every discourse analysis.**

Considering the above frameworks, a definition which endeavors to combine various methodological approaches to the discussed phenomenon is expressed as follows:

[f]or many, particularly linguists, ‘discourse’ has generally been defined as anything ‘beyond the sentence.’ For others (...) the study of discourse is the study of language use (...). But critical theorists and those influenced by them can speak, for example, of ‘discourses of power’ and

‘discourses of racism,’ where the term ‘discourses’ (...) refers to a broad conglomeration of linguistic and non–linguistic social practices and ideological assumptions that together construct or reinforce power or racism. (Schiffrin *et al.* 2001: 1)

The above passage outlines three important approaches developed by experts in the domain of discourse studies. More precisely, it is worth mentioning that “(...) a statement is always an event that neither a language (*langue*) nor the meaning can quite exhaust” (Foucault [1969] 1972: 28). This view proves the fact that discourse is a multi–faceted phenomenon. The participants of discursive practices are immersed in various discourses which are defined by a given context, including a particular time, place and circumstances. In other words, the phenomenon under discussion here cannot be investigated only through the prism of linguistic knowledge, but rather is by nature a multidisciplinary field.

A similar observation is neatly encapsulated in the statement that “(...) the term discourse (...) signals the particular view on language in use (...) as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements” (Fairclough 2003: 3). In the analyzed definition, discourse is viewed as a part of language in use, namely *parole*. This is a significant observation which allows one to place the concept under discussion here on the borderline between both the linguistic components and the social and cultural context. Such a position is, consequently, responsible for the formation of strong bonds between uttered words, speech communities, and the social and cultural institutions created by them (Neveu 2010: 191).

One more approach considers “(...) discourses to be principally organized around practices of exclusion” (Mills [1997] 2004: 12). As a result, a sort of pressure – conscious or unconscious – is exerted on a speech community, its beliefs, points of view and attitudes in order to create “(...) the power of discourse *i.e.* large, historical meaning structures that shape and ‘govern’ human interactions” (Farfán & Holzscheiter 2011: 139). This means that human existence and interactions are embedded in a social and cultural background which determine further decisions. Thus, discourse creates the rules within a speech community thanks to its power to imitate the world around it (Johnstone [2002] 2018: 35).

To sum up, three typical interpretations of the concept of discourse have been presented. From one point of view, this phenomenon seems to be a practice to **go beyond the sentence** toward social and cultural domains; from another, it is viewed as **language in use** that is connected with the concept of *parole*; finally, there is an approach which puts emphasis on the **link between**

discourse and power. In general, the complex nature of the phenomenon analyzed here is interestingly summarized in the following words:

[t]he view of discourse as the social construction of reality sees texts as communicative units which are embedded in social and cultural practices. The texts we write and speak both shape and are shaped by these practices. Discourse, then, is both shaped by the world as well as shaping the world. Discourse is shaped by language as well as shaping language. It is shaped by the people who use the language as well as shaping the language that people use. Discourse is shaped, as well, by the discourse that has preceded it and that which might follow it. Discourse is also shaped by the medium in which it occurs as well as it shapes the possibilities for that medium. The purpose of the text also influences the discourse. Discourse also shapes the range of possible purposes of texts. (Paltridge [2006] 2012: 7)

Discourse is inseparably connected with the society and culture in which it occurs and with the process of communication which takes place within a given speech community. This phenomenon is able to create the image of the world in which it is embedded and, simultaneously, is formed and modified by the surrounding reality. Discourse is, therefore, “(...) a multidimensional, multimodal and multifunctional phenomenon” (Hart & Cap 2014: 1). As a consequence, the contemporary interpretation of the concept of discourse is highly complex and not limited to only one approach. In contrast, studies on discourses are frequently connected with a broad range of analytical techniques, including tools used in anthropology, sociology, psychology and political studies. A more detailed analysis of the components of discourse is conducted in the following subsection.

1.6.4.1. Selected elements of the concept of discourse

A common feature of all academic disciplines is an attempt to name and describe analyzed phenomena. This tendency is also present in linguistics and stimulates the development of new ideas in order to better understand human beings and describe their environment. In particular, the studies on discourse, despite difficulties referring to this highly complex and ambiguous phenomenon, also aim at explaining its typical characteristics. As a result, there are many theories which are interested in a deeper exploration of this phenomenon and its unique features. In this

subsection, a cluster of particular properties of discourse is outlined on the basis of selected studies conducted by experts in the field.

One view claims that typical elements, strictly connected with the concept of discourse, are as follows: dialog, social or cultural institutions, social practices, and the position of the participants (Macdonell [1986] 1991: 1). **Dialog** is fundamental as a component of discourse and is responsible for the influence exerted by one participant on another in the process of communication (Ricoeur 1976: 15). This is due to the fact that discourse is based not only on language, but also on social and cultural interactions and further non-linguistic connections between the participants of a discursive event. **Social and cultural institutions** are also listed since they are the frameworks for discourse. By changing the cultural or social background, one may reinterpret discourse or even completely deprive it of its original meaning. This is because each element of meaning is reflected in discourses (Mills [1997] 2004: 13). In contrast to the above statement, meaningless elements cannot convey any message.

Subsequently, **the practices of participants** also create a space for discourse and are viewed as “(...) a standpoint taken up by the discourse through its relation to another, ultimately an opposing, discourse” (Macdonell [1986] 1991: 3). This means that the process of creating discourses is uninterrupted and people always live in a discourse which has developed itself in a chronological order from the previous one and, simultaneously, coexists with another. Furthermore, **the position of participants** also places emphasis on the shape of a discourse. That is to say, certain social groups often tend to articulate their views which are later considered as reference points for further debate. Therefore, the most influential and powerful groups in society are able to dominate in the public discourse and efficiently control the other groups. This observation is reflected in the following statement: “(...) virtually all levels and structures of context, text, and talk can in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants” (van Dijk 2001: 357). The mutual links between discourse and power are analyzed in detail in the following subsection.

In addition, discourse is defined in its broad or narrow meaning (van Dijk 1998: 194). In the first meaning of the term, discourse is a special communicative event which is described by a limited set of components, including complexity, a large number of participants, and the particular time and place. The process of communication is viewed broadly here, including these components and one of the modalities present, namely either oral or written or non-verbal. In contrast, in the

second meaning of the term, discourse is believed to be a product of the above-described processes of communication. **Complexity** is analyzed at many levels. In general, discourse refers to “(...) some kind of social practice as regards language use or the use of other sign systems in particular social contexts” (Boréus & Bergström 2017: 6). This explains the popularity of this phenomenon, as it is possible to constantly discover new social dimensions and interpretations encoded in any studied discourse. Furthermore, the **particular time and place** are also viewed as important components of a discourse. This means that the context is the main factor which determines a correct understanding of the exact meaning of a particular discourse. The exact time and place also indicate the unique character of the phenomenon under discussion here (Ricoeur 1976: 9). A **large number of participants** shows that discourse is embedded in social processes. Indeed, it is not only produced by its participants, but also produces social processes (Guardado 2018: 4). On the one hand, discourse forms social relationships by having the power to shape participants in discursive practices. On the other hand, this phenomenon is shaped by the mutual interaction of the participants and is modified in line with their views.

One more analysis, namely that focused on typical components of discourse, underlines its individual and temporal character, links with reality and a tendency to be concentrated on a particular group of people (Ricoeur 1976: 9–14). First of all, discourse is viewed as being **individual**. This means that “[o]nly the message gives actuality to language, and the discourse grounds the very existence of language since only the discrete and each time unique acts of discourse actualize the code” (Ricoeur 1976: 9). This statement is linked with the Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole*. Discourse, defined as a heterogeneous result of the use of a language–code, occurs at only one given moment and is addressed to a particular target audience. Hence, discourse is in opposition to the universal properties of language which is both abstract and beyond context. The individual character of discourse does not diminish its power to have an impact on a large number of participants involved in discursive practices due to the fact that individuality reflects its ephemeral character rather than its limited range. The above-mentioned property of discourse is linked with its **temporal** character. As stated by Ricoeur (1976: 11): “(...) discourse is realized temporally and in a present moment, whereas the language system is virtual and outside of time.” This is another reference to the definition of language developed by de Saussure ([1916] 1959: 14–15). In particular, a view which defines speech as language in use leads

to the conclusion that discourse exists within the frameworks of time, namely at the moment of language actualization.

Yet another point states that there is a **link between discourse and reality** outside this phenomenon. This connection is due to the fact that “[d]iscourse has a structure of its own (...) it is a structure in the synthetic sense, *i.e.*, as an intertwining and interplay of the functions of identification and predication in one and the same sentence” (Ricoeur 1976: 11). This unique structure allows one to combine discourse with other phenomena while building a link between potential and actual meanings and sentences in which they are decoded. Discourse, therefore, is able to identify the meaning of the uttered sentence, as well as to explain further connections between the utterance and both social and cultural processes. Finally, discourse also aims at **focusing on a given person or a group**: “[o]ne important aspect of discourse is that it is addressed to someone. There is another speaker who is the addressee of the discourse” (Ricoeur 1976: 14). The above view has been reformulated by Renkema (2004: 48), who states that discourse not only “circulates” between the participants of a discursive event, but also is addressed to them, modifies their opinions, as well as impacts on them.

Looking beyond all the properties and characteristics of discourse outlined here, and considering the fact that this dissertation is focused on ten selected speeches delivered by prominent politicians and social leaders, it is important to pay attention to certain properties of **discourse in speeches**. Firstly, it is worth noting that producing this type of discourse is definitely more demanding, as it requires certain features of character which are typical for a public speaker, *e.g.*: spontaneity, an ability to control and monitor the entire speech, as well as a gift to enter into interaction with the audience (Al-Majali 2015: 96). Secondly, according to Brown & Yule (1983: 15–17), this unique type of discourse, in comparison with its written form, includes as follows: **differences in syntax** (spoken production displays decidedly fewer structures than its written form); **differences in metalingual markers** selected by speakers (linking words used in spoken language are usually less formal than those used in its written form); **structural differences** in a speech (spoken language is less organized than its written form); **a tendency to avoid the passive voice**; **the possibility to refer to events** which occur at the moment of speaking, as well as **the possibility of replacing and substituting certain expressions** within a speech and producing repetitions and fillers. All of these properties may be easily identified in the passages analyzed in the third chapter of this dissertation.

To conclude, discourse is a unique phenomenon which is analyzed from different viewpoints. Depending on the implemented approach, various features and characteristics are underlined by experts in the studies on discourse. Although this phenomenon is strongly connected with linguistics, its features suggest equally strong links with the other social sciences and even with our whole human environment. Therefore, it is concluded that discourse is inseparably present in every moment of human life. This observation was beautifully expressed in the following statement: “(...) the solitude of life is for a moment, anyway, illuminated by the common light of discourse” (Ricoeur 1976: 19). This means that the presence of discourse enriches one’s particular existence and brings a unique value to interpersonal relations.

1.6.4.2. Selected types of discourse

Discourse, as a complex phenomenon, is analyzed from many different points of view, depending on the methodology and approach used. One consequence is that within the concept of discourse it is possible to identify a large number of genres, namely the types of communicative events (Swales 1990: 39). In particular, those connected with politics, culture, medicine, education, academic studies and religion are typically distinguished (van Dijk 1998: 196). In this section, an attempt is made to clarify **the meaning and essential elements of three selected types of discourse, namely public, political and presidential.**

Similar to linguistic research which is focused on studies from bigger to smaller components, the analysis of discourse begins from a broad research perspective, namely **public discourse**. This phenomenon is defined as: “(...) communicated issues of public culture and public concern that affect individuals and groups in a given civilization. Public discourse is understood (...) as a collection of voices on top issues of politics, economy, law, education, and other areas of public interest and participation” (Cap 2017: 1). That is to say, public discourse is the output of a social debate, which is deeply embedded in given social and culture frameworks, and usually refers to concerns expressed by its participants and proposed solutions. Public discourse, being on the borderline between language and the social and cultural spheres, is collective in a sense that it consists of many different voices reflecting various views (Gumperz 2001: 215). However, certain individuals within a society are able to shape the debate using more powerful tools than the other representatives of the group. As stated by Cap (2017: 2): “[p]ublic leaders use a plethora of

rhetorical means to manage their power, status and credibility in the service of a social consensus.” In other words, public discourse is formed by the leaders of public opinion who intend to influence society due to their position which guarantees consensus in society. Moreover, it is worth noting that a large number of rhetorical devices play a role in creating the desired effects and influencing the target audience.

In analyzing a broad domain of public discourse, one can distinguish **political discourse**, namely a phenomenon which refers to statements and utterances used in the political debate (Chruszczewski 2002: 13). Furthermore, the analyzed type of discourse is based on the concept of power and is generated by political actors, namely individual and institutional, as well as their interplay within a given context (*cf.* Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 17; Berlin 2020: 5). Hence, political discourse is a part of public discourse which particularly focuses on politics and the relationship of power and dominance within a society. All the above-mentioned elements should be taken into consideration in order to sketch out the meaning and limitations of political discourse.

Beginning with the component of **power**, it is worth noting that this phenomenon is broadly interpreted on many levels. One of the definitions (Laclau [1993] 2007: 545) distinguishes two levels of power, which is viewed either as a relationship between used language and the social processes, or as an influence exerted by non-linguistic phenomena on the final shape of a discourse. Power is a force which is transmitted between social actors by many means, including language. There are different channels used to exert pressure and show dominance in society, including laws, rules, norms, habits and even consensus (van Dijk 2001: 356). Sometimes power is expressed in a subtle way. This means that it is transmitted not only by direct acts or regulations, but also by the process of socialization in which people are formed and the desired controlling effect is achieved. In the social sciences, power is often interpreted in relation to the notion of *habitus*, a term coined by the French thinker Pierre-Félix Bourdieu (1930–2002), which is viewed as a system of stable dispositions responsible for generating and organizing practices, as well as identifying the desirable image of society in the collective mind of its members (Bonnewitz 2002: 94). In other words, *habitus* refers to the social frameworks in which people live together and their knowledge regarding the adaptation of their individual practices to the social context in which they are embedded.

Turning to the second element of political discourse – **political actors** – their ultimate aim is hegemony which is interpreted from two different viewpoints, namely either it refers to the fact that certain selected group are able to control the rest of society or one ideology is able to be

dominant over the others in a given time (Nonhoff 2019: 74–75). The basic tool for exerting pressure and building up the dominant position is by creating powerful discourses. However, direct power is not the only available strategy undertaken by political actors in their social practices, but the aim may be reached in numerous actions taken by them on an everyday basis (van Dijk 2001: 355). Therefore, the reference to discourse in political practice is ambiguous and often cannot be clearly captured. The position of political actors is significant, as particular meanings of discourse are viewed from many angles and lead to completely different interpretations (Ricoeur 1976: 9). Furthermore, this position is created by the power of the discourses produced. Therefore, it seems to be justified to conclude that “[t]hose who have more control over more – and more influential – discourse (and more discourse properties) are (...) more powerful” (van Dijk 2001: 356). Hence, political discourse is viewed by political actors as a powerful tool to stimulate desired reactions and weaken the strength of initiatives undertaken against the creators of a given discourse. It is worth noting that political discourse is expected both to influence visible dimensions of social activities and, even more importantly, to create particular attitudes and models of thinking.

Finally, the **context** of political discourse is always connected with the broad domain of politics. When the shift in the context is observed, the political reference of the discourse disappears. This is a limitation of the analyzed term, as the existence of political discourse is always based on political issues. When deprived of these links, it is classified on the basis of other criteria (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 18). To illustrate, in such a discourse the components connected with law may be dominant over those which are political. Consequently, in such a case, the discourse is rather viewed as a legal discourse.

Another fully independent genre, distinguished from the broad domain of public speaking, is **presidential discourse** (Abbott 1996: 5). Although, broadly speaking, the term embraces discourses created by many different presidents in multiple countries, its greatest development and strongest position is prescribed to the American rhetorical tradition. This is due to the fact that the presidents of the United States have developed one of the most effective and powerful types of discourse from which selected components are often imitated by the leaders of other countries. According to Henry (1993: 259), this huge popularity of American presidential discourse lies in certain constituting elements, namely frequently used catchphrases, aiming toward common purposes, references to idealized examples taken from history and the role of mass communication.

This specific type of discourse, apart from its undeniable political impact, often refers to a catalogue of cultural values broadly embedded in a political tradition and national heritage. Hence, presidential discourse in the United States is traditionally used to promote, primarily, Americanism, and, secondly, a broad range of political values, including national unity, identity, fervent political beliefs and visionary assumptions (Austermühl 2014: 9). Not surprisingly, this phenomenon is a useful tool for drawing conclusions regarding the institution of presidency, both rhetorical and political decisions, as well as the sphere of symbols and traditions beyond a particular president (*cf.* Campbell & Jamieson [1990] 2008: 19; Bendrat 2016: 127–132). It is Austermühl (2014: 8) who uses a metaphor of a “cultural scaffold” regarding the multiple functions of presidential discourse. This means that conducting an analysis of this phenomenon is not only a tool to evaluate the political effectiveness of a particular political leader, but also refers to a reservoir of texts which have been used to promote the cultural basis of democracy – the most important value of the American political system, which is also shared by many people around the world. This is, undeniably, a cultural function which goes beyond language and has an impacts on the lifestyle, political decisions and image of the United States all over the world.

To conclude, the three concepts under discussion here are broad in nature. Although both public and political discourses seem to be connected in multiple ways, they are also different in many aspects, including the number and type of political actors involved in them and their various contexts. Power is an essential element of politics and social life and, consequently, is present in discourses. There are many theoretical approaches to this phenomenon and its manifestations in public life. The ultimate aim of using power is hegemony, that is creating the most powerful means of control in the public debate. Furthermore, presidential discourse is viewed as a concept within political discourse, one which is focused on the position of presidents and their contribution to the broad domain of public speaking, often with an intention of gaining popularity for their proposed initiatives and their reelection (Hughes 2019: 530). In other words, it is emphasized that within the field of public discourse one can distinguish political discourse which is specific and limited only to political issues. Moreover, it is also possible to select a more specialized domain, namely presidential discourse, which refers to the political activity undertaken by presidents. All these types of discourse are, at least partially, overlapping. Therefore, particular studies focused on distinguishing them often depend on the research perspective being imposed and the methodology being implemented.

Chapter Conclusions

The first sections are devoted to an analysis of the key terms used in the dissertation, namely, anthropological linguistics, trauma and heroism. **This explanation seems to be important in order to better understand the conceptual frameworks of the study and to introduce some selected concepts which are present in the following chapters.** The concept of anthropological linguistics is defined from several different positions. One of these is the distinction between cultural linguistics, anthropological linguistics and linguistic anthropology. The first one is viewed as a tool used to explain and describe the relationship between language and various manifestations of culture. Subsequently, the difference between linguistic anthropology and anthropological linguistics is analyzed. From the point of view of an anthropologist, the dominant place is occupied by linguistic anthropology as one of the main fields of anthropological research. In contrast, anthropological linguistics is rather focused on language and accepts a linguistic view on society and culture.

Another implemented criterion used to describe anthropological linguistics is based on an analysis of selected sub-disciplines which are derived from the main area of study, beginning with field linguistics, through typological linguistics, contact linguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. **The general concept which is common for all the above-mentioned disciplines is based on the idea of interdisciplinary studies, which combines anthropological, cultural, social and, most importantly from the point of view of this dissertation, the linguistic viewpoint.** Another criterion of analysis is based on the shift in the paradigms of anthropological linguistics. In this subsection, selected definitions and typical elements connected with the concept of a paradigm are outlined. Subsequently, four paradigms in anthropological linguistics are described. The first paradigm, which is the oldest of the four, is basically focused on documentation. Special attention is paid to the hypothesis of linguistic relativity developed by Eduard Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. In the following section, the second paradigm, developed thanks to the increase popularity of the ethnography of communication, is examined. Furthermore, the third paradigm, based on diversified linguistic tools used to describe both individual and collective transformation, is discussed. Finally, the fourth paradigm, which is more interested in communication rather than transformation, is explained. The general evolution of these paradigms

is also outlined, including the universal and interdisciplinary character of linguistic analysis used in its broader research perspective.

The following sections are focused on two main notions used in this dissertation, namely the motifs of trauma and heroism. Both of the concepts analyzed here are described through the prism of their evolution. Although some manifestations of trauma have been noticed from antiquity, modern approaches have been developed mainly thanks to Sigmund Freud and his contribution to this phenomenon. **As the definition of trauma is ambiguous, there are many competing views which are analyzed in the following section, including psychological, sociological and linguistic point of view.** Similarly, the concept of heroism is outlined. Beginning with the founding father of the term – Giambattista Vico – the aim of the following subsection is to show the evolution of the view concerning our image of heroes, heroines and heroism. **Moreover, attention is focused on three dimensions in which heroism is usually analyzed, namely those which are psychological, sociological and linguistic.** In addition, selected criteria used to distinguish between various types of heroes in reference to the three above-mentioned distinctions are analyzed. Finally, selected modern approaches are outlined, including studies on female heroines and the concept of the everyday hero(ine). At the end of every subsection, a brief conclusion is drawn, as well as more general conclusions at the end of this section.

The main aim of the following sections is to outline the scientific foundations of the dissertation. In particular, four significant fields of studies are distinguished, namely those focused on the concept of culture, communication, language and discourse. Firstly, the concept of culture is outlined. This domain is viewed as being beyond traditional frameworks of linguistic studies. Culture, as a complex phenomenon, integrating multiple dimensions of human existence, is reflected in the large number of definitions. Moreover, a more detailed analysis focused on American culture is conducted, including a set of features typically prescribed to the concept of Americanism. Furthermore, another level of a scientific analysis is added in order to describe typical components of American political culture. This structure of the conducted analysis offers a multitude of connections between culture and other components of reality. **To conclude, the research undertaken regarding the concept of culture plays an essential role in this dissertation, as it clarifies certain important elements of the context in which the speeches analyzed here are embedded.**

In addition, the concept of communication is characterized. In particular, the specific nature of communication at the interface between language and context is outlined. On the one hand, certain unique properties of language drive communication. On the other hand, this phenomenon is also shaped by the processes which surround language users. The complex nature of communication is also reflected in multiple theories, a selection of which is sketched out here. The main criteria used to select the analyzed models of communication are based on their chronological order of appearance and their force of impact on subsequent generations of researchers. **In particular, the implemented criteria refer to selected models of communication in relation to politics due to the fact that one of the aims of this dissertation is to study selected components of communication present in the American discourse regarding the Vietnam War.** Moreover, special emphasis is put on a theoretical subsection, devoted to certain types of communication, which summarizes the complex and multidisciplinary nature of this phenomenon.

Language is also characterized from various research perspectives, including attempts to define this phenomenon, to describe its origins and design features, as well as to analyze its main functions. The selection of the analyzed issues is based on a chronological criterion and the importance of the particular analyses for the subsequent linguistic studies. **Therefore, both classical and modern views are included in this subsection in order to show the complex and multidisciplinary range of linguistic studies.**

In the following section another broad phenomenon is outlined, namely the concept of discourse. This analysis includes not only the term under discussion here, but also particular views regarding the nature of discourse and its selected types. Although the concept of discourse is complex and multidisciplinary by nature, there are certain components which have been distinguished by experts in the field. Moreover, an analysis of three different types of discourse, namely public, political and presidential, is conducted. In particular, the last two are of great importance considering the subject of this dissertation. **Furthermore, the above distinction is also significant due to the fact that the research material in this dissertation is selected from a collection of speeches delivered by U. S. presidents, prominent politicians and public leaders, namely the main producers of the American discourse in the context of the Vietnam War.** Finally, every section contains brief conclusions, as well as more general summing-up at the end of the chapter.

2. Selected methods of linguistic analysis and background of study

The aim of the second chapter is to describe **(1) selected methods of linguistic analysis used in this dissertation**, namely the domain of rhetorical, textual and quantitative studies, **(2) key political events and social movements** in the United States from the mid–1950s to mid–1970s, as well as to outline **(3) the course of the Vietnam War**. Firstly, the evolution and selected definitions of rhetoric developed by authors from the Greco–Roman world and contemporary scholars are compared. Furthermore, particular attention is given to a contemporary shift in views on rhetoric, including modern approaches and the standards of visual rhetoric. Finally, this section is concluded with a brief description of selected figures of speech which are defined and illustrated using numerous examples. Secondly, additional tools from the domains of text linguistics and quantitative linguistics are presented in the following sections. Beginning with the definition of textual analysis, the concepts of text and textuality are outlined. In particular, meticulous attention is devoted to the seven standards of textuality, namely coherence, cohesion, situationality, intertextuality, intentionality, acceptability and informativity. Moreover, the origins of intertextuality in linguistic studies and its great popularity in contemporary analyses are outlined. Finally, in the following section, the quantitative approach to linguistic studies is described together with a clarification of this concept and both its characteristic features and area of interest. The whole section is summarized in a brief conclusion.

The aim of the following sections is to describe key political events and social movements in the United States from the mid–1950s to mid–1970s, as well as to outline the course of the Vietnam War. First of all, a picture is drawn of five American presidencies, namely those of Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford. Both the international situation and domestic changes are analyzed and special attention is given to the major political initiatives and numerous social transformations which occurred over a period of three decades. In the following sections, the evolution of the social movements in America in the given period is outlined. Through the prism of two sociological concepts, namely “social changes” and “social revolution,” the main groups in American society of this time are analyzed. Particular attention is given to the coalition of opponents of the Vietnam War, namely different groups of American subcultures, New Left activists often connected with students protesting at universities, and war veterans. Finally, further analysis is focused on describing racial minorities, including the

genesis and main aims of the Civil Rights Movement, and the impact of feminist theories on the overall group of protesters, in particular, on social transformation and sweeping changes concerning the image of women in the 1960s and 1970s. In the final sections of the second chapter, the course of the Vietnam War is outlined. Three particular periods are analyzed from a historical point of view, namely: the decades of French colonialism in Southeast Asia; the era of the First Vietnam War (1945–1954); and, finally, the tragic years of the Second Vietnam War (1955–1975), during which both trauma and heroism often interwoven on innumerable ideological battlefields, both overseas and on American soil.

2.1. Rhetorical analysis

The phenomenon of rhetoric has significantly evolved throughout the centuries. Interestingly, this process is observed not only through the prism of the classical tradition, despite the most influential standards of rhetorical analysis having been developed in ancient Greece and Rome. Moreover, the temporal and spatial range of rhetorical studies is unlimited and, broadly speaking, concerns texts from the period of the first civilizations to modern societies, and from the Western European cultural sphere to non–Europeans traditions (Hallo 2004: 25–28). Therefore, it is safe to state that when people use language to communicate, they develop the richness of its linguistic forms all around in the world. This, in turn, determines the range of **rhetorical analysis** which is viewed as “(...) the effort to understand how communication (by a variety of means) creates particular effects on people” (Nicotra 2019: 4). Thus, rhetorical analysis allows one to understand and gain insight into the hidden discursive mechanisms used to influence people (Ponton 2020: 1). Therefore, it is a valuable tool in studies concentrated on anthropological linguistics. In the following subsections, the focus is placed on describing selected elements within the domain of rhetorical analysis.

2.1.1. On the concept of rhetoric

Reflecting on the power of words seems to be as old as human language itself. When people gather together, they always communicate, share views and influence each other. Therefore, rhetoric is deeply embedded in the domain of public speaking and its personal, social and political impact is vital for the human community (Borchers & Hundley [2011] 2018: 3). Moreover, rhetoric is an

extremely broad phenomenon due to the fact that it “(...) is not a ‘substance’ in the logical sense, though it does seem (...) that there is something found in nature that either resembles rhetoric or possibly constitutes the starting point from which it has culturally evolved” (Kennedy 1992: 1). Thus, rhetoric is omnipresent and equally regards certain phenomena beyond words, which are expressed in both visual and multimodal messages, including photographs, signs, posters, menus, logos, schedules, charts, tables and graphs (Nicotra 2019: 68).

The oldest examples of rhetoric being used are revealed in the cultures of the ancient Near East, namely in the Sumerian, Assyrian, Egyptian and Jewish civilizations (Hallo 2004: 32–33). Although the beginning of classical rhetoric is usually connected with ancient Sicily in the fifth century BC, it is a matter of debate when exactly the final shape of this field of studies was achieved (Ijsseling [1975] 1976: 26). A traditional view links the term “rhetoric” with Corax of Syracuse and Tisias, two Sicilian thinkers from the fifth century BC, who invented a new linguistic tool in order to provide assistance in legal trials (Cruise 2019: 91). According to a commonly accepted view, it was Plato and his disciple Aristotle who significantly contributed to the development of rhetoric by creating its theoretical backgrounds. However, it is Homer who is believed to have first put such theories into practice (Knudsen 2014: 3–4). Linguistically speaking, rhetoric is defined as a “fluency of speech” (Isidore of Seville [560–636] 2006: 69) and embraces a broad range of concepts, an observation which is expressed in the following passage:

[r]hetoric has, and seemingly always has had, multiple meanings. Variations on the meaning of rhetoric often reflect different attitudes toward language and linguistic representation and, even more particularly, the use of language for persuasive purposes. One common sense of the term, constituting a tradition of thought stretching from the Greek philosopher Plato to our contemporary world, links rhetoric with artifice, the artificial, mere appearances, or the simply decorative. (Jasinski 2001: xiii)

The above view indicates that the domain of rhetoric is multidisciplinary and extremely broad in scope. Interestingly, despite different research perspectives used in rhetorical analysis, two components seem to be undoubtedly dominant, namely stylistic artistry and an attempt to influence an audience, a phenomenon which is also expressed as the use of language with an intention of persuading (Camper 2018: 3). Indeed, rhetoric is often seen as a structured form of persuasion (Porto 2020: 7). Its aim is to change the minds and actions of the audience, even though the obtained

results may be difficult to measure (Suhay *et al.* 2020: 7). To achieve this aim, a broad range of devices is used, primarily including language but also images and gestures combined with a suitable style and form (Borchers & Hundley [2011] 2018: 5). The ultimate aim, therefore, is to embellish a speech, as well as to have an impact on an audience.

Heading towards a more specific analysis, there are two terms which are often used interchangeably, namely rhetoric and oratory. In analyzing them, several differences may be distinguished. Whereas the term “rhetoric” was derived from the ancient Greek, the term “oratory” was commonly used in Latin. Moreover, another difference refers to the technical use of both terms and is expressed in a view that “[o]ratory is formal public speechmaking. It is the characteristic political act of ancient city–states and of later political entities that draw their inspiration from them. Rhetoric is the study of available means of persuasion. It comes into being as a distinct intellectual and social enterprise because of the prevalence of oratory in classical antiquity” (Habinek 2005: vi). To put it in other words, whereas the concept of rhetoric reflects a more theoretical domain which is based on an analysis of speeches, oratory is primarily focused on the practice of language use. A similar observation is expressed in the view that **whereas rhetoric is an older and broader field of linguistic studies which is used to describe the craft of the speaker, oratory is typically viewed as a form of discourse or a speech *per se*** (Raylor 2018: 5).

Another difference is distinguished between rhetoric and grammar. This is due to the fact that “(...) in grammar we learn the art of speaking correctly, while in rhetoric we understand how we may express what we have learnt” (Isidore of Seville [560–636] 2006: 69). Consequently, grammar concerns the technical knowledge which is essential to communicate. Although it allows one to enter into dialog with the participants of the communication process, it is not enough to exert a psychological impact. In contrast, rhetoric indicates a set of rules to embellish a speech and enchant an audience. Hence, **rhetoric is a more complex and broader term than grammar, as it also contains certain non–linguistic components and is used to exert a more profound impact on the participants of a communication process, their behavior and perception, a property which is not typically ascribed to grammar.**

To conclude, there are many research perspectives from which rhetoric is analyzed. One of the most typical is focused on the view on this phenomenon as a tool to create beautiful and persuasive speeches. Although rhetoric is often compared with oratory, the former is definitely a broader and more general domain. Rhetoric also differs from grammar which is merely a formally

defined set of rules used in communication. In contrast, rhetoric is used fundamentally to influence an audience and, as such a tool, is invaluable in generating relationships within a speech community. In the following two subsections, the evolution in the understanding of the term under discussion here is outlined.

2.1.2. The classical view of rhetoric

There have been many attempts to define the concept of rhetoric. In this section, the focus is placed on certain definitions, viewed from various research perspectives, which reflect both the characteristics of particular periods in history and the authors' experiences. Beginning with ancient Greece and the classical meaning of the term, it is a fact that rhetoric was developed by people for people and was produced to exert influence over an audience. In fact, contemporary scholars (Borchers & Hundley [2011] 2018: 19) emphasize that **rhetoric in antiquity was primarily centered around certain practical issues important for speakers** as illustrated in Plato's view:

(...) isn't the rhetorical art, taken as a whole, a way of directing the soul by means of speech, not only in the lawcourts and on other public occasions but also in private? Isn't it one and the same art whether its subject is great or small, and no more to be held in esteem – if it is followed correctly – when its questions are serious than when they are trivial? (Plato [427–347 BC] 1997b: 261a–261b)

As expressed by this great thinker, rhetoric is intended to influence an audience by the use of words. Typical rhetorical practices are observed not only in legal trials, which are allegedly the source of the rhetorical craft, but also on many different occasions, including both public and private gatherings. The above–quoted definition appreciates rhetoric and its impact on a speech community. Although rhetoric is often used in topics regarding both great or mundane matters, its real power is in arguments, namely the proper selection of words and an approach directed towards an audience, not only towards the topic. Moreover, the above–quoted passage not only describes rhetoric, but is simultaneously an excellent example of the rhetorical craft in practice. The selection of words, using rhetorical questions and repetitions, has a powerful impact on readers. This is a practical reference to **the rule of *decorum***, namely the concept of appropriateness between the topic employed and the aim of the speaker. In other words, Plato's above–quoted view used to describe rhetoric is also, in itself, an excellent example of the art of oratory.

The above-mentioned theoretical frameworks have been the basis both for the discipline under discussion here and the intellectual heir of this great Athenian thinker. This view is confirmed in the philosophy of Aristotle, a disciple of Plato, whose contribution to the development of rhetoric is undeniable. In one of his treatises, this thinker from Stagira states:

[r]hetoric then may be defined as the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever. This is the function of no other of the arts, each of which is able to instruct and persuade in its own special subject; thus, medicine deals with health and sickness, geometry with the properties of magnitudes, arithmetic with number, and similarly with all the other arts and sciences. But Rhetoric, so to say, appears to be able to discover the means of persuasion in reference to any given subject. That is why we say that as an art its rules are not applied to any particular definite class of things. (Aristotle [384–322 BC] 1926: I: II: 2)

The above-quoted definition stresses the role of persuasion in rhetoric. Moreover, certain differences between the two above-mentioned thinkers in interpreting the term “rhetoric” are observed. Whereas Plato places emphasis on the importance of dialectic, *i.e.* his view is focused on argumentation, Aristotle seems to be focused on persuasion (Kjeldsen *et al.* 2019: 28). Rhetoric is viewed here beyond the typical rules of classification, rather as a universal and omnipresent phenomenon which manifests itself in a process of knowledge acquisition. This is an interesting observation which suggests that rhetoric is not limited only to one domain. In contrast, it is an essential part of every human activity. Briefly speaking, rhetoric is used in order to support knowledge collected by particular disciplines.

The principles of rhetoric, as defined in ancient Greece, were developed by the masters in the field, namely Roman thinkers, whose understanding of rhetoric unquestionably reached its climax in the last centuries of the Roman Empire. One important contribution to further progress in public speaking was that the political system in ancient Rome was entirely dependent on public gatherings during which speeches were delivered (de Valdés 2009: 127). The key factors responsible for the position of rhetoric in both political and social life in ancient Rome were expressed by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC):

[t]here is a scientific system of politics which includes many important departments. One of these departments – a large and important one – is eloquence based on the rules of art, which they call

rhetoric. For I do not agree with those who think that political science has no need of eloquence, and I violently disagree with those who think that it is wholly comprehended in the power and skill of the rhetorician. Therefore we will classify oratorical ability as a part of political science. The function of eloquence seems to be to speak in a manner suited to persuade an audience, the end is to persuade by speech. (Cicero [106–43 BC] 1949: I: V: 6)

This view refers to the previously mentioned observation concerning ancient Greece, namely the persuasive power of rhetoric. Moreover, the phenomenon under discussion here is also defined as one of the arts. This is an important statement which introduces a distinction between mere speech and rhetoric. Whereas the former is commonplace and powerless, the latter is able to have an impact on one's emotions and reactions. Moreover, the analyzed view also indicates a link between rhetoric and politics. In other words, rhetorical skills are a tool in a political battle which is used with an intention to shape desirable views and attitudes. As rhetoric is a key to control minds, one may conclude that every politician has to be an excellent orator. In short, rhetoric is a fundamental tool in order to maintain political control and gain power and splendor.

Further studies regarding the phenomenon under discussion here, conducted by Marcus Fabius Quintilian (35–96), led to a view which seems to be conclusive regarding the whole ancient approach to rhetoric. As stated in the following passage:

(...) oratory is the art of speaking well; since, when the best definition is found, he who seeks for another must seek for a worse. This being admitted, it is evident at the same time what object, what highest and ultimate end, oratory has; that object or end (...) to which every art tends; for if oratory be the art of speaking well, its object and ultimate end must be to speak well. (Quintilian [35–96] 1903: II: XV: 37)

The above definition seems to come close to both Plato's and Aristotle's observations regarding rhetoric which is viewed, in essence, as the art of persuasion. Furthermore, the concept of rhetoric as a beautifully delivered speech, the perfect conclusion of ancient studies, became influential throughout the centuries and seems to stand the test of time, even today. It is also worth noting that the above–quoted definition is written in an elegant and sophisticated style which proves the fact that the author gained not only great theoretical knowledge regarding the issue being analyzed here, but also possessed all the necessary skills and abilities to create excellent pieces of oratory. The

definition is concise, convincing and contains a logical conclusion. All things considered, Quintilian's style leaves us in no doubt that he is a great public speaker.

Classical studies in the art of rhetoric survived the collapse of the Roman Empire and became a great legacy of antiquity. It was Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430) who "(...) gave powerful official sanction to the Christian use of Ciceronian rhetoric" (Murphy [1971] 1989: 31), which was fundamental for the further growth of the *ars bene dicendi*. This means that the ancient concept of rhetoric was legitimized in new frameworks created by Christianity. Augustine's view, based on both Platonic and Ciceronian traditions, exerted great influence on the model of education in the following centuries (Mazzeo 1962: 175). In particular, at medieval universities the *Artes Liberales* were organized at two levels, namely either as the *Trivium* or as the *Quadrivium*. Classical rhetoric, interpreted through the prism of Christianity, was taught as part of the *Trivium* (Meyer 1999: 30–31). As a consequence, it transmitted this ancient heritage and basic knowledge regarding public speaking to clergy and well-educated groups in the centuries which followed.

2.1.3. The modern view of rhetoric

Although the classical view of rhetoric has survived throughout centuries, it was not until the 1950s that a new approach appeared. This modern shift is traditionally linked with the concepts developed by Chaïm Perelman (1912–1984) and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1899–1987), in particular in their work *The New Rhetoric. A Treatise on Argumentation* (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca [1958] 1969). Subsequently, a new view of rhetoric was also developed by Kenneth Duva Burke (1897–1993) and his numerous students (Gardiner 2007: 29). In general, there are two important components of the New Rhetoric, namely **(1) a pivotal role is given to processes within society** (Borchers & Hundley [2011] 2018: 19) and **(2) the range of research includes particular cultures** (Nicotra 2019: 6). Modern analyses are centered around rhetoric in its broad sense, by transferring ancient frameworks to contemporary structures, including law, politics, advertising and social issues. Although this view is preferred by analytical philosophers, who stress the link between ancient and modern studies in rhetoric, proponents of postmodernity place the emphasis on differences between these two research perspectives (Gardiner 2007: 29). Despite such academic disputes, the New Rhetoric is definitely influential and has exerted great impact on Western societies. One illustration of this new approach is expressed in the following passage:

[r]hetoric must be viewed formally as operating at that point where literature and politics meet, or where literary values and political urgencies can be brought together. The rhetorician makes use of the moving power of literary presentation to induce in his hearers an attitude or decision which is political in the very broadest sense. (Weaver 1963: 63)

The above–quoted statement describes rhetoric as a phenomenon on the borderline between two great domains, namely literature and politics. Such a position suggests the significant role of literature, which is a great asset in a political debate due to the fact that it allows one to use language beautifully in order to create and organize a political discourse. That is to say, the emotive power of language is able to have an impact on an audience, creates breathtaking narrations and, finally, shapes public opinion. This has led modern scholars towards analyses focused on describing the most significant components of rhetoric in its broad social and cultural context. One of these components seems to be interaction with the audience, which is expressed by Burke ([1950] 1969: 43) as: “(...) the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols.” A similarly view is expressed by Black (1965: 15): “[r]hetorical discourses are those discourses, spoken or written, which aim to influence men.” Moreover, according to Kjeldsen (2018: 1) “[w]ithout audiences, there would be no rhetoric.” In considering these statements, it may be concluded that a given speech is truly rhetorical only when it has power to influence those listening. In this case, rhetoric serves its role, namely in being viewed as an effective and meaningful discipline:

(...) in popular usage, *good rhetoric* will mean rhetoric that is effective, in the sense of doing all that is possible to produce persuasion regardless of whether the audience is pig-headed or not. (...) *Bad rhetoric* (...) will not be primarily what is technically clumsy – though that is one kind of badness – but the rhetoric which lacks genuine power to move reasonable auditors, if any should happen along. (Booth 1974: xiv–xv)

According to the above view, there are only two types of rhetoric. Considering the term “good rhetoric,” it is primarily an effective one. In other words, the speaker is able to influence the audience and successfully achieve their essential aims, regardless of the type of listeners and their social and cultural background. In contrast, the term “bad rhetoric” refers to the use of language

which cannot meet realistic expectations. In general, the unique criterion implemented in order to evaluate the two above-mentioned types of rhetoric is based on its efficiency. Furthermore, there is a link between the definition analyzed here and the view expressed by Quintilian ([35–96] 1903: II: XV: 37). Whereas the ancient author describes rhetoric as “(...) the art of speaking well,” the contemporary scholar is more precise in his interpretation and assumes a tremendous importance of effectiveness. Rhetoric is viewed not only as a tool used to deliver a memorable speech, but also has an emotional impact on the audience (Ponton 2020: 4).

A broad analysis of rhetoric allows one to interpret the term much more deeply than only as one limited to a speech or a text and includes the overall context, namely all meaningful signs which often speak louder than words. This leads one to the concept of **visual rhetoric** which is defined from two points of view:

(...) visual rhetoric can be defined in artifactual terms, as rhetorical expression in visual form. To design an advertisement, create a protest sign, draw a political cartoon, practice photography as a commentary on social issues – all these examples of persuasive expression qualify as *visual rhetoric* in that they feature some visual image or form that functions to influence or convey meaning (...) the term *visual rhetoric* also refers to the effort to understand and theorize rhetoric that occurs in visual form or involves the practice of visualization (...). Visual rhetoric (...) guides us towards an understanding of the ways in which visual artifacts construct and create meaning. (Edwards 2009: 220)

The concept of visual rhetoric seems to be broader than the classical one which was limited mainly to spoken or written modalities of language. In contrast, the proponents of visual rhetoric believe that every sign conveys a message which contains *e.g.* ideologically or socially important content. The aim is to have an impact on an audience and to allow them to feel the hidden power behind the sign. The broad interpretation of visual rhetoric encompasses not only almost every layer of human existence, but also refers to a theoretical approach which is focused on revealing invisible mechanisms behind the image. Briefly speaking, the impact of this form of rhetoric is enormous.

In seeking the origins of visual rhetoric, some scholars (Minor 2016: 8) point to the Baroque era, regarding, in particular, Catholic art after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). At that time, visual rhetoric was focused on enhancing the participants of religious events and exerting its impact on the collective consciousness. In recent decades, the position of visual rhetoric is also a highly

important due to the overwhelming power of marketing. As it has been stated: “[t]he increased volume of visual messages colonizes our public spaces in the name of capital and covers over the routine surfaces of our daily lives” (Ommen 2016: 1). The above–quoted view indicates the link between rhetoric and the concept of marketing communication. While “(...) marketing may even be viewed as a form of communication in a very broad sense, rhetoric is viewed by many people in the mainstream area as a vacuous communication or perhaps merely manipulative communication” (Torp & Andersen 2018: 68). This observation suggests that rhetoric, in particular its contemporary society, is a form of marketing. The difference, however, lies in the intensity of transmission. On the one hand, marketing always displays a certain dose of persuasion while, on the other hand, rhetoric seems to be at the core of both effective marketing and sales.

Contemporary studies in rhetoric are complex and multifaceted, including not only textual, but also visual and multimodal types of rhetoric (Nicotra 2019: 100). According to Murphy (1966: 57), there are at least four possible views regarding the issue under discussion here: (1) one approach refers to the historical evolution of the term; (2) another, although suggesting a universal standpoint beyond any particular context of the speech, rather sees rhetoric as a ubiquitous phenomenon; (3) yet another is focused on technical interpretations of the delivered speech; and finally, (4) there is a tendency to conduct research in rhetoric on the basis of theories derived from literary criticism. This list leads one to the conclusion that one particular research perspective is easily supplemented by tools derived from another. Therefore, the field of contemporary rhetoric seems to be extremely broad.

Apart from the still vibrant classical approach, which accentuates the power of words, there are tendencies, in particular in commerce, to either embellish the use of language or even to manipulate the content of a message in order to increase sales. These contrasting tendencies are outlined in the following viewpoint: “[i]t’s conventional in rhetoric to distinguish between a preferred and a denigrated method of participating in public discourse, such as philosophy versus sophistry, listening rhetoric versus agonism, communicative action versus strategic action, deliberative rhetoric versus compliance–gaining rhetoric” (Roberts–Miller 2019: 9). To put it in other words, the definitions of rhetoric are numerous and contain a broad catalogue of strategies and aims which analyze the phenomenon under discussion here from completely different standpoints. What is common to all of them, it is the fact that the ancient tradition in rhetoric is still highly influential, with this old phenomenon seeming to be even more present in the public domain

nowadays than it was in the past. Therefore, in order to better understand the concept of rhetoric, key concepts regarding this issue are outlined in the following subsections.

2.1.4. The foundations of rhetoric

Although the foundations of classical rhetoric were created in ancient Greece, they remained equally important in the following centuries and are viewed, even contemporarily, as a significant field in academic debate. This proves the fact that old principles are commonly accepted and that the timeless values present in rhetoric are not only limited to one period of history, but also are universal in a sense that they are unanimously shared by all human beings around the world. This view is briefly expressed in the following statement: “[p]erhaps the wisest course of action is to recognize that where there is language there will always be rhetoric, and that rhetoric will inevitably renew itself with each succeeding generation” (Lunsford 2007: 14). The connection between both of the above-mentioned phenomena, namely language and rhetoric, is a strong and long-standing one. As a result, whenever rhetoric is analyzed, some components of language are also taken into consideration in academic analyses. Consequently, a correct understanding of rhetorical rules is a prerequisite of any linguistic analysis of political speeches. Therefore, in the following subsections selected theoretical concepts of classical rhetoric are outlined.

On the three persuasive appeals

One of the basic rhetorical concepts is the idea of the three persuasive appeals or the three types of “proof” which are commonly used to evaluate the overall impact of a speech on an audience (Rowinski 2021: 26). Originally, this tool was introduced to rhetoric by Aristotle, who distinguished three components which are always present when a speech is delivered, namely *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* (Keith & Lundberg 2008: 7). The first of these, *logos*, refers to data and the logical content of a given speech. It means that “[l]ogos is a form of speaking and writing that seeks to articulate the reason or ground in an attempt to justify or explain” (Anderson 2004: 61). To put it briefly, the domain of *logos* describes logical argumentation used in a speech which serves numerous roles, including increasing the level of credibility of the information delivered by a speaker and influencing the audience to the extent that the listeners accept the power of irresistible

arguments which are also often supported by scientific data (Murthy & Ghosal 2014: 250). It seems to be obvious that only the psychological context of the speech, namely references to emotions and building up a positive approach to a speaker, cannot fully compensate for the lack of an unquestionable logical cohesion. As a consequence, *logos* is important in every public speech in order to convince and justify.

Another component, *pathos*, is used to create a link between a speech and emotions displayed in the minds of the audience. In other words, *pathos* “(...) is often associated with emotional appeal. But a better equivalent might be appeal to the audience’s sympathies and imagination. An appeal to *pathos* causes an audience not just to respond emotionally but to identify with the writer’s point of view – to feel what the writer feels” (Penny 2010: 12). The fundamental role of *pathos* is to explore the emotional layers of the subject and to appeal to the audience’s feelings (Rowinski 2021: 34). Whereas emotions are cognitive in nature, it is always possible to determine their cause (Charteris–Black [2013] 2018: 16). Therefore, not only are logical arguments expected to be present in a truly convincing speech, but the emotions aroused in those listening are also equally important. The great importance of *pathos* in the domain of public speaking appeals to both emotions and interests (Murthy & Ghosal 2014: 253). Moreover, even if a speech is technically perfect, accounts for salient facts and incontrovertible arguments, as well as being delivered by a trustworthy person, such a speech cannot be entirely successful in attempting to achieve its aims. In some cases, the emotional component seems to be even more important than the fact being presented with indisputable evidence by a highly–regarded person. In other words, emotional coldness cannot be fully compensated by the speaker’s credibility and logical cohesion of a speech.

Finally, *ethos* is connected with the credibility of the speaker, meaning that this term describes a psychological link which is based on a belief that a speaker is a trustworthy and decent individual. A more detailed analysis distinguishes multiple components of *ethos*, including practical wisdom, virtue, goodwill, the character of the audience and its unique style (*cf.* Smith 2004: 3; Charteris–Black [2013] 2018: 8). All these elements are linked with the broad concept of credibility, an observation which explains why the audience is eager to follow and accept statements presented by the speaker. *Ethos* thus refers to the image of the speaker (Murthy & Ghosal 2014: 252). It is a well–known fact that disreputable orators are viewed as untrustworthy. Consequently, their whole effort to deliver both a beautiful and emotive speech cannot bear fruit.

Although argumentation and emotions are important, they are not sufficient to convince an audience. The full impact of a speech is achieved only when it is not deprived of confidence in the speaker. To conclude, all of the three above-mentioned components coexist in every speech, all seem to be irreplaceable and create a type of an intellectual triangle which is fundamental for every public speech. In terms of linguistics, it is indisputable that there are many different functions of language (Domaradzki 2010: 44). This statement seems to prove that the Aristotelian concept of the three persuasive appeals is interrelated with many further linguistic concepts, in particular, those which are focused on interpreting the functions of language.

One more term which is used to analyze the impact of a speech on an audience is *kairos*, namely the exact time and place of delivering a speech. In public discourse, the concept of adequacy is highly regarded due to the fact that the full impact of the speech is estimated only when the message is delivered according to the rules of *decorum*, namely at the right time and place, and to the right audience. Furthermore, *kairos* has an equally long history as the three persuasive appeals. Initially translated from the ancient Greek as “opportunity” and used in *The Illiad*, in the following centuries “[t]he legacy of *kairos* continues in Aristotle’s taxonomy of rhetorical principles (...)” (Sipiora 2002: 3). The meaning of the above-mentioning term is different from the three rhetorical appeals in the sense that whereas the former are more under the control of a speaker, the latter is focused on a metaphysical and spiritual power which is beyond human control (Thompson 2002: 189).

All these above-mentioned components are important in the analysis conducted in the third chapter of this dissertation, as all are fundamental for rhetoric viewed through the prism of effective speaking and its ability to exerting influence on an audience. When one of these is omitted, the whole speech seems to be “incomplete.” Moreover, it is not possible to determine the exact proportion of the components under discussion here. Finding a particular answer always depends on the overall context, including a given situation, speakers, audience and other components taken into consideration while the speech is being delivered. Therefore, it is safe to say that all the above-mentioned components play a role always when language is used, as well as all of them are equally important (Murthy & Ghosal 2014: 254–255). Although the above-outlined typology is undeniably significant in rhetorical analysis and stands the test of time, it seems that it is not sufficient on its own to outline the broad methodological apparatus developed

by these ancient scholars. Therefore, in the following subsection other concepts are described and carefully analyzed.

On the three types of rhetoric

Parallel to the development of rhetorical practices, theoretical studies on this phenomenon have been conducted. Initially, two types of speech were distinguished, namely *forensic* and *deliberative* whose birth was justified due to practical reasons (Ijsseling [1975] 1976: 27). Whereas the *forensic* type of rhetoric was developed with the intention of winning court cases, the *deliberative* type of rhetoric prevailed as a tool in disputes regarding either public or private affairs. Over the course of time, also the *epideictic* type of rhetoric, namely that focused on speeches delivered during both private and public events, was added (Keith & Lundberg 2008: 7). This classical distinction provided a basis for further classifications and is explained in detail in this subsection.

The main domain of the ***forensic type of rhetoric*** is embedded in past events (Ijsseling [1975] 1976: 29). Certain typical subjects under this category focus on disputes conducted during legal trials and are centered around the term of legal infringements (Keith & Lundberg 2008: 25). This type of rhetoric gained great popularity from the beginning of the discipline, in particular, due to the specific nature of the system of serving justice in ancient Greece which was open to the public. This meant that legal arguments and litigations were publically discussed, as well as the style of conducted speeches being analyzed by the citizens. Therefore, the profound knowledge of the *forensic* type of rhetoric is important for both legal practitioners and their clients even in a contemporary courtroom.

The ***deliberative type of rhetoric*** is “(...) unique in that it appeals both to the listener’s private interests and the business of the community” (Triadafilopoulos 1999: 746). This view determines the range of the category under discussion here. *Deliberative* rhetoric was commonly used in ancient Greece due to the public character of its political life. Every single issue which was viewed as being important for the community was discussed and decided by the citizens. In the contemporary world, the concept of *deliberative* rhetoric is also present in the political debate, often under the name “parliamentary oratory” (Kennedy 1991: 47). One characteristic component of this type of rhetoric is its orientation towards future events (Ijsseling [1975] 1976: 29). This is

due to the fact that the *deliberative* rhetoric is at the center of political debate and is shaped by great visions, declarations and publically given promises.

Finally, the ***epideictic type of rhetoric*** is viewed mainly through the prism of significant social events during which speeches are delivered in order to express both praise and commemoration. One example of the category under discussion here, which illustrates the range of *epideictic* rhetoric, is panegyric, namely “a speech at a festival” (Kennedy 1991: 47). While referring to the latter, the intentions of a speaker seem to be focused on listing the merits of certain reputable individuals and honoring great moments in history both for an individual and viewed broadly as a social phenomenon. The key difference between *deliberative* and *epideictic* forms of rhetoric is that whereas the former is used to generate some type of reaction, the latter is addressed to the audience which is not expected to take any decision regarding the issue being analyzed (Charteris–Black [2013] 2018: 7). Consequently, *epideictic* rhetoric is focused on the present events, a fact which is in contrast to both the *deliberative* and *forensic* types of rhetoric.

To conclude, it is safe to state that although the *deliberative type of rhetoric* seems to be dominant in the speeches analyzed in this dissertation, also selected references to *epideictic rhetoric* are present. Moreover, it is worth noting that the distinction between the three types of rhetoric is often based on practical grounds and combines different components. That is due to the fact that memorable speeches are delivered by orators under various circumstances which means that particular rhetorical types are selected considering a given context and priorities. Although the ultimate aim is, of course, to produce a creative form of communication, it is a particular context which influences the selection of rhetorical devices, as well as the speech itself. Consequently, the role of context seems to be fundamental in the above classification. Moreover, the distinction analyzed here has been developing throughout the centuries and remains extremely useful even in the contemporary world, a view which is proved by the following passage:

Aristotle’s book *Rhetoric* has been studied for more than twenty–five hundred years. Though modern society does not have public forums for resolving disputes in the same way Athenians did, the rhetorical concepts arising out of this tradition can help us think about our own times, challenges, and condition. Through the lens of rhetoric, we can gain important insights about the contemporary world in three important areas: identity and power, visual and material symbols, and the public and democracy. (Keith & Lundberg 2008: 8–9)

The above view seems to be in support of those who endeavor to transform ancient wisdom into contemporary frameworks. Memorable classical concepts, including rhetoric, have been interpreted in a new and interesting manner by numerous generations of scholars. Due to the universal character of ancient philosophy, modern interpretations not only save views from the past, but, even more importantly, also mark new ways of implementing classical knowledge in the modern world. In the following subsection, another significant classification is analyzed, namely the concept of the five canons of rhetoric and its reinterpretation by modern scholars.

On the five canons of rhetoric

Although the beginning of classical rhetoric is connected with the city-states of ancient Greece, further development of this phenomenon was observed in ancient Rome, where certain basic ideas were absorbed and, simultaneously, new concepts were created. This tendency was illustrated in the works of Cicero and Quintilian (Lichański 1986: 21–23). Both were great scholars who unequivocally placed the emphasis on the importance of a well-rounded education in the process of forming a professional public speaker. This training was expected to be versatile, as those scholars “(...) believed that an orator was to be broadly trained in the liberal arts and in philosophy, jurisprudence, and history, even though some of these areas, such as philosophy and liberal arts, were generally viewed with skepticism” (DiCicco 2003: 20). In other words, the domain of rhetoric was perceived broadly, including acquired knowledge from different fields. This view resulted in the formation of new theories and further progress in the theoretical concepts within the issue under discussion here.

One important new development, namely the five canons of rhetoric, was described in an anonymous work entitled *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Borchers & Hundley [2011] 2018: 6). These five components, to be taken into consideration in order to prepare a powerful speech, include: *inventio*, namely a topic, concept or idea which corresponds with the subject of a speech; *dispositio* which means the compositional layout of a speech; *elocutio* which refers to a decision regarding the style used in a speech; *memoria*, namely certain useful techniques implemented to support the speaker’s ability to memorize a speech; and *actio*, that is all non-verbal components which co-occur when a speech is delivered (Bourelle 2014: 132). These five canons of rhetoric seem to be a detailed guide explaining how to prepare a powerful speech. Moreover, all the components are

equally important since omitting any of them exerts a devastating effect on both the integral structure and optimal impact of a speech.

Inventio is defined as “(...) the act of finding something to say that lends support to the speaker’s position” (Crick [2010] 2013: 10). As speech cannot be delivered in a meaningless manner, it has to be meticulously thought-out by the speaker. Only a perfectly organized speech is able to achieve complete influence over an audience. Prior to delivering a speech, it must be invented, namely the intellectual concept of the subject and key points are expected to be prepared by the speaker. To put it differently, the first, preparatory phase, is similar to the fuel which is necessary in order to propel the whole vehicle of rhetoric and is, therefore, of great importance.

In close proximity to the first canon, another one emerges, namely *dispositio*. This term refers to the efforts undertaken by a speaker to arrange the whole speech properly. This is due to the fact that when the subject is deprived of both a coherent and cutting-edge structure, it is incomplete. *Dispositio* “(...) represents the step of giving order to a speech in anticipation of giving it ‘form’” (Crick [2010] 2013: 19). As a consequence, the second canon allows one to shape the structure of a speech and organize chaotic thoughts into a more precise and meaningful composition (Borchers & Hundley [2011] 2018: 6). The tools used in a speech are conventional in the sense that they are helpful in deciding on the right place and order of certain components (Crick [2010] 2013: 19). The pivotal role of proper arrangement is indisputable, in particular while considering the participants of a political debate in which speech with an attractive and thought-out structure influences the public’s choice of candidate.

The next component of a speech is termed *elocutio*. This concept is used to describe a style in which a speech is delivered. It is worth noting that there is a link between the second and third canon. Whereas *inventio* is necessary to outline the general concept of a speech, *elocutio* is useful to describe the constructed frameworks. In other words, *inventio* is a more general term, while *elocutio* represents a step forward from a general level into a more detailed sketch. Moreover, the term under discussion here is defined from two different viewpoints. The first of these refers to a particular type of language directed at an audience which is either formal, semi-formal or informal (Barthes 1970: 180). As a consequence, a mutual relationship between the speaker and the audience is established. The second view is explained by an intention to capture the listeners’ attention. This means that an emotional impact is at the center of this approach.

Another canon of speech is called *memoria*. This component describes the following steps undertaken by a speaker to memorize the whole speech and to deliver it in a natural manner (Borchers & Hundley [2011] 2018: 6). Needless to say that a chaotic and incoherent speech, as well as one which is deprived of plausible arguments, cannot achieve complete influence while simultaneously achieving the orator's aims. The concept of *memoria* is analyzed from two points of view, namely, on the one hand, either as an intellectual tool used to train memory using numerous techniques, including repetition, memory techniques and evaluation of the performance by an independent instructor or, on the other hand, as a training aimed towards delivering a speech in a natural manner, namely avoiding both stiffness and personal disabilities in communication. Both the above-mentioned dimensions of *memoria* are mutually dependent and create "(...) the act of absorbing the content and form of the speech so fully into oneself that the speech feels like an unforced expression of one's thoughts and feelings" (Crick [2010] 2013: 42). To put it in another way, *memoria* is a canon focused on interpreting the whole speech, creating the final shape and connecting particular components of a speech with the personality of the speaker.

Last but not least, there is *actio*. This component is defined as a delivery of a speech (Martinelli 2020: 216). According to a more developed definition, is expected to deal with: "(...) the manner in which a speaker physically performs the speech through the crafted use of the voice and gestures" (Crick [2010] 2013: 43–44). In other words, delivery integrates both a speech and non-verbal components, namely a speaker's voice and gestures. These elements seem to be the most difficult to control, as they are embedded in the biological and physical characteristics of a speaker. Moreover, there is a link between *elocutio* and *actio*. Whereas the former describes the structure of a speech, the latter is responsible for practical performance, which, in turn, makes an impression on an audience. This means that the last canon of speech also includes contextual factors which occur when a speech is delivered.

To conclude, it is worth noting that the five canons of rhetoric are a practical guide including hints on how to prepare an effective speech. As such, they play a vital role in public speaking and allow one to prepare an excellent oration. **The craft of a speaker is often viewed in the beautiful composition of a delivered speech, an observation which is illustrated by certain practical examples of speeches analyzed in the last chapter of this dissertation.** Furthermore, rhetoric goes beyond language, touching contextual factors. Metaphorically speaking, rhetoric reminds one of a theatrical performance (Eliot 1920: 77). Whereas the aim of a speaker is to act in a persuasive

and convincing manner, words and gestures are expected to collaborate with each other, leading to a unique composition. By following the five canons of rhetoric, a speaker is able to prepare oneself for a public event, using proper tools and mastering their performance. In the following subsection another important theoretical issue is outlined, namely the concept of rhetorical devices.

2.1.5. Selected figures of speech

Figures of speech seem to be as old as the use of language itself. In parallel to the development of rhetoric, studies on figures of speech have also been undertaken. One of the first attempts to systematically organize different figures of speech into separate classes appeared in the work entitled *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Huber 2016: 244). Further development has led to a more extensive categorization. In general, the meaning of the figures of speech is explained as:

(...) the ‘graces of language,’ as the ‘dressing of thought,’ as ‘embellishments,’ for indeed they do ‘decorate’ our prose and give it ‘style,’ in the couturier’s sense. But it would be a mistake to regard embellishment as the chief or sole function of figures. The classical rhetoricians certainly did not look upon them as a decorative devices primarily. (Corbett 1965: 425)

The above–quoted view is focused on the fact that figures of speech are not a mere addition to the content of a speech. Although both decorative and embellishing effects are the most “tangible” layer of a speech, there are also further numerous reasons to justify their use. One of them is the fact that figures of speech are used to enrich the conventional structure of a speech. This aim is met either due to the implementation of schemes or tropes. Formally speaking, “(...) tropes *establish* a conceptual link between constructs, whereas schemes *emphasize* this conceptual link by exploiting formal characteristics of signs” (Maes & Schilperoord 2009: 69). Thus, tropes are used when the reconstructed meaning is different from that which is encoded in particular words. Schemes, in turn, describe patterns of speech organized in an atypical order. In the below table, the main figures of speech, their definitions and selected examples are collected.

Table 1. Selected figures of speech, their definitions and examples of use. (All definitions adapted from: *literarydevices.net*; the examples given are collected from numerous sources. More detailed references regarding the websites and the dates of access are in a footnote directly after a given quote).

Figure of speech	Definition	Example
Alliteration	“The word ‘alliteration’ comes from the Latin word <i>latira</i> , which means ‘letters of the alphabet.’ This may be because alliteration deals directly with the letters that comprise a phrase, and the sounds the words make, instead of the words themselves. It is characterized by a number of words, typically three or more, that have the same first consonant sound within the same sentence or phrase” ¹ .	“Somewhere at this very moment a child is being born in America. Let it be our cause to give that child a happy home, a healthy family, and a hopeful future.” (William Jefferson Clinton – <i>Democratic National Convention</i> , 1992) ² .
Anadiplosis	“The term anadiplosis is a Greek word, which means ‘to reduplicate.’ It refers to the repetition of a word or words in successive clauses in such a way that the second clause starts with the same word which marks the end of the previous clause” ³ .	“If you can’t fly, run; if you can’t run, walk; if you can’t walk, crawl; but by all means keep moving.” (Martin Luther King Jr. – <i>Keep Moving From This Mountain</i> , 1960) ⁴ .
Analogy	“An analogy is a figure of speech that creates a comparison by showing how two seemingly different entities are alike, along with illustrating a larger point due to their commonalities” ⁵ .	“Withdrawal of U.S. troops will become like salted peanuts to the American public; the more U.S. troops come home, the more will be demanded.” (Henry Alfred Kissinger – <i>Memo to President Richard M. Nixon</i> , 1969) ⁶ .
Anaphora	“Anaphora is a rhetorical device that features repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive sentences, phrases, or clauses” ⁷ .	“People of the word – look at Berlin! Look at Berlin, where Germans (...) Look at Berlin, where the determination (...) Look at Berlin, where the bullet holes (...) People of the world – look at Berlin.” (Barrack Hussain Obama – <i>Berlin Speech</i> , 2008) ⁸ .

¹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/8-song-lyrics-that-use-alliteration/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

² Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-democratic-national-convention-new-york>. Date: 12-06-2017.

³ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/anadiplosis/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁴ Retrieved from: <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/keep-moving-mountain-address-spelman-college-10-april-1960>. Date: 10-08-2017.

⁵ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/analogy/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁶ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/figures/analogy.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁷ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/anaphora/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁸ Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/24/us/politics/24text-obama.html>. Date: 15-08-2017.

<i>Antithesis</i>	“Antithesis, which literally means ‘opposite,’ is a rhetorical device in which two opposite ideas are put together in a sentence to achieve a contrasting effect” ⁹ .	“Some men see things as they are and say why; I dream things that never were and say why not.” (Edward Moore Kennedy – <i>Eulogy for Robert F. Kennedy</i> , 1968) ¹⁰ .
<i>Apostrophe</i>	“Not to be confused with the punctuation mark of the same name, apostrophe is a rhetorical device used by playwrights and authors whenever their characters address a character that is not present in the scene” ¹¹ .	“And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.” (John Fitzgerald Kennedy – <i>Inaugural Speech</i> , 1961) ¹² .
<i>Assonance</i>	“Assonance is a literary device in which the repetition of similar vowel sounds takes place in two or more words in proximity to each other within a line of poetry or prose” ¹³ .	“Our flag is red, white, and blue – but our nation is rainbow. Red, yellow, brown, black, and white, we are all precious in God’s sight.” (Jesse Louis Jackson – <i>Democratic National Convention</i> , 1984) ¹⁴ .
<i>Asyndeton</i>	“Asyndeton is derived from the Greek word <i>asyndeton</i> , which means ‘unconnected.’ It is a stylistic device used in literature and poetry to intentionally eliminate conjunctions between the phrases, and in the sentence, yet maintain grammatical accuracy” ¹⁵ .	“Now as an engineer, a planner, a businessman, I see clearly the value to our nation of a strong system of free enterprise based on increased productivity and adequate wages.” (Jimmy Earl Carter – <i>Democratic National Convention</i> , 1976) ¹⁶ .
<i>Contrast</i>	“Contrast is a rhetorical device through which writers identify differences between two subjects, places, persons, things, or ideas. Simply, it is a type of opposition between two objects, highlighted to emphasize their differences” ¹⁷ .	“That’s one small step for (a) man; one giant leap for mankind.” (Neil Alden Armstrong – <i>One Small Step</i> , 1969) ¹⁸ .

⁹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/antithesis/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

¹⁰ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ekennedytributetorfk.html>. Date: 15-08-2017.

¹¹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/10-memorable-uses-of-apostrophe-by-shakespeare/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

¹² Retrieved from: <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/Ready-Reference/JFK-Quotations/Inaugural-Address.aspx>. Date: 15-08-2017.

¹³ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/assonance/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

¹⁴ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jessejackson1984dnc.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

¹⁵ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/asyndeton/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

¹⁶ Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/our-nations-past-and-future-address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-democratic>. Date: 15-08-2017.

¹⁷ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/contrast/>. Date: 15-08-2020.

¹⁸ Retrieved from: <https://www.hq.nasa.gov/alsj/a11/a11.step.html>. Date: 15-08-2020.

<i>Diacope</i>	”Diacope has originated from a Greek work <i>thiakhop</i> , which means ‘to cut into two.’ This literary device is a repetition of a phrase or word, broken up by other intervening words” ¹⁹ .	“The Cuban Revolution – that’s a revolution.” (Malcolm X – <i>Message to the Grassroots</i> , 1963) ²⁰ .
<i>Enumeration</i>	“Enumeration is a rhetorical device used for listing details, or a process of mentioning words or phrases step by step” ²¹ .	“It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied (...) It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold (...) It is a violation of human rights when women are doused (...)” (Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton – <i>Women’s Rights are Human Rights</i> , 1995) ²² .
<i>Epistrophe</i>	“Epistrophe is derived from a Greek word that means ‘turning upon,’ which indicates the same word returns at the end of each sentence. Epistrophe is a stylistic device that can be defined as the repetition of phrases or words at the ends of the clauses or sentences” ²³ .	“(…) this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom – and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.” (Abraham Lincoln – <i>Gettysburg Address</i> , 1863) ²⁴ .
<i>Epithet</i>	“Epithet is a descriptive literary device that describes a place, a thing, or a person in such a way that it helps in making its characteristics more prominent than they actually are” ²⁵ .	“There are in the body public, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them.” (Theodore Roosevelt – <i>The Man with the Muck-Rake</i> , 1906) ²⁶ .
<i>Epizeuxis</i>	“Epizeuxis is derived from the Greek word <i>epizeugnumi</i> , which means ‘fastening together.’ It is defined as a rhetorical device in which the words or phrases are	“In this dedication – In this dedication of a Nation, we humbly ask the blessing of God.” (Franklin Delano Roosevelt – <i>First Inaugural Address</i> , 1933) ²⁸ .

¹⁹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/diacope/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

²⁰ Retrieved from: <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/message-to-grassroots>. Date: 15-08-2017.

²¹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/enumeration/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

²² Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/hillaryclintonbeijingspeech.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

²³ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/epistrophe/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

²⁴ Retrieved from: <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

²⁵ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/epithet/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

²⁶ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/teddyrooseveltmuckrake.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

²⁸ Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-8>. Date: 15-08-2017.

	repeated in quick succession, one after another, for emphasis” ²⁷ .	
<i>Eponym</i>	“Eponym is a name of a legend or real person that writers associate with some other person, object, institution, or thing” ²⁹ .	“But through the process of amendments, interpretation and court decision, I have finally been included in ‘We the people’.” (Barbara Charline Jordan – <i>Statement on the Articles of Impeachment</i> , 1974) ³⁰ .
<i>Exemplum</i>	“Exemplum is a rhetorical device that is defined as a short tale, narrative, or anecdote used in literary pieces and speeches to explain a doctrine, or emphasize a moral point” ³¹ .	“I’ve come to understand that a cultural war is raging across our land. For example, I marched for civil rights with Dr. King in 1963. But when I told an audience last year that white pride is just as valid as black pride or red pride or anyone else's pride, they called me a racist.” (Charlton Heston – <i>Winning the Cultural War</i> , 1999) ³² .
<i>Hyperbole</i>	“Hyperbole, derived from a Greek word meaning ‘over-casting,’ is a figure of speech that involves an exaggeration of ideas for the sake of emphasis” ³³ .	“So first of all, let me assert my firm believe that the only think we have to fear is fear itself.” (Franklin Delano Roosevelt – <i>First Inaugural Address</i> , 1933) ³⁴ .
<i>Metaphor</i>	“A metaphor is a figure of speech that makes a comparison between two unlike things (...). Metaphor is a means of asserting that two things are identical in comparison rather than just similar” ³⁵ .	“(…) our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very foundations of our Nation.” (William Jefferson Clinton – <i>Inaugural Address</i> , 1993) ³⁶ .
<i>Onomatopoeia</i>	“Onomatopoeia (...) is defined as a word which imitates the natural sounds of a thing. It creates a sound effect that mimics the thing	“And wherever they are assembled today, whether they are in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya; Accra, Ghana; New York City; Atlanta, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Memphis, Tennessee - the cry is

²⁷ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/epizeuxis/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

²⁹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/eponym/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

³⁰ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barbarajordanjudiciarystatement.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

³¹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/exemplum/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

³² Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/charltonhestonculturalwar.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

³³ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/hyperbole/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

³⁴ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrfirstinaugural.html>. Date: 15-08-2017.

³⁵ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/metaphor/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

³⁶ Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-51>. Date: 15-08-2017.

	described, making the description more expressive and interesting” ³⁷ .	always the same.” (Martin Luther King Jr. – <i>I Have Been to the Mountaintop</i> , 1968) ³⁸ .
Oxymoron	“Oxymoron is a figure of speech pairing two words together that are opposing and/or contradictory” ³⁹ .	“There is no such thing as a nonviolence revolution.” (Malcolm X – <i>Message to the Grassroots</i> , 1963) ⁴⁰ .
Paradox	“A paradox is a statement that appears at first to be contradictory, but upon reflection then makes sense. This literary device is commonly used to engage a reader to discover an underlying logic in a seemingly self-contradictory statement or phrase” ⁴¹ .	“I proudly and humbly accept your nomination.” (Hubert Horatio Humphrey – <i>Vice Presidential Nomination Acceptance Address</i> , 1964) ⁴² .
Personification	“Personification is a figure of speech in which an idea or thing is given human attributes and/or feelings or is spoken of as if it were human” ⁴³ .	“Once again, the heart of America is heavy. The spirit of America weeps for a tragedy that denies the very meaning of our land.” (Lyndon Bynes Johnson – <i>Address on the Assassination of MLK, Jr.</i> , 1968) ⁴⁴ .
Pleonasm	“Pleonasm is derived from a Greek word that means ‘ <i>excess</i> .’ It is a rhetorical device that can be defined as the use of two or more words (a phrase) to express an idea” ⁴⁵ .	“My faith in the constitution is whole; it is complete; it is total.” (Barbara Charline Jordan – <i>Statement on the Articles of Impeachment</i> , 1974) ⁴⁶ .
Polysyndeton	“Polysyndeton is a stylistic device in which several coordinating conjunctions are used in succession in order to achieve an artistic effect” ⁴⁷ .	“We must change that deleterious environment of the 80’s, that environment which was characterized by greed and hatred and selfishness and mega-mergers and debt overhang.”

³⁷ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/onomatopoeia/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

³⁸ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkivebeentothemountaintop.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

³⁹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/oxymoron/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁴⁰ Retrieved from: <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/message-to-grassroots/>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁴¹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/paradox/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁴² Retrieved from: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/huberthumphrey1964dnc.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁴³ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/personification/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁴⁴ Retrieved from: <http://abcnews.go.com/US/video/april-1968-president-johnson-addresses-nation-death-martin-46549568>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁴⁵ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/pleonasm/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁴⁶ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barbarajordanjudiciarystatement.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁴⁷ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/polysyndeton/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

		(Barbara Charline Jordan – <i>Democratic National Convention</i> , 1992) ⁴⁸ .
Rhetorical question	“A rhetorical question is asked just for effect, or to lay emphasis on some point being discussed, when no real answer is expected. A rhetorical question may have an obvious answer, but the questioner asks it to lay emphasis to the point” ⁴⁹ .	“Can anyone look at our reduced standing in the world today and say, <i>Let’s have four more years of this?</i> ” (Ronald Wilson Reagan – <i>Republican National Convention</i> , 1980) ⁵⁰ .
Simile	“A simile is a figure of speech in which two essentially dissimilar objects or concepts are expressly compared with one another through the use of ‘like’ or ‘as’ (...). A proper simile creates an explicit comparison between two things that are different enough from each other such that their comparability appears unlikely” ⁵¹ .	“(…) until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.” (Martin Luther King, Jr. – <i>I Have A Dream</i> , 1963) ⁵² .
Understatement	“An understatement is a figure of speech employed by writers or speakers to intentionally make a situation seem less important than it really is” ⁵³ .	“North Korea is behaving very badly. It is looking for trouble.” (Donald John Trump – <i>Hardball with Chris Matthews</i> , 2017) ⁵⁴ .

The above list is only a selection from a broad catalogue of rhetorical devices. In many cases, the range of rhetorical strategies is even multiplied by replacing well-known structures and sentences from the past in a new context in order to maintain the original meaning and to add new connotations (Axer 1982: 177). **Although all rhetorical strategies are directed at exerting a significant influence on an audience, some of them are more frequently preferred by speakers than the others. This is illustrated in the analytical chapter of this dissertation, in which**

⁴⁸ Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barbarajordan1992dnc.html>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁴⁹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/rhetorical-question/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁵⁰ Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-republican-national-convention-detroit>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁵¹ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/simile/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁵² Retrieved from: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkhaveadream.htm>. Date: 15-08-2017.

⁵³ Retrieved from: <https://literarydevices.net/understatement/>. Date: 30-07-2020.

⁵⁴ Retrieved from: <http://www.msnbc.com/transcripts/hardball/2017-04-14>. Date: 21-08-2017.

selected rhetorical devices present in the speeches are analyzed in order to reveal the preferences showed by particular speakers. Undoubtedly, although there are numerous ways to have an impact on an audience, one should always bear in mind that “[r]hetoric is advisory; it has the office of advising men with reference to an independent order of goods and with reference to their particular situation as it relates to these” (Weaver 1963: 63). Consequently, it is always extremely important to prepare a speech carefully and to select these rhetorical devices which are able to more successfully persuade rather than order. This section was focused on selected issues regarding the range of rhetorical analysis. In the following section, considerable attention is given to another tool used in the analytical chapter of this dissertation, namely the concept of textual analysis.

2.2. Textual analysis

Linguistic analysis has been centered on the concept of a text for many years. In order to better understand the significance of a text, in particular in the process of communication, a broad domain of studies has been developing. The key term, **textual analysis**, is defined as: “(...) a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world” (Mckee 2003: 1). Such a definition draws attention to the link between a given language and its users, a mutual interaction which is at the center of scientific analysis concerning the complex role of language in social life. In the following sections, the focus is placed on describing selected components of the domain of textual analysis.

2.2.1. On the concept of a text

The concept of a text is inextricably linked with communication due to the fact that when people enter into a dialogue certain types of texts are produced. Etymologically speaking, the term is derived from Latin, more precisely from the verb *texto* which means “to weave” (Gracia 1995: 7). The first use of the word under discussion here is recorded in a famous passage:

(...) although I admit that artistic structure, at any rate in perfection, was the last accomplishment to be attained by oratory, I still hold that even primitive orators regarded it as one of the objects of

their study, as far at least as the rudeness of their attainments permitted. For even Cicero for all his greatness will never persuade me that Lysias, Herodotus and Thucydides were careless in this respect. They may not perhaps have pursued the same ideals as Demosthenes and Plato, and even these latter differed in their methods. For it would never have done to spoil the fine and delicate texture of Lysias by the introduction of richer rhythms, since he would thus have lost all that surpassing grace which he derives from his simple and unaffected tone, while he would also have sacrificed the impression of sincerity which he now creates. (Quintilian [35–96] 1922: IX: IV: 16–17)

The above view indicates the beauty of classical literature which is expressed not only by a decorative and complex style, but also by subtle links used to express fleeting moments. This special gift is compared to a delicate fabric, carefully woven only by the most experienced craftsmen. Similarly to weaving, speakers/writers are able to produce a sort of structure, agilely interweaving various linguistic and non-linguistic components, forming a text. There have been many attempts to describe this phenomenon. According to the view expressed by Halliday & Hasan (1976: 1), “[a] text is a unit of language in use” which means that neither grammatical rules nor formal structures are able to fully describe this phenomenon. Whereas a text is not limited by any given length or forms, there is always an addresser, an addressee and the same subject (Mayenowa 1974: 255). A proper interpretation of a text cannot be based only on a visual structure, but rather refers to both logical and contextual meanings.

According to de Beaugrande and Dressler ([1972] 1981: 63), a text is “[a] naturally occurring manifestation of language, *i.e.* as a communicative language event in a context.” This means that language, which is a complex and general system of signs, transmits meanings in a form of a text, which is a flexible entity, and adapts itself to particular situations in which it occurs. However, units of language, including sentences and clauses, do not have an overwhelming impact on the properties of a text which, being broadly beyond their control, also depends on a context. Therefore, a text is identified as a semantic unit, namely a unit of meaning (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 2). Furthermore, a text interpretation is conducted at two levels, namely either on the basis of a superficial or an in-depth analysis. Whereas the former refers to the structures used to manifest the outer, linguistic shape of a message, the latter is focused on its semantic meaning. This double structure transmits two types of knowledge, namely those expressed *explicitly*, available immediately after entering into contact with a text, and another one which is expressed *implicitly*,

namely gained after decoding a transmitted meaning (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 63). As it is viewed, the first level of a sentence is a superficial one, under which one can reveal more complex principles, which are different from linguistic structures. This connection is based on the meaning of used signs, including not only words, but also the punctuation, emphasis, space, silence and headings underlying meaning (Gracia 1995: 13).

As it has been observed, one of the most interesting properties of a text is its interconnection with a sphere beyond the linguistic structures (Khuddro 2018: 36–37). A similar view, namely a postulate to extend textual studies beyond the domain of linguistics, is expressed by Kirsch (2018: 2): “[t]he writing culture debates addressed the question of reflexivity *within the text* (...). In contrast, engaged anthropology is concerned with reflexivity *beyond the text* (...).” This opinion proves that a text is interpreted also as a phenomenon beyond a traditional linguistic view, crossing the borders imposed by linguistic structures, and leading to new meanings. Within a text, an image of the world is encoded, therefore, the above interpretation refers to numerous phenomena beyond the range of analysis conducted by traditional linguistics. According to Ready (2019: 3), there are two further types of text distinguished beneath the linguistic layer, namely (1) messages encoded in social actions and (2) meanings included in objects created by people. This is a broad interpretation which combines various views and different aspects of human life. This, in turn, leads to a view that the whole of reality experienced by human beings, including numerous processes and artifacts which exist in society, is open to interpretation conducted from the viewpoint of text analysis. Moreover, a text is viewed “(...) as a process of becoming (...)” (Scrimmer 2019: 36). In other words, a text is never completed in a sense that it is in constant progress, reinterpretation, and has a potential to evolve in unexpected directions. Once analyzed under given circumstances, this phenomenon is subsequently interpreted from another perspective and read differently. As a result, a given text is able to last forever provided that it is repeated and reproduced in the reader’s mind.

To conclude, it is worth placing some emphasis on the overwhelming presence of texts at different levels of social interactions. While people communicate and describe reality, their imagination, state of mind, they are always in a process of a text production. Although the range of interpretation is encoded in a text, it is not limited by a text. As it is stated by Gracia (1995: 18): “(...) the meaning of a text is what is understood when a text produces understanding.” In order to better understand the phenomenon under discussion here, it is necessary to move beyond the words,

towards the deepest layers of interpretation which are hidden in a given text. This attempt is undertaken in the following subsections.

2.2.2. On the concept of textuality

A text has an impact on its readers due to a broad range of possible interpretations concerning its semiotic connotations. This view is beautifully expressed by Barthes ([1973] 1975: 11–12): “[w]hat I enjoy in a narrative is not directly its content or even its structure, but rather the abrasions I impose upon the fine surface: I read on, I skip, I look up, I dip in again.” A text has two natures, namely as a static product and, simultaneously, as a dynamic, constantly developing process which is based on a collection of choices between potential meanings (Halliday & Hasan 1985: 10). An attempt to interpret the attributes of a text leads to a concept of **textuality**. According to de Beaugrande (1997: 13), the discussed term is “(...) both the *essential quality of all texts* and a *human achievement* whenever a text is ‘*textualized*,’ *i.e.*, whenever an ‘artifact’ of sounds or written marks is produced or received as a text.” This view is focused on two components, namely the meaning encoded in a text and efforts taken by human beings to interpret it. Whereas a text contains a message expressed by a determined co–occurrence of signs, the human mind is also necessary to produce meanings considering particular circumstances and oppositions such as visible/invisible, inside/outside, presence/absence and text/context (Silverman 1986: 60).

A large number of variables, which should be taken into account whenever textuality is analyzed, makes it difficult to define. As Rescher states (2010: 4): “[t]he laws of nature are stable – even where they relate to change, and certain even where they relate to probabilities. By contrast textuality – and human artifice in general – is changeably anarchic, lacking in stable laws and even devoid of statistical regularities that are stable and unchanging over time.” Fortunately, there are two important components of unity within a concept of textuality which are identified, namely **structure and texture** (Khoo 2016: 301). Whereas structure refers to a hierarchically organized text at a higher level than a sentence (Gumul 2007: 126), texture is focused on a semantic tie between particular components of a text which is responsible for producing meaning (Hasan 1993: 76). One of the shortest definition states that texture is a unique feature of “being a text” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 12). This means that only a text has texture which cannot be transferred onto any other phenomenon. Furthermore, this concept “(...) does not only refer to the structure of

components, but is also used to describe the character or quality of something, as in ‘the texture of a piece of art’ or ‘the texture of life’” (Renkema 2009: 10). In other words, a texture is not merely connected with particular forms used in a text, but also refers to the non–linguistic layers of textual interpretation. According to Robbins (1996: 4–8), there are many types of texture, including ideological, social, cultural, sacred, inner and verbal. Each of them is focused on certain selected aspect of a text interpretation, displaying a connection between differently viewed entities. A more detailed description of textuality and selected standards used to analyze this phenomenon is given in the subsections which follows.

2.2.3. The seven standards of textuality

What seems to be the main problem with text interpretation is defined by Rescher (2010: 7): “[a] text is prismatic in nature, it reflects different features depending upon the point of view from which it is regarded. The process at issue has two inputs: text and context. And interpretations themselves change the context.” Whereas a text is complex by nature and creates a multifaceted system of mutual connections (de Beaugrande 1997: 11), it also introduces harmony and creates a meaningful unity between particular components (House 2018: 33). In order to reveal this network of connections, the **seven standards of textuality**, which are a valuable and irreplaceable tool in text analysis, have been developed. The standards analyzed here include: cohesion, coherence, situationality, intertextuality, intentionality, acceptability and informativity (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 3–9). It is worth noting that the role of these above–mentioned tools is to conduct a complex and overall analysis of various interrelations within and beyond the text itself, a process defined as “connectedness” (de Beaugrande 1997: 13). Brief descriptions of the seven standards of textuality are presented below.

Cohesion is defined as a property of a text in which the words used are mutually connected and form a unique structure based on the rules of grammar and convention (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 3). The links between words, sometimes described as the lexico–grammatical network, are the most important components of cohesion (House 2018: 33). According to Halliday & Hasan (1976: 4), cohesion relates to the interpretation of certain elements within a broad range of discourse which is based on the other, co–occurring elements. Moreover, as is stated by Khoo (2016: 302), cohesion is “(...) a semantic concept that refers to nonstructural

relations that capture semantic links (...).” In other words, cohesion provides a sort of basic integrity and unity to a text, allows one to understand the logical and grammatical relations, and is derived from mutual ties between particular components of a texture (Hasan 1993: 76).

Coherence refers to the meaning of these concepts which are displayed by words used in a text and is focused on their accessibility and relevance (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 3). Coherence is hence a “network of conceptual relations” (House 2018: 33), a statement which means that this phenomenon goes beyond the lexical and grammatical frameworks, touching the deepest levels of interpretation. A mutual relationship between cohesion and coherence is viewed as follows: whereas the former is focused on the outer layer of a text, the latter evokes hidden meanings which are embedded beyond a textual layer. Furthermore, coherence seems to be more important than cohesion, as a text may be deprived of structural integrity, but cannot be deprived of meaning. In that case, it would be only a mere collection of meaningless forms (Dressler & Barbaresi 1994: 7).

Another standard of textuality, namely **situationality**, is defined as concerning the context in which a given text was produced (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 9). This means that a particular attention is paid to the situation in which a text occurs. This is due to the fact that one text may be decoded differently, depending on the circumstances under which it is delivered. Hence, situationality refers to “(...) the relationship of a text to a particular socio–temporal and local context” (House 2018: 33). In other words, in order to fully interpret the layers encoded in a text, it is not enough to understand the structure and the meaning of a text. What is equally important it is to take into account the context in which the text is delivered. Situationality, therefore, goes beyond a text, towards numerous processes and events which are present in reality.

Yet another standard of textuality, namely **intertextuality**, is defined as texts based on references to previously produced texts which are revealed in a given text (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 10). This means that a text is not limited to unique and abstract ideas expressed in its current realization, but it is rather a continuous phenomenon which evolves in time. Prior knowledge, obtained on the basis of previous texts, is transformed and displaced, producing results which are both long–lasting and able to stand the test of time. The standard under discussion here goes beyond a traditional approach to texts, as intertextuality “(...) is always comprised of pre–existing textual elements, a ‘tissue of quotations.’ An author is no longer (...) the originator of meaning, since meaning no longer has an origin” (Allen 2003: 81). To put it differently,

intertextuality is used to define a relationship between a text and the whole constellation of previous texts which are, at least to a degree, reflected in the current one (House 2018: 33). Moreover, this standard places the emphasis on the dynamic approach to a text (Martínez–Alfaro 1996: 268). This means that a text is not merely a static entity, it is rather in an uninterrupted move, in a process of reinterpretation of the previous meanings and connotations. Therefore, intertextuality is indispensable to understand both deeper and remote senses encoded in a text. A more detailed analysis of the concept of intertextuality is outlined in the following subsection of this section.

One definition of **intentionality** views this standard of textuality as focusing on the intentions of the text producer (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 7). In order to explain this standard, de Beaugrande (1997: 14) adds: “(...) intentionality subsumes what text producers intend to mean, achieve, and so on (...)” This view characterizes another component in text analysis, namely an attempt undertaken by a text producer in order to convey such a text which in possibly optimal in order to reflect the intentions of the author. The core of the analyzed standard seems to be based on a supposition that the meaningful layer of a text is created by its author. As a result, intentionality ensures a link between both text producer’s intentions and obtained results.

Acceptability, namely a mirror image of intentionality, is viewed as referring to the attitude of the receiver of the text which reflects a belief that a given text should be relevant to him/her (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 8). Whereas intentionality is focused on the text producer, acceptability places emphasis on the text receiver. Potentially, a text is able to cause numerous reactions, including an alternative interpretation regarding its meaning, deeper understanding and hidden intentions (de Beaugrande 1997: 14). This overall impact of a text on the receivers and their socio–cultural background is defined under the term acceptability (House 2018: 33). Finally, the last standard of textuality which is under discussion here is known as **informativity**. This concept is defined as a property of a text which describes an increase in knowledge possible thanks to a given text (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 9). In order to explain this standard of textuality, it is important to conduct a comparison between two analyzed points which reflect the receiver’s state of mind at two periods, namely prior and subsequent to the moment in which a text appeared. The greatest increase in new knowledge is observed, the more significant role of informativity in an analyzed text is viewed.

It is also worth noting that in addition to the above–mentioned standards of textuality, de Beaugrande & Dressler ([1972] 1981: 11) also introduced, on the basis of the concepts developed

by John Rogers Searle, **three regulative principles**, namely: efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness. Briefly speaking, efficiency describes the intensity of effort taken by readers to understand and interpret a text; effectiveness is used to determine the impact of a text on its receivers; finally, appropriateness refers to an adequate interaction between all the elements included in a text. To conclude, whereas seven standards of textuality are distinguished to produce textual communication, three regulative principles are used to control this process (Fernández–Smith 2007: 106). Furthermore, the concept of the seven standards of textuality is both extremely influential in modern studies concerning texts and is extremely useful to define the constitutive principles of text analysis. Although all these standards play their role, in this dissertation particular attention was given to intertextuality, therefore, in the following subsection, a focus is given to both a brief history and various interpretations regarding this component of a text.

2.2.4. The origins and meaning of the concept of intertextuality

Although intertextuality is classified as one of the seven standards of textuality (de Beaugrande & Dressler [1972] 1981: 10), there are also further studies focused on analyzing and explaining the concept under discussion here. Moreover, the great popularity of the term has led to a conclusion that “(...) intertextuality is one of the most commonly used and misused terms in contemporary critical vocabulary” (Allen [2000] 2011: 2). Its origins go back to the 1960s, when three great scholars contributed to its development. Although Julia Kristeva coined the term, she derived it from the studies conducted by Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895–1975), Roland Barthes (1915–1980) connected previous views with contemporary philosophy and Michel Foucault (1926–1984) placed an emphasis on the role of intertextuality in modern literary research (Baron 2019: 1). Moreover, its above–mentioned evolution and numerous further studies were responsible for the unprecedented popularity of the term, going far beyond literature, and encompassing feminist and postcolonial adaptations, non–literary arts, further trends present in the current era, and even certain references to the term in computer technology (Allen [2000] 2011: 6). **Due to the fact that the concept of intertextuality is an important tool in the analysis conducted in the last chapter of this dissertation, the aim of this subsection is to outline the term and its significance in the field of textual analysis.**

First of all, it is worth noting a famous definition expressed by Kristeva ([1967] 1986: 37):

(...) any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another (...). The word as minimal textual unit thus turns out to occupy the status of *mediator*, linking structural models to cultural (historical) environment, as well as that of *regulator*, controlling mutations from diachrony to synchrony, *i.e.*, to literary structure.

The above-quoted view places the emphasis on the double role of words, namely as a tool of transmission between both theory and practice in cultural processes and as a device used to coordinate a diachronic and synchronic perspective. These words constitute a text, which reflects other texts, in particular their two phases, namely production and reception, being “(...) radically porous entities, whose words and forms are derived from, and whose meanings are glimpsed through, the mediation of other texts” (Baron 2019: 2). In other words, it is the process of **mediation** which allows one to identify and interpret previous texts which are present in their subsequent realization (Chruszczewski 2011b: 245). Moreover, according to Pelling (2020: 12–13), the concept of intertextuality is viewed extremely broadly. In its first layer, it is focused on links between a given text and numerous phenomena, including not only previous texts, but also discourses and genres to mention just a few. Similarly, in its second layer, intertextuality refers to two significant encounters, namely, the concept of a “**dialog**” between a given text and previous ones, a term borrowed from the Bakhtinian tradition, and the interconnection between a text and its readers. All these layers mutually overlap and, in general, outline the concept of intertextuality in its broad sense.

Analyzing the impact of the theories coined by Bakhtin on the concept of intertextuality, it is safe to state that this is significant, in particular, when considering two important terms, namely “**dialogism**” and “**heteroglosia**” (Allen [2000] 2011: 14). The former is viewed as an integral property of language which allows one to create structures in a narrative (Kristeva [1967] 1986: 37). That is to say, every text is able to enter into a “dialog” with other texts through reference to regularities encoded in a given context. The latter is interestingly explained by Allen ([2000] 2011: 28), who states that the term “heteroglosia” is coined from two ancient Greek words, namely *hetero* (“other”) and *glot* (“voice”), which are used together in order to describe a property of various texts to transmit, at the same time, one harmonized discourse.

In addition, there have been numerous theoretical attempts in order to distinguish the main categories of intertextuality. One commonly accepted classification is based on a distinction

between a **horizontal and vertical** type of intertextuality. Following the explanation of Parham (2016: 867–868): “[h]orizontal intertextuality refers to intertextual relations of a dialogical nature between a text and those which precede and follow it in a chain of texts (...). Vertical intertextuality (...) refers to the relations obtained between a text and other texts which form its immediate and distant contexts, these include the text to which it is historically linked as well as those which are more or less contemporary with it.” As it has been expressed, whereas horizontal intertextuality refers to specific links between a given text and both the previous and subsequent texts which are of the same type as the current realization, vertical intertextuality is embedded in a general context in which the current text is submerged (Namadi & Zarrinjooee 2014: 1612).

Another classification is based on a distinction between intertextuality expressed in **explicit (manifest) and implicit (constitutive)** forms. As it is stated by Scherer (2010: 29), whereas the former term describes intertextuality which is overtly manifested in a given text, the latter refers to that which is not indicated directly. Similarly, according to Parham (2016: 868): “(...) the former is the case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text and are manifestly marked or cued by features on the surface of the text, such as quotation marks, whereas the latter (...) refers to the configuration of discourse conventions (...).” This is an interesting observation, as it puts constraints on the whole concept under discussion here, namely only clear references focused on previous texts are indisputably identified. In contrast, more remote connotations are often not detected and their presence may be the subject of dispute. **Therefore, in the last chapter of this dissertation, full attention is focused on references to intertextuality which are expressed explicit, namely by direct references of the speaker, as this type of intertextuality is both easy to distinguish and uncontroversial in verification. Moreover, such a type of intertextuality is also an excellent tool in order to reveal both the cultural and social background in which a speaker is embedded.**

To conclude, it is worth noting that the concept of intertextuality has an inclusive rather than exclusive nature, and allows one to reveal a long list of cultural references encoded in a given text. Although distinguished in a different manner, different types of textuality are not separated, but rather are viewed as a constant and coherent continuum which includes a broad range of previous references, equally including those which are clearly articulated by direct quotes and those which are hidden and require deeper analysis to interpret their exact meaning, namely discourses generated by the writer and those created by the reader (Miola 2004: 14). In other words, the

phenomenon of intertextuality is an excellent tool to illustrate the cultural and social embedment of a given text, and, as such, is commonly analyzed in numerous studies. However, intertextuality, despite its significant role in linguistic research, is only one of the available tools used in this study. In the following section another of these is outlined, namely the implementation of quantitative studies in linguistic analysis.

2.3. Quantitative methods in linguistics

A frequent justification for using quantitative methods in analyzing a speech is based on the fact that these tools allow one to gain insight into the proportion in words used, identify regularities, and formulate general theories regarding the patterns of language (González–Torre *et al.* 2017: 1). Consequently, assuming that a speech is constructed with an intention to achieve certain goals, precise knowledge regarding particular structures and the proportion between them is valuable in order to reveal the intentions of a speaker. In other words, statistical patterns in a speech elicit the speaker’s approach to the audience, as well as his/her hidden aims. The above–stated assumption leads to the view that the domain of **quantitative linguistics** is extremely important in analyzing a speech. This field of science combines two, apparently, completely different academic domains, namely, mathematics and linguistics. Cooperation between both disciplines opens up new and previously unknown doors and allows one to better understand the principles of human communication. Due to quantitative linguistics not only does the whole scientific apparatus of linguistic theories play a role, but also reliable data regarding the presence and frequency of given structures of language is implemented in order to support linguistic findings.

2.3.1. On the concept of quantitative linguistics

The approach of using quantitative data in linguistics has a long history. In ancient Greece, two thinkers, who lived around the second century BC, namely Dionysius Thrax and Apollonius Dyscolus, are believed to have formulated the principles of a lexico–quantitative analysis (Pawłowski 2008: 50). However, it was not until the first half of the twentieth century, when a further progress of a new domain within linguistic studies was observed. Due to the dynamic development of theoretical models and a fresh view of multidisciplinary methods, a new and

complex field of analysis was established. According to Těšitelová (1992: 15), certain members of the Prague Linguistic Circle, namely Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945), Bohumil Trnka (1895–1984) and Josef Vachek (1909–1996) are believed to have had an undeniable impact on the foundations of the field of science under discussion here.

Quantitative linguistics is a multidisciplinary domain, combining linguistic analysis with information theory, probability theory and linear algebra (Malak 2011: 50–51). The main aim is to reveal certain patterns, expressed using linguistic means, which are encoded in a text. In other words, the range of words and structures used in a speech is analyzed through the prism of quantitative and mathematical methods. Moreover, it is important to distinguish two types of information collected by researchers, namely **qualitative and quantitative data**. As Groom and Littlemore (2011: 93) have observed: “[w]hereas qualitative data provides the researcher with in-depth detailed knowledge of a particular phenomenon, quantitative data tends to provide a broad-brush overview of general trends and relationships.” This view suggests that whereas qualitative data refers to a microscopic analysis of language, quantitative data seems to reflect broad, complex and macroscopic studies within language. Moreover, both types of collected information are equally important and mutually dependent.

There are numerous applications of quantitative linguistics. One of the most significant is in determining corpuses of language which are identified on the basis of selected criteria, including general (broad use of language), specific (according to selected criteria), synchronic (at a given moment) and diachronic (within a longer period of time) viewpoints (Brezina 2018: 15). **In this study, special attention is given to quantitative linguistics as a tool in analyzing passages focused on references to trauma and heroism, since possessing exact knowledge about the frequency of used words and structures is supportive in explaining both the intentions of a speaker and the context in which a speech was delivered.** Consequently, quantitative linguistics seems to be a valuable tool in analyses conducted by anthropological linguists. In order to give a more detailed view on the field of quantitative linguistics, in the following subsection certain selected characteristic components regarding the meaning and the range of quantitative linguistics are analyzed.

2.3.2. Selected features of quantitative linguistics

There are many approaches to studies focused on quantitative linguistics, certain selected properties of the branch of science analyzed here are described by Stadlober & Djuzelic (2007: 259):

(...) quantitative linguistics strives for the detection, description, and explanation of particular linguistic rules, or laws (...) quantitative linguistics tends to concentrate on general aspects of a language's linguistic system (...). Quantitative linguists (...) tend to have concentrated on languages as a whole, thus neglecting language-internal factors possibly influencing word length – at least, these factors have not been controlled systematically.

This complex definition indicates three main aims of quantitative linguistics, namely to identify, describe and explain certain typical regularities within the domain of language. This is also a direction of conducting linguistic researches which are based on quantitative methods. First of all, there is identification, which refers to noticing and marking distinguished patterns of communication included in a given text. Secondly, these regularities are described on the basis of methodological apparatus developed by the mathematical and sociological sciences. Finally, an attempt to explain the obtained results, which includes either particular components or many complex and multileveled phenomena, is conducted. All these studies are aimed at describing certain repeated rules and principles which are present when language is used. It is worth mentioning that quantitative linguistics is a broad domain, focusing on generalized features of language rather than on its particular components. The above-presented view is developed in the following passage:

[q]uantitative linguistics looks for quantitative data, quantifies the phenomena of different language levels and models their relations realized in lower units, in the word, as well as in higher units, in the sentence, text, *ect.* to enable us a better understanding of their casual mechanism, to know the *dynamism* of the development of a language, their *functioning* in their formal as well as semantic aspects, to disclose the causes of the *potentiality* of the phenomena of language. (Těšitelová 1992: 13)

As it is stated in the above passage, among the key goals of quantitative linguistics, full attention is given to (1) dynamism, (2) functioning and (3) potentiality. The first goal is connected with the

development of language which is viewed as a process which is both active and engaging for its participants. Language in use is not a passive and steady phenomenon, but rather is constantly moving, evolving, as well as changing its structures. The second goal refers to the position of the analyzed units in their broad structural and semantic context. This means that particular components of language are viewed not as separated entities, as they construct a coherent system of mutual interdependencies and interlinks.

Finally, the third goal indicates the universal and unlimited character of language. Quantitative linguistics is, therefore, based on an analysis of relations between selected components of language. The main aim is to elicit some hidden mechanisms, in particular the frequency of using words and structures in an analyzed passage, predictions regarding the probability of their further co-occurrences, as well as detecting correlations between the frequency of the used structures and their features (Malak 2011: 52). All of these goals clearly indicate certain internal factors within a language analysis, namely generally and regularly occurring patterns of communication (Stadlober & Djuzelic 2007: 260). To conclude, the domain under discussion here is concentrated on revealing certain rules within analyzed units. The proportion and relationship between particular structures within these units allow one to extract the intentions of the speaker, as well as to understand better the context of a speech. Consequently, this quantitative data is valuable in the study conducted in the third chapter of this dissertation.

2.4. An outline of the background of study

The aim of the following subsections is to outline the political, social and cultural background of the speeches analyzed here. Although the period of twenty years between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s was undeniably filled with both heroic and traumatic events, this was also a time of five different presidencies and an immeasurable number of historical events. In general, there were two axes of American policy, namely a global confrontation with the Soviet Union and a revolutionary transformation observed to be taking place within American society. Both factors exerted pressure on political decisions and, simultaneously, on the social and cultural landscape of America. In this section, a brief description of political events, social changes and particular decisions taken by Americans is presented, including the challenges America had to face. The aim

of the following analysis is to illustrate the evolution of political processes and social changes in the difficult period of the Vietnam War.

2.4.1. The presidency of Dwight David Eisenhower (1953–1961)

The presidency of Dwight David Eisenhower was particularly important due to two factors: firstly, the fact that certain elements of the ideological background regarding American engagement into the Vietnam War were created at this time; and, secondly, that this period was simultaneously the first stage of a deep transformation within American society. The **Eisenhower doctrine**, outlined during a press conference held on 5th January 1957, reflected the American involvement into the Space Race and a growing rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union (Ford *et al.* [2014] 2018: 133). Regarding the United States' confrontation with Communism, Eisenhower based his policy on two concepts, namely the **Doctrine of Massive Retaliation**, which was defined as using all available forces (including nuclear weapon) in response to any Soviet attack (Pastusiak 1991: 343); and the **Domino Theory**, which was a political assumption based on a belief that if Communism took control over one country, it could easily spread out into neighboring countries (Pluchinsky 2020: 4). This view determined political decisions taken by the American government in the years which followed.

The first field of confrontation between the superpowers was in space. Americans were mostly shocked when *Sputnik 1*, the first artificial Earth satellite, was launched by the Soviet Union in October 1957. The Americans then sent into space their own first artificial satellite – *Explorer 1* – in January 1958, almost four months later (Steger 2012: 1102). As a consequence of this delay in space exploration, the President established the Scientific Advisory Committee with James Rhyne Killian (1904–1988), a reputable expert. Shortly afterwards, on 29th July 1958, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was created (Michalek 1995: 130). The second major field of confrontation was in Cuba. On 1st January 1959, Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz (1926–2016), a communist revolutionary, overthrew the Cuban President – Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973) – and proclaimed the victory of a socialist revolution (Pluchinsky 2020: 3). This, in turn, was viewed by the President and his advisers as a serious threat to the United States and led to secret preparations for the carrying out of an anti-Castro military coup (Pastusiak 1991: 343). This operation, commonly known as the Bay of Pig Invasion, having largely been planned by

Eisenhower, began on 17th April 1969, shortly after John Fitzgerald Kennedy had assumed presidential office, and ended up being a complete failure. Castro remained in power for many years and began strongly collaborating with the Soviet Union. The third and extremely long-lasting hotspot in global superpower rivalry was in Asia. Although the Korean War had ended with the Panmunjon Armistice Agreement (27th July 1953), a new war subsequently broke up in Vietnam. This country was first a place of confrontation between French colonial forces and communist partisans (*Việt Minh*). After several years of a cruel war (1946–1954), the French forces were defeated at the Battle of Điện Biên Phủ (13th March–7th May 1954), thereby ending the First Indochina War (Pluchinsky 2020: 3). From this moment on, the Americans became the main power interested in preventing the progress of Communism in Southeast Asia, both by sending to South Vietnam a great deal of technological support, as well as many advisers (Ford *et al.* [2014] 2018: 133).

Eisenhower's presidency was also important due to domestic changes in the United States. Within the period under discussion here, several significant processes are observed. The McCarthy era, marked by accusations address towards many figures in American political and social life viewed as alleged Soviet spies, came to an end (Michałek 1995: 124). New social problems occurred, leading to the birth of the Civil Rights Movement and its long struggle to introduce desegregation into the American public sphere. The details of these processes are presented in the following sections.

2.4.2. The presidency of John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1961–1963)

Although the presidency of John Fitzgerald Kennedy was interrupted in an untimely and tragic fashion, its legacy is viewed as an extremely important one. The President encapsulated his policy towards the Soviet Union in the strategy of **Flexible Response** (Michałek 1995: 231). This strategic concept was based on the United States being able to deter the Soviet threat by developing both conventional and nuclear weapons. Subsequently, it became the basis of another strategy called **Mutual Assured Destruction**, a strategy developed by Robert Strange McNamara (1916–2009), Kennedy's Secretary of Defense, which aimed to convince the Soviet Union that either superpowers launching a nuclear attack on the other would ultimately only ensure their own destruction. Moreover, in relation to domestic affairs, Kennedy described his policy as a **New**

Frontier (Pastusiak 1991: 348). Thus, while on the one hand, an attempt to maintain America's position as a leader in the world was made, on the other hand, a program of a profound transformation within American society was launched. This new approach was largely developed by two presidential advisers, namely John Kenneth Galbraith (1908–2006) and Arthur Meier Schlesinger Jr. (1917–2007). A New Frontier aimed to eliminate racial discrimination, provide federal support to farmers, deliver free medical assistance for the elders, promote access to education, build low-budget housing and develop transportation (Michalek 1995: 202). In short, the supportive functions of the state were emphasized.

Regarding the United States' confrontation with the Soviet Union, several incidents broke out in a relatively short time, including two global crises: namely the Berlin Crisis (June 1961), and the Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962). The former was caused by the Soviet policy to reduce the number of refugees escaping to the Western Sectors of Berlin. As a result, the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961 and soon became a symbol of the Iron Curtain and the rivalry between the two superpowers (Michalek 1995: 247). This crisis was also the underlying cause of the Kennedy's presidential visit to Berlin and his famous speech delivered on 26th June 1963 (Binkiewicz 2012: 1146). The latter crisis began when the Americans installed their new ballistic missiles in both Italy and Turkey. In response, the Soviet Union decided to build military bases in Cuba and deploy missiles there. Kennedy, considering the new Soviet installations as a serious threat, established a naval blockade of Cuba (Ford *et al.* [2014] 2018: 602). Although the key phase of the crisis ended soon and the Soviets abandoned their plans, the resulting feeling of uncertainty lasted throughout the whole decade. Moreover, Kennedy decided to increase significantly the scale of American economic support and the number of advisors sent to South Vietnam.

The impact of the New Frontier policy was also felt internationally. The Apollo space program was launched in order to explore space and with the intention of sending a manned space mission to the moon by the end of the 1960s (Michalek 1995: 277). Furthermore, Kennedy promoted his initiative of the **Peace Corps**. While it was a form of American support to developing countries by sending American volunteers and advisors, it was also a chance for many young and well-educated Americans to travel to distant locations in order to better understand key world problems. At the same time, significant changes were being observed within American society, namely the progress of the Civil Rights Movement, as well as significant social transformation,

including the struggle for equal rights for women, youth and minorities. These new social processes are described in detail in a following sections.

The presidency of John Fitzgerald Kennedy was interrupted in an untimely and tragic manner on 22nd November 1963, when Lee Harvey Oswald (1939–1963) assassinated the president in Dallas, Texas (Binkiewicz 2012: 1148). This mysterious assassination has propelled many conspiracy theories, instigated by the fact that Oswald himself soon became the victim of another assassin, Jack Leon Ruby (1911–1967). Directly after the death of Kennedy, Vice President Lyndon Baines Johnson (1908–1973) became the 36th president of the United States.

2.4.3. The presidency of Lyndon Baines Johnson (1963–1969)

Lyndon Baines Johnson began his presidency on 22nd November 1963, only several hours after the assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy (Gelbman 2012: 1165). Being aware of the great popularity of his predecessor, he declared a policy of continuity. The new presidents' policy on social reconstruction was called the **Great Society** and included a broad range of legislation which was aimed at reducing poverty, broadening voting rights for minorities and changing immigration policy (Michalek 1995: 212). Moreover, Johnson was the first president who nominated two African Americans to the top governmental positions. Robert Clifton Weaver (1907–1997) was given the responsibility in his cabinet as the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, whereas Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993) was appointed to serve on the United States Supreme Court.

Internationally, Johnson's presidency was focused on America's ongoing global confrontation with the Soviet Union. Johnson intensified the United States' military presence in the world in an attempt to counteract the expansion of Communist ideology. Therefore, the period under discussion here is sometimes called the **Imperial Presidency** (Gelbman 2012: 1165). Indeed, the threat of Communism was one of the main reasons behind America's military engagement in the Vietnam War. On 2nd August 1965, the Gulf of Tonkin incident occurred, which was subsequently used as a justification for a further increase in the American military presence in South Vietnam. Several days later, on 7th August 1965, the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed through Congress, authorizing the president to send American troops to Vietnam (Michalek 1995:

260–261). The subsequent escalation of the Vietnam War, and the birth of American opposition to this war, are described in detail in the following sections.

2.4.4. The presidency of Richard Milhous Nixon (1969–1974)

The presidency of Richard Milhous Nixon was an eventful period in American history. The key political course was marked by two ideas, namely **New Federalism** and **Nixonomics** (Pastusiak 1991: 374). The former referred to the delegation of powers to the state authorities in order to more effectively deal with social problems, in particular among the most vulnerable groups of society, whereas the latter was focused on a specific approach to economics, exemplified by lifting gold parity with the dollar, with an intention of improving the fragile economic situation of the country. During his presidency, Nixon also flexibly responded to changes generated by both foreign and domestic issues. The development of the antiwar movements in the United States led to **the policy of Vietnamization**, which is viewed as a decrease in direct American military involvement in the Vietnam War and, simultaneously, an increase in support for the South Vietnamese government (Anderson 2020: 29–30). Other important events during the Nixon's presidency included visiting the People's Republic of China (1972) and, in the same year, concluding an agreement with the Soviet Union (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty – SALT) in order to reduce the number of nuclear missiles (Pastusiak 1991: 374–377). Both the above-mentioned decisions were the pillars of **the policy of détente** and led to **the concept of essential equivalence** which allowed the use of nuclear weapons only in limited circumstances and echoed that of Mutual Assured Destruction (Michalek 1995: 338).

By far the gravest crisis during the Nixon presidency was caused by the Watergate scandal (Pastusiak 1991: 377). On 17th June 1972, five burglars were arrested inside the offices of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate office complex. Shortly afterwards, as a result of an investigation conducted by two journalists, namely Carl Bernstein and Robert Woodward, it came out that the burglary had been masterminded by Nixon's republican administration. Consequently, legal steps against Nixon were taken by the Congress with the intention of initiating the impeachment proceedings. In the face of an escalating political crisis and undeniable proof, Nixon resigned (8th August 1974) and was succeeded by Gerald Rudolph Ford (1913–2006). The crisis finally came to an end with Ford's controversial presidential pardon (8th September 1974)

which was granted to Nixon directly after his resignation (Honders 2019: 83). The Watergate scandal is considered to be the greatest and most memorable political crisis in the modern history of the United States. As a result, the president's reputation was ruined and a long investigation against numerous public officers involved in the scandal carried out.

2.4.5. The presidency of Gerald Rudolph Ford (1974–1977)

In many cases, President Ford continued the policy of his predecessor. Beginning with international affairs, the Vietnam War came to an ignominious conclusion with the communists soon taking over Sài Gòn (30th April 1975), an event which signified the painful collapse of the American strategy in Vietnam and the end of an extremely dramatic period in the modern history of both countries. Moreover, **the policy of détente** with the Soviet Union was maintained and led to the **Helsinki Accords**, signed during the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (1st August 1975), which established key rules of cooperation between the democratic West and the Communist East (Michalek 1995: 343). In relation to domestic affairs, Ford was confronted with a serious crisis which was mostly the result of previous mistakes in policymaking and the consequences of the 1973 oil crisis. The social and economic instability of the Ford era was proved by the fact that the president survived two attacks on his life. Interestingly, both were carried by women, the first occurring on 5th September 1975, when the former member of the Manson family, Lynette Alice Fromme, tried to shoot the president, and second, more dangerous attempt, just weeks later, on 22nd September 1975, carried out by Sara Jane Moore (Pastusiak 1991: 368). Ford's presidency ended in 1976, when he failed to win the presidential race running against Jimmy Carter, who was to become the 39th president of the United States.

2.4.6. The growth of opposition to the Vietnam War in American society

In this section, the focus is placed on analyzing the transformation of American society during the period of the Vietnam War. First of all, two sociological phenomena, namely "social movement" and "social revolution" are analyzed. Furthermore, the selected pro and antiwar groups are identified and analyzed. Special attention is devoted to the opposition of four particular social groups to the Vietnam War, namely youth, veterans, African Americans and women. A number of

significant organizations and the forms of their activity are also outlined. The main intention of the following subsections is to provide a relatively broad picture of American society during the Vietnam War, including the main historical events, people involved and their impact on society. As public discourse was unquestionably one of the most important elements of social activity at that time, public speeches are considered, from this viewpoint, as perfect source materials in order to describe the broad, social and cultural context of that era. In other words, **this section aims to outline the social and cultural background which is necessary to be understood in order to conduct the research presented in the third chapter of this dissertation.**

2.4.6.1. On the concept of social movement and social revolution

The birth and evolution of a social movement is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon which is essentially associated with two factors, namely a remarkable transformation observed within a given society and, simultaneously, political conditions ripe for change (Staggenborg [2011] 2016: 5). Moreover, when established, a social movement is viewed as a main factor responsible for social transformation in human history (Almeida 2019: 1). This statement focuses on the great power of social movements which are able to influence a whole society and change it irrevocably. A more detailed definition of the notion under discussion here states: “[s]ocial movements are conscious, concerned and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using extra-institutional means” (Goodwin & Jasper [2003] 2009: 3). As it is viewed, social movements aim to change reality, transforming the current situation into a new one, which is expected to be more favorable from the point of view of people involved in the movement. Moreover, change cannot be created using ordinary means and referring to traditional institutions.

Another definition places emphasis on the essential circumstances considered indispensable to initiate social movements, which are defined as: “(...) ‘preference structures,’ or sets of opinions, beliefs, and goals, which may or may not be turned into collective action, depending on preexisting organizations and on opportunities and costs for expressing preferences” (Staggenborg [2011] 2016: 8). This means that there are numerous components which are fundamental in order to guarantee substantial progress of a social movement. While, on the one hand, previous actions are taken into consideration, on the other hand, a cost-benefit analysis must be conducted so that the costs of the postulated changes are accepted by those participating in effecting change.

Originally created by Daniel C. Hallin (Taylor 2017: 149–150), one of the sociological models used to describe a social movement distinguishes three spheres of interaction within a society, namely consensus, legitimate controversy and deviance. Some values and norms, including democracy and the rule of law, are commonly and almost universally accepted by societies. Some others, including social beliefs, are criticized in terms of the legitimate controversy they arouse. Typically, such a process is observed in political discourse, namely debates occurring between political parties. However, there is also a sphere of controversy which is beyond the institutional frameworks of a political debate. Such a sphere is viewed by conservative groups in society as deviance from the norm and a source of radicalism.

Moreover, the notion of a “social movement” must be distinguished from a “political party” and an “interest group.” This distinction “(...) is not always sharp, movement scholars have generally regarded movements as *challengers* that are, at least in part, *outsiders* with regard to the established power structure” (Staggenborg [2011] 2016: 7). Hence, one of the dominant features of a political movement is the position of participants who are often marginalized by the dominant groups in society. The members of a movement identify themselves with it due to the fact that they have been excluded from decision-making processes or, at least, they feel that their voices are not being heard. In contrast, political parties and interest groups are typically adapted to a political system and operate within available institutions and procedures. Although the main difference between them is at a formal level, this is not in opposition to the main components of the social and political system concerned. Social movements are different in a sense that they typically attempt to introduce a rapid transformation in society, based not on a slow evolution of existing institutions but on a sudden change. The evolution of a social movement is often viewed through the prism of its consequences, namely far-reaching changes generated in society. Therefore, in the following passage, the notion of a social revolution is also analyzed, as a sociological phenomenon which seems to be extremely important in order to understand American society during the years of the Vietnam War.

In social science, there are many approaches to a phenomenon of social revolution, a phenomenon which seems to be both extremely complex and unpredictable (Parsa 2000: 10). Apart from the historical view, sociological and political standpoints are also employed. One approach defines a social revolution as: “(...) a rapid, fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership, and

government activity and policies” (Huntington 1968: 264). Interestingly, the change defined here is both necessary at the first stage of the revolution and, at the same time, determines its failure in the long run (Herzberger [2005] 2006: 18). Moreover, there is a large number of characteristic elements used to describe the concept of social revolution, including a forceful opposition to the government, a high level of mobilization, a proposal for a new social order, as well as a negative attitude to political institutions (Goldstone 2014: 9). Similarly, according to another view, social revolutions are “(...) rapid, basic transformations of a society’s state and class structures (...) accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below” (Skocpol 1979: 4). The latter element mentioned is associated with the two faces of the phenomenon under discussion here. While, on the one hand, a revolution is viewed as a heroic and memorable event, it is also a source of chaos, disorder and damage (Goldstone 2014: 1–2). Moreover, a social revolution, as any other revolution, always breaks out at a particular moment in history when various groups unify in attempts to bring down a corrupted system of oppression (Almeida 2019: 1). As it has been already outlined, the range of the term “social revolution” is broad, refers to various scientific points of view and emphasize the role of sudden and deep changes within a society which, in turn, lead to a significant transformation, not only at a political level, but primarily in social relations between the members of a society.

The complex and ambiguous meaning of social revolution is clearly defined only while separated from other social phenomena:

[s]ocial revolutions are set apart from other sorts of conflicts and transformative processes above all by the combination of two coincidences: the coincidence of societal structural change with class upheaval; and the coincidence of political with social transformation. In contrast, rebellions, even when successful, may involve the revolt of subordinate classes – but they do not eventuate in structural change. Political revolutions transform state structures but not social structures, and they are not necessarily accomplished through class conflict. (Skocpol 1979: 4)

In this view, three different social phenomena are distinguished, namely rebellions, political revolutions and, finally, social revolutions. Regarding the viewpoint under discussion here, although a rebellion may be successful in terms of political change, it is not powerful enough to renew the structure of society. In other words, its power is strictly political and is deprived of any impact on social processes. Similarly, a political revolution may change the organizational

structures of a state, but cannot have an impact on its social structures. Only a social revolution combines both features in that it creates a new social consensus and reformulates old bonds between the members of society. This is due to the presence of both social and political dimensions which are essential in order to initiate change and to reconstruct social structures, namely a key element of political stability. Interestingly, according to Goldstone (2014: 3), the prerequisites for a social revolution include the isolation of the political establishment, strong criticism from at least a part of the local elites, as well as a common belief in the power of the opposition. During the Vietnam War, all of the above-mentioned elements were present in American society. The federal government, largely conservative and focused on the global confrontation with the Soviet Union, was in opposition to the young and progressive groups in society. The long-lasting effects of the Vietnam War generated strong criticism, even within groups which were traditionally viewed as allies of the political establishment. Finally, the dynamism and broad range of social protests propelled the confidence of the protesters and their ability to generate a new social and political order. In the following subsection, selected antiwar movements are described in detail.

2.4.6.2. American society and the Vietnam War

The decade of the 1960s was a period of an unprecedented political and social activity within numerous groups in American society. Among many movements coexisting at that period, one important dividing line was their view on the war in Vietnam. Beginning from 1965, there were regular public opinion polls, carried out by the Gallup Organization, focused on measuring public support for the scale of American involvement into the Vietnam War. Both the question and the results which reflect American approach to this conflict, are summarized in the table below.

Table 2. The results of public opinion polls conducted by the Gallup Organization. The survey question was as follows: *In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Vietnam, do you think the U.S. made a mistake sending troops to fight in Vietnam?* (adapted from: Gruszczuk 2017: 141).

Date of survey	Answers YES (%)	Answers NO (%)
27th August – 1st September 1965	24	60
5th May – 10th May 1966	36	49

10th November – 15th November 1966	31	52
19th April – 24th April 1967	37	50
6th October – 11th October 1967	47	44
1st February – 6th February 1968	46	42
4th April – 9th April 1968	48	40
26th September – 1st October 1968	54	37
17th September – 22nd September 1969	58	32
2nd April – 7th April 1970	51	34
8th January – 11th January 1971	60	31
12th January – 15th January 1973	60	29

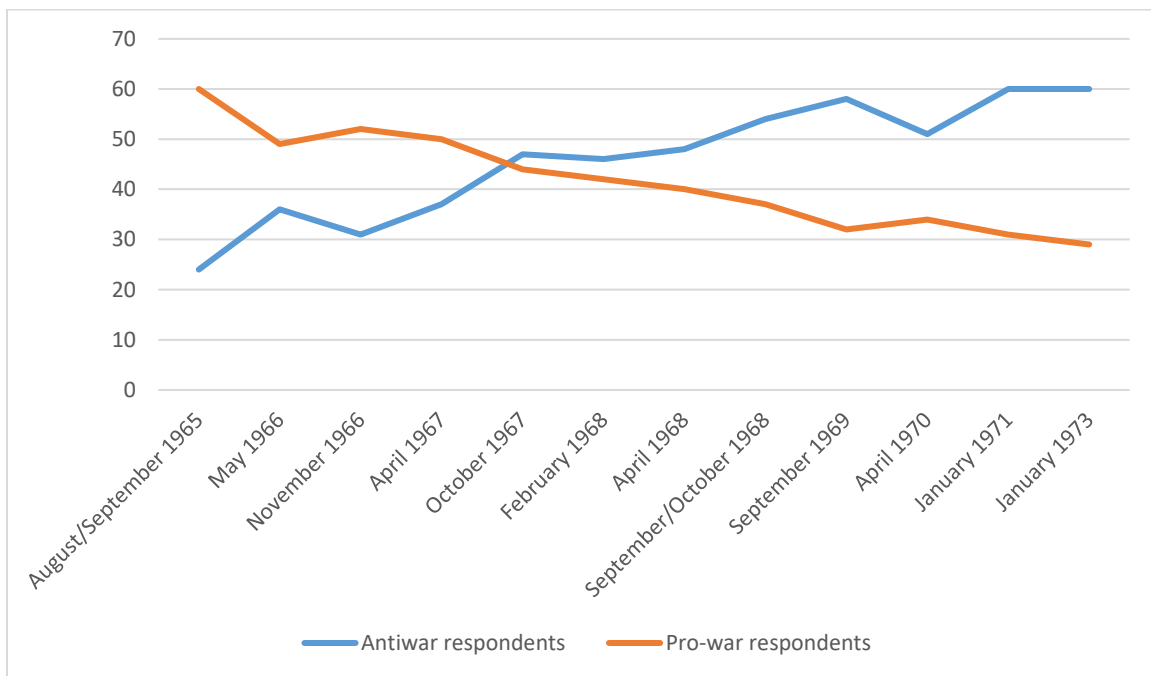


Figure 1. The results of public opinion polls conducted by the Gallup Organization. The proportion of pro-war and antiwar respondents (adapted from: Gruszczuk 2017: 141).

The above–displayed results shed light on the divisions in American society in the 1960s and 1970s and the evolution of public opinion on this subject. **On the one hand, the president, the members of the establishment, as well as a large part of American society, including the supporters of traditional values, conservatives and industry workers, were fervently anticommunist. On the other hand, there were many groups of protesters against American involvement in the Vietnam War, including an amalgam of New Left activists, mainly students and members of**

countercultural groups, but also certain women’s organizations, African Americans, Vietnam veterans and many other groups and coalitions for which the war was only a secondary reason to protest (Lewis 2013: 11). An outline of particular pro and antiwar groups within American society is analyzed below.

First of all, the **power elites** from Washington D.C., traditionally epitomized by the **president**, are viewed as the backbone of the political system. As American policy after the Second World War was definitely anticommunist, the continuation of the Vietnam War was justified, both in term of politics and national prestige, in order to defend the American *raison d’état*, as it was viewed by the Washington establishment. Presidential discourse played a vital role, namely, as a tool to express particular directions of policy at a given time and, simultaneously, “(...) as an instrument of national and international leadership to the status of the American presidency” (Austermühl 2014: 275). Moreover, a significant contribution to the policy of escalation was made by another interest group, identified by President Eisenhower as “**the military–industrial complex**” (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xiv). The ideological message conveyed by the members of this group is expressed in the slogan: “Better Dead Than Red” (Swerdlow 1993: 3). Their aim was to conduct military operations actively until the final victory over the Soviet Union in order to achieve domination politically and economically in Southeast Asia in particular, and globally in general.

Additionally, a significant part of American society was determined to continue the war, even though the price to be paid seemed to be getting higher every day. This view was dominant especially among “**hawks**,” defined as “(...) ‘ordinary’ Americans: white people from ‘Middle America’ (a phrase coined in the 1960s), who supported God, country, and ‘our boys in the Nam’” (Lewis 2013: 4). In the rhetoric used, proponents of the Vietnam War alluded to patriotism and the “language of Americanism” (Hall 2011: 12) as it was expressed in the slogan: “America–Love It or Leave It” (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xxii). Within the group under discussion here, a special place was taken by former war veterans from the First World War, the Second World War, and the Korean War, who believed that military service was an essential duty for every American citizen (Stoltman 2019: 41). A similar opinion was expressed by “**hardhats**,” a term coined to describe a broad range of blue collar workers, united under the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO), who were both “virulently anticommunist” and “vociferously pro–war” (Lewis 2013: 5). Some representatives of both the above–mentioned

groups accepted the hard line taken against opponents of the war as a necessary tool in order to restore social stability (Stoltman 2019: 42). An illustration of this is the direct action undertaken by a group of construction workers to disperse the antiwar protests in New York City in May 1970 (Lewis 2013: 5).

In contrast to the above-mentioned pro-war groups, there was also a coalition of many different antiwar activists. Interestingly, this coalition was extremely broad and diversified. An attempt to describe the opponents of mainstream American policy briefly is undertaken in the following passage:

[t]heir ‘movement’ had many components; their thought embodied many different trends. Student activists associated with militant dissenters of every kind – feminists, blacks, Chicanos. The radicals lacked a directing center, a table of organization, and a formal hierarchy. The movement was inchoate; boundaries are hard to draw between the ‘student revolution,’ the ‘youth culture,’ ‘student militance’ (...). Yet militants of whatever stripe had certain features in common. They opposed the Vietnam War; they hated the American establishment or what they regarded as such. In a more intangible sense, they valued passion over reason, self-fulfillment over convention. They hoped for a massive change in values – from materialism to consciousness-raising, from personal success to collective betterment. (Gann & Duignan 1995: 1)

The above-presented view indicates a large number of movements actively engaged in antiwar protests. All of these groups were progressive in the sense that they demanded social change, meaning a new way to redefine the model of society. They constituted the **New Left** which was an umbrella term coined by an American sociologist, Charles Wright Mills (1916–1962), for the radical groups of protesters within American society at that time (Green [1984] 2015: 162). In a number of instances, New Left activists were different from those of the Old Left. Whereas the traditional Left movements placed emphasis on poverty among laborers, close cooperation with the Soviet Union, discipline, centralization, as well as the materialistic philosophy of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and his disciples, proponents of the New Left opposed consumerism, were spontaneous in action, intuitive, youthful and decentralized. Their intellectual gurus were Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), Michel Foucault (1926–1984), Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) and the Beat writers; their catalogue of political icons included Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz (1926–2016), Ernesto “Che” Guevara (1928–1967), Mao Zedong (1893–1976) and other similar individuals

(Gann & Duignan 1995: 13–15). An interesting observation has been concluded by Katsiaficas (1987: 37) who states that “(...) students sparked the movements which marked 1968, and more than any other group, it was their international practice (...) which made the New Left a global movement.” Hence, there was a strong link between the New Left movement and **rebellious students** who were also partially involved in other groups, including those opposed to the drafting system.

Apart from these mentioned above, there were many other groups of protesters against the Vietnam War. **Countercultural activists**, in particular hippies, were, in general, isolated from the political debate. However, the catalogue of their values, including pacifism, freedom and criticism toward the ruling establishment, was present in the American public discourse. Within this group under discussion here, the most politicized seemed to be the Yippies, a radical group of hippies, whose program was based directly on New Left ideology (Krassner 1994: 170). Similarly, among other groups of young antiwar protesters, one cannot ignore **Vietnam veterans** (Yaar 2019: 8). These individuals were, in particular, seriously vulnerable to the traumatic experiences from two different directions, namely caused by their service in Vietnam but also facing everyday exclusion on their return home.

In addition, **African Americans** were also strongly opposed to American involvement in Vietnam. Some believe that their leader, Martin Luther King Jr., who “(...) became one of the fiercest critics of the war in Vietnam, also attacked the war on patriotic (as well as moral) grounds” (Hall 2011: 13). Furthermore, the cruelty of the war was often compared with the practices of discrimination within American society. This is illustrated by a famous antiwar slogan coined by African Americans: “No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger!” (Krassner 1994: 151). Another opposition group was formed by **women**. The decade of the 1960s was a period of important changes in the position of women, namely the second wave of feminism (Tandon 2008: 1). Although feminists were focused on social problems, they were also actively engaged in antiwar campaigns. Interestingly, women’s opposition to the Vietnam War in many cases took precedence over debates concerning feminism. Both young women and ladies more advanced in age stood together in order to save the world for future generations, as well as to protect their sons’ lives, even though “(...) the younger activists [felt] discomfort with what they saw as the older women’s cultural conservatism” (Estepa 2008: 102). A more detailed analysis of the opposition groups outlined here is broadly conducted in the following subsections.

2.4.6.3. Youth opposition

Youth opposition to the Vietnam War was a complex and heterogeneous phenomenon. Among many protesters, one can identify a plethora of more or less formally organized groups of various origin, including university students, activists of the countercultural movements, supporters of the New Left, as well as members of ethnic minorities, dropouts and celebrities. Moreover, it is impossible to analyze the youth protests without, at least, examining their overlapping interactions with other groups in society, including African Americans, feminists, environmentalists, politicians to mention just a few. Interestingly, there are two main factors which are commonly viewed as the origin of these youth movements, namely the post war demographic boom of the 1940s and the rise of the opposition to consumerism of the 1950s (Michałek 1995: 181). Both of these factors played their role in the birth of the protests in the 1960s. Finally, it is worth noting that in the decade under discussion here, serious antiwar protests were observed not only in the United States, but also in many other countries around the world.

To look at the situation in the United States in greater detail, the protesters often formed broader groups and coalitions in order to put forward both their political and social demands. One of the best known groups was the **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS) (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xii), an organization which was in opposition to traditional American institutions, demanding both greater grassroots political participation and putting an immediate end to the Vietnam War. Another influential group was the **Free Speech Movement** (FSM), formed at the University of California, Berkeley, and unofficially led by **Mario Savio** (1942–1996), a charismatic leader of the protesting students (Moretta 2017: 122). The main goals of the movement was to guarantee freedom of speech at universities and promote civil disobedience as a form of a protest against the Vietnam War.

In a number of instances, individual activists were simultaneously and heavily involved in several campaigns developed by many different groups and organizations. As Gann and Duignan (1995: 1) have observed: “[t]o delineate with precision the New Left or the student revolution is impossible.” Although many Americans were against the Vietnam War, and this figure seemed to increase simultaneously with the escalation of the conflict, some declarations and actions undertaken by the young radicals were viewed as going too far, in particular, by less–radicalized

groups within society (Moretta 2017: 267). Furthermore, many forms of protests against the Vietnam War were strongly correlated with the course of academic year; an observation which proves that students were inexhaustible fuel for the antiwar movements (Small 2000: 3).

Beginning from 1965, some activists organized the Vietnam Day Teach-In. These events included lectures for students to express their opposition to both conservative university authorities and to the Vietnam War, as well as to promote New Left ideology (Krassner 1994: 151). As a result, these student gatherings were viewed as an introduction to more radical forms of political engagement (Farber [1988] 1994: 9). This has been illustrated by Krassner (1994: 151), who recalls that during protests students chanted the well-known slogan directed against President Johnson: “Hey, Hey LBJ! How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?” Simultaneously, a coordinated campaign in order to burn draft-cards spread across the country (Elmer 2005: 61). The tragic harvest of unrest led to violent riots, as happened at Kent State University (4th May 1970), when the Ohio National Guard opened fire on protesting students, killing four people and wounding nine (Rosinsky 2009: 5). A wave of protests spread throughout the whole country and was maintained for several years. Moreover, over the course of time, demobilized young soldiers, on their return from the frontline, also became bitter opponents of the Vietnam War and joined the protests. In the following paragraphs, in order to outline great diversity of the groups of the American youth, ample space is given to the description of certain groups and their traumatic and heroic experiences over three decades, namely from the 1950s to the 1970s. **This is important due to the fact that all of these groups had a great impact on the youth opposition, in particular students, and profoundly shaped their demands not only in regard to the Vietnam War, but also those focused on the great social transformation which began in that period.**

The Beat Generation

After the difficult years of the Second World War, American society entered into a period of prosperity. The United States became a superpower and a long-lasting rivalry with the Soviet Union was initiated. In regard to domestic affairs, the decades after 1940s are considered to be a time of increasing consumption and unprecedented modernization. As it has been concluded by Goldstone (2014: 11): “[m]any observers argued that as preindustrial societies start to modernize, people encounter free markets for goods and services, inequality rises, and traditional religious and

customary patterns of authority lose their power.” In other words, two main processes were observed, namely the development of an affluent society, and, at the same time, gradual retreat from traditional values and social bonds. The results of these changes were clearly observed in youth rebelliousness which was connected with the fact that the baby-boomer generation had reached maturity (Michalek 1995: 170). Indeed, the evolution of the 1950s’ youth movement has been expressed in the following words: “(...) revolution in America begins in books and music, than waits for political operatives to ‘implement change after the fact’” (Leland 2005: 6). Although the full scale of a social transformation and youth rebellion were seen in 1960s and 1970s, the first cracks had appeared a decade earlier with the emergence of the Beat Generation.

Linguistically speaking, there are several views aiming to explain the origin and meaning of the term under discussion here. According to Moretta (2017: 15), the word “**beat**” is taken from a jargon word used by circus artists and refers to a description of their lifestyle, namely being always on the move from one place to another. Another view has been presented by Varner (2012: 1), who claims that there are two possible explanations of the term. Firstly, there is a connection between the word “beat” and the phrasal verb “beat down” which reveals youth disillusionment and their sense of being deprived of hope for a better life. Moreover, there is also a link to the adjective “beatific,” which reflects their desired state of soul. Both of these explanations make a contribution in clarifying the key features of the Beat Generation, which primarily refused to be politically engaged. Instead, they believed in fatalism, were susceptible to mysticism, as well as being interested in sexual release and emotionalism (Moretta 2017: 15).

The traditional interpretation of the Beat Generation places emphasis on the so-called **Holy Trinity of the Beat writers** (Harris 2005: 31), namely Jack Kerouac (1922–1969), Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997) and William Seward Burroughs (1914–1997). Their novels and poetry reflected the pessimism of the postwar generation, a feeling of being exiled from society, as well as a search for meaning in life. Young people, moved by their feelings of anxiety and alienation, came to the centers of the movement, namely Greenwich Village in New York City and North Beach in San Francisco, to lead a truly bohemian life (Johnson & Grace 2002: 3). Typical elements of their daily routine included spending long hours in coffee houses and organizing poetry events, combined with listening to jazz music. **Interestingly, the Beat Generation is often viewed as the first wave of postmodernism which propelled further generations of youth rebels.** Moreover, they are believed to have some impact still, even on contemporary society (Varner 2012: 2–3). The

phenomenon of the Beat Generation transformed over time, giving way to another group of the youth rebels which is analyzed in the following subsection, namely the Beatniks.

Beatniks

The term “**beatnik**” was coined by Herbert Eugene Caen (1916–1997), a journalist from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, in 1958 (Lawlor 2005: 64–65). This neologism combined two elements, namely the Beat movement and the word *Sputnik* – the first artificial Earth satellite – which had just been launched by the Soviet Union. The intention here was to create a link between the youth rebels from the suburbs of San Francisco and their alleged support for communist ideology. Such an explanation is often rejected, as beatniks reflected a broad range of political views, primarily in being opposed to the arms race and the type of mentality typical of the Cold War period (Barsky 2005: 62). Despite some pejorative associations, the term “beatnik” significantly popularized particular elements of the Beat Generation and contributed to its interpretation through the prism of the ideology of the New Left.

Beatniks fully deserved their reputation as the heirs of the Beat Generation. They “(...) became the embodiment of classic bohemianism, filled with a growing sense of restlessness and rebelliousness that represented a sweeping rejection of everything about 1950s America (...)” (Moretta 2017: 20). Beatniks were, hence, continuators of the Beat Generation in a sense which has been interestingly explained by Campbell ([1999] 2001: 246): “‘Beat’ was a state of being (...) ‘beatnik’ was fancy dress. Beat was identity; beatnik was image.” Initially, the revolt instigated by the Beat Generation was a form of intellectual and artistic opposition to the political and social system in the United States. Young people endeavored to escape from overwhelmingly dominant conservative norms and patterns. They hoped to express their own views and desires in order to lead a fulfilling life. Beatniks were, indeed, a reflection of the Beat Generation. They formed a movement focused on certain selected elements derived from Beat culture, including fashion, lifestyle and social practices. What is common for both groups under discussion here is a spirit of rebellion, a fascination for jazz music, wearing black clothes and the dream of freedom. Importantly, both groups played their role as a vanguard for the hippie movement, namely one of the most popular and well-known countercultural protest groups, which is carefully analyzed in the following subsection.

Hippies

Although the hippie movement is often viewed as a continuation of both beatniks and the Beat Generation, they were different in many aspects (Moretta 2017: 35). First of all, hippies were viewed as a leading countercultural group engaged in the youth coalition against the Vietnam War (Small 2000: 2). Whereas the members of the Beat Generation were rather apolitical and not interested in current affairs, hippies actively participated in a number of protests in order to promote peace, mutual understanding and harmony. From an aesthetical point of view, hippies were rather optimistic and community-driven. They wore fancy, colorful clothes, preferred rock music and lived in small communities. In contrast, the Beats preferred isolation and individualism, wore black and were fascinated by jazz music. What both the above-mentioned countercultures had in common, was the fact that their social background was in the white middle-class and both were opposed to the existing social structures (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xi). Moreover, they possessed a skeptical view of the surrounding world, displayed the feeling of being dropouts, as well as accepted drug use and religious syncretism (Moretta 2017: 17–20).

Although there are many theories to explain the origin of the term which gave its name to the hippie movement, a conclusive answer has still not been provided. One of the commonly used explanations is that the word “**hipster**” was derived from the slang of the 1940s and initially was used to describe the hip movements typical of jazz musicians while playing. Alternatively, a hipster was a drug user who kept drugs during jazz concerts in a back pocket next to one’s hips (Rorabaugh 2015: 5). The second term – “**hippie**” – seems to have more complex etymology. According to Leland (2005: 6), the word “hip” was initially derived from the language of African slaves from Senegal and Gambia who came to the United States in the seventeenth century and originally meant “enlightenment.” Another view is supported by Falk & Falk (2005: 185), who derive the origins of “hippie” from Harlem slang, namely an expression used in the 1920s by opium smokers (“be on the hip”), and, alternatively, from the West African word “hipicap” which means “have eyes wide open.” One more view is supported by Michałek (1995: 185), who suggests a link between the slogan “Human Be-In” and the origin of the hippie movement. Furthermore, another view points towards “the hippie look” in the American fashion industry which promoted “(...) postwar skirts worn low on the hips to accentuate hyperfemininity” (Rorabaugh 2015: 4). What seems to be

common to the above theories is the fact that the term under discussion here is: (1) associated with African Americans; (2) describes secret knowledge available only to a limited group; and (3) is linked to a unique lifestyle and fashion.

All of the above characteristics perfectly reflect the hippie ideology which included the search for freedom, a feeling of alienation from society, a unique fashion style which distinguished hippies from other groups in society, along with experimental drug usage. As it has been observed: “(...) the hippie ethos affirmed peace, love, sensuousness, environmentalism, and a simple, less materialistic life” (Moretta 2017: 6). These beliefs were in sharp contrast not only with the values of their parents, the Second World War generation, but also aimed to create a new society, one opposed to consumerism and based on a non-violent approach. Therefore, hippies played a vital role as opponents of the Vietnam War (Falk & Falk 2005: 203).

Many forms of the hippies’ culture and lifestyle could be seen in their enclave, namely the Haight–Ashbury district, a neighborhood of San Francisco. This place has been described as “(...) an amalgam of artists, Berkeley and San Francisco State students, and bohemian émigrés from the North Beach area, as well as an increasing procession and array of young drop-outs from across the nation” (Moretta 2017: 32). Hippie’s enclaves was open to everybody. In other words, their communities were inclusive rather than exclusive and extremely attractive to those young individuals looking for a generational experience. Two events were particularly significant for the movement, namely the “Summer of Love Festival” (1967), organized in San Francisco, California, and the “Woodstock Music and Art Fair” (1969). Both festivals gained great popularity and became iconic not only for the 1960s youth, but also for many later generations (Falk & Falk 2005: 203).

A typical approach of the hippies to the Vietnam War was viewed during the antiwar demonstrations, particularly, in front of the Pentagon, in 1967, when they put daisies into the gun barrels of police officers (Thomas 2005: 17). This happening showed a new approach to violence, and the term “**flower power**” became inseparably connected with the movement. Furthermore, the term “**flower children**” was effectively kept alive in the collective memory due to the famous song *San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Some Flowers in Your Hair)*, written by John Edmund Andrew Phillips (1935–2001) and sung by Scott McKenzie (1939–2012) (Weinstein 2015: 124). Moreover, it has been stressed that “(...) the hippie revolt reflected a sincere, collective fear of, and antagonism towards, the ‘technocratization’ of American society and culture, which was destroying humanism, authenticity, and personal relationships” (Moretta 2017: 3). In other words, the hippie

movement was one of the proposed answers to the serious social dilemma of rising inequality which was observed in America in the 1950s. The rapid development of technology and consumerism weakened psychological bonds in families which were focused on material well-being rather than emotional engagement. As a result, a natural desire to find acceptance arose and was channeled into relationships within informal groups of peers. These groups shared common values, were opposed to traditional norms and were determined to defend their independence. In many cases, such youth went so far in their opposition to the existing structures as to become physically engaged in political battles (Goldstone 2014: 11). This clearly happened in the case of the Yippie movement which is analyzed in the following subsection.

The Yippies

The Yippie movement, officially known as the **Youth International Party**, was established by a group of radical hippies led by Abbie Hoffman (1936–1989) during a New Year’s Eve party on 31st December 1967 (Cottrell & Browne 2018: 1). The main ideas of the group under discussion here are interestingly explained by Krassner (1994: 162–163), who states that the Yippies: (1) wanted to represent the radical youth opposition; (2) they planned to have an impact not only on American society but on the whole world; and (3) they accentuated the importance of “being a party” in two senses, namely as a political party and as party-goers. While on the one hand, the Yippies were in opposition to traditional institutions in society, on the other, they entered into a dialog with the media and launched political campaigns in order to popularize their ideas. Their aim was not to promote any particular ideology or program, but rather to radicalize society and invite people to join a rebellion against traditional structures and rules (Cross [2008] 2010: 131).

One joke told about the group was that “[a] Yippie is a hippie who’s been hit on the head with a police billy club” (Krassner 1994: 170). In fact, the founders of the movement, in particular Abbie Hoffman (1936–1989) and Jerry Rubin (1938–1994), “(...) tried to transformed the hippie into the politicized ‘Yippie’ (...)” (Cross [2008] 2010: 131). This freshly formed group soon became famous due to public events and happenings. This strategy was reflected in one definition which stated that they were “(...) an organic coalition between psychedelic dropouts and political activists (...)” (Krassner 1994: 163). Whereas their view of the world was largely based on the catalog of values typical for hippies, the difference was in their form of political engagement,

namely active participation in a broad range of campaigns against traditional norms and institutions (Farber [1988] 1994: 3–7). As Rubin notably pointed out: “[e]very generation should look to the younger generation for leadership, because it is the younger generation which is the most directly and emotionally affected by society’s repression. The younger you are, the clearer is your head” (Thomas 2017: 56). Moreover, the Yippies’ view on their role in a formation of the new society has been expressed as follows by Farber ([1988] 1994: 15):

(...) because of radio, people over fifty have to hear it to believe it; because of TV, people thirty to fifty have to see it, to believe it; and because of the fact that people under thirty had grown up hip to the ways TV manufactured images, in order to get them to believe in something they need to do more than just hear it or see it – they have to feel it to believe it and that means that to get the kids right into the new consciousness you can’t just give them articles to read or speeches to listen to or even rallies to watch but instead you have to absolutely invent a whole new medium that begins with and depends on involvement and participation, that defines reality through immediacy rather than through passivity, that replaces explanation with actualization.

Both the above–mentioned views point to the high aspirations of the group under discussion here. American youth was invited to join and gain experience in anti–system protests due to the fact that the traditional and conservative part of society was viewed as being interested in imposing limitations on their freedom. Only collective action was believed to be powerful enough to have an impact on people and change society. Whereas for the elderly radio was a trustworthy medium, middle–aged groups preferred visual media. The young, in contrast, were invited to feel the power of protest, not only to watch it on television, but to be actively engaged in order to generate change (Peariso 2014: 49).

The above–mentioned approach led to political campaigns being undertaken by the Yippies. One of their preferred activities was guerilla theatre, namely numerous symbolic actions and spontaneous demonstrations (Carlson 2000: 267). One of the first happenings took place in New York, on 24th August 1967, when a group of Yippie activists threw dollars bills from the visitor’s gallery at the New York Stock Exchange (Cross [2008] 2010: 131). Immediately, they gained popularity and people’s attention focused on their **symbolic protest against the costs of the Vietnam War and consumerism**. Another memorable happening was organized in Chicago in 1968, when both the Democratic Presidential Convention and the Yippie Festival of Life were

planned. Even before the festival, Yippie activists jokingly claimed to have contaminated water in the city waterworks with LSD, and nominated a pig, called Pigasus, as a candidate in the presidential race (Peariso 2014: 62).

The climax of the event was reached several days later, when street unrest broke out just in front of the Democratic Convention site. Once again, the antiwar youth opposition had confronted mainstream politicians, and both local and federal authorities, in order to oppose against what they saw as a two-faced policy carried out under the cover of democratic values. The message of the protesters was clear, namely they demanded change and freedom. An interesting view was expressed by one of the activists: “[o]ur language was becoming perverted in order to mask our behavior. Dead Vietnamese children were called *collateral damage*. Concentration camps were called *strategic hamlets*. Torturers were called *counterinsurgency experts*. Today, they indulge in *enhanced interrogation techniques*, a euphemism for a euphemism” (Krassner 1994: 151). This view perfectly illustrates the anger, fury and frustration of the protesters in the context of the Vietnam War, as well as their determination to rebel against the American establishment.

To conclude, it is worth noting that the Yippies’ viewpoint on achieving social revolution seemed to run in parallel to an observation that “(...) basic changes in social structure and in political structure occur together in a mutually reinforcing fashion” (Skocpol 1979: 5). The Yippies intended to go far beyond merely effecting transformation within society by attempting to change society and its political principles simultaneously. In contrast, there are also alternative views which underline that top Yippies were particularly interested in developing their own social status as celebrities (Peariso 2014: 64). Although the significance of the group under discussion here has not yet been clearly understood, the range of tools they employed was undeniably broad, including performances, happenings, press conferences, direct protests and acts of physical violence. What they held in common was an invitation to rebel against traditional rules and norms in order to establish a new order, namely an approach typical of all revolutionary youth movements. In considering the opposition to the war in Vietnam, one cannot miss another significant group, namely soldiers and former soldiers and their voices of protest. In the following subsection, the genesis and evolution of the American military opposition to the Vietnam War is outlined.

2.4.6.4. Military opposition

One particular group opposing the Vietnam War was formed by soldiers and war veterans who had returned from military operations in Vietnam. As their views were a reflection of their own experience with face-to-face combat in Vietnam, **they were viewed as genuine and trustworthy witnesses of the Vietnam War, in particular while recounting traumatic and heroic moments on the battlefield.** In general, there were two categories of military opposition to the war, namely dissenters or resisters. The main differences between both groups have been outlined as follows by Cortright (2019: 1):

[t]he dissenters were part of what became known as the GI movement: soldiers publishing ‘underground’ newspapers, signing antiwar petitions, attending protest rallies, and engaging in various forms of public speech to demand an end to the war. The resisters were those who defied military authority, disobeyed orders, went absent without leave, committed acts of sabotage, refused combat, and in some cases violently attacked their own officers and sergeants.

In general, there were many forms of military opposition to the Vietnam War. Some signs of disobedience, exemplified by hijacking an American munitions ship from Thailand to Cambodia by American seamen, were nervously commented upon by the authorities (Zinn 1980: 477–478). Some others, such as the Fort Hood Three’s decision to refuse to be deployed to Vietnam for military operations, gained popularity in the media (Stoltman 2019: 42). Even after returning home, many former soldiers expressed their voices of protest. This was the beginning of an organization known as **Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW)**, a group formed by veteran soldiers who had joined the antiwar protest march in New York City on 15th April 1967 (Scott 1993: 1). It was, however, several months later when VVAW gained more formalized structure (Hunt 1999: 5). Its main aim was to help Vietnam veterans who were, in many cases, left without any support. Not only did they suffer from PTSD and the consequences of exposure to chemical substances (Agent Orange), but also, on their return home, they had experienced societal aggression and were stigmatized as “baby killers” (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xxiii).

Such accusations were, however, not unjustified. The cruelty of the war was revealed when former soldiers came to Detroit, Michigan, in December 1970, to give public testimonies of war crimes committed by American troops in Vietnam. This initiative, known as the **Winter Soldier Investigation**, was undoubtedly shocking for American public opinion, and particularly one incident – the **Mỹ Lai Massacre** – remained in America’s collective memory (Thomas 2005: 17).

Almost simultaneously, *The New York Times* began to publish secret military documents, collectively known as the **Pentagon Papers**, revealing the details of American special operations in Vietnam (Michalek 1995: 347). This, in turn, triggered further protests against American involvement in the Vietnam War. Not surprisingly, on the wave of the revealed scandals, the VVAW rapidly expanded, absorbing supporters from various backgrounds (Hunt 1999: 2). One of them was **John Kerry**, an American lieutenant and veteran of the Vietnam War. Interestingly, an antiwar group was not limited only to youth people and military activists as opposition to the Vietnam War was also declared by many other groups in the American policy. One of them were African Americans, a minority which had experienced in its history both traumatic and heroic moments. In the following subsection, a view of their development and social position in the years of the Vietnam war is given.

2.4.6.5. Social position of African Americans and some of their views on the Vietnam War

The history of African Americans is inseparably connected with the history of the United States. Even during the colonial period, black slaves were a constituent element of the American socio-cultural landscape. Living for centuries on the fringes of society, firstly as slaves and more recently as second-class citizens, African Americans survived as an integrated and coherent social group, ready to struggle for its constitutional rights. An illustration of this is the decision taken by Muhammad Ali (1942–2016), the celebrated boxing champion, who refused to carry out his military service in Vietnam as a protest against discrimination experienced by African Americans in the United States (Stoltman 2019: 41). In the following subsections, an outline of the difficult relationship between African Americans and the privileged white majority is depicted. **The main aim of this subsection is to highlight traumatic and heroic experiences of African Americans, their determination to have equal rights, as well as their engagement in mass protests against racial segregation which were combined, in many cases, with growing opposition to the Vietnam War.**

A brief outline of the history of slavery in the United States

Strictly speaking, the first appearance of Africans on America soil is connected with the first Spanish explorers who reached Florida in the sixteenth century and brought with them black slaves. Interestingly, discriminative practices were typical not only for the white population. Similarly, certain tribes of Native Americans developed a similar ideology on the basis of which slavery was acceptable and the status of Africans was viewed as worse than any other group (Perdue [1979] 2000: 120). In British colonies, slavery is believed to have begun in 1619, when a group of twenty African slaves was delivered to Jamestown, Virginia (Leland 2005: 17). Another interesting fact is that between 1763 and 1767 the borderline between three British colonies, namely Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, was delineated on the basis of an agreement concluded by Charles Mason (1728–1786) and Jeremiah Dixon (1733–1779) (Michalek [1992] 1999: 11). After the victory of the American Revolution (1783) and the birth of the United States of America, two main regions began to exist along this **Mason–Dixon line**, namely the South, mostly based on extensive agricultural production and intensive slave exploitation, and the North, which was more industrialized and under the influence of a capitalist and liberal economy. These differences survived even after 1807, when the international slave trade was outlawed by the federal government (Schneider & Schneider [2000] 2007: 12). Subsequently, an idea to send emancipated slaves back to Africa emerged, giving birth to the **American Colonization Society** (1816), an organization established by a group of activists with Robert Finley (1772–1817) as its leader (Yarema 2006: 15). This initiative led to the foundation of Liberia, namely an African country viewed as a new home for former American slaves.

The above–mentioned dichotomy in economic development within the United States was reflected in the position of slaves in different states. Whereas the northern states slowly began to emancipate particular groups of slaves, the southern states maintained inhuman exploitation and the slavery business itself. Both the *de jure* and *de facto* situation of African slaves in the southern states was critical, as not only did they have to face difficult living conditions and cruel treatment by their owners featuring physical and psychological pressure, but slaves had to confront themselves with extremely restricted legal rights. The rights of freed slaves were also significantly limited by the local **Black Laws** (Foner 2010: 8). Moreover, slavery was not only an economic institution, but also served as a status symbol used to display the wealth and prestige of a slave owner (Schneider & Schneider [2000] 2007: 53). All of these differences in the legal status of slaves in various states, and their fundamentally different paths of economic development, led to

the American Civil War (1861–1865), which finally wiped away any legal forms of slavery in the United States.

African Americans after the Emancipation Proclamation

One of the main causes of the American Civil War was the issue of slavery. The first attempts to emancipate African Americans in the Union-occupied territories of the southern states were taken by two Union generals, namely John Charles Frémont (1813–1890) in Missouri, and David Hunter (1802–1886) in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina (Michalek [1992] 1999: 44). Slavery was subsequently abolished by President Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) throughout the country in the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation (22nd September 1862), shortly afterwards in the final **Emancipation Proclamation** (1st January 1863) and, ultimately, by Congress, in the **Thirteenth Amendment** in 1865 (Williams 2006: 48). Although during the following Reconstruction Era (1863–1877) African Americans gained citizenship (1868) and voting rights (1870), their freedom was seriously limited by the regulations implemented by individual states (Michalek [1992] 1999: 72). These limitations, known as the **Jim Crow laws**, introduced some practices of racial segregation and disenfranchisement, following the infamous motto: “Separate but Equal” (Schmermund 2017: 27). Moreover, barbaric acts of violence were committed by members of the **Ku Klux Klan** (Michalek [1992] 1999: 69), namely a hate group organized by former Confederate State Army soldiers, and founded at Fort Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866. To make matters worse, the Supreme Court upheld, in 1896, the doctrine of racial segregation (Blumberg [2003] 2009: 16).

As a protest against inequality, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868–1963) began to organize a civil rights movement with the intention of legally defending the rights of African Americans. This gave birth to the **Niagara Movement** (1905) and the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (1909), two organizations which were the focus of a long-lasting and difficult struggle against discrimination (Bailey 2014: 10–11). The aims of the activists were clearly expressed as follows by Du Bois ([1920] 1999: 1): “I believe in God, who made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell. I believe that all men, black and brown and white, are brothers (...). Especially do I believe in the Negro Race: in the beauty of its genius, the sweetness of its soul, and its strength in that meekness which shall yet inherit this turbulent earth.” This ideological credo was in sharp contrast to the view presented by certain groups of white American

racists who hatedly claimed that segregation was essential due to the fact that blacks cannot control their instincts (Moretta 2017: 16).

These processes, which began in the first decade of the twentieth century, were continued in the years which followed. As Jones has observed (2011: 1): “(...) the Niagara Movement was an important civil rights organization that played a crucial role in the development of the larger Civil Rights Movement (...). Moreover, the Civil Rights Movement was not just a mid–20th–century phenomenon.” The first successes in defending the rights of minorities were extremely supportive, in particular after the First World War (1914–1918), when a large number of African Americans moved on to the North in order to find better–paid jobs and attractive life prospects. Their disillusionment and frustration were initially assuaged by the phenomenon of **jazz music**, which is believed to be “(...) one of the most important, dynamic statements of the black creative impulse (...), known as the Harlem Renaissance” (Moretta 2017: 17), but finally led to the birth of the Civil Rights Movement, an organization founded by a new generation of activists.

The Civil Rights Movement

The birth of the Civil Rights Movement is connected with the general situation of African Americans in the United States at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, as well as with a number of incidents which were revealed by the media at this period. As Blumberg has outlined ([2003] 2009: 15), the most important social changes after the Second World War included the following: (1) a mass migration of African Americans to the North in search of better job opportunities; (2) a new wave of violence against the newcomers which was instigated by certain groups of whites; (3) difficulties generated by the economic hardship experienced by the poorest; (4) certain changes in the legal status of African Americans; (5) a new generation of leaders taking the stage; and (6) the international situation after the Second World War.

There were several important incidents which turned the public eye towards the problems of the minority under discussion here. One of them was a case of **Emmett Louis Till** (1941–1955), who was accused of whistling suggestively at a white woman and subsequently lynched by members of her family. During the resulting criminal trial, despite undeniable evidence of their guilt, the culprits were acquitted by an all–white jury (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xvi). Another serious incident then occurred in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955. A young African American

woman, **Rosa Parks** (1913–2005), refused to follow the bus driver’s instruction to relinquish her seat in a public bus to a white passenger as was the law. As a consequence, she was arrested and, in turn, a decision to boycott public transport in Montgomery was taken by an African American community there (Michalek 1995: 127). Yet another incident occurred in Little Rock, Arkansas. Following a decision taken by the United States Supreme Court in 1954 (**Brown vs. Board of Education**), which stated that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional, a group of nine African Americans decided to enroll at the Central High School in Little Rock in September 1957 (Blumberg [2003] 2009: 16). This generated a confrontation with the local white governor, Orval Eugene Faubus (1910–1994). As a result of a direct intervention undertaken by President Eisenhower and the deployment of the National Guard, the situation began to stabilize and, finally, a slow process of opening public schools to minorities began (Michalek 1995: 126).

All the above–mentioned incidents quickly led to the birth of **the Southern Christian Leadership Conference**, an organization established to defend the civil rights of African Americans using peaceful and legal methods (Blumberg [2003] 2009: 16). The Conference was led by a charismatic leader, **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968). Typical means used by African Americans to assert their rights included boycotts, marches and demonstrations (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xi). On 1st February 1960, one of the best known campaign began when four African American students sat down at the segregated lunch counter inside the Woolworth store in Greensboro, Tennessee and ordered coffee. As their order was not taken, the protest continued during the following days (Blumberg [2003] 2009: 16). These protests, known as **sit-ins**, became a popular form of direct action pointed to struggle against racial segregation in public places. The results of these undertaken actions were significant. In 1956, the United States Supreme Court ruled that segregation in public transport was unconstitutional (Michalek 1995: 128). In order to execute the above decision, a group of activists, known as the **Freedom Riders**, launched a campaign with an intention to promote desegregated bus rides. After initial difficulties, these activists were eventually successful. From 1957, new legislation was introduced in order to guarantee the equal status of African Americans and, finally, put an end to discriminatory practices. In 1964, to commemorate the Civil Rights Movement’s achievements, the Nobel Peace Prize was given to MLK (Blumberg [2003] 2009: 16).

One issue is particularly interesting considering the subject under discussion here, namely the view on the Vietnam War which was expressed by civil rights activists. Although many African

Americans had been sent to Vietnam and paid with their lives in order to meet their civic duty, those who returned felt huge disappointment when comparing their status at home. As Eldridge has observed (2011: 3–4), there were three main arguments which were typically put forward by the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement in the public discourse, namely: (1) the large discrepancy between the reactions of the U.S. Government to the threat of Communism and the cruelty it had caused in Asia when compared with the acquiescence and silent acceptance of Americans to discrimination against minorities domestically; (2) the costs of the military effort undertaken by Americans, in particular the president and the top officials, which resulted in decreasing the number of social and economic programs and, in turn, impacted on the social conditions experienced by African Americans; and, last but not least, (3) the huge disproportion between the number of black soldiers killed in action in Vietnam when compared with the total number of African Americans in society. All of these observations lead to the conclusion that **even though African Americans had largely accepted their patriotic duty to fight against the enemies of the American nation, they were also highly critical towards the two-faced policy of the government and eagerly expressed their voices of protest against discrimination and the cruelty of the Vietnam War.**

Finally, regarding the weaknesses of the movement under discussion here, it is worth emphasizing that the legal changes which were introduced by the government were implemented by local legislatures at a snail's pace as they were usually under the control of whites. Moreover, there were sharp divisions within the African American community as a whole. Apart from MLK and his followers, there were also proponents of more radical campaigns, namely the **Nation of Islam**, a movement led by Malcolm X (1925–1965), and even more confrontational organizations as exemplified by the **Black Panther Party** (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xi). Although the symbolic end of the Civil Rights Movement was marked by the assassination of MLK (1968), the long struggle for equal rights for African Americans was continued in the decades which followed. The memorable social and political initiatives undertaken by African Americans were, however, not the only ones which survived in the American collective memory. Among many further groups, a special place was occupied by women who seemed to consolidate themselves around their opposition to the Vietnam War and actively participated in many campaigns focused on promoting equal rights and progressive ideas. Therefore, in the following subsection, the development of the women's movement and its contribution to the protests against the Vietnam War are outlined.

2.4.6.6. Women's opposition to the Vietnam War

In analyzing the position of women in American society in the 1960s, one may observe two main factors. On the one hand, the difficult years of the Second World War resulted in significant changes in the status of women. Whereas men served in the army, women gained access to many professions which were traditionally considered as “masculine.” Even more importantly, women were able to achieve financial independence and their status in society began to rise. On the other hand, the position of American women in the 1950s was viewed, in many instances, as worse than American men. In particular, “[t]hey were not considered for the same jobs, they could not establish their own lines of credit, and they had fewer opportunities for higher education (...). Sexual harassment and domestic violence were not recognized” (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xix). This brief list clearly indicates the main differences between the sexes existing then. There were, in general, two particular groups of women in American society during the period under discussion here. **On the one hand, there were the younger activists who were more independent, and often interested in the ideas of both the second wave of feminism and the ideology of the New Left (e.g. Jane Fonda). They were fully engaged in feminist campaigns, as well as in many other initiatives, including opposing the Vietnam War. On the other hand, there was an older generation of women, who were more conservative and focused on traditional values, but also eager to protest against the war stridently** (Gann & Duignan 1995: 9). Over the course of time, the unprecedented activity of both groups impacted on political decisions and, as a result, on the success of the feminist revolution, primarily focused on the problem of women's liberation, and, secondly, on the political significance of women's voices. In the following subsections, the women's position in America and their involvement in the antiwar opposition are outlined.

On the position of women in the United States

Linguistically speaking, the term “**feminism**” was coined by Hubertine Auclert (1848–1914) in order to describe the social activism of women and its ideology (Boles & Hoeverler 2004: 2). In general, however, feminism is defined as “(...) women acting, speaking and writing on women's issues and rights, identifying social injustice in the status quo and bringing their unique perspective to bear on issues” (Tandon 2008: 2). It means that feminism is one of the most recognizable and

influential issues in contemporary political discourse, one with a long and eventful history. In this subsection, a brief outline of the position of American women in their country is provided.

Chronologically speaking, coordinated initiatives to gain voting rights for women are commonly known as **the first wave of feminism**. In England, a pivotal role was played by Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928), a leader of the Women’s Social and Political Union, an extremely active organizer, who summarized her political motto in the statement: “Deeds Not Words!” (Franks 2013: 53). In the United States, one of the first initiatives to gain voting rights for women led to the establishment the American Woman Suffrage Association, formed by Lucy Stone (1818–1893) in Boston, Massachusetts in 1869 (Boles & Hoeveler 2004: 38). As the name of this association suggests, the first activists were primarily involved in a campaign for voting rights for women, but also referred to more general issues. As a consequence of their actions, women gained the right to vote in the United States in 1920.

The second wave of feminism was initiated in France by Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986). In her view both existentialism and feminism were combined and led to a fundamental question about the position of women in society (Tandon 2008: 10). As de Beauvoir ([1949] 2010: 4–5) has concluded: “[i]f the female function is not enough to define women, and if we also reject the explanation of the ‘eternal feminine,’ but if we accept, even temporarily, that there are women on the earth, we than have to ask: what is a woman?” Moreover, according to Olson and Gumpert (2018: xix), the most influential continuators of the second wave of feminism in America were Helen Gurley Brown (1922–2012) and Betty Friedan (1921–2006). Whereas the former encouraged women to develop their careers and gain financial independence, the latter accentuated the subordinate position of women in society and their unfulfilled aspirations. In her own words: “[o]ver and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity (...). They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights – the independence and the opportunities that the old-fashioned feminists fought for” (Frieden 1963: 15–16). As illustrated in this passage, genuine independence and a determination to surpass an overwhelmingly male-dominated discourse were two main aims of the women movement.

Not surprisingly, the above-mentioned activist was also a founder of the **National Organization for Women** (NOW), namely one of the most rapidly developing women’s groups, established in order to promote the female view on social issues and to guarantee equal rights for

both sexes (Michalek 1995: 226–227). Furthermore, it is worth noting that **Shirley Anita Chisholm** (1924–2005), a famous activist who was the first African American woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, was also an active member of this organization (*cf.* Guild 2009: 263; Raatma 2010: 5). To sum up, the second wave of feminism aimed at causing much deeper social transformation than that only limited to voting rights. This movement was rather interested in eliminating social, political and intellectual discrepancies between the sexes (Boles & Hoeverler 2004: 1). Moreover, also practical tools, including birth control pills and the idea of sexual revolution (Olson & Gumpert 2018: xii), allowed changes to take place in the role of women in modern society.

Selected examples of women's opposition to the Vietnam War

Over the course of time, there were, among many groups, two organizations which firmly declared the need for ending the war and actively worked for peace, namely Women Strike for Peace and Another Mother for Peace. Both of these groups are briefly described below with an intention to outline their origins and typical methods of protest.

Women Strike for Peace (WSP) was an organization established in Georgetown, Washington D.C. in 1961, as an initiative of six housewives led by Dagmar Wilson (1916–2011) (Swerdlow 1993: 17). Initially, its main objective was to promote pacifism and international disarmament. In particular, special attention was given to the threat of a potential nuclear war and its impact on the youngest generation. Shortly after it being established, opposition was concentrated on the Vietnam War (Estepa 2008: 84–85). Although in the first stage of its development the group under discussion here seemed to avoid any links with radical female activists, over the course of time, certain strategies and aims began to move closer to the ideas of the second wave of feminism (Morris & Withers 2018: 20). The appearance of the movement gave a new quality to American public life. As Swerdlow (1993: 1) has observed: “[a]t a time when the public image of women was domestic and maternal rather than political, and passive rather than active, an estimated fifty thousand women in over sixty communities came out of their kitchens and off their jobs to demand that President Kennedy ‘End the Arms Race–Not the Human Race’.” This observation indicates a dramatic shift in American public opinion on the position of women in society in the 1960s and seems to prove the co–occurrence of a profound social transformation.

One of the greatest demonstrations organized by the group under discussion here took place in Washington, D.C. on 20th September 1967, with the intention of supporting a coalition of young activists who opposed conscription (Estepa 2008: 84). Apart from demonstrations, there were numerous means used in order to express these women's views, including petitions, letter-writing campaigns, lobbying, legal actions, direct action to support draft resisters, along with "sit-ins" in public institutions and "die-in" campaigns in the streets (Swerdlow 1993: 4). Interestingly, many members of the WSP sympathized with both the New Left and the Civil Rights Movement. Such a coalition showed the evolution amongst activists, namely from being a middle-class and rather conservative group to an organization able to collaborate with the whole spectrum of antiwar protesters. This also suggests that, for many people in America, the Vietnam War and demonstrations against racism and poverty were often seen as two sides of the same coin (Estepa 2008: 102).

Another Mother for Peace (AMP) was an organization established by a group of inexperienced activists led by Barbara Avedon (1925–1994) in 1967 (Alonso 1993: 218). The main aim of the group was focused on protecting their sons who were expected to be conscripted and sent to Vietnam. This means that the group was actively opposed to the Vietnam War from its beginning. Within a short period, a full agenda was established, including opposing the devastating exploitation being promoted by the large American corporations, as well as raising awareness regarding ecology and major environmental hazards. As a result, a long list of progressive ideas was compiled, including those concerning pacifism, environmentalism and anti-consumerism (Pratt & Erengezgin [2013] 2016: 76). The forum typically used by the AMP activists to express their ideas was at annual gatherings broadly known as the Mother's Day Assembly. The first event of this type was organized in Los Angeles, California in 1969. Moreover, in order to be more recognizable and to gain broader public support, the activists created their famous slogan: "War is Not Healthy for Children and Other Living Things" which perfectly describes the main concept behind the AMP (Alonso 1993: 218).

Many actions focused on pacifism were taken by both groups under discussion here, which illustrates a link between the women's ideas and their opposition to the Vietnam War. One of the unique features of the women's protests lies in a surprising mosaic of various ideas, approaches and aims. Of note is the fact that the women's opposition movement was diverse and heterogeneous, a characteristic which was common for many American social initiatives from the

1960s. Different groups reflected different views, including a broad range of progressivism, feminism, but also conservatism and traditionalism. Interestingly, antiwar protests were a perfect place to express defiance concerning many other social problems, including discrimination, sexism and general opposition to the situation of American women in society. One of the most common reasons was, undoubtedly, social trauma generated by the conflict in Vietnam and its atrocities. In the following subsection, a brief outline of the Vietnam War is analyzed, including its background, main events and disastrous results.

2.4.7. Key events of the Vietnam War

The end of the Second World War brought deep divisions and conflicts between two great superpowers, namely the United States and the Soviet Union. From then on, both countries built up a system of international coalitions and carried out an aggressive policy of mutual rivalry. Due to the fact that direct conflict could lead to a nuclear war, both countries initiated a series of proxy wars, which constituted an element of global polarization. Metaphorically speaking, the superpowers were playing “(...) a game of chess with pawns, the United States and the USSR formed alliances with smaller, less developed countries” (Coddington 2018: 7). The Vietnam War was unquestionably one of these proxy wars, both long-lasting and reflecting the East-West conflict. In this subsection, a brief outline of the Vietnam War is drawn. Beginning with the legacy of French colonialism in Southeast Asia, moving on to the results of the Second World War, and, finally, presenting the consequences of both the First and the Second Indochina Wars, an overall view on the history of the conflict is provided. Although the Vietnam War may be viewed by many as a distant and remote war, its impact on American society, including experience of both individual and collective traumas and references to heroism, has been enormous and survives even in contemporary America. This is why a proper understanding of the history and the course of that war is pivotal in order to understand the public discourse on the war, both in the past and the decades which followed.

French colonialism in Southeast Asia

The turbulent history of nineteenth century colonialism in Asia has been mainly viewed as a competition between the great powers, including the United Kingdom, Russia, Spain, the Netherlands and, later, Japan and the United States. Although the number of French territories in the Far East was smaller than those controlled by other powers, France was, at the turn of the twentieth century, undeniably one of the global players in international policy. At the center of the French penetration into Asia was a bridge of land between India and China, including lands which were commonly known as **Indochina**. This term was coined almost simultaneously by Conrad Malte-Brun (1775–1826), a Danish geographer in the service of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1840), and John Leyden (1775–1811), a Scottish linguist, to describe strategically important territories, including Annam, Tonkin, Cochinchina, as well as Cambodia and Laos (Robson & Yee 2005: 1). All of these above-mentioned lands successively entered into the French sphere of influence from 1864 to 1894 (Duiker 1986: 8).

Interestingly, the political structure of Indochina was complex. Although formally under the rule of the *Nguyễn* dynasty, represented from 1926 by the emperor Bảo Đại (1913–1997), in reality it was entirely controlled by the French ambassador and the French colonial forces subjected to him which were located at strategically important sites (Sutherland 2005: 153). This model of colonialism lasted until the Second World War (1939–1945). At the same time, the living conditions of local residents were not to be envied. In particular, poverty and limited access to basic resources were omnipresent. This was due to the fact that many ambitious projects were carried out by imposing heavy taxes on local residents (Coddington 2018: 10). An interesting anecdote is mentioned by Seah & Nair ([1994] 2004: 22) who report that Vietnamese society was then divided into three categories, namely one group which could afford eating bran and vegetables, another living only on bran and water and, finally, one more able to survive only thanks to samples of food delivered by the local bran sellers. Moreover, although the colonial authorities attempted to meet some basic educational and medical needs, in general, their initiatives were limited and fruitless.

As a result of changes caused by the Second World War, both in Europe and Asia, the Vichy State (*État français*) allowed for Japanese forces to occupy the country and to take control over military installations and resources. This was a period in which unprecedented cruelty and exploitation, especially for the ordinary Vietnamese, reached its peak (Prina 2008: 16). It was also the beginning of a military organization, which was created in 1941 to fight against the Japanese occupiers, namely the **League for the Independence of Vietnam**, better known under its

nickname – the *Việt Minh* (Rigal–Cellard 1991: 20). Not surprisingly, on 2nd September 1945, seeing defeatism in the Japanese army, the partisans proclaimed the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Sutherland 2005: 153). A leading position in the new government was taken by Hồ Chí Minh (1890–1969), a famous Vietnamese politician, who combined in his political manifesto both communist and nationalist elements (Seah & Nair [1994] 2004: 23). Counteracting the policy of *faits accomplis*, France soon began to attempt reestablishing the prewar system in South Vietnam, a policy which eventually led to the Vietnam War.

An outline of the First Indochina War (1946–1954)

The first phase of the Vietnam War was instigated by Vietnamese aspirations to gain independence and the French attempts to reestablish an old, colonial system. The Vietnamese, having gained some invaluable experience in fighting the Japanese invaders, began to attack isolated French check points and garrisons in the south in order to establish one national government. The French answer was to strengthen their defenses in a number of forts localized on the borderline between the North and South. However, modern weaponry and well-trained troops the French possessed could not be effective in a guerilla war in which an enemy operated from hidden bases in the jungle. As a result, the French forces encountered severe failures. Moreover, the Indochina War was not popular in French society. As many viewed this conflict as a colonial one, only colonial troops could be used in military operations. Furthermore, even Americans initially showed an ambivalent approach, which slowly evolved along with their acceptance for the “Domino Theory” (Leibo [1968] 2017: 277).

All these previous experiences led to a significant change in French tactics. Indeed, its new strategy was based on not dispersing, but rather concentrating troops in a large battle in order to make use of French technological and logistical advantages. This new strategy led to the epic **Battle of Điện Biên Phủ** (13th March–7th May 1954), in which the French forces were surrounded and ultimately defeated by Vietnamese partisans (Rigal–Cellard 1991: 22). It was one of the most serious military failures in the history of French colonialism, leading to an immediate ceasefire and peace negotiations, which were finally concluded in Geneva (26th April–21st July 1954). On the basis of the Geneva Accords, Vietnam was divided along the seventeenth parallel (Michalek 1995: 156). Whereas the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the North was controlled by **Hồ Chí Minh**

and the Vietnamese communists, the Republic of Vietnam in the South was under control of **Ngô Đình Diệm** (1901–1963) and soon entered into close cooperation with the United States. On the basis of the above-mentioned agreement, both parties declared they would hold democratic elections within two years in order to finally reunite the country. This last condition was not respected, however, leading to another phase of the conflict which is described below.

An outline of the Second Indochina War (1955–1975)

The second phase of the conflict began between two Vietnamese states, namely: the communist North, supported mainly by the People's Republic of China and, in the second phase of the war, by the Soviet Union; and the pro-American South (Li 2020: 3). Mutual pressure and attempts to reunite the country under one government were the underlying cause of this phase of the Vietnam War. Initially, Americans reduced their assistance only to providing economic support and a limited number of military advisers. They also seemed to believe in the results of the **Strategic Hamlet Program**, a plan which was developed to cut off supplies offered to the communists by rural residents (Miller 2016: xxii). However, these steps could not end the war.

In collaboration with the North, a new movement, namely the **National Liberation Front of South Vietnam**, also known *as* the *Việt Cộng*, was formed (Rigal-Cellard 1991: 25). Shortly afterwards, it began to penetrate into the South, leading to a series of attacks in which the first two American soldiers were killed in action, namely Master Sergeant Chester M. Ovnand (1914–1959) and Major Dale R. Buis (1921–1959) (Michalek 1995: 157). Moreover, angry protests against President Diệm broke out in South Vietnam. Their climax was reached when a Buddhist monk, Thích Quảng Đức (1897–1963), burned himself to death in order to express his opposition a government policy of repression towards Buddhists (Miller 2016: xxii). As a consequence of a subsequent *coup d'état* (1st November 1963), the government ended up under the control of the military authorities.

Other memorable incidents occurred on 2nd and 4th August 1964 in the Gulf of Tonkin, when the American destroyer *USS Maddox* was allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats (Michalek 1995: 260). This event was used as a pretext to escalate the conflict, in particular, giving way to the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution** (7th August 1964), which opened the gates for direct American military intervention. The first American combat troops reached Vietnamese soil at Đà

Năng, on 8th March 1965 (Scott 1993: 1). A new doctrine, that set out by General William Childs Westmoreland (1914–2005), was based on the unprecedented deployment of American troops to South Vietnam and newly developed **search-and-destroy** combat missions (Miller 2016: xxiv) which were, in turn, the main element of a **war of attrition** (Gruszczyk 2017: 122). This phase of the war reached its climax after 30th January 1968, when the North Vietnamese launched the **Tết Offensive** along the borderline of Cambodia and Laos. The large scale of this offensive was possible mainly thanks to the uninterrupted support chains coming from both mainland China and the Soviet Union (Li 2020: 2). Daily news broadcasts and the increasing number of soldiers killed in action led to dramatic social protests in the United States and a change in American policy towards Vietnam in the years which followed.

A new strategy, initiated by President Nixon and known as a policy of **Vietnamization**, led to a reduction in the number of American troops, greater independence for the South Vietnamese forces during military operations, as well as heavy bombardments of North Vietnamese-controlled areas. At the same time, peace talks were held in Paris (Michałek 1995: 346–347). The new approach based on leaving the Vietnam War to the Vietnamese was implemented simultaneously with the escalation of antiwar protests in the United States. Although the war became highly unpopular, “the silent majority” of American society, as expressed by President Nixon (Miller 2016: xxvii), still opted for continuation rather than acceptance of failure.

There was one case, however, that particularly reflected America’s experience of the war, namely **the Mỹ Lai massacre** (16th March 1968), an incident which had occurred in a remote Vietnamese village, in which American soldiers had executed about 500 civilians on the basis of an alleged accusation that they had collaborated with the *Việt Cộng* (Gruszczyk 2017: 142–143). The final chapter of the war began with the **Paris Peace Accords** (27th January 1973) which formally ended decades of conflict. On the one hand, this agreement was a chance for Americans to maintain an illusion of victory while withdrawing from the war (Miller 2016: xxviii). On the other hand, the economic and military support given to North Vietnam by the Soviet Union and Communist China continued uninterrupted (Li 2020: 11). Not surprisingly, the North Vietnamese subsequently launched their final offensive and, on 25th April 1975, Sài Gòn, the South Vietnamese capital, was taken by the *Việt Cộng* forces (Michałek 1995: 350).

Chapter conclusions

The first sections of this chapter are focused on a broad description of the analytical methods used in the dissertation, including the domains of rhetorical, textual and quantitative analysis. Firstly, selected components of rhetorical analysis are described due to the fact that this tool is dominant in the analytical chapter of this dissertation. Beginning with an attempt to explain the origins, meaning, range and evolution of the analyzed term, the intention of the author was to show how numerous views expressed by experts in the field have evolved and enriched the term analyzed here throughout the centuries. Moreover, these sections also indicate the universal character of rhetoric, regardless of particular periods of history and civilizations, and, in particular, the modern approach to rhetoric is outlined. In the following subsections, the main theoretical concepts within the domain under discussion here are described, including the concept of the three persuasive appeals of rhetoric, three classical types of rhetoric, five canons of rhetoric, as well as selected figures of speech. In analyzing each issue, emphasis is placed on the link between particular theoretical concepts and the subject of this dissertation.

In the sections which follows, two further domain, which are used in the analytical chapter, are presented, namely the field of text linguistics and quantitative linguistics. Whereas the former focuses on exploration within the text, the latter shows one how to use mathematical analysis in linguistic studies. As far as the concept of a text is considered, the analysis leads one through key terms taken from a textual analysis and includes the concept of textuality and the seven standards of textuality, as well as a concept of intertextuality. Such a path of analysis seems to be fully justified. On the one hand, hierarchically organized levels of interpretation show how complex and multilayered textual studies are, while, on the other hand, they also describe the meaning of intertextuality in its broad, methodological context. **This view is particularly vital considering the significant role of intertextuality as a tool of analysis in the analytical chapter of this dissertation.** Finally, the concept of quantitative linguistics is also outlined. A brief history, evolution and selected features of this discipline are outlined. Quantitative findings in linguistic studies play their role, as they allow one to form a hypothesis in order to explain the presence of specific regularities in the analyzed texts. **In this dissertation, quantitative data is used to compare certain preferences in the selection of rhetorical devices and references to intertextuality which are displayed in the speeches analyzed here.** At the end of every

subsection, a brief conclusion is drawn, as well as more general summing-up at the end of this section.

The main aim of the following sections is to describe key political events, social movements and the course of the Vietnam War. All these elements seem to be crucial in order to understand fully the background of the speeches analyzed here. In the first subsection, the course of the main historic events and political strategies are outlined. To achieve this aim, a brief description of the five successive presidencies is sketched out. Both the most significant international issues and domestic affairs are analyzed, while special attention is devoted to the main initiatives put forward by the American presidents concerned. **This section is aimed at understanding the political circumstances and the evolution of the American decision-making process during the period of the Vietnam War.** Whereas Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy were determined to actively oppose to the Soviet Union, the climax of the policy of confrontation was reached during President Johnson's terms of office, while two subsequent Presidents, namely Nixon and Ford, were proponents of the policy of reducing American involvement in global issues and achieving détente with the Soviet Union. Similarly, at the beginning of the analyzed period, American interest in the Vietnam War rapidly escalated, reaching its peak during the Johnson's presidency, and decreasing in the years which followed. In terms of domestic issues, it is possible to observe slow but steady progress in the whole period under discussion here both in the field of equal rights for minorities and a general transformation of the American society under the influence of the social revolution of the 1960s.

The range of the observed changes in America is carefully analyzed in the succeeding subsections. Firstly, two complex phenomena are defined, namely social change and social revolution. Whereas the former aims at replacing old ideas existing in a society with new ones, the latter is a rapid and transforming force, able to reconstruct not only political, but also social reality. Shortly afterwards, selected social groups in the United States are analyzed, including the proponents and opponents of a policy of escalation of military operations in the Vietnam War. Special consideration is given to protest groups, in particular the youth opposition, which, in turn, consists of university students, often interrelated with New Left activists, members of different countercultural groups, and Vietnam veterans. Moreover, two further groups are included in the analysis, namely African Americans and women activists. All these groups form a vivid and colorful mosaic of different views, opinions and linguistic styles. The main intention of this

subsection is to describe key social movements, their strategies and successes in exerting an impact on political decisions and social views. One typical observation is that there was a multitude of initiatives undertaken by various groups and that their impact evolved, in many cases, from local groups opposing America's Vietnam policy to huge and complex organizations. **This suggests an increasing discrepancy between the language of the public debate used by the power elites and the demands expressed by different minorities within American society in the analyzed period.** On the one hand, this process was observed due to a predominant conservatism within the elites, while on the other hand, a huge social potential was generated and catalyzed by various activists. All these factors led to an unprecedented social transformation which was viewed not only in a deep reconstruction of American social and cultural values, but also in the language of public debate.

Finally, in the subsequent section, focus is placed on the conflict in Vietnam itself. The genesis and two main periods of the Vietnam War are outlined. French expansion in Southeast Asia began in the nineteenth century and, from then on, Vietnam was placed under more or less strict colonial dependence. The climax of this process was observed during the Japanese occupation of the country. Directly afterwards, a new conflict emerged, namely Vietnamese efforts to gain independence were confronted with French intentions to reestablish the previous colonial system. This, in turn, led to a long and exhaustive war. In the first phase of this conflict, the French forces were defeated and, as a consequence, the United States decided to become directly involved in the war. The subsequent main historic events and their results on the course of the war are outlined in the subsections under discussion here.

To conclude, it is worth noting that all of these above-mentioned points are of great importance in order to analyze properly the American experience during the Vietnam War. **Moreover, from the point of view of anthropological linguistics, this chapter is vital in order to explain clearly the main elements of the political, social and cultural context which are present in the speeches analyzed in the last chapter of this dissertation.** Although each speech contains a broad range of linguistic tools, including some rhetorical and textual elements, the proper interpretation of a discourse, which is reflected in a particular text, is fully possible only when viewed in this broad context. **Finally, a proper understanding of the references to both trauma and heroism in selected speeches delivered during the period of the Vietnam War is also only possible when considered together with the main elements of the socio-cultural**

background concerned. In keeping in mind the main elements of the context as they have been described above, in the following chapter selected speeches are carefully analyzed.

3. Methodology and research conducted

This chapter is devoted to conducting a multilevelled analysis of ten selected speeches delivered by both American policymakers and leaders of groups opposing the Vietnam War.

As the scope of this study is multidisciplinary, broadly embedded in anthropological linguistics and, more precisely, in one of its subdomains, namely pragmatics, three different methods of analysis are cumulatively used in this study, namely rhetorical, textual and quantitative, which are respectively focused on identifying rhetorical devices, pointing out references to explicitly expressed intertextuality, as well as comparing the total number of the above-mentioned components of the speeches examined. To begin with, the methodology applied is explained in detail. Directly afterwards, five speeches delivered by great American policymakers during the period of the Vietnam War are indicated and the reasons behind this selection are explained. Although all the speeches are preceded by a brief introduction which outlines their background, subsequently, they are also carefully analyzed from both rhetorical and textual points of view. The aim of these analyses is to identify particular structures of language used in the passages which describe the feelings of trauma and heroism. In parallel, five speeches delivered by leaders of groups opposing the Vietnam War are selected and analyzed in a similar procedure.

In the following sections, the results of the above-presented analyses are collected. Firstly, referring to the tools offered by quantitative linguistics, the length of the speeches was compared in order to assess whether the proportion of text between two groups of speeches under analysis here was maintained at an equal level, namely those delivered by supporters and opponents of the Vietnam War. Secondly, the number of references to trauma and heroism in each speech was calculated and compared with the others. Thirdly, the number of selected rhetorical devices employed in the speeches analyzed here were calculated and mutually compared with the aim of revealing certain features of the rhetorical style preferred by a given speaker. Fourthly, references to intertextuality explicitly expressed in every speech were collected together and comparatively assessed. Finally, the whole chapter is summarized in the last two subsections containing both particular and more general conclusions.

3.1. Description of methodology applied

In this chapter, a complex analysis of ten selected speeches delivered between 1954 and 1975 by both American presidents and leaders of the groups opposing to the Vietnam War is conducted. As a consequence of such an approach, this chapter: (1) describes the situation of direct communication in each speech; (2) analyzes the link between the intentions and goals of the speakers and their discursive practices as expressed by the structures of language in descriptions of trauma and heroism while viewing this through the prism of both a social and cultural context; (3) compares the rhetorical styles preferred by the speakers; (4) compares references to intertextuality explicitly expressed in the speeches; and (5) makes an attempt to compare the results obtained. To achieve these aims, a broad range of analytical tools is implemented, including those typical for rhetorical analysis, textual analysis, as well as certain components of quantitative linguistics. In the entire study, five steps are included, namely those described below.

First of all, (1) ten speeches have been selected on the basis of the implemented criteria, including not only the subject of the speeches, which revolves around numerous military, social, political and cultural implications of the Vietnam War, but also while maintaining an equal quantitative proportion between the speeches delivered by American policymakers and antiwar activists of various backgrounds. Within this collection of speeches, five were delivered by major political leaders. This number includes four speeches of American presidents in office during the Vietnam War, namely Dwight D. Eisenhower, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford, along with one speech delivered by Senator John F. Kennedy. Although the latter speech was given before Kennedy was elected president, when considering the line of his subsequent policy towards Vietnam, it is safe to state that this speech fully reflects Kennedy's approach to the Vietnam War. Moreover, five speeches of leaders of antiwar opposition groups were selected, including representatives of numerous movements, namely those led by: Mario Savio, a leader of student protesters; Martin Luther King Jr., an icon of the Civil Rights Movement; Shirley Anita Chisholm, the first African American woman elected to the United States Congress; John Forbes Kerry, a former soldier in Vietnam; and, last but not least, Jane Seymour Fonda, the famous actress and social activist. Such a collection of speeches shows a broad range of views expressed by the speakers, which is a consequence of both their personal beliefs and the background with which they identified themselves.

In the next step, (2) all passages containing references to trauma and heroism have been distinguished in each speech. The methodology used is based on a broad linguistic

interpretation of the content of these speeches. **Whereas the length of selected passages containing traumatic or heroic descriptions is different, the main criterion is based on the internal coherence of the identified passages.** Although in certain cases, one entire description forms only a part of a sentence, in others this is expressed in an extremely long passage which contains different structures but is always viewed as a single and coherent unit. In the attached transcript of the speeches at the end of this dissertation, all of these passages are marked in bold type. In addition, each relevant passage of the transcript is numerated in chronological order with the intention of connecting it with a particular section of the analytical chapter.

Subsequently, within broad groups containing references to trauma and heroism, more detailed categories are introduced, namely passages focused on descriptions of war trauma (WT), political and social trauma (PST), as well as economic trauma (ET). Similarly, there is also a distinction drawn between war heroism (WH), political and social heroism (PSH) and economic heroism (EH). The differences between particular types of trauma and heroism are explained in the first chapter of this dissertation, under sections 1.4.3. and 1.5.3. One important assumption in this analysis is that whereas the distinction between descriptions of war and economic trauma and heroism are rather clear-cut, in many cases it is difficult to draw a line between political and social descriptions of trauma and heroism due to the fact that these two contexts frequently overlap and are mutually interconnected. Therefore, in this study, both types of traumatic and heroic descriptions, namely those which are political and social, are analyzed together under one category. Another assumption is that in certain passages different types of trauma and heroism are cumulated, meaning it is impossible to delineate them clearly. In such cases, selected types of trauma and heroism are listed together in one passage. The overall results of the analysis conducted here are summarized at the end of this chapter, under section 3.4.2.

In the following step, (3) a rhetorical analysis is conducted, one which is based on identifying and describing selected rhetorical devices used in the passages analyzed here. The main aim of this step is to determine a possible link between particular rhetorical devices and descriptions of trauma and heroism. Moreover, this analysis is also useful in comparing the style of the speakers and identifying their individual rhetorical preferences. In order to achieve this goal, all speeches are carefully analyzed with the intention of identifying rhetorical structures present in the passages containing references to trauma and heroism. **After identification, these rhetorical devices are divided into two groups, namely those used in passages describing trauma and**

those used in passages illustrating heroism. The aim of this distinction is to study regularities between their presence in a given passage and the co-occurrence of traumatic and heroic descriptions. Although the speakers refer to numerous types of rhetorical structures, in this study only those most frequently used in all speeches are summarized, as explained in section 3.4.3. This is due to the fact that full attention is given only to those rhetorical devices which are present in analyzed speeches, the consequence of this being that their exact number in one speech may be easily compared with the others. This group includes: alliteration, anadiplosis, analogy, anaphora, antithesis, apostrophe, assonance, asyndethon, contrast, diacope, enumeration, epistrophe, epithet, epizeuxis, eponym, exemplum, hyperbole, metaphor, onomatopoeia, oxymoron, paradox, personification, pleonasm, polysindeton, rhetorical question, simile and understatement. Particular definitions of these rhetorical devices are given in the second chapter, under section 2.1.5.

In addition, (4) a textual analysis is conducted, namely one based on references to explicitly expressed intertextuality. Whereas a detailed description of the meaning of intertextuality is provided in the second chapter of this dissertation, under section 2.2.4., in this study only one distinguished type of this phenomenon, namely explicitly expressed intertextuality, is analyzed under section 3.4.4. **This type of intertextuality is present in the speeches analyzed here under two manifestations: either by using quotation marks in the attached transcript of the speeches at the end of this dissertation, usually together with information given by a speaker about the source; or by paraphrasing without the quotation marks in transcriptions, but with a direct indication given by a speaker that certain words were previously spoken by another person.** This study does not include intertextuality which is implicitly expressed (Scherer 2010: 29). On the one hand, this is due to the fact that it is extremely difficult to identify all examples of constitutive intertextuality in given texts, in particular those based on cultural and social interlinks. On the other hand, explicit intertextuality is viewed as a valuable research material for further interpretation in regard to the sources of inspiration for a given speaker, as well as allowing one to compare the types of texts which are quoted in speeches.

Finally, in the last section of this chapter, (5) general conclusions are drawn. The main methodological approach at this stage of analysis is based on comparing all the above-mentioned studies and formulating general conclusions in regard to passages describing trauma and heroism. Moreover, an attempt is made to elucidate interconnections between the passages analyzed here and both selected rhetorical devices and references to intertextuality. In the view of the author of

this dissertation, the methodology applied here meets the main aims of this study which are listed at the beginning of this subsection. To conclude, the above-described methodology is unique and contributes to gaining a better understanding of the American public discourse on the Vietnam War, namely both its general context and the linguistic tools used in selected speeches under discussion here.

3.2. Selected speeches delivered by American policymakers during the Vietnam War

In the following subsections, an in-depth rhetorical analysis of five selected speeches delivered by several American presidents at different moments of their political career is conducted. Although the scope of this analysis is broad, including addresses delivered from 1954 to 1975, all of these speeches are closely linked with the American discourse regarding the Vietnam War. Reference to this conflict is viewed not only in the titles of the speeches and their content, but also in the social and political context in which they were delivered. Beginning with President Eisenhower, his brief speech under discussion here was a part of a press conference held in Washington D.C. on 7th April 1954. **Although short, this memorable speech is extremely important due to the fact that that was the first time when the meaning of the term “Domino Theory” was publicly explained by the president.**

A different rhetorical situation was reflected in the second speech analyzed here, namely that delivered by Senator Kennedy. One significant difference is connected with the moment the speech was given (1st June 1956), namely three and half years before Kennedy became the 35th president of the United States. **Although Kennedy spoke at the Conference on *America’s Stake in Vietnam* as a Senator, his views and diagnoses of the issues at hand were unquestionably embedded in the anti-Communist and pro-war rhetoric which was shared by certain groups in American society, giving birth to a policy which was implemented on a full-scale after Kennedy’s victory in the presidential race of 1960** (McLaughlin 2019: 42). Another speech analyzed here was delivered by President Johnson on 31st March 1968 in a different political and social context, a fact which is reflected in its content. Whereas the first two above-listed speakers were more focused on the threat caused by the expansion of Communism, President Johnson was mainly confronted with a rising wave of antiwar protests at a time when the number of American troops directly involved in the Vietnam War had reached its peak. Therefore, despite images of

great trauma, numerous references to national unity were also present in this speech. **Moreover, internal affairs seem to dominate over international affairs, in particular those directly referring to the Vietnam War.** This speech is also important due to the fact that the president, bearing the yoke of responsibility for the escalation of the war, officially confirmed his decision to not seek reelection in the upcoming presidential election of that year.

Yet another speech analyzed here was given by President Nixon in his famous *Great Silent Majority* address (3rd November 1969). The speech combines two main issues, namely an outline of the history of the conflict in Vietnam is connected with direct references to the social trauma being experienced by American society. **Whereas on the one hand, the president sketches out a political plan designed to end the war, on the other hand, Nixon presents himself as a providential figure in the history of the United States.** It is in this speech that a famous political metaphor, namely the “Silent Majority” was used in order to unite the nation and bring deep divisions in American society to an end. Although this address was undeniably one of the most important in the entire political career of this president, as it turned out, the direct consequences of the Nixon’s policy of Vietnamization did not secure the sovereignty of South Vietnam.

Finally, the last speech analyzed here was delivered by President Ford at a Tulane University Convocation, on 23rd April 1975. This speech seems to begin a new period of American history. **Whereas a fresh view of prosperity and progress was underlined by the president, the whole experience of the Vietnam War, despite being still vivid in American society, was only mentioned in passing.** A certain explanation of this may be found in the fact that the speech was directed mainly to students, namely the same group which had been the core of the antiwar opposition. Interestingly, a coincidence between the moment in which this address was delivered and the final collapse of South Vietnam suggests that the speaker is entirely concentrated on new priorities. Moreover, this is also a perfect example of a motivational address.

To conclude, the speeches analyzed here were delivered by five American policymakers at different moments of their political career and American history. This observation reflects the specific nature of each speech. Whereas President Eisenhower and Senator Kennedy delivered their speeches when the Vietnam War was in its initial phase, thus being focused on traumatic consequences of the expansion of Communism, presidents Johnson and Nixon were confronted with a great wave of public unrest, while the agenda of President Ford was focused on the future and placed the emphasis on a more conciliatory policy. In the following subsections, all the above—

mentioned speeches are analyzed from a rhetorical point of view, with the intention of identifying particular rhetorical devices and, from a textual point of view, analyzing references to intertextuality explicitly expressed in these texts. Moreover, the rhetorical style of the speakers in relation to their goals and intentions is studied in order to explore the connection between the particular aims of the speakers and the linguistic devices they employed in their speeches.

3.2.1. Dwight D. Eisenhower: *An Excerpt from Dwight D. Eisenhower's Thirty-fourth Presidential Press Conference. The Theory of Domino* (7th April 1954)⁵⁵

An outline of the context

The first speech under discussion here is one of the most important in the context of American involvement in the Vietnam War. Its pivotal role is due to the fact that the metaphor “Domino Theory,” a political assumption defining Communism as an extremely expansive ideology which immediately after taking control over one territory rapidly spreads to another, was publicly explained for the first time. This term was dominant in American foreign policy during the entire period of the Vietnam War. President Eisenhower, after his brilliant career as a meritorious general, became the 34th President of the United States and organized press conferences on a regular basis in order to comment on current affairs. During one of these conferences, on 7th April 1954, he answered a question posed by Robert Richards from the Copley Press which referred to the role of Southeast Asia in American policy. It is interesting to notice that the conference was held exactly at the same time when serious military conflict between the French colonial army and the *Việt Minh* was occurring in the Battle of Điện Biên Phủ (13th March–7th May 1954) with the complete defeat of the French troops being expected even while the press conference was taking place.

Although until 1954, the United States had not been directly involved in this conflict, the U.S. presidential administration actively supported its French allies both economically and politically. Simultaneously, two main factors determined American policy, namely global confrontation with the Soviet Union (the Cold War), and the climax of a campaign against alleged Soviet spies in America (McCarthyism). Both elements, which refer to the atmosphere of fear and

⁵⁵ Eisenhower, Dwight David (1954) *An Excerpt from President Eisenhower's Thirty-fourth Presidential Press Conference. The Theory of Domino*. [Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/233655>. Date: 9–01–2020].

a witch–hunt, are reflected in this speech. After 1954, a dramatic shift in the American–Vietnamese relationship is observed (Nixon [1985] 1992: 96). In each consecutive year the Americans intensified their technological and financial support for their Vietnamese allies. Simultaneously, their military activity slowly began to increase, including not only delivering military equipment, but also sending military advisers and, finally, regular troops.

An analysis of the speech

The speech is short and consists of 343 words and 1,966 signs. The intention of the speaker is to explain the strategic importance of Southeast Asia to the policy of the United States. Firstly, the President directly addresses to his audience using **apostrophe**: “(...) you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is inimical to the free world” [1PST] ⁵⁶. Rhetorically speaking, this sentence contains a **contrast** which is based on two contradictory terms, namely “dictatorship” and “the free world.” The latter is also a **metaphor** intended to describe democratic states. Interestingly, this is a typical feature of American presidential discourse that often refers to the idea of freedom and evokes idealistic images in which the United States is viewed as a defender of enslaved nations. This, in turn, suggests a duty imposed on Americans to protect democracy in the entire world.

In the following passage, the president explains the meaning of the “Domino Theory” while stating: “[y]ou have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly” [2PST]. This sentence illustrates an inevitable series of events which is expected to happen. Moreover, the same passage contains a famous political **metaphor**, a warning against the crisis, as well as an appeal directed to Americans to be prepared for an upcoming confrontation with Communism. In other words, the president describes social trauma which is devastating for the whole of society. Furthermore, Eisenhower states: “Asia, after all, has already lost some 450 million of its people to the Communist dictatorship, and we simply can’t afford greater losses” [3PST]. Whereas in this sentence two words, namely “Asia” and “losses” are connected, a strategy which seems to compare the continent under discussion here to a human being (**personification**), there is also a **metaphor** which suggests that political borders in Asia are, according to the speaker, different from geographical borders,

⁵⁶ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Eisenhower (1954).

and do not include Communist states. In short, all three of the above–mentioned passages refer to political and social trauma.

In the following section, the president blends both previously mentioned types of trauma with that which is economic. Firstly, new directions of the expected expansion of Communism in Southeast Asia are listed through **asyndeton**: “(...) the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following.” Furthermore, whereas **apostrophe**: “(...) now you begin to talk about (...)” directly refers to the audience, the following **diacope**: “(...) loss of materials, sources of materials, but now you are talking really about millions and millions and millions of people” seem to be a warning against a total catastrophe which is expected to happen if countermeasures are not taken [4ET]. In other words, not only are great political and demographic losses predicted, but also disastrous economic consequences are expected. All of these components strengthen the feeling of overwhelming trauma.

Directly afterwards, the president adds: “(...) the geographical position achieved thereby does many things. It turns the so–called island defensive chain of Japan, Formosa, of the Philippines and to the southward; it moves in to threaten Australia and New Zealand” [5PST]. In this sentence, the speaker refers to both the political and social types of trauma expressed in the **metaphor**: “(...) so–called island defensive chain (...)” and places the emphasis on the weakness of defense. Moreover, the uninterrupted expansion of Communism is described through the verb “move,” as if this ideology was able to go forward like a human being (**personification**). Both above–mentioned rhetorical devices refer to *pathos*, a strategy chosen in order to exert influence on the audience and to show current weaknesses in defense. Finally, the president uses both **pleonasm** and **personification**: “[i]t takes away, in its economic aspects, that region that Japan must have as a trading area or Japan, in turn, will have only one place in the world to go – that is, towards the Communist areas in order to live” with an intention to provoke a feeling of economic trauma which is expected to be experienced by Japan, namely America’s main ally in the region [6ET]. Whereas shrinkage of trading zones is believed to propel the further expansion of Communism, this, in turn, poses a dire threat to America.

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, it was observed that in the overall speech there are 6 references to trauma, namely 4 are focused on its social and political type with the other 2 being concentrated on its economic dimensions. Interestingly, references to heroism are not identified in the speech. Moreover, there are no references to intertextuality, while the dominant

rhetorical devices are metaphors (4) and personifications (3), both of which seem to intensify the feeling of fear. These findings suggest that, for the speaker, fear is a more important tool in mobilizing the audience than an appeal for unity – a technique which seems to be preferred in discourses focused on strengthening social bonds and overcoming divisions. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude, in this short speech the president describes several types of trauma. Although, in reference to *pathos*, the atmosphere of a fortress under siege is depicted, Eisenhower also calls Americans to unite and actively oppose the expansion of Communism. To fulfill this aim, further actions seem to be essential and public acceptance of them is fundamental. Interestingly, the above-presented view on American involvement in the war against the expansion of Communist ideology is connected with the tradition of American presidential discourse, in particular with cultural beliefs expressed in the concept of “Manifest Destiny.”

3.2.2. John F. Kennedy: *Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy at the Conference America’s Stake in Vietnam Sponsored by the American Friends of Vietnam (1st June 1956)*⁵⁷

An outline of the context

John Fitzgerald Kennedy is considered to be one of America’s greatest presidents and public speakers. Having been born into a reputable and wealthy family and, subsequently, obtaining a solid education, Kennedy settled on a career as a journalist. At this time, he revealed a personal antipathy towards Communism. Shortly afterwards, Kennedy was elected as a Democratic Party member of the House of Representatives (1946) and, a few years later (1952), to the United States Senate (Ballinger & Tucker 2013: 106). Senator Kennedy often delivered excellent speeches which were viewed as milestones in his political career. This was possible due to the personal charm and charisma he possessed which definitely contributed to his credibility. One of the occasions which provides an insight into Kennedy’s rhetorical skills is a speech delivered on 1st June 1956 at the Willard Hotel in Washington D.C. The conference was entitled: *America’s Stake in Vietnam* and was organized by the American Friends of Vietnam, an organization established by Joseph

⁵⁷ Kennedy, John Fitzgerald (1956) *Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy at the Conference America’s Stake in Vietnam Sponsored by the American Friends of Vietnam*. [Retrieved from: <https://iowaculture.gov/sites/default/files/history-education-pss-vietnam-stakes-transcription.pdf>. Date: 9–01–2020].

Buttinger (1906–1992) with three aims in mind, namely to support the government of South Vietnam, to display the crimes of the North Vietnamese, as well as to promote American interests in Southeast Asia (Morgan 1997: 32).

Both Kennedy's views and Buttinger's beliefs in regard to the place Vietnam held in American foreign policy came together that evening in an excellent speech which combined both linguistic mastery and a clear political message. It is worth noting that even though at the moment this speech was delivered Kennedy was not the president of the United States, it was then he allegedly began to consider taking part in a presidential race. Therefore, his famous speech on Vietnam was an excellent opportunity to gain new supporters, show principality towards fundamental values, and outline his political views, which subsequently turned out to be the position of his new administration. The main issues in the speech revolve around the traumatic experiences of the Vietnam War, admiration towards the South Vietnamese government, the threat of Communist expansion and, finally, a metaphorical illustration of American policy in Southeast Asia. Moreover, references to both trauma and heroism are often used in the speech with the intention of strengthening Kennedy's impact on the audience.

An analysis of the speech

The speech consists of 2,312 words and 13,847 signs. The aim of the speaker is to assess American policy towards South Vietnam and outline the current state of international affairs. It is worth noting that the speech was delivered to a relatively small group of experts and members of both the American and Vietnamese establishment. The speaker began with the observation that the course of the Vietnam War had been almost absent in the American public discourse and added, placing emphasis on two **epithets**, that “[i]t is an ironic and tragic fact that this Conference is being held at a time when the news about Vietnam has virtually disappeared from the front pages of the American press, and the American people have all but forgotten the tiny nation for which we are in large measure responsible” [1PST] ⁵⁸. In this passage, certain components of both political and social trauma are depicted. In other words, Americans do not have access to the latest news regarding the situation in Vietnam and largely believe that the course of events in Indochina is stable and under control. While this **paradox** illustrates the broadly observed incongruence of the

⁵⁸ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Kennedy (1956).

American view of Vietnam, an **epithet** – namely “the tiny nation” – emphasizes the special link between these two nations.

Directly afterwards, the speaker points to the main factors which are responsible for achieving greater stability in South Vietnam, namely the impressive achievements of President Diệm, who seems to be “firmly” and “with determination” (**epithets**) dealing with the economic problems of his country [2EH]. Subsequently, the traumatic weakness of American foreign policy is depicted in the vivid **metaphor** of a “volunteer fire brigade” [3PST]. In other words, American support, despite being delivered to numerous countries in need: “[w]henver and wherever fire breaks out – in Indo–China, in the Middle East, in Guatemala, in Cyprus, in the Formosan Straits (...)” (**diacope, polysyndeton**), is viewed as an inefficient strategy, and leaves America’s allies suffering deep economic trauma [4PSH]. As **metaphorically** expressed in two following passages, which are based on both **enumeration** and **antithesis**:

(...) our firemen rush in, wheeling up all their heavy equipment, and resorting to every known method of containing and extinguishing the blaze [4PSH]. The crowd gathers – the usually successful efforts of our able volunteers are heartily applauded – and then the firemen rush off to the next conflagration, leaving the grateful but still stunned inhabitants to clean up the rubble, pick up the pieces and rebuild their homes with whatever resources are available. [5ET]

This picture shows tragic economic consequences of an American foreign policy which had initially seemed to be coherent, but in the long run did not bring about the desired results. The whole mechanism of inadequacy in American foreign policy is summarized in the following words: “[a] volunteer fire departments halts, but rarely prevents, fires. It repels but rarely rebuilds; it meets the problems of the present but not of the future. And while we are devoting our attention to the Communist arson in Korea, there is smoldering in Indo–China; we turn our efforts to Indo–China until the alarm sounds in Algeria – and so it goes” [6PST, WT]. This is a continuation of the **metaphor** of a “fire brigade” in which the speaker refers to terminology typical for firefighters, namely “smoldering” and “alarm sounds.” These words seem to have an impact on the senses of the audience (**onomatopoeia**). Moreover, there are three **contrasts** used, namely: “(...) halts but rarely prevents fires (...)” and “(...) repels but rarely rebuilds (...),” together with “(...) it meets the problems of the present but not of the future,” all of which illustrate rather modest successes of American diplomacy. Furthermore, the second example illustrated here is also **alliteration** which

is aimed at drawing the attention of the audience. In general, this passage refers to political, social and war trauma.

In another passage, the speaker recalls the view previously held in regard to the current situation in Vietnam. By using a conditional structure, a dramatic international position of South Vietnam is depicted, namely this country is only interesting to American policymakers when the threat of Communism is close. In contrast, when the situation is stable, the Vietnamese are isolated and abandoned. This view is developed in the following sentences: “[l]ike those peoples of Latin America and Africa (...) the Vietnamese may find that their devotion to the cause of democracy, and their success in reducing the strength of local Communist groups, have had the ironic effect of reducing American support” [7PST]. Rhetorically speaking, this is a **simile**, a **paradox** and another reference to trauma which is expressed indicating the inconsistency of American foreign policy. Finally, the speaker presents a controversial solution to the problem outlined above in a humorous manner: “I hope it will not be necessary for the Diem Government – or this organization – to subsidize the growth of the South Vietnam Communist Party in order to focus American attention on the nation’s critical needs!” [7PST]. In this sentence, although irony and humor seem to be dominant, there is also a **paradox**, namely the last hope for the Vietnamese to gain international support is in the continuous expansion of Communism. This is also a perfect conclusion of this section in which a critical view of American foreign policy at that time is expressed.

In the following passage, the senator refers to his view of the subject of the conference: “(...) Vietnam represents the cornerstone of the Free World in Southeast Asia, the keystone to the arch, the finger in the dike.” This statement contains not only **asyndeton**, but also a collection of several architectural **metaphors**, together with another one in the following sentence: “(...) whose security would be threatened if the Red Tide of Communism overflowed into Vietnam” [8PSH]. Moreover, the economic and political position of Vietnam is analyzed in a broad international context, in particular considering the internal situation in numerous neighboring countries (**enumeration**). This interrelationship is **metaphorically** emphasized in a view that “(...) the independence of Free Vietnam is crucial to the free world (...)” as well as using **diacope**: “[h]er economy is essential to the economy of all of Southeast Asia; and her political liberty is an inspiration to those seeking to obtain or maintain their liberty (...)” and the following example of **hyperbole**: “(...) in all parts of Asia – and indeed the world” [9PST]. Generally speaking, this is a reference to the “American Messianism” which is deeply embedded in American political culture.

Although initially this view had emphasized the role of the United States as a guardian of international stability, here also South Vietnam is depicted as if it played a similar role in Southeast Asia (**simile**). From this point of view, the regional position of Vietnam is a reflection of the global position of the United States.

In another passage, whereas Vietnam is **metaphorically** described as a “(...) proving ground of democracy in Asia,” the threat posed by Communist China is recalled in another sentence: “[h]owever we may choose to ignore it or deprecate it, the rising prestige and influence of Communist China in Asia are unchallengeable facts,” in which the pronoun “it” (**diacope**) describes the strategic role of the People’s Republic of China in Southeast Asia [10PST]. To intensify the feeling of fear, the speaker resorts to **anaphora** and a series of **metaphors**: “[i]f this democratic experiment fails, if some one million refugees have fled totalitarianism of the North only to find neither freedom nor security in the South (...)” in order to illustrate numerous implications caused by the successes of North Vietnam, and adds: “(...) then weakness, not strength, will characterize the meaning of democracy in the minds of still more Asians” [11PST, WT]. In this passage, both a **contrast** and a reference to the American view of democracy are illustrated.

Directly afterwards, the speaker states: “[i]f we are not the parents of little Vietnam, then surely we are the godparents. We presided at its birth, we gave assistance to its life, we have helped to shape its future (...). This is our offspring – we cannot abandon it, we cannot ignore its needs” [12PSH]. This is another **metaphor** and **anaphora** in which international relationships are compared to bonds within a family. Thus, the United States is viewed as a protector of Vietnamese independence and democracy. In other words, America is presented here in its cultural role as a defender of enslaved nations, frankly speaking, a political hero. This optimistic view, one strengthened by both **antithesis** and **enumeration**: “[a]s French influence in the political, economic and military spheres had declined in Vietnam, American influence has steadily grown,” is contrasted with another: “[a]nd if it falls victim to any of the perils that threaten its existence (...) then the United States, with some justification, will be held responsible (...)” [13PST]. The latter passage seems to reflect political trauma, namely the previously mentioned optimism, based on the metaphor of being a parent, is contrasted with the image of a total catastrophe caused by the collapse of South Vietnam (**antithesis**). Whereas the speaker mentions a long list of aggressors ready to attack the Republic of Vietnam: “(...) Communism, political anarchy, poverty and the rest

(...)” (**asyndeton**), also the maritime **metaphor**: “(...) our prestige in Asia will sink to a new low” shows numerous international repercussions.

Shortly afterwards, Senator Kennedy outlines the expected results of the Vietnam War and its economic consequences. Whereas the **metaphor**: “[t]he threat of such war is not now altogether removed from the horizon” recalls a permanent risk of war, a reference to three challenges which the young Vietnamese state must confront, namely: “[m]ilitary weakness, political instability or economic failure (...)” **enumerates** expected problems [14ET]. In the whole section, the senator introduces numerous rhetorical devices, a strategy which is believed to have had a constant impact on his audience. Furthermore, the speaker points to the great American myth of the civilizational and political mission of the United States and places himself in a long tradition of public speakers focused on American values.

In the following section, emphasis is placed on the achievements of the South Vietnamese government. Firstly, the senator begins with the **epithet** and **metaphor**: “(...) courageous people dedicated to the free way of life (...)” which describe refugees from North Vietnam and their great moral value [15EH]. Moreover, a number of facilities and the range of humanitarian aid are **enumerated**: “(...) approximately 45,000 houses have been constructed, 2500 wells dug, 100 schools established and dozens of medical centers and maternity homes provided.” Not only does this impressive catalogue suggest the economic heroism of the South Vietnamese government, which seems to be devoted to organizing a large scale and effective system of delivering humanitarian aid, but this list also contributes to *logos*, namely a reference to unquestionable data.

In an equally flattering manner, the speaker describes the political situation in South Vietnam. Beginning with **alliteration**: “(...) solidarity and stability (...)” which is mentioned as the first in a long list of rhetorical devices, including the following **enumeration**: “(...) the elimination of rebellious sects and the taking of the first vital steps toward true democracy,” as well as **antithesis** between “(...) colonialism and Communism (...)” and “(...) a free and independent republic (...)” A similar strategy is viewed in opposing images of a “playboy emperor” and “a constituent assembly,” “homelands” and “colonial masters,” as well as “wastelands” which are now “cultivated,” “modernized” and even “(...) the irrigation of a vast area previously uncultivated.” All these images illustrate both the political and economic progress of South Vietnam [16PSH]. Moreover, the military heroism of the South Vietnamese army which is now

“(…) fighting for its own homeland and not its colonial masters (…)” (**personification, contrast**) is evoked [17WH].

In the following passage, **epistrophe**: “[a]tomic superiority and the development of new ultimate weapons are not enough. Informational and propaganda activities (….) are not enough” is followed by two **metaphors**: “(…) warning of the evils of Communism and the blessings of the American way of life (…),” as well as **anaphora** and **contrast**: “(…) where concepts of free enterprise and capitalism are meaningless, where poverty and hunger are not enemies across the 17th parallel but enemies within their midst,” and are all used here in order to **enumerate** enormous problems which are expected to occur in the near future [18ET]. All these rhetorical devices place the emphasis on the difficulties being experienced by the South Vietnamese and their huge trauma. To conclude this section, a **metaphorical** view expressed by the ambassador of South Vietnam is mentioned: “[p]eople cannot be expected to fight for the Free World (….)” and is developed using both **diacope** and **asyndeton**: “(…) unless they have their own freedom to defend, their freedom from foreign domination as well as freedom from misery, oppression, corruption,” all of which describe key problems being experienced in Indochina [18ET]. Whereas this constitutes **intertextuality**, it is also a reference to the Aristotelian concept of *ethos*, namely Kennedy’s previously mentioned observations are supported by a view expressed by a foreign expert, a strategy which contributes to the credibility of the speaker.

Proceeding to the climax of his speech, the senator uses **metaphor, enumeration** and **epistrophe**: “[w]hat we must offer them is a revolution – a political, economic and social revolution (….)” as well as **anaphora**: [w]e must supply capital (…). We must assist the inspiring growth of Vietnamese democracy and economy (…). We must provide military assistance (…),” all of which illustrate the broad range of the support required [19PSH, EH]. To fully describe his view, the speaker uses **diacope**: “(…) far superior to anything the Communists can offer – far more peaceful, far more democratic and far more locally controlled” which shows its monumental scale. Moreover, particular components of American support include: “(…) capital to replace that drained by the centuries of colonial exploitation; technicians to train those handicapped by deliberate policies of illiteracy; guidance to assist a nation taking those first feeble steps toward the complexities of a republican form of government” (**metaphors, enumeration**). Furthermore, meticulous attention is given to the refugees from the North, who **metaphorically** came “(…) to seek freedom (….)” [19PSH, EH], and the South Vietnamese army which “(…) every day faces the

growing peril of Vietminh Armies across the border” (**metaphor**) [20WH]. Due to the fact that this passage indicates difficulties which are expected to be overcome by South Vietnam, the whole section revolves around different types of heroism, including political and social efforts to rebuild Vietnam, economic heroism to face hardship, and war heroism to defend Vietnamese democracy.

In the following section, the senator continues his eulogy to South Vietnam. Whereas both **epizeuxis** and **anaphora**: “(...) a new era – an era of pride and independence, an era of democratic and economic growth – an era (...) contrasted with the long years of colonial oppression (...)” describe a future presidential dream, namely a “Free Vietnam” (**metaphor**), an **antithesis** between the past period of colonialism and the current age of prosperity, which is expressed through **enumeration**: “(...) an era which (...) will truly represent a political, social and economic revolution,” shows a broad range of desired transformations [21PSH, EH]. Moreover, these words seem to revolve around great civilizational progress, as well as political, social and economic heroism displayed by the Vietnamese.

To summarize his address, although the speaker refers to the **metaphor** of revolution, this time the above-mentioned positive meaning of this word is contrasted with that offered by the Communists. Firstly, **asyndeton**: “(...) we can, we should, we must offer to the people of Vietnam – not as charity, not as a business proposition, not as a political maneuver, nor simply to enlist them as soldiers against Communism or as chattels of American foreign policy (...)” emphasizes selected components of the revolution offered by the Americans. Moreover, the speaker **enumerates**: “(...) a revolution of their own making, for their own welfare, and for the security of freedom everywhere” [22PSH]. This view is contrasted with the following statement: “(...) the Communists offer them another kind of revolution, glittering and seductive in its superficial appeal” [23PST]. Both views, which are based on **antithesis**, are interwoven in order to contrast two types of revolutions, namely a heroic one carried out by the people “(...) for their own welfare, and for the security of freedom everywhere” (**polysyndeton**), and a traumatic one, triggered by the ideology of Communism and described by two **epithets**: “glittering” and “seductive.” To conclude, another **alliteration**: “(...) these times of trial and burden (...)” leads to an example of **intertextuality** based on the letter from the president of South Vietnam: “[i]t is only in winter that you can tell which trees are evergreen.” This passage is a **metaphorically** expressed illustration of true friendship between two nations. Finally, the whole speech is concluded through **epistrophe** in a mirror sentence: “(...) if this nation demonstrates that it has not forgotten the people of Vietnam,

the people of Vietnam will demonstrate that they have not forgotten us” in order to show how strong the mutual interlinks between the Americans and the Vietnamese are [24PSH].

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, it was observed that Senator Kennedy evenly balanced his speech, making 15 references to trauma (twice to war trauma; 9 times to political and social trauma; 4 times to economic trauma) and 13 references to heroism (twice to war heroism; 8 times to political and social heroism; 3 times to economic heroism). Moreover, from the rhetorical point of view, the most frequently used devices here are metaphors (14 in descriptions of trauma; 17 in descriptions of heroism) and enumerations (10 in descriptions of heroism; only 3 in descriptions of trauma). Finally, referring to explicitly expressed intertextuality, Kennedy employs two quotes from prominent Vietnamese politicians, one in a passage focused on trauma and one in a passage focused on heroism, a fact which confirms the previous statement that the overall speech is carefully thoughtout and well balanced. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To summarize, it is beyond doubt that Senator Kennedy delivered an excellent address and proved to be a great public speaker. Due to a large number of rhetorical devices, this speech is unquestionably powerful and exerts an impact on the audience. Whereas the entire speech is delivered in an organized manner and key points are analyzed coherently and logically, certain textual components, namely links to American culture and references to the views expressed by foreign experts, are clearly distinguished. Taking everything into account, the speech under discussion here is definitely a prime example of American political discourse.

3.2.3. Lyndon B. Johnson: *Remarks of Lyndon B. Johnson on Vietnam and Not Seeking Reelection (31st March 1968)* ⁵⁹

An outline of the context

Lyndon Baines Johnson was sworn in as the president of the United States on 22nd November 1963, only a few hours after the assassination of President Kennedy. These traumatic circumstances had an impact not only on his political decisions, which are largely viewed as a continuation of the

⁵⁹ Johnsons, Lyndon Baines (1968a) *Remarks of Lyndon B. Johnson on Vietnam and Not Seeking Reelection*. [Retrieved from: <https://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbjvietnam.htm>. Date: 9-01-2020].

policy of the previous administration, but also contributed to the solid public support given to the new president. However, it was also Johnson who radically intensified American involvement in Indochina, a fact which highly polarized American society and led to fierce opposition to the Vietnam War (Rumsfeld 2018: 4). This, in turn, was propelled by the fact that during Johnson's presidency the total number of American troops directly involved in this conflict exceeded half of a million (Michalek 1995: 262). Moreover, one of the most aggressive North Vietnamese military operations, namely the *Tết* offensive, was launched in early 1968 and caused not only a significant escalation in military conflict, but also a dramatic increase in the number of groups opposed to this war. In other words, Johnson's presidency rapidly became unpopular mainly due to his determination to continue the Vietnam War, with the substantial losses in this conflict subsequently resulting in social trauma being experienced by Americans and increasing criticism of the president.

Under the above-mentioned circumstances, President Johnson decided, on 31st March 1968, to deliver a memorable televised address. In this speech, the main objective of American foreign policy, namely the decision to continue the Vietnam War, was defended. Furthermore, an attempt was made to justify the significant military effort being implemented. Within the speech, Johnson announced that he had made the difficult decision not to seek reelection in the presidential race which was to follow. Although seriously affected by overwhelming condemnation of his policy, it is worth noting that the president was viewed as a great and effective speaker. An illustration of this is the fact that during the previous presidential campaign in 1964, Johnson was able to deliver 22 speeches in just one day (Pastusiak 1991: 364). This proves his great experience in public speaking and an ability to display boundless personal energy despite encountering difficulties. In the speech under discussion here, however, the president seems to have been deeply affected by the traumatic years of his presidency. After reaching the top of his political career, the president faced a huge social opposition to his policy, a factor which unquestionably had a considerable impact on Johnson's decision not to run in 1968. All these factors are present in the speech analyzed here.

An analysis of the speech

The speech analyzed here consists of 4,193 words and 23,785 signs. After welcoming remarks, the speaker directly points to the peace solution which was offered to the government of North Vietnam: “(...) the United States would stop its bombardment of North Vietnam when that would lead promptly to productive discussions – and that we would assume that North Vietnam would not take military advantage of our restraint” [1PSH]⁶⁰. This is a clear reference to a prior diplomatic note and an example of **intertextuality**. The text of a previously issued document is disclosed to the public by the president in order to show both his goodwill and political heroism. In contrast, the cruelty of the war and wickedness of Communists are depicted in a touching scene of war trauma: “(...) North Vietnam rushed their preparations for a savage assault on the people, the government, and the allies of South Vietnam” [2WT]. This passage lists a large number of targets under attack (**enumeration**), a strategy which has created mounting tension. Both the **epithet** “savage” and **understatement** “general uprising,” which stand for a brutal and large scale offensive, show a two-faced policy of North Vietnam. Similarly, by describing ruthless conflict and placing the emphasis on the heroism displayed by the South Vietnamese soldiers, both war trauma and military heroism are indicated. The whole section is closed with a warning: “[t]he Communists may renew their attack any day” which has a direct impact on a traumatic atmosphere of the speech [2WT].

Another section begins with a conditional clause: “[i]f they do mount another round of heavy attacks, they will not succeed in destroying the fighting power of South Vietnam and its allies” [3WH]. This illustrates great heroism of America’s ally, as well as the instability of the situation in Vietnam. Moreover, **anadiplosis**: “[a] nation that has already suffered 20 years of warfare will suffer once again” and the link between escalating conflict and an increasing number of victims: “[m]any men (...) will be lost. A nation (...) will suffer once again. Armies (...) will take new casualties. And the war will go on” (**enumeration**) are established in order to illustrate the enormous costs of the war [4WT]. Directly afterwards, the president recalls his peace solution which was presented at the beginning of the speech. Although this is another reference to political heroism, this time a direct link between the president and the peace initiative is more clearly established (**intertextuality**). The presidential plan is aptly developed in the following sentence, in which the speaker states: “I am taking the first step to de-escalate the conflict. We are reducing – substantially reducing – the present level of hostilities, and we are doing so unilaterally and at once.

⁶⁰ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Johnson (1968a).

Tonight, I have ordered our aircraft and our naval vessels to make no attacks on North Vietnam” [5PSH]. Whereas **enumeration** based on an interplay between personal pronouns: “I” and “we” indicates a unity between the government and the president, the use of **diacope**: “[w]e are reducing – substantially reducing (...)” emphasizes the most important component of the sentence. In the passage under discussion here, the peaceful initiative is ascribed directly to the president. In other words, this strategy strengthens the *ethos* of the speaker.

In the following passage, the president seems to marginalize the importance of his previous declaration to end the war adding that it cannot be viewed as an act of capitulation as this only would jeopardize “(...) the lives of our men and our allies” (**pleonasm**) [6WT]. Moreover, the main aim of the presidential plan is expressed as follows: “(...) to bring about a reduction in the level of violence that now exists. It is to save the lives of brave men – and to save the lives of innocent women and children” [7WH]. In this sentence, both **diacope**: “(...) to save the lives (...)” and another **pleonasm**: “(...) brave men (...) innocent women and children” describe presidential determination. This strategy underlines the speaker’s strong intention to protect both military personnel and ordinary people.

In addition, great heroism of the president who works on establishing a durable peace settlement is shown, including his personal appeal to end the conflict: “I call upon the United Kingdom and I call upon the Soviet Union” (**apostrophe, anaphora**), in which the Vietnam War is named: “this ugly war” (**epithet**). Moreover, the president emphasizes his great determination to begin negotiations immediately: “(...) the United States is ready to send its representatives to any forum, at any time” (**diacope**). Whereas Johnson **enumerates** his personal contribution to the peace process: “I am designating (...) my personal representative (...). I have asked Ambassador (...) for consultations (...),” he also appeals, using **apostrophe**, directly to the North Vietnamese leader: “I call upon President Ho Chi Minh to respond positively, and favorably, to this new step toward peace” in order to invite him to negotiations [8PSH]. All the above–mentioned initiatives seem to illustrate a broad range of presidential efforts undertaken to establish peace. Rhetorically speaking, the speaker’s *ethos* is mainly being developed here.

In the following section the focus is on South Vietnam. Firstly, the president states that many American soldiers were sent to defend this “little country,” a rhetorical strategy which is based on a **contrast** between the military potential of the two allied countries [9WH]. Similarly, both **metaphor** and **epistrophe**: “[t]he main burden of preserving their freedom must be carried

out by them – by the South Vietnamese themselves” place emphasis on a great challenge which “[t]his small, beleaguered nation” (**epithets**) is expected to take up [10PST]. This, in turn, is contrasted with “(...) the great courage and the endurance of its people” (**antithesis**). Furthermore, the huge disproportion between the total population of the country and the number of South Vietnamese soldiers is emphasized in two steps, firstly, through **apostrophe**: “I call your attention (...)” and, secondly, while the South Vietnamese war effort is being praised using **assonance**: “[i]ts people maintain their firm determination to be free of domination by the North” which, additionally, gives a sense of rhythm to this sentence [11PSH]. All these rhetorical devices indicate a contrast between the shortage of available options and the strong determination of the Vietnamese people to defend their freedom and, as a result, place the emphasis on the military, political and social heroism of the nation under discussion here.

Subsequently, the exceptional achievements of South Vietnam are summarized through **alliteration**: “(...) the elected government (...) is rapidly repairing the devastation that it wrought” and in the following **enumeration**: “[t]he South Vietnamese know that further efforts are going to be required to expand their own armed forces; to move back into the countryside as quickly as possible; to increase their taxes; to select the very best men that they have for civil and military responsibilities; to achieve a new unity within their constitutional government, and to include in the national effort all those groups who wish to preserve South Vietnam’s control over its own destiny” [12PSH, EH]. Whereas the above list indicates both limited resources and numerous tasks, it also emphasizes the intention of the speaker to pay tribute to great heroism of America’s ally. A similar view seems to be expressed while a remark concerning a huge number of Vietnamese volunteers who have joined the army is made, which is also a reference to *logos* [13WH]. Furthermore, the previous statement is developed in the following **intertextuality** in which a passage is borrowed from the speech delivered by President Thiệu. In this text, the great political heroism of the South Vietnamese government is emphasized through both **anaphora**: “[w]e must make greater efforts, we must accept more sacrifices” and **metaphors**: “(...) our nation is at stake” and “(...) a major national effort is required to root out corruption and incompetence” [14WH, PSH]. All these rhetorical devices are intended to strengthen the credibility of America’s allies in the eyes of the audience.

In the following section, the president refers to the current course of the war. Interestingly, the speaker begins with **enumeration**, namely the same rhetorical strategy which was used in the

previous section in order to list the challenges the Vietnamese are expected to face [15WH, PSH, EH]. President Johnson then swiftly proceeds to domestic affairs. Whereas another **enumeration**: “I have emphasized (...) I have stressed (...)” places emphasis on initiatives undertaken by the speaker, the following **epizeuxis** and two **epithets**: “(...) that failure to act – and to act promptly and decisively – would raise very strong doubts (...),” as well as **personification** and **metaphor**: “(...) about America’s willingness to keep its financial house in order” altogether indicate the risk of falling behind [16EH]. The aim of this passage is to illustrate the great heroism of the speaker as the leader of the nation. Directly afterwards, a **contrast** is introduced: “[y]et Congress has not acted” which is developed in the following **diacope** and **metaphor**: “(...) we face the sharpest financial threat in the postwar era – a threat to the dollar’s role as the keystone of international trade and finance in the world” [17ET]. This, in turn, has led to serious consequences: “(...) prices and interest rates have risen because of our inaction” [18ET]. These passages describe economic trauma, namely numerous problems which are caused due to inactivity of the political opponents of Johnson’s administration.

Afterwards, the speaker focuses on economic issues. The proposed solution is to shift: “(...) from debate to action, from talking to voting (...),” a statement which places the emphasis on a **contrast** between presidential determination to face economic problems and fruitless debates in Congress. Moreover, in the same passage, **pleonasm**: “I believe – I hope (...)” indicates Johnson’s expectations to reach consensus [19EH]. In other words, the heroism displayed by the speaker is compared with the passivity of his opponents. Furthermore, the traumatic consequences of inactivity seem to be dangerous not only for the whole country in general, but also for the poorest in particular, a group which is mentioned by using **alliteration**: “(...) these people that all of us are trying so hard to help” [20ET]. The whole section is summarized in a political manifesto based on **enumeration**: “[a]nd I believe that we have the character to provide it, I plead with the Congress and with the people to act promptly (...)” and concluded using **pleonasm**: “(...) to serve the national interest and thereby serve all of our people” which plays a double role. While once again a fervent hope to find a satisfactory solution to the urgent problems is expressed, a heroic view of the Johnson’s presidency is also presented [21PSH].

In the next section, the president analyzes international problems. Although numerous difficulties in concluding a just peace agreement are expressed through a **contrast**: “(...) by free political choice rather than by war” [22PSH], another solemn declaration that the United States

will never accept an unfair peace agreement is strengthened by powerful **epithets**: “fake” and “arduous” which illustrate great determination of both allied countries to refuse discriminatory peace solutions [23PSH]. Furthermore, the president recalls a long list of conditions under which peace talks are possible (**enumeration**) and conveys a clear message that Americans are determined to continue the war until a just peace is established [24PSH]. From a textual point of view, this is another **intertextuality**, as Johnson refers to the previous document which had been publicly revealed in Manila. Shortly afterwards, a reference to Indonesia is made (**exemplum**) in order to show that determination in international relationships is beneficial in both economic and political terms [25EH].

While describing the current political situation, the president states: “(...) the progress of the past three years would have been far less likely, if not completely impossible (...)” (**pleonasm**) and continues: “(...) if America’s sons (...) had not made their stand,” a **metaphor** which emphasizes that the United States’ military operations were an important factor which stabilized the political scene in Southeast Asia [26WH]. The whole section is summarized by reference to another **intertextuality**, namely the speech delivered by the president at John Hopkins University three years previously. Interestingly, all rhetorical devices, namely **epizeuxis**, **paradox** and **metaphor**: “[o]ur determination to help build a better land – a better land for men on both sides of the present conflict – has not diminished (...) the ravages of war (...) have made it more urgent than ever” indicate the single-minded determination of the president to achieve progress in his international policy. In other words, the emphasis is placed on the great heroism of the speaker [27EH].

Directly afterwards, the president refers to the future. Whereas a direct link to ordinary Americans is expressed through **apostrophe**: “[m]y fellow citizens (...)”, a solemn declaration based on **anaphora**, **metaphor**, **epistrophe**, **alliteration** and **enumeration**: “[p]eace will come because Asians were willing to work for it and to sacrifice for it – and to die by the thousands for it. But let it never be forgotten: peace will come also because America sent her sons to help secure it (...)”, and a series of **alliterations**: “(...) armies are at war (...)” and “(...) those who, though threatened, have thus far been spared” together with “(...) Asians were willing to work (...)” all seem to indicate the great determination of the allies to establish a just peace [28PSH].

Additionally, the speaker assesses his own political achievements. Beginning with a **contrast**: “[i]t has not been easy – far from it,” the difficulties experienced by the president of the

United States are illustrated. Afterwards, **antithesis** between the heroic determination of the president and the traumatic events which took place during his terms of office: “(...) it has been my fate and my responsibility to be Commander in Chief. I have lived daily and nightly with the cost of this war” suggests that Johnson knows both the highs and lows of his presidency. Moreover, the speaker’s personal experience is reflected through **anaphora**: “I know the pain that it has inflicted. I know perhaps better than anyone the misgivings that it has aroused” [29WT]. Finally, according to the speaker, Johnson’s political strategy, difficult though it may be accepted by certain groups of Americans, was justified, as explained using both **diacope** and **hyperbole**: “(...) what we are doing now in Vietnam is vital not only to the security of Southeast Asia, but it is vital to the security of every American” [30PSH]. In the subsequent passage, both **enumeration** and **diacope**: “(...) the nations of Southeast Asia become independent, and stand alone, self-sustaining as members of a great world community, at peace with themselves, at peace with all others” place the emphasis on the most important goals of the war, while the following **hyperbole**: “(...) with such a nation our country – and the world – will be far more secure than it is tonight” describes the desired consequences of a victorious war [31PSH].

In the following passages, the speaker **enumerates** his hopes and initiatives repeating the personal pronoun “I” in a series of subsequent sentences: “I believe that the men who endure the dangers of battle there, fighting there for us tonight, are helping the entire world avoid far greater conflicts (...)” [32WH], “I have offered the first in (...) a series of (...) moves toward peace” [33PSH], “I pray that they will accept it as a means by which the sacrifices of their own people may be ended” [34WT], “I ask your help and your support (...) for this effort to reach across the battlefield toward an early peace” [35PSH], “I cannot say (...) that no more will be asked of us” [36PST]. Similarly, in the passages analyzed here, numerous rhetorical devices are also used, including **diacope**: “(...) far wider wars, far more destruction (...)” which illustrates the expected consequences of losing the war [32WH], **alliteration**: “(...) a series of mutual moves toward peace” which outlines the presidential plan [33PSH], **metaphor**: “(...) the sacrifices of their own people may be ended (...)” which expresses hopes that the war will be brought to an end [34WT], **apostrophes**: “(...) my fellow citizens (...)” [35PSH] and “(...) my fellow Americans (...)” [36PST] which express a personal relationship between the president and the audience, as well as a reference to biblical **intertextuality**: “[o]f those to whom much is given, much is asked” [36PST] which shows the burden of responsibility the president and the people bear.

Finally, the speaker directly recalls President Kennedy's own words spoken at the beginning of the 1960s: "[t]his generation of Americans' is willing to 'pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival, and the success, of liberty'" [37PSH]. This passage contains **asyndeton** and a reference to **intertextuality**, which show the clear intention of the current president to allude to Kennedy's political legacy, as well as generating the *ethos* of the speaker. All these rhetorical devices seem to develop presidential heroism. Moreover, the long list of American virtues mentioned above is concluded using both **antithesis** and **polysyndeton**: "(...) the ultimate strength of our country and our cause will lie, not in powerful weapons or infinite resources or boundless wealth, but will lie in the unity of our people" [37PSH].

In the last section of the speech, Johnson appeals to the audience to be united despite numerous divisions. One more time, the president points to his political experience through **enumeration**: "(...) first as a Congressman, as a Senator, and as Vice President, and now as your President" and **anaphora**: "(...) I have put the unity of people (...) I have put it ahead (...)" in order to show his courage in the period of social and political instability [38PSH]. Finally, a beautiful **metaphor**, together with **polysyndeton** and biblical **intertextuality**: "(...) it is true that a house divided against itself by the spirit of faction, of party, of region, of religion, of race, is a house that cannot stand," altogether illustrate the danger of factional divisions [39PST]. In this passage, a reference to the ethical rules of Christianity is made, while the heroic determination of the speaker to counteract against divisions in society is emphasized. Whereas a pessimistic diagnosis: "[t]here is division in the American house now. There is divisiveness among us all tonight" (**anaphora, metaphor**) reflects unrest in American society, this also constitutes an introduction to the climax of the speech [39PST].

The President begins with **apostrophe**: "I would like to ask all Americans (...)" which is followed by **alliterations**: "I cannot disregard the peril to the progress of the American people (...)" and "(...) the prospects of peace for all peoples" in order to express his main concerns and to condemn the "ugly" (**epithet**) consequences of divisions [40PSH]. Furthermore, not only does Johnson refer to the national tragedy, namely the assassination of President Kennedy, while explicitly uttering the word "trauma" in order to describe that critical moment in American history, but also his conflicted feelings between the pain caused by losing a great leader and the splendor of attaining presidential office are expressed through the **metaphor**: "(...) the duties of this office

fell upon me” [41PST]. As a consequence, this passage seems to be truly the most personal and emotional, with all three persuasive appeals, namely *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, being displayed here and having an impact on the audience in a cumulative manner. Moreover, the speaker uses both **anaphora** and **epistrophe**: “[u]nited we have kept that commitment. And united we have enlarged that commitment (...)” and **asyndeton**: “(...) America will be a stronger nation, a more just society, a land of greater opportunity and fulfillment” in order to describe an illustrious future [42PSH]. Furthermore, whereas **alliteration**: “[w]hat we won when all our people united (...)” emphasizes advantages of being united, the consequences of divisions are depicted through **polysyndeton**: “(...) suspicion and distrust and selfishness and politics (...)” which illustrates the effects of their bitter fruit within society [43PST].

At this point, the speaker firmly declares: “(...) I should not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year” [44PSH]. These words indicate the great heroism of the president who is ready to reject prestige and personal benefit for the sake of national unity. Furthermore, whereas the **metaphor**: “[w]ith American sons in the field far away (...)” which is followed by **anaphora** and **diacope**: “(...) with America’s future under challenge right here at home, with our hopes and the world’s hopes for peace” altogether illustrate numerous hopes shared by Americans, subsequent **enumeration** and **diacope**: “(...) I do not believe that I should devote an hour or a day (...) to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office – the Presidency of your country” place the emphasis on the dignity of the presidential office.

Directly afterwards, the speaker declares his difficult decision not to seek reelection in the presidential election using the following: **polysyndeton**: “(...) I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party (...)”, **apostrophe**: “[b]ut let men everywhere know (...)”, **polysyndeton**, **epithets** and **personification**: “(...) that a strong and a confident and a vigilant America (...)”, **anaphora**: “(...) stands ready tonight to seek an honorable peace; and stands ready tonight to defend an honored cause (...)” and **diacope**: “(...) whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require” in order to indicate the solemnity of his declaration, and place the emphasis on presidential merits, political heroism and determination to bring about peace and cease divisions in American society [44PSH]. Finally, in the last sentence, the president expresses his gratitude to his audience.

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, it was observed that president Johnson places the emphasis on heroism (34) rather than on trauma (14). In particular, war heroism is mentioned 7 times; political and social heroism – 21 times; and economic heroism – 6 times. On the other hand, war trauma is mentioned 5 times; political and social trauma – 6 times; and economic trauma – 3 times. This may be explained by the circumstances of the speech, namely the urgent need for stabilizing the country against an incoming wave of protests. Whereas enumerations (14), epithets (9), alliterations (8) and anaphors (7) are dominant in this speech and all of these rhetorical devices are used in passages describing heroism, this proportion is also kept in the number of references to intertextuality explicitly expressed (6 in passages describing heroic events and only 2 in passages describing traumatic experiences). This shows that the speech is mainly intended to sketch out the heroic image of President Johnson and his attempts to reconstruct national unity. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude, whereas the speech combines both strong references to data and the latest news concerning the Vietnam War, this is also a brilliant example of American presidential discourse. All these components contribute to show the unique style of President Johnson. Firstly, the speaker describes heroism by sketching out a glorious picture of the Vietnamese people and American soldiers fighting in Vietnam. Moreover, the aims of American foreign policy are frequently reiterated. Finally, the president often uses rhetorical devices, as well as numerous references to previous texts, with the intention of connecting his speech with the American rhetorical tradition, in order to generate a link between his political decisions and the policy of President Kennedy, and to embed his views in the ethical norms derived from the Bible. All things considered, the speech is effectively constructed with a spectacular climax at the end. Not surprisingly, Johnson's rhetorical craft is fully reflected in this speech.

3.2.4. Richard M. Nixon: *The Great Silent Majority* (3rd November 1969) ⁶¹

An outline of the context

⁶¹ Nixon, Richard Milhous (1969) *The Great Silent Majority*. [Retrieved from: <https://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/richardnixongreatsilentmajority.html>. Date: 9-01-2020].

Prior to being elected as the president of the United States, Richard M. Nixon was unquestionably broadly experienced and perfectly prepared to take on this role. On the one hand, as president, he forged a new path in American foreign policy which had been unthinkable in the past, including the normalization of diplomatic relations with Communist China (inspiring the famous political metaphor: “Nixon Goes to China”), and a policy of détente with the Soviet Union (the SALT I Treaty). On the other hand, during Nixon’s presidency, a huge wave of antiwar protests was observed in America as the Vietnam War reached its climax. Such a situation required a new strategy and the president declared his will to work out a satisfactory solution. On taking up presidential office, Nixon revealed a plan which comprised the slow withdrawal of American soldiers from Vietnam and, simultaneously, increasing military, economic and political support directed towards South Vietnam’s army and policymakers. This strategy, commonly known as a policy of Vietnamization, gained a certain amount of public support and stabilized the domestic situation in the United States.

One of the greatest moments of Nixon’s presidency seems to be his famous *Great Silent Majority* speech which was delivered on 3rd November 1969. According to the president himself, it was the most powerful address in his entire political career (Nixon [1985] 1992: 111). Moreover, it is worth noting that the president not only declared his plans and strategic goals, but was also actively involved in seeking a political solution in order to end the war, a fact which is a recurrent motif in the speech (Schmitz 2014: 1). In the address under discussion here, Nixon endeavors to combine two aims, namely to explain the complex picture of the international situation and to convince his audience to accept a “new” policy in Vietnam (Nixon [1985] 1992: 102–103). Furthermore, the president also attempted to discredit the antiwar movement by placing emphasis on the fact that as the majority of Americans were not protesting against the war, they supported, by default, the policy of his administration.

An analysis of the speech

The speech consists of 4,567 words and 25,914 signs. Directly after opening remarks, a brief outline of the speech is drawn and developed further in the following sections. The president begins with **enumeration**, which includes dramatic statistics illustrating the death toll, a description of the terrible state of the South Vietnamese army, and a view on the twists and turns of America’s foreign

policy [1WT] ⁶². Shortly afterwards, both the fact that “(...) the United States had not put forth a comprehensive peace proposal” (**personification**), and the deep divisions in American society are emphasized [2PST]. These challenges, which a new administration found itself confronted with, are summarized using **antithesis**: “I could blame the defeat, which would be the result of my action, on him – and come out as the peacemaker” which shows that responsibility may be either passed back on to former President Johnson or proudly taken on by the new president. Moreover, whereas the entire passage is **metaphorically** concluded: “[t]his was the only way to avoid allowing Johnson’s war to become Nixon’s war” [3PST], the burden of responsibility taken on by the president is depicted through **polysyndeton** and **hyperbole**: “I had to think of the effect of my decision on the next generation, and on the future of peace and freedom in America, and in the world” [4PSH]. Finally, the whole section is summarized in the **rhetorical question**: “[h]ow can we win America’s peace?” which is the main problem President Nixon is expected to face [5PSH].

Referring to the above-mentioned question, a retrospective analysis of America’s involvement in the Vietnam War is conducted. Primarily, this entire section sheds light on the president, who portrays himself as a providential man and a heroic individual. Secondly, in the passages which follow, Nixon **enumerates** the decisions undertaken by his predecessors, namely presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, which were intended to help the South Vietnamese [6PSH, EH]. This chronological summary seems to be related to American “Messianism,” namely a view of the United States as the defender of the free world. Furthermore, Nixon **enumerates** the reasons in which an ill-considered decision to withdraw American soldiers from Vietnam would lead to tragic consequences: “(...) for South Vietnam (...) for the United States and for the cause of peace” [7WT]. The aim of this rhetorical strategy is to emphasize the far-reaching consequences of such a hasty decision. A warning against the most spectacular failure in America’s history is given by referring to massacres in the city of Huế, the persecution of Catholics, and the appalling atrocity of war as expressed through **exemplum** and two **metaphors**: “(...) a bloody reign of terror” and “(...) the nightmare of the entire nation.” However, it is by referring to images of the extreme cruelty of the communists depicted in the following **enumeration**: “(...) civilians were clubbed, shot to death, and buried in mass graves” that a link to war trauma is established [7WT]. The aim of this section is, therefore, to illustrate the brutality of the Communist dictatorship and emphasize that a hasty withdrawal may only lead to a “(...) collapse of confidence in American leadership

⁶² Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Nixon (1969).

(...)” (**alliteration**) which, in turn, he believes would to be felt: “(...) not only in Asia but throughout the world” (**hyperbole**) [8PST].

Directly afterwards, the memorable words of President Kennedy are recalled in order to show a link between his policy and that conducted by Nixon’s administration (**intertextuality**). Whereas **enumeration** in a quotation from Kennedy: “[w]e want to see a stable Government there (...). We believe strongly in that. We are not going to withdraw from that effort” places emphasis on the great determination of American presidents past and present, both **hyperbole** and **contrast**: “(...) for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there” seem to be focused on the heroism of Americans and their devotion to the idea of liberty [9PSH].

In addition, the devastating consequences of betrayal regarding American foreign policy are expressed in the **metaphor**: “(...) disaster of immense magnitude (...)” which compares withdrawal to a natural catastrophe and, similarly, in the following **metaphor**: “[a] nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends” [10PST]. The latter sentence also suggests that the speaker is determined to ensure America avoids national disgrace. Moreover, Nixon **metaphorically** describes the consequences of such a betrayal which “(...) would spark violence wherever our commitments help maintain the peace (...)” and **enumerates** the main hotspots in international politics: “(...) in the Middle East, in Berlin, eventually even in the Western Hemisphere” with the intention of illustrating the catastrophic consequences of a precipitate withdrawal. The entire passage is concluded using both **anaphora** and **contrast** between peace and war: “(...) this would cost more lives. It would not bring peace. It would bring more war” which indicate the numerous and dangerous implications of such a move [10PST].

In the following section, the president places emphasis on his attempts to end the war. He begins with **enumeration**: “I initiated (...). I set forth (...). We have offered (...). We have proposed (...). We have put forth (...). We have indicated (...). We have declared,” in which a long list of presidential initiatives is mentioned. In this passage, every sentence begins with a personal pronoun in the first person “I”, which points directly to Nixon’s involvement, which is, subsequently, swiftly replaced by the pronoun “we” in the present perfect tense, in order to indicate the collective efforts of the president and his administration [11PSH]. Afterwards, the speaker states that all these attempts were fruitless due to the regrettable resistance of the Communist government: “Hanoi has refused even to discuss our proposals” (**personification, antithesis**),

which, instead, had sought to impose its own pre-conditions: “[t]hey demand (...) that we withdraw all American forces immediately and unconditionally and that we overthrow the government of South Vietnam as we leave” (**polysyndeton**). This, in turn, was unacceptable to the United States [12PST].

Subsequently, the following **enumeration**: “I have explored every possible private avenue that might lead to a settlement (...). I am taking the unprecedented step of disclosing to you some of our other initiatives (...). I did not wait for my inauguration (...). I made two private offers (...). I personally have met on a number of occasions with representatives of the Soviet Government” and **diacope**: “(...) initiatives for peace, initiatives we undertook (...),” as well as **metaphors**: “(...) avenue that (...) led to a settlement (...)” and “(...) quest for peace (...),” together with **epithet** “unprecedented,” altogether place emphasis on the president’s determination and involvement in the peace process. Whereas certain attempts had been undertaken before Nixon became president, other were continued by his envoys. These efforts, however, met with the strong opposition of the North Vietnam’s Communist government: “Hanoi’s replies called in effect for our surrender before negotiations” (**personification**). Moreover, although the above-mentioned initiatives **metaphorically** show that the president had been determined to “(...) open a door which publicly would be closed” [13PSH], in the end, all of them turned out to be fruitless endeavors (**antithesis**) [14PST].

To conclude this section, the president once again places emphasis on his determination to begin peace talks which is expressed through **alliteration**: “(...) to make a major move to break the deadlock in the Paris talks” [15PSH]. Directly afterwards, Nixon makes reference to another **intertextuality**, quoting a long passage of his private letter addressed to the leader of North Vietnam, namely Hồ Chí Minh. In this letter, **apostrophe**: “Dear Mr. President” begins a long passage in which an invitation to peace talks is issued. Furthermore, among numerous rhetorical devices, one may identify **metaphor** and **diacope**: “I realize that it is difficult to communicate meaningfully across the gulf of four years of war. But precisely because of this gulf I wanted to take this opportunity to reaffirm in all solemnity my desire to work for a just peace” which illustrate difficulties in establishing successful negotiations, as well as two **epithets** describing the war as “tragic” and American negotiators as “open-minded” and devoted to bringing “(...) the blessing of peace to the brave people of Vietnam” (**metaphor**). Particularly interesting is the final sentence of the letter under discussion here, in which **apostrophe** together with **metaphor** and a **contrast**:

“[I]et history record that at this critical juncture both sides turned their face toward peace rather than toward conflict and war” launch a direct appeal to the president of North Vietnam [16PSH]. Moreover, further peace efforts undertaken by prominent American politicians are **enumerated** [17PSH]. Rhetorically speaking, in the section analyzed here, references to both *logos* and *ethos* are given with the intention of showing, once again, the great involvement of the president and his administration in the peacemaking process.

The above-mentioned passage is contrasted with the following one. Firstly, the president reports a lack of progress in negotiations, poses a **rhetorical question**: “[w]ell, now, who’s at fault?” and immediately gives his answer through **anaphora**: “[i]t is not the President (...). It is not the South Vietnamese Government.” Furthermore, in the following **antithesis**, an accusation is directed towards North Vietnam’s Communist government: “[t]he obstacle is the other side’s absolute refusal to show the least willingness to join us in seeking a just peace.” The strategy preferred by the Communist government is described using **diacope**: “(...) all it has to do is to wait for our next concession, and our next concession after that one, until it gets everything it wants” [18PST]. Moreover, both **epizeuxis** and **personification**: “(...) progress in negotiation depends only on Hanoi’s deciding to negotiate – to negotiate seriously” seems to test the intentions of North Vietnamese policymakers. Afterwards, the president **contrasts** the dramatic crisis with his peaceful initiatives using **diacope**: “I realize that this report on our efforts on the diplomatic front is discouraging to the American people, but the American people are entitled to know the truth (...) where the lives of our young men are involved” and, subsequently, **pleonasm**: “(...) the bad news as well as the good news,” both of which indicate the will of the president to objectively inform them about the complexity of the current situation [18PST].

In the section which follows, the speaker’s attention is focused on various components of both political and social heroism. Firstly, Nixon begins with a general view of the problem of Vietnam. Whereas a broad range of presidential decisions is **enumerated** in three subsequent sentences: “I recognized we might not succeed in bringing an end to the war through negotiations. I therefore put into effect another plan (...) which I described in my press conference (...),” the word “plan” is repeated (**diacope**) in order to maintain the audience’s attention. A similar intention seems to be dominant in the following **alliteration** and **metaphor**: “(...) a policy (...) which is an essential element of our program to prevent future Vietnams,” both of which illustrate the most important component of the new strategy. Moreover, the president **metaphorically** describes

Americans while stating: “[w]e Americans are a do-it-yourself people” and adding **antithesis**: “[i]nstead of teaching someone else to do a job, we like to do it ourselves” in order to depict one of the national stereotypes regarding Americans, namely their impatience to get the job done. Moreover, the simultaneous use of **enumeration**, **asyndeton** and **metaphor**: “[i]n Korea, and again in Vietnam, the United States furnished most of the money, most of the arms, and most of the men to help the people of those countries defend their freedom against Communist aggression” indicates the increasing costs of the war [19PSH].

Finally, a link between this passage and two other texts is built (**intertextuality**), namely a view expressed by an unnamed political leader from Southeast Asia who established **contrast** by stating: “[w]hen you are trying to assist another nation defend its freedom, U.S. policy should be to help them fight the war, but not to fight the war for them.” Subsequently, this statement is compared with the president’s own speech delivered on the island of Guam [19PSH]. All the above-mentioned components seem to illustrate a new presidential plan, as well as being intended to recall different types of heroism, including individual, presidential and collective heroism, assigned to both political elites and ordinary Americans. From this point of view, the above passage perfectly reflects one of the most important features of American presidential discourse, namely the restoration of unity within society.

This section is summarized in two statements which concern a new American strategy in Vietnam, firstly: “[t]he defense of freedom is everybody’s business – not just America’s business. And it is particularly the responsibility of the people whose freedom is threatened” [20PSH] and secondly: “[t]he policy of the previous Administration not only resulted in our assuming the primary responsibility for fighting the war, but even more significant did not adequately stress the goal of strengthening the South Vietnamese so that they could defend themselves when we left” [21PST]. Both views create an **antithesis** based on a discrepancy between those who are responsible for peace in Southeast Asia and those who should feel the burden of responsibility, an observation which marks the main shift in America’s strategy in the Vietnam War. Whereas the former passage emphasizes the word: “business” (**epistrophe**) and shows the expected direction in delegating responsibility from the Americans to the Vietnamese, the latter passage is focused on the traumatic burden of the previous political decisions and their tragic consequences. Moreover, the president blends both heroic and traumatic images. Whereas the first depicts the increasing military value of South Vietnamese soldiers [22PSH], the second illustrates the decreasing threat

caused by a hostile penetration into South Vietnam, which is expressed using **epizeuxis**: “[e]nemy infiltration, infiltration which is essential if they are to launch a major attack (...)” [23WT]. Moreover, another passage refers to a strategic plan focused on the withdrawal of the American troops which is expressed through the **contrast**: “[t]his withdrawal will be made from strength and not from weakness” [24PSH]. Finally, the tragic consequences of a premature decision to withdraw are recalled [25PST].

In the following section, the international situation is outlined. To begin with, a conditional sentence suggests flexibility in taking strategic decisions, as well as using **personification**, namely: “(...) Hanoi could make no greater mistake than to assume that an increase in violence will be to its advantage” in which the capital of North Vietnam is viewed as if it was a human being [26WT]. Moreover, the president shows his determination to counteract any aggressive actions taken by North Vietnam, a declaration which is expressed by both **anaphora**: “[t]his is not a threat. This is a statement of policy (...)” and **alliteration**: “(...) which I am making and meeting my responsibility for the protection of American fighting men wherever they may be” which reveal his political heroism [27PSH].

In the following passages, the consequences of a rapid and immediate withdrawal, compared with a well-planned schedule, are summarized [28PST, 29PSH]. In the same section, an **epithet** “just peace” and both **diacope** and **antithesis**: “(...) if possible a plan for Vietnamization, if necessary – a plan in which we will withdraw all our forces” are intended to help one grasp the significance of the presidential decision. Whereas the potential of the South Vietnamese is **metaphorically** assessed as: “(...) strong enough to defend their own freedom,” the momentous decision of the president is confirmed in the **anaphora** which follows: “I have chosen this second course. It is not the easy way. It is the right way. It is a plan which will end the war and serve the cause of peace.” In the same passage, the strategic importance of Nixon’s plan is emphasized by **hyperbole**: “(...) not just in Vietnam but in the Pacific and in the world” which shows its international repercussions [29PSH].

The president does not end his address at this point, but, as an experienced speaker, contrasts his views with those expressed by his critics. To achieve this goal, **epistrophe**: “I mentioned that our allies would lose confidence in America. Far more dangerous, we would lose confidence in ourselves” is used and **metaphorically** developed: “[b]ut as we saw the consequences of what we had done, inevitable remorse and divisive recrimination would scar our

spirit as a people” with the intention of illustrating the serious problems which would arise in American society [30PST]. In other words, although an immediate withdrawal would lead to initial relief, soon afterwards another feeling of dark depression would be expected to appear in society. Whereas **anaphora**: “[w]e have faced other crises in our history and we have become stronger (...)” refers to glorious past events, the **metaphor** of American greatness praises the nation for its devotion to lasting values [31PSH]. In other words, this is another brilliant reference to American presidential discourse which unites, motivates and shows new directions.

In the last section of the speech, full attention is given to the main social problem, namely a broad division in American society, with numerous solutions being offered in order to overcome current difficulties. Firstly, the president declares: “I would be untrue to my oath of office if I allowed the policy of this nation to be dictated by the minority who hold that point of view and who try to impose it on the nation by mounting demonstrations in the street” [32PSH]. This **metaphorical** view describes divisions in American society and the presidential determination to discredit a vocal but small group of opponents, one which is depicted as a threat to national unity. Secondly, the broad range of problems caused by disunity is depicted in a **metaphorical** manner: “[i]f a vocal minority, however fervent its cause, prevails over reason and the will of the majority, this nation has no future as a free society” [33PST]. Interestingly, this passage shows that the president, while being critical towards his opponents, does not condemn them completely. In contrast, he addresses his words directly to the opposition (**apostrophe**) in an emotional confession:

I respect your idealism. I share your concern for peace. I want peace as much as you do. There are powerful personal reasons I want to end this war [34PSH]. This week I will have to sign 83 letters to mothers, fathers, wives, and loved ones of men who have given their lives for America in Vietnam. [35PST]

In this passage two ideas are contrasted, namely an idealistic image of an unconditional peace and the cruelty of war (**antithesis**). Whereas **enumeration** based on the personal pronoun “I” seems to integrate opponents around common aims which are shared by both the government and the opposition, this view is contrasted with **asyndeton**, namely a list of the members of the families whose sons were killed in Vietnam. This strategy strengthens the feeling of trauma and strongly

impacts on *pathos*. This also constitutes a rhetorical platform to issue the political declaration which concludes the speech.

Significantly, every point of this manifesto begins with **anaphora**: “I want to end this war (...)” in order to show Nixon’s heroism and independence as a politician. Furthermore, the desired fruits of peace are depicted using **pleonasm** and **metaphor**: “(...) their younger brothers and their sons will not have to fight in some future Vietnam some place in the world,” as well as **apostrophe**, **enumeration**, **diacope** and **hyperbole**: “(...) the energy and dedication of you, our young people (...) can be turned to the great challenge of peace, a better life for all Americans, a better life for all people on this earth” which show that the presidential plan, while being difficult to accept by certain groups, is expected to bring a long-lasting peace. Moreover, the following **anaphora** and **antithesis**: “(...) if it does succeed, what the critics say now won’t matter. If it does not succeed, anything I say then won’t matter” refer to *logos*, namely a deduction similar to an Aristotelian syllogism, while placing emphasis on the great resolve of the president [36PSH].

Finally, in reference to history, there is **personification** “America,” as well as both **antithesis** and **epithets**: “(...) this nation was weak and poor (...) we have become the strongest and richest nation in the world” together with the **metaphor** of the “wheel of destiny,” all of which are introduced in order to describe both the economic and social development of the United States [37EH, 38PSH]. This, in turn, is confronted with the current situation (**antithesis**): “[w]hen America was the most powerful nation in the world, we passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism” in order to emphasize political changes [39PST]. In this passage, the **metaphor** of a road seems to suggest the procrastination of certain groups in American society, while the **metaphor** of suffocation illustrates its harmful consequences. Directly afterwards, the president proceeds to the climax of his speech:

So tonight, to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans, I ask for your support. I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge. The more support I can have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed [40PSH]. For the more divided we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate at Paris [41PST]. Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand – North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that. [42PSH, PST]

In this section, another famous **metaphor** of the “great silent majority” describes these groups within American society which, while remaining silent, seem to support the policy of the government. Rhetorically speaking, in the above passage, there is also an **oxymoron**: “(...) win the peace (...),” together with **apostrophe** addressed directed to the audience: “(...) my fellow Americans (...)” and **anaphora**: “[l]et us be united (...). Let us also be united (...) let us understand (...),” all of which call for national unity. Moreover, while the risk of being humiliated and divided is considered, the fruitless attempts of North Vietnam to do harm to Americans are compared with the self-humiliation and divisiveness observed in American society itself (**antithesis**).

To encapsulate this section, Nixon recalls his predecessor, President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), and his famous statement: “[t]his is the war to end wars” used in regard to the First World War [43PSH]. This **intertextuality** and **oxymoron** clearly illustrate how certain unfulfilled dreams may turn sour. As it is **metaphorically** viewed by the speaker: “[h]is dream for peace (...) was shattered on the hard reality (...)” [44PST]. In reference to the above-presented view, the speaker declares a manifesto of presidential heroism, one which is propelled by numerous rhetorical devices, including **antithesis**: “I do not tell you that the war in Vietnam is the war to end wars (...),” **alliteration** and **assonance**: “(...) which will end this war in a way that will bring us closer to that great goal (...),” **epizeuxis**: “(...) to which – to which (...) every American President (...) has been dedicated (...),” together with **anadiplosis** and several **epithets**: “(...) that great goal (...) the goal of a just and lasting peace.” All these structures seem to generate a feeling of national unity. In his last words, the president appeals to the audience using **apostrophe** and **enumeration**: “I pledge to you (...) in accordance with your hopes, mindful of your concerns, sustained by your prayers” with the intention of gaining support for his plan and reestablishing unity within American society [45PSH].

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, it was observed that whereas references to heroism are more frequent (26), comprising 24 focused on political and social heroism and 2 focused on economic heroism; without any identified references to war heroism, their total number is only slightly more dominant than references to trauma (21), comprising 4 focused on war trauma, 17 focused on political and social trauma, and no identified references to economic trauma. Moreover, considering rhetorical devices, certain examples of enumerations (10 in descriptions of heroism; 4 in descriptions of trauma) and epithets (11 – all regarding heroism) are identified, as

well as a number of metaphors (12 in passages referring to trauma and 14 in these referring to heroism). Finally, President Nixon uses explicitly expressed intertextuality 5 times, namely twice when referring to his own words, twice when referring to those of previous U.S. presidents and once in reference to those of an anonymous politician. All these findings suggest an intention of showing a continuation of American foreign policy, while simultaneously emphasizing the importance of Nixon's proposed solution, namely the policy of Vietnamization. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude, the whole speech seems to be well thought-out, a feature which is viewed from the first to the last line of the address. In particular, the key issues under discussion here are gathered together at the beginning and, consequently, are recalled and analyzed in the sections which follow. Taking a chronological approach, the president refers to the history of the Vietnam War in order to indicate both his personal heroism and involvement in establishing a permanent and lasting peace. In the main section, the presidential plan to end the war, as well as Nixon's personal determination to do so, are outlined. Finally, an appeal to groups opposing the war is issued in which the traditional view of the American presidency as a source of stability and national unity is expressed.

3.2.5. Gerald R. Ford: *President Gerald R. Ford's Address at a Tulane University Convocation (23rd April 1975)* ⁶³

An outline of the context

Nixon's policy of Vietnamization bore fruit in the Paris Peace Accords (27th January 1973) which provided the opportunity to withdraw American troops from Vietnam and maintain an illusion of victory. Whereas American military and economic support to South Vietnam was essential for sustaining its existence, the antiwar opposition in the United States had gone from strength to strength. It was under these circumstances that Gerald R. Ford began his unexpected presidency. With Nixon having resigned as a consequence of the Watergate scandal, Ford, his former vice-president, took the presidential oath only a few hours later (9th July 1974). On the one hand, Ford

⁶³ Ford, Gerald Rudolph (1975) *President Gerald R. Ford's Address at a Tulane University Convocation*. [Retrieved from: <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/speeches/listpres.asp>. Date: 9-01-2020].

had to face a wave of unprecedented economic disturbances and domestic problems which were additionally fueled by opponents to the Vietnam War. On the other hand, his unexpected appointment gave rise to numerous critical views deprecating the political independence of the new president (Rumsfeld 2018: 14).

In a famous address, delivered during a Tulane University Convocation (23rd April 1975), Ford sketched out the main principles of a new American foreign policy. One of the most significant political gestures was the fact that he publicly admitted America's failure in the Vietnam War and invited the audience to begin a new chapter in American history (Nessen 2011: 8). Moreover, the moment at which the speech was delivered is significant in that it was only a few days before the collapse of Sài Gòn (30th April 1975). The political message of this event seemed to be clear, namely not only had Americans withdrawn their troops from Vietnam, but also they had left South Vietnam unprepared for a long-lasting struggle against the *Việt Cộng*. This radical shift in American policy was bitterly criticized by numerous individuals, including the president of South Vietnam, Nguyễn Văn Thiệu (1923–2001), who literally accused the new administration of being disloyal and leaving its ally at the mercy of the Communists (Lee & Haynsworth 2002: 128–130). However, the Tulane Address seems to be primarily aimed towards Americans and, in this sense, it is a continuation of traditional motifs present in the presidential discourse. Whereas the main intention of the speaker was to reintegrate American society, in particular its younger members, around the ideas of progress and prosperity, a fervent hope to heal social traumas is also displayed in this speech.

An analysis of the speech

The speech consists of 2,374 words and 13,683 signs. Directly after his opening remarks and several examples of presidential humor, which is used here to integrate the speaker and his young audience, President Ford proceeds to the key points of the speech. Drawing an **analogy** between the history of the university and the state, and using **epithets** “great” and “unique,” the president seems to pay tribute to the place in which he is speaking. In particular, a distinctive set of features which are typical of New Orleans and its inhabitants is **enumerated**: “[i]t is a state of mind, a melting pot that represents the very, very best of America's evolution, an example of retention of

a very special culture in a progressive environment of modern change” [1PSH] ⁶⁴. Whereas several **metaphors** are included in this passage, namely those describing the city under discussion here as “a state of mind” and “a melting pot,” an **epizeuxis**: “(...) the very, very best (...)” truly shows the presidential approach to this place.

In the following passage, a link to war heroism is established by mentioning the victorious Battle of New Orleans which was fought in 1815. Whereas the **epithet**: “(...) a monumental American victory was achieved here (...)” places emphasis on the triumph of the United States, **diacope**: “(...) outnumbered Americans innovated, outnumbered Americans used their tactics of the frontier to defeat a veteran British force (...)” creates **antithesis** between a coherent strategy adapted by the Americans and the great military experience possessed by the British soldiers [2WH]. Moreover, an image of a plundered Washington which “(...) had been captured and burned” [3WT] is again contrasted (**antithesis**) with the **epithet** describing the enormous range of triumph: “(...) illustrious victory in the Battle of New Orleans (...)” [4WH]. In other words, a traumatic failure is confronted with a great American victory.

In addition, Ford states: “[t]housands died although a peace had been negotiated. The combatants had not gotten the word. Yet, the epic struggle nevertheless restored America’s pride” [5WT, 6PSH]. This is another **antithesis** based on a distinction between the costs of the war, and its consequences for the country which is depicted here in a similar manner to a human being (**personification**). At this point, the president draws **analogy** between the past and the present. Although seemingly doomed to failure in the War of 1812, the United States recovered strength over the following decades. Similarly, after its failure in the Vietnam War, America is expected to rise again. In the following passage, both **enumeration** and **metaphors**: “(...) the time has come to look forward (...) to unify, to bind up the Nation’s wounds and to restore its health and its optimistic self-confidence” indicate the main goal of Ford’s presidency, namely a plan of a national reconstruction and reintegration. This view is expressed through **anaphora**: “[i]n New Orleans, a great battle was fought after a war was over. In New Orleans tonight, we can begin a great national reconciliation” which seems to refer to glorious past while, simultaneously, expressing a presidential hope that the United States will be restored to its rightful place in the world. Although these are traditional aims of the presidential discourse, a reference to **epistrophe**: “[t]he first

⁶⁴ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Ford (1975).

engagement must be with the problems of today, but just as importantly, the problems of the future” outlines the range of problems to be faced [6PSH].

The following section contains a number of rhetorical devices, including **anaphora**: “I ask that we stop refighting the battles and the recriminations of the past. I ask that we look now at what is right with America (...). I ask that we accept the responsibilities of leadership (...). I ask that we strive (...),” **alliteration** and **polysyndeton**: “(...) we look (...) at our possibilities and our potentialities for change and growth and achievement and sharing (...),” **metaphor** and **contrast**: “(...) as a good neighbor to all people and the enemy of none (...),” and another **metaphor**: “(...) to become (...) something more tomorrow than we are today” [7PSH]. All these rhetorical devices generate an image of progress and political heroism. Furthermore, **apostrophe**: “[s]o I ask you to join me in helping to write that agenda” and another **metaphor**: “(...) the great challenge of creativity (...) lies ahead” both refer to the speaker’s intention to be the leader of the nation [8PSH].

To conclude this passage, certain traumatic experiences of the Vietnam War are mentioned and immediately contrasted with the splendid image of America in the future which is depicted through **antithesis** and **anadiplosis**: “[w]e, of course, are saddened indeed by the events in Indochina. But these events, tragic as they are, portend neither the end of the world nor of America’s leadership in the world” [9WT]. Finally, the speaker contrasts two views, namely the first based on **alliteration**: “[s]ome tend to feel that if we do not succeed in everything everywhere (...)” and the second: “(...) then we have succeeded in nothing anywhere” (**antithesis**) with the intention of emphasizing the radical approach represented by certain groups. Such an approach is rejected, and a new solution based on **diacope**, **metaphor** and **contrast**: “[w]e can and we should help others to help themselves. But the fate of responsible men and women everywhere, in the final decision, rests in their own hands, not in ours” is developed [10PST]. All these rhetorical devices seem to display both social trauma and its tragic consequences.

In the following section, certain decisions are presented in order to connect two types of heroism, namely individual heroism, as displayed by the speaker, and collective heroism, which is embedded in American tradition. First of all, the president uses both **metaphor** and **diacope**: “I would like to talk about another kind of strength, the true source of American power that transcends all of the deterrent powers for peace of our Armed Forces. I am speaking here of our belief in ourselves and our belief in our Nation” which together create a link between the speaker and his audience [11PSH]. Moreover, the **rhetorical question** posed by President Lincoln is recalled:

“[w]hat constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence?” This is a direct **intertextuality** which together with the following **enumeration**: “[i]t is not our frowning battlements or bristling seacoasts, our Army or our Navy” and both **metaphor** and **pleonasm**: “[o]ur defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere” contribute to *ethos* of the speaker. Furthermore, the above-mentioned reference to one of the features of Americanism is expressed through **anaphora**: “[i]t is in this spirit that we must now move beyond the discords of the past decade. It is in this spirit that I ask you to join me in writing an agenda for the future” which indicates the importance of traditional American values [11PSH].

The above view is developed in the two following passages. Whereas a first **anaphora**: “I envision a creative program (...). I am determined to offer leadership (...). I am determined to seek self-sufficiency in energy (...). I will address the humanitarian issues (...). I recognize the need for technology (...). I will strive for new cooperation (...).” mutually interweaves with **another**: “[m]y goal is for a cooperative world at peace (...). My goal is for jobs (...). My goal is to make America independent of foreign energy sources (...). My goal is to achieve (...) basic needs (...). My goal is to stimulate productivity (...). My goal is to use resources (...),” they also indicate numerous initiatives undertaken by the president [12PSH, 13EH, PSH].

In the passages analyzed here, there are also numerous further rhetorical devices which illustrate presidential decisions, including **diacope**: “(...) as far as our courage and our capacities can take us (...)” and “(...) jobs for all who want to work and economic opportunity for all who want to achieve (...),” **pleonasm**: “(...) both at home and abroad,” a **contrast**: “(...) to build, not to destroy (...)” and **alliteration**: “(...) to seek self-sufficiency in energy as an urgent national priority” [12PSH]. All these rhetorical devices emphasize the role of the president and his heroism to overcome both political and social difficulties. Furthermore, this long presidential agenda also includes **polysyndeton**: “(...) humanitarian issues of hunger and famine, of health and of healing (...),” as well as three examples of **contrasts**: “(...) use technology to redeem, not to destroy” as well as “(...) cooperation rather than conflict” and “(...) peaceful progress rather than war and destruction,” **metaphor**: “(...) to conquer nature and master technology (...),” and **epizeuxis**: “[t]he time has come (...) to facilitate the individual’s control over his or her future – and of the future of America” which altogether illustrate the unprecedented range of the presidential plan [13EH, PSH].

Directly afterwards, a broad range of goods is **enumerated**: “[w]e thought, in a well-intentioned past, that we could export our technology lock, stock, and barrel to developing nations” which describes a bygone tendency of being self-sufficient and, in turn, leads to a **paradoxical** situation: “(...) a strain of rice that grows in one place will not grow in another; that factories that produce at 100 percent in one nation produce less than half as much in a society where temperaments and work habits are somewhat different” [14ET]. This is an illustration of the fact that even the slightest social and cultural differences may generate significant changes in national economics. Moreover, this **antithesis** between prior false beliefs and subsequent consequences indicates the devastating effect of the erroneous political decisions of the past.

The above-presented overview of the traumatic consequences of unwise decisions is contrasted with another long passage in which a splendid image of America’s future is sketched out. Whereas **apostrophe, contrast, polysyndeton** and **alliteration**: “[l]et’s grow food together, but let’s also learn more about nutrition, about weather forecasting, about irrigation, about the many other specialties involved in helping people to help themselves” all seem to indicate the main directions of the new agenda, **asyndeton**: “(...) learn more about people, about the development of communities, architecture, engineering, education, motivation, productivity, public health and medicine, arts and sciences, political, legal, and social organization (...),” along with the following **epizeuxis** and **alliteration**: “(...) and many, many more,” show a broad range of professions which are urgently needed in order to provide growth. Finally, the entire section under discussion here is summarized through **diacope**: “(...) for our future – your future, our country’s future” [15EH].

Simultaneously, an **exemplum**, namely a reference to particular groups of professionals, is given in order to illustrate the expected directions concerning national development. To achieve this goal, another **anaphora**: “I challenge, for example, the medical students (...). I challenge the engineers in this audience (...). I challenge the law students in this audience (...). I challenge education (...). I challenge the arts majors in this audience (...)” indicates presidential leadership. Whereas **asyndeton**: “(...) cheap, clean and plentiful energy” characterizes a task given to engineers, **diacope**: “(...) real teaching for real life (...)” describes the aims of future teachers and, similarly, **polysyndeton**: “(...) to compose (...) to write (...) to enrich” refers to the aims taken by a new generation of artists. The entire passage is concluded in a solemn declaration: “America’s leadership is essential. America’s resources are vast. America’s opportunities are unprecedented” [15EH]. This not only comprises **anaphora** and **epithets**, but also a catchy slogan which is coined

with the intention of showing the dominant position of the United States in the entire world. All the above-mentioned rhetorical devices refer to new economic possibilities and illustrate the heroism of a new generation of Americans. To summarize the above passage, certain components of political and social heroism are added through **pleonasm**: “I put high on the list of important points the maintenance of alliances and partnerships” and both **polysyndeton** and **diacope**: “[t]he new agenda (...) must place a high priority on the need to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and to work for the mutual reduction in strategic arms and control of other weapons” in order to place the emphasis on better relationships with other countries [16PSH].

In the final passage, the president refers to social heroism, using **apostrophe**: “[a]nd I urge Americans of all ages (...),” **enumeration**: “(...) to unite (...) to take responsibility (...)” and a **simile**: “(...) as our ancestors did.” Furthermore, the beautiful **metaphor** of a “beacon of light” is recalled to show the desired direction of change: “(...) from historic New Orleans, and from Tulane University, and from every other corner (...)” (**polysyndeton**), which, in turn, is expected to bring about: “(...) confidence and self-reliance and capacity (...)” (**polysyndeton**) [17PSH].

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, it was observed that in this speech references to different types of trauma are identified 5 times, namely 3 times to war trauma, once to political and social trauma and once to economic trauma. However, references to heroism are more frequent (13) and are present in passages focused on war heroism (2), political and social heroism (9), as well as economic heroism (2). Moreover, whereas the dominant rhetorical devices are as follows: metaphors (in descriptions of heroism – 12; trauma – 1), polysyndeton (7 – all in descriptions of heroism), diacope (in descriptions of heroism – 6; trauma – 1), epithet (6 – all in descriptions of heroism), there is only one reference to intertextuality explicitly expressed in a passage focused on heroism. This data suggests that the speech is focused on heroism, a fact which is proved by the numerous efforts of the speaker to show both the bravery and uniqueness of Americans and, in particular, the heroic leadership of their president. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude, in this pathos-filled speech the president confronts himself with the traumatic burden of the Vietnam War and invites Americans to follow newly-outlined paths for development. Furthermore, this speech is a brilliant example of American presidential discourse whose typical functions include healing wounds in the collective memory of the nation and uniting Americans around new aims and ambitious challenges. President Ford displays here his intention to end not

only the long duration of the Vietnam War, but also, more importantly, to end a war that had been waged in the minds and souls of Americans year after year. This aim is achieved by bringing them new hope and opportunities to develop.

3.3. Selected speeches delivered by the leaders of groups opposing the Vietnam War

Whereas the above-presented sections were primarily focused on the Vietnam War from political viewpoints, the following sections are devoted to a meticulous rhetorical analysis of five selected speeches delivered by social leaders who were opposed to the Vietnam War. Although all of them revolve around various issues connected with the war in Vietnam, their range possibly illustrates a broad spectrum of views typical for various groups of American society. Indeed, the problems encountered by these groups seem to be at the center of the American public discourse of the 1960s and 1970s. Beginning with rebellious students and their demands inspired by the New Left ideology, their discourse is exemplified by a speech delivered by Mario Savio, one of the leaders of the student movement. Although the speech was given during a Vietnam Day Teach-In, on 21st May 1965, the references to the war and American foreign policy are rather secondary. The important issue for the protesters is a struggle for freedom of speech at universities which is, according to them, drastically limited. **In other words, it is safe to say that the Vietnam War is only used as a pretext to express their hurt, disillusionment, as well as collective heroism, while contrasting themselves with the “ancient regime” identified with the conservative authorities of the universities.**

In a similar manner, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., in his famous speech *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence*, which was delivered on 4th April 1967 at the Riverside Church in the city of New York, places the emphasis of the feelings of trauma and heroism. At the center of his discourse is a paradox, namely two contrasting views of African Americans. Whereas, on the one hand, they are praised as heroic soldiers in Vietnam, on the other hand, they are discriminated and treated as if they were second-class citizens in their homeland in the United States. This division is strengthened by another image of the ruthlessness of the American establishment which, in turn, is compared with the great suffering of ordinary Vietnamese people. Both views interact with each other and create a sort of a global coalition of people of goodwill who want to do right and are expected to confront wrongdoers regardless of the country they live

in and the social status they hold. **This broad and universal message is deeply embedded in the tradition of Christianity, and numerous rhetorical devices display the skills Reverend King possessed as a public speaker.**

In another speech, an image of social and economic trauma is depicted. This view is present in *Remarks on an Appraisal of the Conflict in Vietnam*, which was delivered by Shirley Anita Chisholm on 26th March 1969. Interestingly, the pivotal role of this address is mainly viewed due to the speaker, namely the first African American congresswoman. In her speech, there are two components which allow one to gain a new insight into the Vietnam War. **Firstly, similarly to the speech delivered by MLK, the racial problems and inequality within American society are emphasized. Secondly, a unique female viewpoint is adopted.** Whereas reference to unlimited resources devoted to maintain American military superiority is contrasted with the abject poverty experienced by numerous Americans, an image of racial inequality is expressed while referring to data from governmental reports and supported by certain examples.

Yet another analyzed speech was delivered by John Forbes Kerry in front of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, on 22nd April 1971. This speech is primarily a testimony of a dramatic eye-witness account which describes atrocities of the war. Whereas the cruelty of the war is dominant, in particular its psychological consequences on soldiers' minds, both social and economic references to the feeling of trauma experienced by war veterans are also mentioned. **In his dramatic testimony, Kerry, a former U.S. Navy lieutenant, not only illustrates the brutality of the war and crimes against humanity committed by Americans troops, but also directly accuses both the government and the American establishment of playing a cynical game in which human lives and officially declared values are only empty slogans.** Finally, the last speech analyzed here was delivered by Jane Seymour Fonda as part of a radio broadcast during her visit to Hà Nội in September 1972. This, seemingly the most controversial example of antiwar activism, was intended to show the Vietnamese viewpoint on the war. **In her brief message, famous actress draws a picture of the rural life of ordinary people who, according to the speaker, are the real victims of America's pro-war policy.** Whereas their cultural legacy and great patriotic spirit are emphasized, the cruelty of American policymakers is also mentioned, which is meant to show the futility of the war and the hypocrisy of the U.S. government.

To conclude, all of the above-presented speeches convey different views of the Vietnam War. Whereas for Savio the conflict in Southeast Asia is reflected at American universities where

their conservative authorities endeavor to impose control over rebellious youth, both Reverend King and Congresswoman Chisholm describe the traumatic experiences of minorities, Vietnam veteran Kerry reveals the cruelty of the U.S. army, while Jane Fonda heavily criticizes the American government. What is common for all these speeches, it is the fact that they are not merely antiwar speeches, but most importantly, all of them belong to the canon of American rhetoric and even today are able to have an enormous impact on audiences, both due to their inimitable style and the personality of the speakers delivering them.

3.3.1. Mario Savio: *Speech at Vietnam Day Teach-In (21st May 1965)* ⁶⁵

An outline of the context

Student protests, whose peak was observed in the second half of the 1960s, were a complex and multifaceted social phenomenon. This movement, being primarily a youth revolt against conservative university authorities and a voice of protest against the policy of educational discrimination, was also strongly antiwar and pacifistic in nature (Cohen 2014: 7). The latter element was particularly observed in the practice of burning draft cards which reached its peak after 1965 (Elmer 2005: 59). Therefore, it is safe to say that there were two main factors behind the student protest movement, namely the intellectual inspiration delivered by the New Left ideologists, which was viewed in opposition to an overwhelmingly dominant rigid conservatism at university campuses, and the spontaneous objection of students against conscription in the Vietnam War. Furthermore, there were also numerous forms of opposition to decisions taken by the university authorities, including sits-in, rallies, occupations, boycotts, strikes and enduring mass arrests (Stanley 2010: 102).

Among many other protests, a particular place in history was occupied by those sparked by the Free Speech Movement (FSM), an organization established at the University of California's Berkeley Campus in 1964, with the aim of opposing restrictions imposed on the freedom of public debate (Hoefflerle 2009: 194). One of the leaders of the movement, Mario Savio (1942–1996), undeniably became the icon of the student protests in the period analyzed here. His excellent skills

⁶⁵ Savio, Mario (1965) *Speech at Vietnam Day Teach-In*. [Retrieved from: https://www.fsm-a.org/stacks/mario/salvio_vietnamday.html. Date: 9-01-2020].

as a public speaker were combined with an ability to maintain a “dialogical quality” of delivered speeches in line with the ideological background of the New Left (Cohen 2014: 22). This rhetoric, a tool which stirred up further protests and generated the first great wave of campus disruptions in America (Stanley 2010: 102), is depicted in a following words: “[i]t was an unprecedented oratorical marathon, a kind of free speech festival (...). The speeches, together with the communal act of sitting in around the police car – a risky form of civil disobedience – inspired a deep sense of solidarity and community that the protesters would never forget” (Cohen 2014: 3). As illustrated in the above–quoted passage, the whole rhetorical situation during these massive student gatherings was complex, including an atmosphere of being–under–siege, as well as a pervasive feeling of freedom and unity of the protesters. All these elements are also present in the speech analyzed here.

An analysis of the speech

The speech consists of 2,449 words and 13,964 signs. First of all, the speaker briefly introduces himself and conjures splendid images of great revolutions from the past. Moreover, this introduction reflects the current situation at the campus: “I remember last semester at one point some of us were trying to decide, ‘Should we have the sit–in in Sproul Hall or in the Student Union?’ since the latter would be more in the spirit of the Paris Commune (...)” [1PSH]⁶⁶. In this view, the student protest at the campus is compared to the French revolutions of 1871. Whereas **intertextuality**, namely a **rhetorical question** posed by protesting students in order to express their doubts, is used, both **anaphora** and **contrast**: “(...) we don’t want anything you own, we want our things” are also here in order to present their demands. Consequently, the student protest movement is viewed as yet another movement in a long line of great heroic revolutions from the past. This section employs *pathos* and is delivered to strengthen the position of the speaker in the eyes of the audience.

Directly afterwards, the collapse of revolutionary heroism is depicted, namely the traumatic aberrations of the initially bright goals are mentioned using **anadiplosis** and **rhetorical questions**: “(...) the Soviet Union – what became the Soviet Union? What happened as we moved into the 20th century?” Moreover, whereas **epizeuxis**: “(...) the United States was on the other side (...) more and more on the other side” points to the consequences of the Cold War being fought out

⁶⁶ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Savio (1965).

between two great superpowers, reference to the philosophy of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) is made in order to show the eloquence of the speaker and, simultaneously, his *ethos* as a young intellectual. Finally, two **contrasted epithets**, namely “great” and “muddy,” are used to describe Hegel, a fact which seems to suggest that what is the most important for the speaker is not theoretical analysis, but rather an experience of participating in a real revolution [2PST].

In the following passage, certain differences between traditional American values and Communist ideology are underlined, in particular those in regard to the place of religion in the public sphere (**exemplum**). The speaker uses **epistrophe**: “[t]hey don’t believe in God. See, the Communists officially don’t believe in God” which is also **intertextuality** used to illustrate a popular view of Marxism as an atheistic ideology. Whereas **epithet**: “(...) it seemed to me awfully peculiar (...)” suggests the surprise of the speaker while describing a **paradox** existing within American society: “(...) we should be in the situation of declared or undeclared war against people (...) because they claim not to believe in God.” To summarize this passage, **epistrophe**: “I don’t believe in God. A lot of the people here don’t, I believe” establishes the frameworks for the narration to follow [3PST].

Similarly, both a **rhetorical question** and **pleonasm**: “(...) is it because they claim it’s proper to organize their economies (...) in a way different from the way we do here in this country?” as well as **polysyndeton**: “(...) their systems of production and distribution, goods and services (...)” altogether underline the differences between the two economic systems concerned [4ET]. All of these observations seem to confirm the social trauma which is being created in the public discourse. To conclude this section, the speaker states: “[i]n the continuing opposition to the descendants of our own period of revolution, the Vietcong, I don’t know what it is we’re trying to protect them from in Asia. I really don’t know” [5PST]. Rhetorically speaking, a reference to ideological components of the Vietnam War is made by the usage of **anaphor**: “I don’t know,” and **antithesis** based on a contrast between the glorious past of American history and the current state of affairs. In the entire section, the image of a victorious revolution is contrasted with another which depicts reactionary forces.

In another paragraph, a utopian concept of global peace is presented. This hypothetical plan of disarmament is outlined in a form of a **rhetorical question**: “[w]hat if (...) the United States would totally disarm?” [6PSH]. Moreover, a **contrast**: “[n]ot nuclear weapons, but all weapons,” and placing emphasis on an **epithet** “totally,” both seem to point to the radicalism of such a decision

[6PSH]. The above view, however, is questioned even by the speaker, who uses **anaphora**: “I don’t think it’s clear that if we put away all our weapons, Asia would stop being ruled in part by freedom-loving tyrants, and would be ruled completely by tyrannical tyrants. I don’t think that kind of change would necessarily follow if we put away all of our weapons” [7PST]. Interestingly, **oxymoron** “freedom-loving tyrants” is connected with **alliteration** “tyrannical tyrants” in order to show numerous types of dictatorships in Asia. Furthermore, a pessimistic conclusion concerning the state of American democracy is drawn. Whereas **diacope**: “[i]f (...) such an idea, or ideas far less radical, cannot be entertained before responsible audiences (...)” places emphasis on futile hopes that global disarmament is possible, a series of **rhetorical questions** and **anaphora**: “(...) in what sense is decision-making in America democratic? In what sense?” seem to discredit the position of traditional values in American politics [8PST]. Finally, whereas the whole section is concluded through **antithesis** which describes a huge discrepancy between hopes shared by the speaker and the reality, the **epithet** “naïve belief” and the following conditional sentence imply that the majority of society does not believe in a steady peace agreement [9PSH]. This view is **contrasted** with the sentence which follows: “[b]ut they don’t know the facts (...)” which indicates the disorientation of Americans [10PST].

Directly afterwards, the speaker refers to the current situation on the Berkeley campus and presents three examples (**exempla**) which are well-known to the audience. Firstly, his full involvement in the protests is recalled using **anaphora**: “I was engaged (...). We all were” which creates a feeling of unity between the speaker and his audience [11PSH]. This, in turn, is **contrasted** with media reporting of these events using **diacope**: “[a]nd there was no comparison, or only a very slight comparison (...)” Another example refers to the Regents of the University of California, namely: “[a]nd look again – personal experience – look at the incompetents, the 24 incompetents (...)” [12PST]. In this view, this double **diacope** indicates the discrepancy between the students’ expectations and the managerial skills of the university authorities.

While referring to one of the students’ representatives, namely Bob Mundy, the speaker refers to **intertextuality** in order to indicate the great heroism of this activist. His statement, included in this speech, is based on mutually interweaving two rhetorical devices, namely **anaphora** and **contrast**: “[w]e have asked to be heard, you have refused. We have asked for justice. You have called it anarchy. We have asked for freedom. You have called it license.” Moreover, there are also examples of both **alliterations** and **antithesis**: “[r]ather than face the fear and

hopelessness you have created, you have called it communistic. You have accused us of failing to use legitimate channels. But you have closed those channels to us. You, and not us, have built a university based on distrust and dishonesty” which, when taken altogether, strengthen the message being communicated [13PSH]. The entire section is concluded through the use of **contrast** in order to illustrate the reaction of the authorities to the students’ demands: “[i]n the course of that speech, Governor Brown told Bob to shut up and called the police” [14PST].

In the following section, one more **exemplum** taken from American public life is analyzed. Whereas reference to President Kennedy, who “(...) sponsored and supported Comsat (...)” (**alliteration**), namely an organization established in order to promote collaboration between both public and private sectors, is made, the initially high hopes raised by certain groups in American society were confronted with the harsh reality. Although President Kennedy, who is depicted using an **epithet** as a “responsible leader,” made an attempt to generate certain changes, the results of his decisions are heavily criticized [15PSH]. The speaker does not believe in public and private partnership and supports this view referring to the data which shows that certain presidential nominees had not taken part in any meetings of the above-mentioned organization. Rhetorically speaking, this is reference to *logos*. Whereas a large degree of responsibility is imposed on the nominees, a fact which is emphasized by reference to the groups they represent, namely: “(...) these who are neither laborers nor businessmen (for example, students and housewives)” (**polysyndeton**), the disappointment of the speaker is expressed using both **anaphora** and **epizeuxis**: “[t]hat’s the way decisions are made in America. This is a public and private corporation, public and private, and the public is represented... I’m very pessimistic, very pessimistic” [16PST]. This also constitutes a sad conclusion which then leads to another **exemplum** being given.

In addition, a controversial expectation which was expressed by the Regent of the University is unveiled, namely his plan to have declarations signed by academic teachers that they “(...) believe in the capitalistic system (...)” [17PST]. This passage contains **intertextuality** and suggests that a university is no longer a place of open debate and a melting pot of ideas. In contrast, the speaker points to overwhelmingly dominant restrictions and the traumatic experience of his generation which has resulted in a feeling of being under absolute control. Moreover, a view indicating the poor competence of the governmental nominees is expressed through derisively used **diacope** “international,” and **epithet**: “(...) a committee of incredibly wealthy nincompoops!”

[18PST]. All these above examples are summarized in a painful and highly critical conclusion in which the speaker refuses to believe in any “significant” and “substantial” change (**epithets**). The only change which is possible for protesters to achieve is enigmatically defined as “something less” (**epistrophe**). Moreover, a **rhetorical question** and **epizeuxis**: “[w]hat’s that something less we maybe, maybe, can hope for in Vietnam?” seem to be at the center of the speech and are followed by an immediate answer: “(...) some kind of negotiations” [18PST].

At this point, the speech seems to reach its climax. Using a conditional sentence, the unwanted scenario of the peace negotiations is outlined: “[i]f you stop fighting, well, then we’ll give you all sorts of economic benefits” [19PST]. This is another **intertextuality**, indicating the inequality of the parties. To express his skepticism, Savio uses **antithesis**: “[t]hat’s O.K. in the huckster world in which we live, but it’s not O.K. in the kind of world in which I’d like to live.” Interestingly, the speaker’s aversion to unjust negotiations is strengthened by the **epithet** “huckster” and the **rhetorical question** posed at the end of the passage under discussion here: “[w]ell, now, what should we insist upon?” [19PST]. In the last section, the current situation on the campus is compared with American foreign policy. Whereas **anaphora**: “[t]he Administration appointed 10 out of 12 people to a committee which was supposed to resolve the dispute. Now, the Administration was one of the two parties to the dispute” [20PST] suggests the dominance of the university authorities and their traumatizing supremacy over students, the connection between both types of negotiations, namely international negotiations and those with the protesting students, draws a dramatic conclusion: “I tell you, if I were involved in such a revolution, I would rather die than get out under those circumstances” [21PSH]. This is **apostrophe** directed to the audience which is connected with **antithesis** used with an intention to place emphasis on both the determination and heroism of the speaker.

To sum up, the key message of the speech is concluded with the aim of maintaining the determination of the protesters and continuing resistance. Firstly, the speaker uses **intertextuality** in order to illustrate the atmosphere during protracted negotiations: “[i]f you stop fighting altogether, we’ll give you a good payoff” [22PST]. Secondly, a link between supporters of the government’s aggressive policy in Vietnam and the university authorities is established. Whereas both **antithesis** and **anadiplosis**: “I’m not talking about the reactionaries on the Board of Regents. I’m talking about some liberals, that’s what I’m talking about” place emphasis on a group which is believed to support hard-line politicians clandestinely, both **epizeuxis** and a **rhetorical**

question: “[w]ho is one, one of the architects of American foreign policy in Vietnam?” indicate the most important point, namely an extremely critical view which is addressed personally towards the American establishment (**exemplum**) [22PST].

This group, in turn, is **contrasted** with another, namely “(...) people, just little, ordinary people (...)” (**anadiplosis, epithets**) and the entire section is concluded through **epithets**: “(...) magnificent generalities and hypocritical clichés (...)” in order to describe the former group. Furthermore, both groups are presented as enemies, a strategy which suggests that further struggle is inevitable in order to gain equal rights in the process of decision-making. Moreover, the previous view is repeated once again in the sentence which follows: “[t]hose who want to make decisions by a kind of elite ‘know-how’ here at the University of California are the same ones who will refuse repeatedly to let people, just little ordinary people, take part in decision-making wherever there are decisions to be made” [22PST]. Similarly, **analogy** expressed through the phrase: “(...) are the same ones (...)” and **alliteration**: “(...) refuse repeatedly (...)” altogether illustrate a critical view of American elites and their decisions.

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, it may be seen that in this speech passages focused on traumatic events are dominant (15) over those focused on heroism (7). Whereas the vast majority of descriptions refers to political and social trauma (14) and only one of them to economic trauma, all identified references to heroism are embedded in its political and social context. Moreover, almost all the rhetorical devices are present in passages focused on trauma. This tendency is clearly seen in the case of epithets (12 in traumatic and only 3 in heroic contexts); rhetorical questions (7 to 3 respectively); and contrast (5 to 3 respectively). One exception is observed for anaphora which is used 3 times in a traumatic context and 5 times in a heroic context. The same proportion is seen in reference to explicitly expressed intertextuality, namely there are 4 examples of direct quotations in traumatic passages and only one in a heroic context. In general, whereas the painful and difficult experience of American youth seems to be dominant here, their heroic opposition to the war and political system is also highlighted in this speech. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude, one surprising fact is that even though the whole speech was delivered during the Vietnam Day Teach-In, its direct links to the Vietnam War are rather limited and remote. The speaker is unquestionably well-educated, and his frequent references to history give a solid background to the speech. Although the entire speech is mainly focused on the current situation on

the campus, the conflict between students and the university authorities is analyzed in particular. The speaker compares two political events in an interesting manner, namely the context of the Vietnam War and protests at the universities. All these above-mentioned components are expected to motivate protesters, an aim which seems to be the most important one for the speaker.

3.3.2. Martin Luther King Jr.: *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence* (4th April 1967) ⁶⁷

An outline of the context

The decade of the 1960s was a great period in the history of the American Civil Rights Movement. On the one hand, there were still many remnants of the system of maintaining white supremacy and the subordinated status of African Americans was unquestionably visible in almost every aspect of life. On the other hand, this above-mentioned system had already begun to erode, and certain signs of new developments appeared, including the fact that the voices of African Americans were becoming louder and their representatives now appeared in the public sphere. This was illustrated by the careers of Robert Clifton Weaver, who was appointed the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in President Johnson’s Administration, and Thurgood Marshall – the first African American to be appointed to the Supreme Court. However, it was Martin Luther King Jr. who came to be one of the most important Civil Rights activists and the “beacon of hope for millions” (Rumsfeld 2018: 4). Whereas his life was devoted to the struggle against discrimination of America’s Black minority, his aim was outlined in a prophetic view of a biblical equality between people which was proclaimed by Reverend King on several occasions. Although involved in both social and political matters and strong protests against the Vietnam War, the most relevant factor regarding the ethnic minority under discussion here was the fact that African Americans had displayed loyalty to their country and had not avoided conscription (Crawford 2019: 9). This led to a paradox between the struggle for equal status at home and the huge price which members of this minority were paying to defend their country abroad.

This link was clearly articulated by MLK in his famous address examined here. As expressed in the title, namely *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence*, the speech goes beyond

⁶⁷ King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1967) *Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence*. [Retrieved from: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm>. Date: 9-01-2020].

the issue of Vietnam and refers to numerous issues in regard to the living conditions of African Americans in the United States, which are often filled with moments of both trauma and heroism. The perspective of the speaker is primarily focused on civil rights, irrespective of the color of one's skin and nationality. This proves great humanity and understanding of basic human needs which, indeed, are also deeply embedded in American values. The speech, delivered on 4th April 1967 at Riverside Church in New York City, was a memorable one, not only due to its reference to the Vietnam War and current actions then being undertaken by the Civil Rights Movement. What is even more important, it is the fact that the speech summarized King's political and social career, just one year before his untimely death (Rumsfeld 2018: 4). Therefore, this is an example of both excellent rhetorical skills and a coherent political view integrated into one speech delivered by one of the most prominent Black leaders in the entire history of America.

An analysis of the speech

The speech consists of 6,758 words and 38,246 signs. Directly after delivering his welcoming remarks, MLK endeavors to establish a link between himself and the audience by quoting the opening line of the statement written by the organizing committee: “[a] time comes when silence is betrayal” which, according to the speaker, perfectly describes his own feelings [1PSH]⁶⁸. Both **metaphor** and **intertextuality** refer to heroism, a value which is expected to be important for the participants of the gathering. Moreover, interwoven images of trauma and heroism are depicted. Although the speaker mentions a long list of obstacles (**enumeration**), using **metaphors**: “(...) pressed by the demands of inner truth (...)” and “(...) on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty (...)” and “[n]or does the human spirit move without great difficulty (...)”, his personal view of the Vietnam War is expressed through the **epithet**: “dreadful conflict” [2PST]. In **contrast** to the above images of trauma, the speaker adds: “(...) but we must move on” [3PSH]. This statement places emphasis on a huge discrepancy between growing fear in American society and a sense of justice.

A similar image is recalled in the section which follows. Directly after two **metaphors**: “(...) to break the silence of the night (...)” and “(...) the calling to speak is often a vocation to agony (...)” [4PST], **contrast**, **anadiplosis**, **epistrophe** and **anaphora**: “(...) but we must speak.

⁶⁸ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from King (1967).

We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well (...)" altogether indicate a moral obligation imposed by the speaker on his audience to raise their voices against the war [5PSH]. Furthermore, a **contrast** based on two **epithets**, namely: "smooth patriotism" and "firm dissent" seems to polarize American society. Moreover, two further **metaphors**: "(...) a new spirit is rising (...)" and "(...) pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance (...)" are contrasted with **another**: "(...) for we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us" (**antithesis**) which, in turn, refers to a sense of overwhelming fear. This is also a reference to the will of African Americans who, despite being marginalized, are determined to continue their struggle for dignity.

After this, a pessimistic picture is drawn. Although the speaker refers to his own decision by using a beautiful **metaphor**: "I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart (...)" [5PSH], **alliteration**: "[a]t the heart of their concerns this query has often loomed large and loud (...)" suggests that there are many people who have lost hope in the results of the protests, and a series of **rhetorical questions**, expressed in a form of **intertextuality**, namely: "'[w]hy are you speaking about the war, Dr. King?' 'Why are you joining the voices of dissent?' 'Peace and civil rights don't mix' (...). 'Aren't you hurting the cause of your people?'" altogether illustrate their voices. Moreover, **enumeration**: "(...) the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling" places the emphasis on the differences between the speaker and his critics [6PST]. Finally, heroic intentions of Reverend King are expressed in the sentence: "I come to this platform tonight to make a passionate plea to my beloved nation." In particular, the **epithet** "passionate" points to the strong emotions of the speaker [7PSH].

In the following section, reference to social programs focused on achieving a broad-scale social transformation is made in order to illustrate the high hopes shared by African Americans. To exemplify these expectations, both the **metaphor** "shining moment" and the **simile**: "(...) as if a real promise of hope for the poor (...)" are mentioned. Moreover, the entire section is nostalgically concluded through **asyndeton**: "[t]here were experiments, hopes, new beginnings (...)" which expresses vain hopes of the poor [8PSH]. The above-mentioned initiatives are **contrasted** with the costs of the Vietnam War which are being paid by American society. To express his regret, the speaker uses **epithets**: "I watched this program broken and eviscerated (...)" and **simile**: "(...) as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war." Furthermore, a long list of

wasted resources is mentioned through **polysyndeton** and another **simile**: “(...) continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube” which describe the social and financial costs of the war [9PST]. Finally, the speaker **metaphorically** emphasizes his view of the Vietnam War as: “(...) an enemy of the poor (...)” and the main challenge for America to face [10PSH].

Additionally, the speaker portrays the consequences of the war for one social group, namely young African Americans (**exemplum**). Firstly, the devastating effects exerted on women, in particular when “(...) their sons and their brothers and their husbands (...)” (**polysyndeton**) are ordered to fight, are continuing through an image of the brotherhood of the American troops at war which, in turn, is compared with the practices of discrimination at home (**antithesis**). This passage, which refers to *logos*, is expressed with an intention to indicate a discrepancy between the status of African Americans as citizens of the United States, and as American soldiers in Vietnam. Secondly, the whole section is aptly concluded with the **epithet** “cruel irony” [11PST] which describes the whole situation of inequality and, in turn, is bitterly criticized by the speaker [12PSH].

In the section which follows, Reverend King describes his own experience as a missionary and a preacher. Whereas **enumeration**: “I have walked (...). I have told (...). I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion (...)” refers to his personal involvement in helping the poorest members of society, **asyndeton**: “(...) the desperate, rejected, and angry young men (...)” describes this group marginalized by society [13PSH]. To illustrate their doubts, **rhetorical questions** are posed, namely: “(...) they ask (...) what about Vietnam? They ask if our own nation wasn’t using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted” [14PST]. Furthermore, whereas **metaphor**: “(...) the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today (...)” describes the American government, **anaphora**: “[f]or the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence (...)” seems to be a moral justification for immediate action [15PSH]. Shortly after this, the intention of the speaker to invite his audience to engage in direct action is explained, recalling a slogan coined by the group of Black activists: “To save the soul of America” and quoting a passage from a poem written by James Mercer Langston Hughes (1901–1967), a bard of the Black community: “America never was America to me (...) America will be!” (**intertextuality, anaphora, diacope, antithesis**) [16PSH]. Referring to both texts, MLK’s own view is expressed through **personification** and **metaphor**: “(...) America would never be free or saved from itself until the descendants of slaves

were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear” which is a dramatic appeal to remove the burden of discrimination [16PSH].

An accurate diagnosis of American society is given in the following section in which America is viewed as a person (**personification**). Whereas two **metaphors**: “America’s soul becomes totally poisoned (...)” and **another** which is preceded by **epizeuxis**: “[s]o it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be – are – are led down the path of protest and dissent (...)” describe social disintegration, **alliteration**: “Vietnam (...) destroys the deepest hopes (...)” places emphasis on the traumatic experience of the activists who are working “(...) for the health of our land” (**metaphor**) [17PST]. In order to overcome the dominant feeling of pessimism, the passage which follows describes heroism. The speaker shows his devotion to the idea of peace by posing **rhetorical questions** in which Reverend King refers to two groups, namely these who follow in his footsteps and these who defend America’s involvement in the Vietnam War (**polysyndeton**), and appeals to both of them to find a peaceful solution. Moreover, the **metaphor** of a road and **pleonasm**: “(...) I share with all men the calling to be a son of the living God” seem to show the right direction toward national reconciliation which is viewed as going beyond “(...) race or nation or creed (...)” (**polysyndeton**) and which is given by God to his “(...) suffering and helpless and outcast children (...)” (**polysyndeton**) [18PSH]. To conclude this section, the speaker describes the poorest members of society. Whereas both **apostrophe** and **polysyndeton**: “[w]e are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation and for those it calls ‘enemy’ (...)” define those who are in need, the **metaphor** of universal brotherhood even strengthens the speaker’s message [19PSH].

In the following section, certain tragic events from the history of Vietnam are recalled. Firstly, **asyndeton**: “I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the ideologies of the Liberation Front, not of the junta in Saigon (...)” leads to **antithesis** and the powerful **metaphor**: “(...) but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war (...)” Moreover, the subsequent **metaphor** and **epithet**: “(...) to hear their broken cries” identify the real victims of the war [20WT]. Interestingly, the above view describes events which generate a traumatic experience for the whole nation under discussion here. Furthermore, the speaker analyzes the history of the Vietnam War. Although a strong reference to the *United States Declaration of Independence* had been present in the original manifesto creating the Vietnamese state, Americans subsequently acted against this newly formed state (**antithesis**). Whereas **anaphora**: “(...) we refused to recognize

them (...) we decided to support France (...)” puts the blame for the escalation of the war directly on the United States and France, both an **epithet** and **metaphor**: “(...) the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long” link political decisions with the collapse of morality in Western societies [21PST].

While referring to the birth of North Vietnam, the national character of its statehood is underlined through **diacope**: “(...) a revolutionary government (...) this new government (...)” and **contrast**: “(...) that had been established not by China (...) but by clearly indigenous forces (...)” Furthermore, not only **anaphora**: “[f]or nine years (...) we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French (...)” but also **contrast**: “(...) they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not” both describe American determination to continue the war. Interestingly, two **metaphors** and **contrast** are used to illustrate a difference in the policy of the two Western allies involved in the Vietnam War. Whereas, according to the speaker, France “(...) had lost the will,” Americans “(...) would be paying almost the full costs (...)” In the passage which follows, **antithesis**: “[a]fter the French were defeated, it looked as if independence and land reform would come again (...). But instead there came the United States (...)” suggests that the American government was determined to continue its policy, while both **pleonasm** and **epithet**: “(...) we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators, our chosen man, Premier Diem” indicate the solution offered by the Americans [21PST].

In particular, the cruelty of the former Vietnamese Prime Minister is illustrated through **metaphor** and **alliteration**: “Diem ruthlessly rooted out all opposition (...)” and the subsequent **enumeration**: “(...) supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification (...)” Moreover, the *coup d'état* in South Vietnam did not bring any improvement: “[w]hen Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change (...)” (**antithesis**) due to the fact that the South Vietnamese governments were “(...) singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support” (**asyndeton**) and only made “(...) promises of peace and democracy and land reform” (**alliteration, polysyndeton**) [21PST]. All of these above-mentioned rhetorical devices powerfully outline the cruelty experienced by the people of Vietnam in recent years.

Subsequently, the devastating consequences of the war are analyzed. Whereas **enumeration** expressed by the word “they” is repeated several times in order to show the suffering of the Vietnamese victims on “(...) the land of their fathers (...)” (**metaphor**), this view is

contrasted (**antithesis**) with the arrogance of the Americans, in particular, while the poverty experienced by Vietnamese children is expressed through both **asyndeton**: “(...) homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets (...)” and **simile**: “ (...) like animals.” Moreover, the subsequent **anaphora** and **enumeration**: “[t]hey see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers” go as far as to strengthen the image of a complete disaster [22WT].

To complete this traumatic picture, the consequences of social trauma are listed in a form of **rhetorical questions** in which the speaker seems to read the Vietnamese mind. Whereas **simile**: “(...) just as the Germans (...)” compares Americans to the Nazis, both **anaphora** and **epizeuxis**: “[w]e have destroyed (...) most cherished institutions (...). We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing – in the crushing of the nation’s only non-Communist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men” illustrate the broad range of destruction, which includes almost everything except: “(...) the only solid – solid physical foundations remaining (...) in the concrete of the concentration camps (...)” (**alliteration**, **epizeuxis**). In brief, the entire message indicates the overwhelming feeling of trauma which is felt by the Vietnamese [23PST].

In the section which follows, MLK outlines the victims of the Vietnam War. Firstly, a solemn declaration is issued: “[w]e must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers” in which both **diacope** and **metaphor** indicate an intention of being an advocate for the Vietnamese [24PSH]. Whereas a long list of **rhetorical questions** is compiled in order to explain how the war is viewed in the eyes of the Vietnamese, the following **intertextuality**, based on a slogan coined by the American propaganda machine, namely: “(...) aggression from the North (...),” as well as **diacope** and **metaphor**: “(...) when now we charge them with violence after the murderous reign of Diem and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land?” altogether describe typical methods employed by American propagandists and soldiers [25PST]. Additionally, **anaphora** together with **metaphor**: “[s]urely we must understand their feelings (...). Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts” are a bitter assessment of American foreign policy in Southeast Asia [26PSH]. Furthermore, MLK delivers another long series of **rhetorical questions**

and **paradoxes** with the aim of expressing the alleged accusations addressed to American policymakers by ordinary Vietnamese people [27PST]. To complete the picture of trauma, the destruction caused in North Vietnam is **metaphorically** expressed in the view: “(...) our bombs now pummel the land and our mines endanger the waterways (...)” [28WT]. In contrast, **anaphora** based on the word “they” describes North Vietnamese leaders, their experience and bravery while facing numerous obstacles [29PSH]. Finally, a bitter conclusion is drawn to depict the Vietnamese view of American foreign policy: “(...) they realized they had been betrayed again” [30PST].

In the section which follows, the policy of the government of the United States is criticized. Whereas **personification**: “Hanoi remembers (...)” and the subsequent **anaphora**: “(...) how our leaders refused to tell us the truth (...), how the president claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made” both reflect the Vietnamese viewpoint, the **contrast**: “(...) America has spoken of peace and built up its forces (...)” clearly reveals the real nature of the American establishment [31PST]. Moreover, war trauma is illustrated by **polysyndeton**: “(...) the bombing and shelling and mining (...),” together with **antithesis** and **epithets**: “(...) the most powerful nation of the world speaking of aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor, weak nation (...)” [32WT]. In this section, the social damage caused by the American involvement in the war is analyzed, in particular, the impact it has on both societies, namely American and Vietnamese. Whereas **anaphora**: “[t]hey must know (...)” points to the cynicism of the American establishment, both **metaphor** and **antithesis**: “(...) we are on the side of the wealthy, and the secure, while we create a hell for the poor” one more time indicate the cruelty of American foreign policy [33WT].

The speaker is indeed bitterly critical towards the above-mentioned strategy and shows his great opposition to it. Whereas **apostrophe**: “[w]e must stop now” calls for an immediate action, **anaphora**: “I speak as a child of God (...). I speak for those whose land is being laid waste (...). I speak of the – for the poor of America (...). I speak as a citizen of the world (...). I speak as one who loves America (...)” **enumerates** various groups traumatized by the war. Furthermore, whereas two powerful **metaphors**: “(...) a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam” link Reverend King with Christian values, another **metaphor**, along with **polysyndeton** and **alliteration**, refer to the victims: “(...) who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam” and indicate their great suffering. Moreover, **anadiplosis**, **antithesis** and **epistrophe**: “(...) as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands against the path we have taken” and “(...) the great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to

stop it must be ours” place emphasis on the fact that the speaker’s appeal is addressed to the entire world [34PSH].

Directly afterwards, the speaker quotes a passage written by an anonymous Buddhist leader (**intertextuality**). In this text **metaphor** and **diacope**: “[e]ach day the war goes on the hatred increases in the heart of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instinct” are followed by **alliteration** and **antithesis**: “(...) the Americans who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat” and **diacope**, **enumeration** and **contrast**: “[t]he image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom, and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism,” altogether seeming to prove that the Vietnam War has disastrous consequences for the international position of the United States [35PST].

Whereas **diacope**: “[i]f we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world (...)” shows a consensus regarding the tragic consequences of the war, the possible repercussions for American foreign policy are expressed blending **metaphor** with **asyndeton**: “(...) the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horrible, clumsy, and deadly game we have decided to play” [35PST]. To conclude this passage, another **metaphor**: “[t]he world now demands the maturity of America (...)” and the following **enumeration** of the defaults committed by the American policymakers illustrate the price paid by Americans for the hypocrisy of the government. Finally, Reverend King proceeds to his proposal which is intended to overcome all of these above-mentioned difficulties. Interestingly, two **epithets** “long” and “difficult,” as well as the **metaphor** of “nightmarish conflict,” suggest that the process of healing is extremely difficult [36PSH].

The far-reaching aims of the speaker are explained in another long passage. Although **epizeuxis** (used twice): “[p]art of our ongoing commitment (...)” and “meanwhile” places emphasis on the urgent need for ending the war, **anaphora**: “(...) we must make what reparations we can (...). We must provide the medical aid (...). We must continue to raise our voices and our lives (...). We must be prepared to match actions with words (...) we must clarify (...) our nation’s role in Vietnam (...)” lists particular initiatives undertaken in order to accomplish this heroic plan. Moreover, a number of **epithets** and **metaphors** describe the tragic situation of the victims, the cruelty of the war, as well as opposition to the government, including: “(...) medical aid (...) is badly needed (...)” and “(...) we urge our government to disengage (...) from a disgraceful

commitment (...)” together with “(...) the American course in Vietnam is a dishonorable and unjust one.” Finally, **contrast** and **metaphor** used several times: “[t]hese are the times for real choices and not false ones (...) our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly (...) but we must all protest” are intended to encourage the audience to take action [37PSH].

In the subsequent passage of his speech, MLK quotes the words of President Kennedy which were uttered several years before: “[t]hose who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.” This is a direct **intertextuality** which also contains an **antithesis** based on different meaning of two terms, namely “peaceful revolution” and “violent revolution.” Furthermore, MLK identifies these who are determined to defend: “(...) the privileges and the pleasures (...)” (**alliteration**), namely the American establishment [38PST]. In contrast to the above-mentioned group, Reverend King presents himself as a leader of a genuinely peaceful movement. His view is expressed using the **metaphor** of a “revolution of values” and the following **anaphora** and **epizeuxis**: “[w]e must rapidly begin... we must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society” which urge immediate action [39PSH]. To conclude this passage, a tragic image of social trauma is depicted once again. To achieve this goal, **polysyndeton**: “(...) machines and computers, profit motives and property rights (...)” is contrasted (**antithesis**) with an **asyndeton**: “(...) people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism (...)” [40PST], with the entire sentence seeming to illustrate how devastating a materialistic approach is for spiritual values. This sentence is not only a beautiful example of King’s rhetoric, but also a desperate appeal to unite and struggle against the damaging effects of consumerism.

In the following passages, an attempt to explain the meaning of “the true revolution of values” (**metaphor, anaphora**) is undertaken. Firstly, a strong link with biblical **metaphors** is established, including images of “the Good Samaritan,” “the (...) Jericho Road” and a more general **metaphor** of a “life’s highway” on which “(...) men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed (...)” (**pleonasm**), and yet **another** describing compassion which is “(...) more than flinging a coin to a beggar” and an “(...) edifice which produces beggars (...)” [41PSH]. These images are intended not only to embed the whole speech in the frameworks of Christianity, but are also remarkable references to biblical **intertextuality**. Furthermore, the speaker describes his view of the peaceful revolution as if it had human features: “[t]he true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, ‘This way of settling differences is not just’” (**personification**).

Directly afterwards, MLK encourages his audience to “(...) look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth” (**contrast**), to “(...) look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West” (**alliteration**) in “(...) Asia, Africa, and South America (...)” (**enumeration**), and to actively oppose to any forms of exploitation, repeating: “[t]his is not just” (**intertextuality, epistrophe**) [41PSH]. Furthermore, particular attention is given to selected forms of cruelty and exploitation, **enumerating** powerful **metaphors** and **epithets**: “(...) burning human beings with napalm (...), filling our nation’s homes with orphans and widows (...), injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane (...), sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged (...)” which are contrasted (**antithesis**) with the fruit of real values: “(...) wisdom, justice, and love” [41PSH]. Finally, the whole passage is rather pessimistically concluded, containing **personification**: “[a] nation (...)” together with **diacope**: “(...) year after year (...)” which are connected with another **alliteration** and **contrast**: “(...) spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift (...)” and the **metaphor**: “(...) is approaching spiritual death” in order to show the catastrophic consequences of the current policy [42PST].

Reaching the climax of the speech, MLK launches his political manifesto. Whereas **apostrophe**: “[l]et us not join those who shout war (...)” indicates pacifism, two **epithets**: “[t]hese are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness” describe a desired approach to face the problems of the modern world. Furthermore, **anaphora**: “[w]e must (...)” and the following **contrast**: “(...) not engage in a negative anticommunism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy (...)” together with another two **metaphors** and **enumeration**: “(...) take offensive action in behalf of justice” and “(...) remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity, and injustice, which are the fertile soil in which the seed of communism grows and develops” altogether show a new strategy which is expected to heal the wounds of war [43PSH]. In the following sentence, **metaphor**: “(...) men are revolting (...) out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born” and a **pleonasm**: “[t]he shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before” both illustrate the speaker’s hope for a new beginning. This view is linked (**intertextuality**) with the famous biblical **metaphor**: “[t]he people who sat in darkness have seen a great light” [43PSH]. All these above-mentioned components encourage the audience to oppose the policy of the establishment.

Subsequently, using **enumeration**: “(...) comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice (...),” the most serious weaknesses of the Western world are listed. Similarly, a **paradox** of modern societies is presented, namely the fact that although they have inspired numerous revolutions in the past, for the time being this “(...) revolutionary spirit of the modern world (...)” (**metaphor**) has disappeared [44PST]. In contrast, a heroic proposal which contains **alliteration**: “(...) recapture the revolutionary spirit (...)” and **asyndeton**: “(...) and go out (...) declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism” is given [45PSH]. Moreover, **intertextuality** in a form of **polysyndeton**: “(...) every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain” shows a link between MLK’s political radicalism and his religious fervor. In particular, emphasis is placed on loyalty which is viewed as: “(...) ecumenical rather than sectional” (**contrast**). In the following sentence, **metaphor**: “[t]his call for a worldwide fellowship (...)” indicates a great force “(...) that lifts neighborly concern beyond one’s tribe, race, class, and nation (...)” (**asyndeton**) and is “(...) a call for an all-embracing – embracing and unconditional love for all mankind” (**epizeuxis**). This motif of a universal love is more deeply analyzed in the sentence which follows in which, in an attempt to explain an interconnection between loyalty and universal love, the speaker states while using **epizeuxis**: “[t]his oft misunderstood, this oft misinterpreted concept (...)” and accuses his opponents of being “(...) the Nietzsches of the world (...)” (**metaphor**), who perceive love as a “(...) weak and cowardly force (...)” (**epithets**), while, according to the speaker, this feeling “(...) has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man” (**antithesis**) [45PSH].

Directly afterwards, whereas a common belief in eternal life is expressed using **enumeration** and **epizeuxis**: “Hindu–Muslim–Christian–Jewish–Buddhist belief about the ultimate – ultimate reality (...),” in the subsequent biblical **intertextuality**: “[l]et us love one another, for love is God. And every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love” and **another** one: “[i]f we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us” the Christian tradition is reflected. Both **apostrophes** taken from the Bible identify love with God (**metaphor**) and seem to call the audience to become an image of God (**metaphor**). Finally, the whole passage under discussion here is summarized using **apostrophe**: “[l]et us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day” which places emphasis on Reverend King’s unshakable faith [46PSH].

At this point, the speech seems to reach its climax. A number of **metaphors** are used, including: “(...) to worship the god of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation” as well as “[t]he oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever–rising tides of hate” and “(...) history is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self–defeating path of hate” in order to illustrate the traumatic consequences of being deprived of love in one’s relationships with other people [47PST]. In contrast, a view expressed by the historian Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889–1975) is put forward (**intertextuality**). In the passage under discussion here, both **antithesis** and **diacope metaphorically** underline that “[l]ove is the ultimate force that makes for the saving choice of life and good against the damning choice of death and evil. Therefore the first hope in our inventory must be the hope that love is going to have the last word” [48PSH]. Finally, in the last section, reference to the motif of the transience of life is summoned:

[i]n this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us standing bare, naked, and dejected with a lost opportunity. The tide in the affairs of men does not remain at flood – it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is adamant to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words, “Too late.” There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. [49PST]

In the above statement, numerous **metaphors** illustrate the misery of human life. Additionally, **enumeration**: “(...) bare, naked, and dejected (...)” indicates its fragility and the **contrast** which follows: “[t]he tide (...) does not remain at flood – it ebbs,” as well as **diacope**: “[w]e may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is adamant to every plea and rushes on” place emphasis on the shortage of life. All these pessimistic reflections are summarized (**intertextuality**) referring to the view expressed by Omar Khayyam (1048–1131), a Persian scholar, who stated: “[t]he moving finger writes, and having writ moves on” which is another **metaphor** reflecting on the transience of life [49PST].

In his final words, the speaker addresses himself directly to his audience: “[w]e still have a choice today (...)” (**apostrophe**) and points to **antithesis**: “(...) nonviolent coexistence or violent co–annihilation” which represent two available strategies. Furthermore, **anaphora**: “[w]e must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice

(...)” urges the audience to take immediate action and is developed in a subsequent **epizeuxis**: “(...) throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors” in order to indicate a close link between international and domestic affairs [50PSH]. In contrast, both **enumeration** and the **metaphor** of being “(...) dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time (...)” lead to a series of **contrasts**: “(...) reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight,” all of which exemplify those who remain passive and indecisive [51PST].

In summarizing the entire speech, an appeal is issued: “[n]ow let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves (...)” (**anaphora**) in order to take up: “(...) the long and bitter, but beautiful struggle for a new world” (**contrast**), an obligation which is a moral duty of the “Sons of God” (**metaphor**) due to the fact that “(...) our brothers wait eagerly for our response” (**metaphor, diacope**). Moreover, a long list of **rhetorical questions** is posed in which a pivotal role is given not to the message of war, which is illustrated using a **metaphor**: “(...) the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men (...),” but to the message “(...) of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause (...)” (**antithesis, enumeration**). Directly afterwards, a call for an action is reissued: “[t]he choice is ours and (...) we must choose in this crucial moment of human history” (**apostrophe**).

Simultaneously, a passage taken from the poem written by James Russell Lowell (1819–1891) is quoted (**intertextuality**). In this poem, numerous rhetorical devices are present, including **contrast**: “(...) for the good or evil side (...),” **alliteration**: “(...) the bloom or bright (...),” **anaphora**: “[t]hough the cause of evil prosper (...). Though her portions be the scaffold (...)” and **metaphors**: “[y]et that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown / Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watching above his own” which intensify the impact of the message conveyed by Reverend King. To close the speech, MLK once again demonstrates his skill as a public speaker. Among numerous rhetorical devices, one may identify: **anaphora**: “[a]nd if we will only make the right choice (...). If we will make the right choice (...),” **metaphors**: “(...) to transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of peace (...)” and “(...) to transform the jangling discords of our world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood,” together with **hyperbole**: “(...) we will be able to speed up the day, all over America and all over the world (...)” and a reference to the Bible: “(...) justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty

stream” (**intertextuality, simile**) all of which leave the audience full of hope and motivated to act [52PSH].

Following the results of a quantitative analysis of the entire speech, it is observed that both references to trauma and heroism are numerous and well-balanced (27 to 26 respectively). The difference is in proportion between their particular types. Whereas links to political and social trauma are dominant (21) over certain examples of war (5) and economic trauma (1), this number is different in case of heroism, in which all identified examples are embedded in a political and social context. This proves that for MLK social problems, in particular the issue of inequality, seem to be the most important. Moreover, metaphors are the most frequently used rhetorical devices in both traumatic (38) and heroic contexts (47) and dominate over rhetorical questions (21 to 8 respectively), and contrast (11 to 9 respectively). A slightly different proportion is seen in the case of epithets, including 10 in passages describing trauma and 15 which are focused on heroism. Additionally, MLK uses here only 5 references to explicitly expressed intertextuality in traumatic context, 10 in descriptions of heroism, and usually invokes famous quotations taken from the Bible and speeches of ordinary people. This suggests that one of the most important aims of the speaker is to inspire his audience to continue their heroic struggle for dignity on the basis of both religious and social sources of inspiration. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

The entire speech is undeniably one of the greatest examples of Reverend King’s public speaking performances. Although a large number of rhetorical devices makes this speech both emotive and powerful, the topic under discussion here is unquestionably controversial as it unmasks the hypocrisy of American policymakers. The author refers to a two-faced American discourse on democracy in order to show that while the language of patriotism is officially used, the problem of inequality and discrimination is deeply embedded in the American mentality and painfully experienced, in particular, by African Americans. Although the Vietnam War is definitely heavily criticized in the speech, Reverend King is also full of hope in portraying a view based on harmony and co-existence. His language, while often containing numerous traumatic descriptions, conveys a beautiful message of hope and mutual understanding based directly on the Bible and selected masterpieces of literature and poetry. In general, it is safe to state that King’s unique style unquestionably exert great influence on the audience and encourage everyone to be heroic in one’s life.

3.3.3. Shirley Anita Chisholm: *Remarks on an Appraisal of the Conflict in Vietnam* (26th March 1969) ⁶⁹

An outline of the context

Shirley Anita Chisholm was without doubt an outstanding American leader. She was born in 1924, as the oldest daughter of immigrants from Barbados. As she proved in her life, due to her numerous talents, determination, as well as her life motto: “unbought and unbosser,” she gained both a top political position and an iconic status among African Americans and female activists (Guild 2009: 254). One of the greatest moments in her political career was in 1968, when she became the first Black woman elected to the House of Representatives (Raatma 2010: 5). This experience was interestingly portrayed by Chisholm herself ([1970] 2010: 19), who stated: “[t]here are 435 members of the House of Representatives and 417 are white males. Ten of the others are women and nine are black. I belong to both of these minorities (...). I was the first American citizen to be elected to Congress in spite of the double drawbacks of being female and having skin darkened by melanin.” Interestingly, this view indicates two main aims towards which Chisholm was directed during her political career, namely the issue of equal rights for both African Americans and women and the policy of improving economic conditions of the poorest in society.

Although in 1969 Chisholm was a newly elected congresswoman, she soon decided to take on much greater challenge in her political life, namely an attempt to obtain the Democratic nomination in a presidential race. Although this attempt was unsuccessful, with the nomination in the campaign in 1972 being given to Senator George Stanley McGovern (1922–2012), her active involvement in the problems encountered by minorities was marked by both unprecedented support given to her by the Black Panther Party and the solidarity shown by women who belonged to NOW, an organization of which Congresswomen Chisholm was also an active member (Guild 2009: 263–264). In the analyzed speech both the above-mentioned issues are reflected. On the one hand, the speaker emphasizes her strong opposition to the governmental policy aimed at increasing military budget, while on the other hand, she condemns the Vietnam War and the price which is being paid

⁶⁹ Chisholm, Shirley Anita (1969) *Remarks on an Appraisal of the Conflict in Vietnam*. [Retrieved from: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2020/03/26/shirley_chisholm_fund_childrens_welfare_not_war_in_vietnam_142768.html. Date: 9–01–2020].

by the poorest groups within American society. Whereas both trauma and heroism are present in the speech, the unique rhetorical talent of this amazing women may also be viewed in the text analyzed here.

An analysis of the speech

The speech consists of 1,305 words and 7,420 signs. The speaker begins with **antithesis**: “(...) on the same day President Nixon announced he had decided the United States will not be safe unless we start to build a defense system against missiles, the Head Start program in the District of Columbia was cut back for the lack of money” which illustrates two political decisions undertaken by President Nixon, namely to increase military expenditures and, simultaneously, to decrease the amount of money directed to social programs. Moreover, in the same passage, the speaker, “[a]s a teacher, and as a woman (...)” (**polysyndeton**), heavily criticizes the enormous cost of military equipment which is described, using **enumeration** and **epithets**, as being: “(...) elaborate, unnecessary and impractical (...)” [1PST] ⁷⁰. This view introduces a **contrast** between these two budget decisions. After this, the speaker refers to her illusive hopes from the beginning of Richard Nixon presidency, stating: “(...) our country would benefit from the fresh perspectives, the new ideas, the different priorities of a leader (...)” (**asyndeton**). To explain her view, two of Nixon’s previous statements are mentioned (**intertextuality**) in which the President declared his determination to struggle against both illiteracy and poverty among Americans and to reduce “(...) the tensions that tear them apart” (**alliteration**) [2PSH].

In **contrast**, recent political decisions are depicted as being focused on the continuation of the war, not social progress. To support this view, two further statements of the members of the Nixon’s administration, namely Maurice Hubert Stans (1908–1998) and Robert Hutchinson Finch (1925–1995) are recalled (**intertextuality**), both of them unanimously suggesting a withdrawal of all previous declarations due to a shortage of funds. Interestingly, the speaker uses **eponym** “the Hill” when referring the seat of the United States Congress, namely Capitol Hill. Moreover, emphasis is placed on Finch’s **understatement** that “(...) unfortunately, we can’t ‘afford’ (...)” which reflects a crisis in public finances and the real priorities of the government [3ET].

⁷⁰ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Chisholm (1969).

Subsequently, another statement delivered by Edith Starrett Green (1910–1987), a congresswoman from Oregon, is mentioned (**intertextuality**). This passage is based on **rhetorical questions** and **antithesis**: “(...) can we wait to settle the war? Shouldn’t it be the other way around? Unless we can meet the crisis in education, we really can’t afford the war” which show the personal heroism of both the speaker and the congresswomen under discussion here and their determination to face the crisis in education. Moreover, **anaphora**: “(...) the crisis we have in education, and the crisis we have in our cities (...)” indicates a broad range of social problems [4PSH]. Yet again, another representative of the Nixon administration is mentioned, namely Secretary of Defense Melvin Robert Laird (1922–2016). In this passage, the **eponym** “Capitol Hill” is used again, as well as a reference to his statement (**intertextuality**). Whereas the style of the speech delivered by the Secretary of Defense is viewed as similar to the previous parliamentary debates from the past, when the “(...) former secretary of state was defending the former politics (...)” (**diacope**), a declaration to continue the Vietnam War is heavily criticized using the **epithet**: “(...) this tragic war we have blundered into” together with an **epizeuxis**: “[t]wo more years, two more years (...)”

In the following passage, a long list of traumatic encounters is mentioned using both **anaphora** and **enumeration**: “(...) two more years of hunger for Americans, of death for our best young men (...). Two more years of high taxes (...). Two more years of too little being done (...). Two more years of fantastic waste in the Defense Department (...)” [5PST, ET]. Similarly, in the same passage, both **alliteration** and **metaphor**: “(...) children here at home suffering the lifelong handicap of not having a good education (...)” together with another **metaphor**: “(...) a cancerous growth of a Defense Department budget (...)” and **one more** blended with **enumeration**: “(...) our great enemies – poverty, prejudice and neglect (...)” all show certain components of economic trauma. This gloomy picture is summarized in the following **metaphor**: “(...) penny–pinching on social programs” which illustrates the devastating consequences of prioritizing military programs [5PST, ET]. This above–mentioned dramatic state of affairs is strongly criticized by the speaker while stating: “[o]ur country cannot survive two more years (...). It must stop – this year – now” (**personification**, **pleonasm**). Moreover, a list of resources which are being wasted abroad, including: “(...) the lives, the money, the energy (...)” (**asyndeton**), is **contrasted** with their shortage “(...) here, in our cities, in our schools” (**pleonasm**) [6PSH, EH]. Furthermore, a reference to the political heroism of the speaker is mentioned: “I wonder whether we cannot reverse our whole approach to spending,” a view which is developed in the subsequent section [7EH].

In the following passage, the speaker analyzes the consequences of the previous political decisions which led to the current economic crisis. Whereas the **metaphor** “blank check” underlines unlimited resources given to the “military–industrial complex” by the government, **asyndeton**: “(...) billions are spent, and many times they are found to be impractical, inefficient, unsatisfactory, even worthless,” and both **rhetorical questions** and **epistrophe**: “[w]hat do we do then? We spend more money on them. But with social programs, what do we do?” indicate a monumental scale of wastefulness [8ET]. Moreover, the passage under discussion here is illustrated by two **exempla**. The first evaluates the reasons behind the failure of the Job Corps program, suggesting that if it had been a military venture, its access to resources and funds would be unlimited, a statement which is strengthened by both **personification** and **metaphor**: “(...) Congress would have been ready to pour more billions (...)” This is also **antithesis** which compares a disproportion between the amount of funds transferred to social and military programs.

Similarly, another organization focused on promoting equal rights of African Americans, namely the Pride Inc., is mentioned. This group is characterized in an extremely positive manner, using **epithets**: “(...) vigorous, successful black organization (...),” which is contrasted with certain political actions intended to discredit its credibility. Therefore, the speaker states, using an **epithet**, that this group “(...) has been ruthlessly attacked (...)” A **contrast** between the total costs incurred to inspect the financial reports of Pride Inc. only to uncover minor irregularities show irrationality of the conducted audit and the range of racial biases. These two examples are **contrasted** with the military spending of the Department of Defense. Interestingly, the speaker poses a **rhetorical question**: “(...) how many auditors and investigators were checking into their negotiated contracts?” and immediately answers: “five” – which is a **paradox** and suggests that military spending is beyond any institutional control [8ET].

Directly afterwards, an image of the American society is analyzed, in particular certain positive stereotypes are mentioned. Firstly, **anaphora** and **epizeuxis**: “[w]e believe that we are the good guys (...)” indicate the positive image of the United States which is shared by the majority of Americans. This is also a tool used to establish a direct link between the speaker and her audience (**apostrophe**) [9PSH]. Furthermore, **enumeration**: “(...) in Vietnam, in Latin America (...) at home” suggests that the above–mentioned positive view also is shared by the entire world. This, in turn, is compared with hard evidence delivered by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (**intertextuality**), chaired by Otto Kerner Jr. (1908–1976), which showed the scale of

racial discrimination in America. Whereas the **metaphor** of America as a place where “(...) prejudice and hatred built the nation’s slums (...)” is sadly used, it leads to a **contrast**: “(...) white America would not believe it. But it is true” and to a conclusion that “[u]nless we start to fight, and defeat, the enemies of poverty and racism in our own county and make our talk of equality and opportunity ring true, we are exposed as hypocrites in the eyes of the world when we talk about making other people free” [10PST]. This passage, based on **metaphors** and **polysyndeton**, point out both the political and social obstacles encountered by African Americans. Moreover, unwise decisions undertaken by the presidential administration are critically assessed by the speaker who states: “I am deeply disappointed (...)” (**alliteration**) while a list of political mistakes is expressed through the accumulation of **epizeuxis**, **enumeration** and **diacope**: “(...) to buy more and more and more weapons of war, to return to the era of the Cold War, to ignore the war we must fight here – the war which is not optional” [11ET].

In the final section of the speech, Congresswoman Chisholm points to heroism. Whereas **anaphora** “we,” which stands for the United States Congress, indicates the bearers of responsibility, the demands commonly issued by Americans: “[e]nd this war. Stop the waste. Stop the killing. Do something for our own people first” are **enumerated** and a presidential declaration to “(...) launch the new approaches (...)” (**intertextuality**) is recalled in order to show a desirable political direction. Moreover, both **asyndeton** and **epithets**: “[o]ur children, our jobless men, our deprived, rejected and starving fellow citizens must come first” indicate the key priorities which should be considered by the government [12PSH].

In the final passage, the speaker points to her great personal heroism while discussing the budget objectives. Firstly, **diacope**: “I intend to vote ‘no’ on every money bill that comes to the floor of this House that provides any funds for the Department of Defense. Any bill whatsoever (...)” underlines her total opposition to the proposed military spending. Whereas **anaphora**, **metaphors** and **epithet**: “(...) until the time comes when our values and priorities have been turned right side up again, until the monstrous waste and the shocking profits in the defense budget have been eliminated (...)” illustrate the consequences of an unlimited increase in the military budget, **asyndeton**: “(...) and our country starts to use its strength, its tremendous resources (...)” shows the expected directions of changes. Finally, both **alliteration** and **antithesis**: “(...) for people and peace, not for profits and war” determine the aims of a proposed policy [13EH]. Furthermore, the above-presented view is compared with an observation of Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933), a former

president of the United States, who coined the slogan that “the business of America is business” [14ET]. This is **intertextuality** and **diacope** used in order to express a radical critique addressed towards the priorities of the current administration. In her final words, the speaker appeals for a shift in the planned budget expenditures and the **apostrophe**: “(...) gentlemen, the business of America is war and it is time for a change” is intended to directly appeal to her audience [15EH].

Following the results of a quantitative analysis of this speech, the proportion between traumatic and heroic passages seems to be well-balanced (8 to 9 respectively). Similarly, whereas descriptions of trauma are focused on economic (5), and political and social trauma (3), passages describing heroism illustrate its political and social (5) rather than economic dimensions (4). This proves that the speaker pays greater attention to the economic problems of society, while direct references to the Vietnam War are not explicitly present in the speech analyzed here. Moreover, the most frequently used rhetorical devices are metaphors (10 in descriptions of trauma and 2 in descriptions of heroism) and epithets (8 to 5 respectively). While references to intertextuality directly expressed are also well-balanced (4 in descriptions of trauma in contrast to 5 in descriptions of heroism), the vast majority of these quotes are borrowed from previous parliamentary orators. This indicates the character of the speech, which is strongly embedded in a political and economic context. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude, it is worth noting that there are two factors which contribute to the final composition of this speech. Firstly, this is a speech delivered by a politician during a fierce debate in the United States Congress. Secondly, what seems to be equally important, the speaker is a woman of African American origin. These two components play their role in selecting arguments and displaying positions taken by the speaker. On the one hand, the speech is deeply embedded in the American political discourse and is addressed to both the members of the Congress and, broadly speaking, to various progressive groups in American society. On the other hand, the main topic revolves around the costs of the Vietnam War which are contrasted with underfunding social programs. These two main points seem to reflect, at least to a degree, two main concerns expressed by certain minority groups, namely African Americans and women.

3.3.4. John Forbes Kerry: *Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (22nd April 1971)* ⁷¹

An outline of the context

The key role of the broadcast media, in particular television, in shaping public opinion is undoubtedly pivotal in American political culture, with some authors defining it as a contemporary iconoclasm (Stallabrass 2020: 4). Not surprisingly, both live broadcasts and given testimonies were also vital in provoking antiwar resistance in different groups of American society during the period of the Vietnam War. This process intensified after revealing information on the Mỹ Lai massacre (16th March 1968) during which American soldiers executed approximately five hundred Vietnamese peasants while falsely accusing them of collaboration with the *Việt Cộng* (Gruszczuk 2017: 142–143). One of the consequences of this crime was the *Winter Soldier Investigation*, a gathering organized by leaders of the antiwar opposition in order to document crimes committed by American soldiers in Vietnam, and intended to record testimonies of their cruelty during the war. Originally held in Detroit, Michigan, in January 1971, it soon became a major public issue. Importantly, as a result of the pressure caused by the media campaign, these unprecedented accusations against American senior officers drew a reaction from the government, with the United States Senate Foreign Relation Committee commencing its investigations.

One of the greatest antiwar testimonies was delivered by John Forbes Kerry on 22nd April 1971. This veteran of the Vietnam War is admired by many as a man of honor and, simultaneously, severely attacked by others as a man “(...) who filled false operating reports, who faked a Purple Heart, and who took a fast past through the combat zone” (O’Neill 2004: 12). These contradictory views not only indicate a dramatic divergence of opinions in regard to Lieutenant Kerry as a soldier, but also they illustrate great emotional charge of the public debate on the Vietnam War which has continued even up to the present day. With regard to the speech under discussion here, it is often viewed as being extremely controversial and undermining traditional respect given to American soldiers, as well as the long-lasting tradition of “American Messianism,” namely a civilizing mission to defend the world against barbarianism (Bossie 2003: 50). In contrast to these cultural

⁷¹ Kerry, John Forbes (1971) *Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee*. [Retrieved from: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/johnkerrysenateforeignrelationsvietnamwar.htm>. Date: 9–01–2020].

principles, the entire speech is a great antiwar manifesto filled with examples of both overwhelming trauma and individual heroism.

On the one hand, the cruelties of the war are depicted in order to support a view that “(...) the killing of civilians at My Lai was not an aberration but a direct result of conduct fostered by American military policy in Vietnam” (Scott 1993: 18). On the other hand, certain examples of individual heroism and intense suffering of both militants and civilians are illustrated. Although the speech was addressed to the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Kerry was aware that his target group was much broader and also included numerous veterans, antiwar activists, as well as ordinary citizens, as the event was broadcast live (Bossie 2003: 50). In other words, the speaker was aware that the speech was addressed not only to a limited group of politicians, but rather to all Americans. This, in turn, allowed him to see his speech as a great manifesto of freedom against a two-faced policy carried out by the American establishment.

An analysis of the speech

The speech consists of 3,119 words and 17,105 signs. The speaker seems to be aware of the great importance of his words both as a citizen of the United States and as a soldier who served in Vietnam. This is underlined using **enumeration**: “I would like to say for the record that – and also for the men behind me (...)” and points to the main purpose of the testimony which is to describe the cruelty of the war as viewed by veterans and brave soldiers “(...) who are also wearing the uniform and their medals (...)” (**pleonasm**). Moreover, in the same passage, the above-mentioned reference to war veterans is repeated using both **antithesis** and **anaphora**: “I’m not here as John Kerry. I’m here as one member of a group of 1000, which is a small representation of a very much larger group of veterans in this country” [IPSH]⁷². This highly impactful introduction shows that the testimony which follows is broadly supported by numerous veterans.

Subsequently, the brutality of the Vietnam War is depicted. Whereas **antithesis**: “[t]hese were not isolated incidents but crimes committed on a day-to-day basis (...)” indicates a broad range of war crimes, two groups of **epithets**, namely those praising “honorably discharged” and “highly decorated” veterans and their testimonies, and another one, intended to sketch out “the absolute horror” of the Vietnam War, both illustrate two opposing views on the role of American

⁷² Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Kerry (1971).

soldiers in this conflict [2WT]. Moreover, a moral obligation to reveal traumas, which was deeply embedded in the *psyche* of soldiers, is expressed through **anadiplosis** and **personification**: “[b]ut they did. They relived (...) what this country, in a sense, made them do.” Directly afterwards, a dramatic description of the war crimes is listed in a form of an **asyndeton**:

(...) they had personally raped, cut off ears, cut off heads, taped wires from portable telephones to human genitals and turned up the power, cut off limbs, blown up bodies, randomly shot at civilians, razed villages in the fashion reminiscent of Genghis Khan, shot cattle and dogs for fun, poisoned food stocks, and generally ravaged the countryside of South Vietnam in addition to the normal ravage of war and the normal and very particular ravaging which is done by the applied bombing power of this country [2WT].

In the above passage, traumatic images of the war are accumulated, a rhetorical strategy introduced in order to strengthen the message of the speech. Whereas a comparison to Genghis Khan (1158–1227) (**simile**) revives a traumatic memory of the war, **diacope** “(...) cut off ears, cut off heads (...)” and **alliteration** “(...) blown up bodies (...)” even intensify the feeling of cruelty. The entire passage under discussion here is concluded using **intertextuality** in order to explain the origin of the term chosen used by the veterans to describe themselves, namely “Winter Soldier,” which was originally coined by Thomas Paine (1737–1809), an eighteenth century American political activist [2WT]. Furthermore, this political **metaphor** is recalled to set the stereotypical image of American soldiers and their real experiences in opposition. To achieve this goal, both **anaphora** and **asyndeton**: “[w]e could come back to this country; and we could be quiet; we could hold our silence; we could not tell what went on in Vietnam” refer to a long list of cultural constraints imposed on soldiers by the government and society which are then contrasted with a passage containing **antithesis**, **epistrophe** and **asyndeton**: “[b]ut we feel because of what threatens this country, the fact that the crimes threaten it, not reds, not redcoats but the crimes which we’re committing are what threaten it; and we have to speak out” which show great heroism of those veterans who are determined to give their testimonies [3PSH].

In the following passage, the view of the absurd nature of the Vietnam War is expressed. While speaking about American involvement in the war, the speaker refers to **personification**: “[t]he country doesn’t know it yet (...)” and **metaphor**, **epizeuxis** and **anaphora**: “(...) but it’s created a monster, a monster in a form of millions of men who have been taught to deal and to trade

in violence, and who are given the chance to die (...)” as well as another **metaphor**: “(...) for the biggest nothing in history” and **diacope**: “(...) who have returned with a sense of anger and a sense of betrayal which no one has yet grasped” in order to illustrate the devastating effects of the war on both American society and veterans themselves [4PST, WT]. In particular, on behalf of these who returned from Vietnam, the speaker expresses in an abrasive manner their exasperation of being exploited by the government [5PST]. Moreover, by reference to the words spoken by Vice President Spiro Theodore Agnew (1918–1996) (**intertextuality**), **antithesis** is introduced between those who actively oppose the Vietnam War and who are **metaphorically** labeled as: “(...) the criminal misfits of society (...)” and these who served in Vietnam and were praised by the government as: “(...) our best men [who] die in Asian rice paddies to preserve the freedoms which those misfits abuse” (**pleonasm**) [6WH].

Subsequently, a detailed analysis of American society undergoing social trauma is conducted. The speaker begins with **antithesis**, namely these who oppose the war are viewed, in contrast to the view expressed by the government, as the best men of the country. Moreover, as it is stated, numerous war veterans who returned from Vietnam are now left without any support. This statement is illustrated by **anaphora** and a long list of **paradoxes**: “(...) because we in no way considered ourselves the best men of this country; because those he calls misfits were standing up for us in a way that nobody else in this country dared to; because so many who have died would have returned to this country to join the misfits in their efforts to ask for an immediate withdrawal from South Vietnam; because so many of those best men have returned as quadriplegics and amputees (...)” which show a huge discrepancy between the official declarations of politicians and the harsh reality [7PST].

Although there is a link between the devotion of veterans to their country and the American flag, which represents the **metaphor** of American values, they reject being praised by the government: “(...) we cannot consider ourselves America’s best men when we were ashamed of and hated what we were called to do in Southeast Asia,” a passage which shows a great moral dilemma of ex-soldiers. Moreover, as it is underlined using **diacope**: “(...) there is nothing in South Vietnam, nothing which could happen that realistically threatens the United States of America.” This view leads to an accusation addressed to the government of promoting hypocrisy. This serious charge is expressed through **enumeration**, **diacope** and **metaphor**: “[a]nd to attempt to justify the loss of one American life in Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos by linking such loss to the preservation

of freedom, which those misfits supposedly abuse, is to us the height of criminal hypocrisy, and it's that kind of hypocrisy which we feel has torn this country apart" which seems to strengthen the power of accusation [7PST]. Finally, the whole passage is concluded **metaphorically**, stating that this is: "(...) the mystical war against communism" with an intention of underlining the fact that in the American public sphere ideology seems to be dominant over rationality [8PST].

In the section which follows, the speaker refers to his own military service in Vietnam. This long description begins with **anaphora**, **antithesis** and **alliteration**: "[w]e found that not only was it a civil war (...) but also we found that the Vietnamese (...) were hard put to take up the fight against the threat we were supposedly saving them from" and is continued in the subsequent sentences: "[w]e found that most people didn't even know the difference between communism and democracy" and "[w]e found also that all too often American men were dying in those rice paddies (...)" which all show that the aims of the war were differently viewed by the Vietnamese and by Americans. In the same passage, both **metaphor** and biblical **intertextuality**: "(...) the Vietnamese, whom we had enthusiastically molded after our own image (...)" describe illusive hopes shared by certain groups in the United States that the Vietnamese would unconditionally accept American leadership [9WT].

Similarly, another **anaphora** together with **polysyndeton** and **asyndeton** illustrate the expectations held by the Vietnamese: "[t]hey only wanted to work in rice paddies without helicopters strafing them and bombs with napalm burning their villages and tearing their country apart. They wanted everything to do with the war (...) to leave them alone in peace; and they practiced the art of survival by siding with whichever military force was present at a particular time, be it Vietcong, North Vietnamese, or American." Moreover, yet another **anaphora**: "[w]e saw firsthand how monies from American taxes was used for a corrupt dictatorial regime. We saw that many people in this country had a one-sided idea of who was kept free (...). We saw Vietnam ravaged equally by American bombs (...)" and **enumeration** which follows: "(...) as well as by search and destroy missions, as well as by Vietcong terrorism (...)" and **personification**: "(...) this country tried to blame all of the havoc on the Vietcong" altogether depict a traumatizing picture of a complete collapse [9WT].

To summarize this section, **personification**: "[w]e saw America lose her sense of morality (...)" as well as **eponym** and **metaphor**: "(...) as she accepted very coolly a My Lai and refused to give up the image of American soldiers that hand out chocolate bars and chewing gum" all

suggest a complete collapse of values in American society. Moreover, further examples of **intertextuality** illustrate the military discourse, including **metaphorically** given orders: “[t]his hill must be taken” as well as “(...) shoot everything that moves (...)” and certain samples of the language of hate, including: “(...) oriental human beings (...)” and “(...) month after month we were told the back of the enemy was about to break” (**metaphors, diacope**) and illustrate typical language used in order to dehumanize enemies and deride the value of human life. Similarly, **personification** blended with **metaphor**: “America placed a cheapness on the lives of Orientals” and **antithesis**: “(...) the United States’ falsification of body counts, in fact the glorification of body counts” underline the hypocrisy of both high ranking officers and the government. Moreover, while describing the cruelty of the war, the speaker uses both **personification** and **pleonasm**: “[w]e fought using weapons against those people which I do not believe this country would dream of using were we fighting in a European theater – or let us say a non–third–world people theater” which suggest a serious violation of international humanitarian law [9WT].

Finally, **pleonasm**: “(...) after losing one platoon or two platoons they marched away (...)” and both **epizeuxis** and **anaphora**: “(...) because – because we watched pride allow the most unimportant of battles to be blown into extravaganzas; because we couldn’t lose, and we couldn’t retreat, and because it didn’t matter how many American bodies were lost to prove that point” as well as **polysyndeton** used to list the battle grounds: “Hamburger Hills and Khe Sanhs and Hill 881’s and Fire Base 6’s, and so many others” altogether point to a traumatic picture of the war [9WT]. Moreover, the above–mentioned atrocities of the United States Army are kept in silence, a particular fact which is heavily criticized by the speaker who repeats: “[a]nd now we’re told that the men who fought there must watch quietly while American lives are lost. (...). Each day – each...” (**metaphor, epizeuxis**) in order to express his fatigue and anger [10PST].

In the subsequent section, the speaker begins with a biblical **metaphor**: “(...) the United States washes her hands of Vietnam (...)” and **personification**: “(...) we cannot say that we’ve made a mistake” which indicate certain attempts of American politicians to shift responsibility for the consequences of the war. Afterwards, there is **intertextuality** referring to President Nixon’s words, in which he refused to be “(...) the first [American] President to lose a war.” Furthermore, the **paradox** between the current political situation and previous solemn declarations given by politicians is expressed in a form of **rhetorical questions** and **diacope**: “(...) how do you ask a man to be the last man to die in Vietnam? How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a

mistake?” Moreover, another reference to President Nixon’s words (**intertextuality**, **diacope**, **antithesis**): “[b]ut the issue, gentlemen, the issue is communism, and the question is whether or not we will leave that country to the Communists or whether or not we will try to give it hope to be a free people” is contrasted with the sentence which follows and is a mirror image of that mentioned above: “[b]ut the point is they’re not a free people now – under us. They’re not a free people” (**epistrophe**) and reflects the tragic fate of the Vietnamese [11PST].

The devastating consequences of the overwhelming pro-war propaganda on American society are illustrated in a mocking manner in two subsequent passages. Whereas both the **eponym** “Uncle Sam” and two references to **intertextuality**: “I want you” and “[t]hat’s fine. I am going to serve my country” show how cheap the value of patriotism is [12PSH], a typical experience of a draftee is described through **polysyndeton** and **antithesis**: “[a]nd he goes to Vietnam and he shoots and he kills and he does his job or maybe he doesn’t kill, maybe he just goes and he comes back” [13WT]. Moreover, the tragic economic and social situation of the Vietnam veterans on their return home is illustrated by a reference to *logos*, namely undeniable statistics, and using **diacope**: “(...) the largest unemployment figure in the country (...) the largest figure of unemployed in this country are veterans of this war” which depict an economic dimension of trauma [14ET].

In the following passage, a dramatic crisis in the healthcare system is analyzed. To face this challenge, two **exempla** are mentioned: “[a] man recently died (...) not because of the operation but because there weren’t enough personnel to clean the mucous out of his tube and he suffocated to death” and “[a]nother young man just died in a New York VA hospital the other day. A friend of mine (...) tried to help him, but he couldn’t” (**contrast**). Moreover, the devastating results of war trauma are under discussion here. Whereas **diacope** (used twice): “[f]ifty-seven percent – I understand 57 percent of all those entering VA hospitals talk about suicide” and “[s]ome 27 percent have tried, and they try because they come back to this country and they have to face what they did in Vietnam (...)” describes the rate of suicide attempts within a group of war veterans, **epizeuxis**: “(...) a country that doesn’t really care, that doesn’t really care” summarizes the speaker’s view on the underfunded public health care system.

Finally, to conclude this section, **alliteration**, **euphemism** and **paradox**: “(...) we are faced with a very sickening situation in this country because there’s no moral indignation, and if there is it comes from people who are almost exhausted by their past indignancies (...)” show once again the catastrophic situation in the United States in terms of both the economy and decency. The whole

passage is summed up by one more **exemplum** blended with **personification**: “[t]he country seems to have lied – lain down and accepted something as serious as Laos (...)” and **simile**: “(...) just as we calmly shrugged off the loss of 700,000 lives in Pakistan, the so-called greatest disaster of all times” in order to illustrate how cheap human life is in the eyes of policymakers [15PST]. The whole section is concluded using a warning: “(...) we are in the midst of the greatest disaster of all times now (...)” (**metaphor**) which is a dramatic appeal to overcome the current crisis [16PSH].

In the section which follows, a collapse of values in American society is outlined. Not only is it observed in an indifferent attitude to the statistics of death tolls, but also in a fundamental feeling of compassion towards human beings being broadly rejected. This view is reflected through **antithesis** and **diacope**: “(...) the bodies, which were once used by a President for statistics to prove that we were winning this war, to be used as evidence against a man who followed orders and who interpreted those orders no differently than hundreds of other men in South Vietnam” and the subsequent **personification**: “(...) this country has not been able to see that there’s absolutely no difference between a ground troop and a helicopter crew” together with the **metaphor**: “(...) people have accepted a differentiation fed them by the administration” [17PST]. Moreover, a traumatic description of military operations in the border area between Vietnam and Laos is provided. Whereas a **contrast**: “[n]o ground troops are in Laos, so it’s alright to kill Laotians by remote control” suggests that a distant killing is viewed as different type of murdering than a killing in face-to-face combat, **simile**: “(...) the helicopter crews fill the same body bags and they wreak the same kind of damage (...)” suggests that the psychological trauma of the war is not limited only to ground troops, but possesses a devastating power which is equally destructive in the case of more remotely engaged soldiers [18WT].

The above-presented image of suffering caused by the war is contrasted with heroic deeds done in order to prevent its dire consequences. Whereas **epizeuxis**: “[w]e are asking (...) for some action, action from the Congress of the United States of America (...)” and the subsequent **diacope**: “(...) which has the power to raise and maintain armies and which by the Constitution also has the power to declare war” describe the hopes cherished by veterans and a broad range of competences held by this institution, this image is **contrasted** with a critical view of the presidential initiatives: “[w]e’ve come here, not to the President (...)” which, in turn, shows a deep skepticism addressed towards the president [19PST]. Furthermore, the **metaphor** of “the will of the people” indicates that the demand to end the war is broadly accepted in American society. Directly afterwards,

diacope: “(...) the problem of this war is not just a question of war and diplomacy” and the following **pleonasm**: “[i]t’s part and parcel of everything that we are trying (...) to communicate to people in this country (...)” both lead to a long list of social problems, compiled in the form of **asyndeton**, including: “(...) the question of racism (...) the use of weapons; the hypocrisy in our taking umbrage in the... Geneva Conventions and using that as justification for continuation of this war (...) in the use of free–fire zones, harassment interdiction fire, search and destroy missions, the bombings, the torture of prisoners, the killing of prisoners (...).” All these points refer to multifaceted encounters of trauma which are devastating to American society. Interestingly, the passage under discussion here is concluded using the same **pleonasm**: [i]t’s part and parcel of everything” which creates the compositional frameworks of this section [19PST].

Reaching the climax of the speech, the speaker uses an **exemplum**, namely a story of a Native American who, despite his background, used to identified himself with white cowboys who suppressed Indians in old movies, and now he realized that due to the biased media coverage and the overwhelmingly dominant pro–war propaganda he had been similarly manipulated in the case of the Vietnam War. Whereas **intertextuality**: “[m]y God, I’m doing to these people the very same thing that was done to my people” indicates his surprising realization, **alliteration**: “[a]nd that’s what we’re trying to say, that we think this thing has to end” strengthen this painful message more generally [20PST].

In addition, the speaker uses **epizeuxis** while appealing: “[w]e’re also here to ask – We are here to ask and we’re here to ask vehemently” and continuing in a series of **rhetorical questions** and **asyndeton**: “[w]here are the leaders of our country? Where is the leadership? We’re here to ask: Where are McNamara, Rostow, Bundy, Gilpatric, and so many others. Where are they now that we the men whom they sent off to war have returned?” to bitterly criticize decisions taken by the main architects of American foreign policy in Vietnam [21PSH]. Moreover, an allegation of treason committed by senior military officers is made. This is expressed by **antithesis** between their official declarations, strengthened by **anaphora**: “[t]he Army says they never leave their wounded. The Marines say they never leave even their dead,” and their unacceptable behavior, described by two **metaphors** in which they: “(...) retreated behind a pious shield of public rectitude” and “(...) have left the real stuff of their reputations, bleaching behind them in the sun in this country” which show the true colors of the officer corps [22PST].

The above-mention allegation is developed in the subsequent passage. Firstly, those who undermined the merits and experiences of the Vietnam veterans are described, through **anaphora** and **metaphors**, as these who “(...) attempted to disown us and the sacrifices we made for this country. In their blindness and fear, they have tried to deny that we are veterans or that we served in Nam” which constitutes a strong critique of this group of Lieutenant Kerry’s opponents. Secondly, the bravery of the veterans in the face of enemy and their pride are **metaphorically** underlined in **antithesis**: “[w]e do not need their testimony. Our own scars and stumps of limbs are witness enough for others; and for ourselves (...)” Moreover, **simile** together with another **metaphor**: “(...) we wish that a merciful God could wipe away our own memories of that service as easily as this administration has wiped their memories of us” seem to be a prayer addressed to God in order to erase from the veterans’ memory all traumatic images of the war in a similar manner as the presidential administration has blotted out their achievements [23PST].

Finally, the heroic determination of the speaker to end the war and describe key problems in the American public life is **contrasted** with the futile attempts of certain groups within the American establishment to discredit peace initiatives. **Diacope**: “[b]ut all that they have done and all that they can do (...)” is used to determine the range of means at disposal of the pro-war groups which, **metaphorically** speaking, are only able to: “(...) make more clear than ever our own determination to undertake one last mission (...)” Thus, the speaker indicates that it is impossible to change the strong determination of the war veterans to oppose heroically the war and numerous social problems, which are listed in the subsequent passage, based on both **polysyndeton** and **metaphors**: “(...) to search out and destroy the last vestige of this barbaric war, to pacify our own hearts, to conquer the hate and fear that have driven this country these last 10 years and more” which refer to certain components of the American collective memory [24PSH]. In his concluding remarks, the speaker refers to the future. His eloquent speech contains numerous rhetorical devices, including the **metaphor**: “(...) when 30 years from now our brothers go down the street (...)”, **polysyndeton**: “(...) without a leg, without an arm or a face (...)”, the **rhetorical question** and **eponym**: “(...) and small boys ask why, we will be able to say ‘Vietnam’ (...)”, both **diacope** and **antithesis**: “(...) and not mean a desert, not a filthy obscene memory but mean instead the place where America finally turned (...)” and **simile**: “(...) and where soldiers like us helped it in the turning.” This powerful sentence shows that Kerry does not only dream of reestablishing unity in

America after the traumatic experiences of the Vietnam War, but also he has a utopian dream of the future based on mutual respect, harmony and lasting reconciliation [25PST].

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, Lieutenant Kerry seems to be more focused on describing traumatic (17) rather than heroic events (8). In particular, whereas political and social references to trauma (12) dominate over its war (4) and economic (1) descriptions, political and social references to heroism (7) take precedence over its economic dimensions (1). Moreover, the speaker seems to prefer metaphors (21 in descriptions of trauma and 6 in descriptions of heroism), diacope (12 to 1 respectively), and antithesis (11 to 3 respectively). This proves the great rhetorical effort of the speaker to illustrate the dramatic experience of war veterans and his attempt to exert a tremendous impact on the audience. Furthermore, references to explicitly expressed intertextuality in descriptions of trauma (6) entirely dominate in the passages focused on heroism (1) and are usually borrowed from statements delivered by politicians. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude, it is worth noting the great determination of the speaker which is focused on defending his viewpoint, an observation seen in the entire speech. Although the whole speech refers to the first-hand traumatic experience of eye-witness accounts and undeniable data, which indicate both *pathos* and *logos*, the irresolute determination of former Lieutenant Kerry to end the war is also outlined and points to his *ethos*. Briefly speaking, a traumatic image of the Vietnam War is combined with a radical critique of the American establishment and its foreign policy. As all these components exert a distinct influence on the audience, this speech is an iconic example of antiwar rhetoric delivered during the period of the Vietnam War.

3.3.5. Jane Seymour Fonda: *Broadcast over Radio Hanoi (September 1972)* ⁷³

An outline of the context

Jane Seymour Fonda is undeniably one of the most recognizable American film stars, as well as a well-known activist who was directly involved in the antiwar movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Being a daughter of Henry Jaynes Fonda (1905–1982), himself a famous actor, the decision

⁷³ Fonda, Jane Seymour (1972) *Broadcast over Radio Hanoi*. [Retrieved from: https://www.speeches-usa.com/Transcripts/jane_fonda-vietnam.html. Date: 9-01-2020].

to follow in her father's footsteps seemed to be a natural choice for this talented model. What was unique, however, was her devotion and passion as an activist involved in numerous social campaigns, including those against the Vietnam War. One episode of this crusade occurred in 1971, when Fonda, together with her lawyer Mark Lane (1927–2016), bankrolled the *Winter Soldier Investigation*, a famous symbol of opposition to the cruelty of the Vietnam War (Scott 1993: 18). Furthermore, Fonda's epic journey to North Vietnam in 1972 made her name as a passionate activist, and, simultaneously, confronted her with a wave of criticism and even accusations of treason (Bossie 2003: 52). In particular, her compassion for the North Vietnamese and numerous speeches delivered during that journey had an impact on her public image as a leader of the antiwar activists for many years and drove accusations of her being a left-wing and unpatriotic movie star (Lembcke 2010: 13).

When asked about her journey many years later, Fonda did not hide her surprise: "(...) there had been almost three hundred Americans before me who had gone to Hanoi, and more than eighty broadcasts by Americans over Radio Hanoi had preceded mine" (Fonda 2005: 325). However, even today her memorable journey and radio speeches are as controversial for certain groups in the United States as her nickname ("Hanoi Jane"), which seems to have endured in the collective memory of Americans (Lembcke 2010: 2). In the following subsection, a study of both trauma and heroism in one of her famous radio broadcasts is conducted, as well as an analysis of rhetorical figures and references to intertextuality used to depict the Vietnam War as it was viewed by this great American actress.

An analysis of the speech

This speech is relatively short and consists of 663 words and 3,872 signs. The aim of the speaker is to present a different image of the Vietnam War, namely from the point of view of the North Vietnamese. This position is in sharp contrast to the narrative which was dominant in the United States and basically focused on portraying a black and white picture of heroic Americans and wicked communists from North Vietnam. Although Jane Fonda's speech is understandably controversial, it allows one to gain an insight into the situation on the other side of the front line. First of all, the speaker presents her schedule including attending a traditional performance which, using both **oxymoron** and **metaphor**, is described as: "(...) unforgettable ballet about guerillas

training bees in the south to attack enemy soldiers” in order to show **antithesis** between a harmony of a rustic life and brutality of the war [1PSH]⁷⁴. Moreover, also a cultural link between traditional Vietnamese heritage and communist ideology is expressed. This shows the great heroism of the nation under discussion here and their determination in their struggle for independence. Furthermore, in the same section, the speaker describes her great surprise while realizing that despite the war between North Vietnam and the United States, American plays were being performed in the theatres of Hà Nội (**antithesis**). Interestingly, the **epithet** “imperialists” indicates that the sympathy of the speaker is with these people – not with the policymakers of her own country [2PST].

Shortly afterwards, another picture is drawn in which a poetic image of a peaceful village is contrasted with the cruelty of the war, a strategy which shows the **paradoxical** nature of the Vietnamese people. Whereas they are depicted as individuals of great courage, their extraordinary bravery is hidden under an ordinary vision which is illustrated through **enumeration**: “(...) so gentle and poetic, whose voices are so beautiful (...)” [3PST]. Furthermore, in two subsequent passages, **anaphora** and **antithesis**: “I cherish the memory of the blushing militia girl (...). I cherish the way a farmer evacuated from Hanoi, without hesitation, offered me, an American, their best individual bomb shelter while U.S. bombs fell nearby” show the differences between two nations, namely Americans and Vietnamese in their approach to enemies [4WH]. Finally, an image of war trauma is evoked in a long list of destroyed civilian targets, which is expressed in a form of **asyndeton**: “I had witnessed (...) the systematic destruction of (...) schools, hospitals, pagodas, the factories, houses, and the dike system” and illustrates the monumental scale of destruction brought about by the American bombardments [5WT].

In the passage which follows, both traumatic and heroic images are blended by the speaker using **enumeration** and **antithesis**: “I held in my arms clinging to me tightly – and I pressed my cheek against hers – I thought, this is a war against Vietnam perhaps, but the tragedy is America’s” with an intention to contrast her own experiences and feelings during bombardments with the narrative of this conflict which was then dominant in the United States [6PST]. Furthermore, the heroism of the Vietnamese people is underlined. Whereas **anaphora** illustrates certain weaknesses of the American plan to take control over Indochina: “Nixon will never be able to break the spirit of these people; he’ll never be able to turn Vietnam, north and south, into a neo-colony of the

⁷⁴ Unless stated otherwise, all quotations in this section come from Fonda (1972).

United States (...)” and **polysyndeton**: “(...) by bombing, by invading, by attacking in any way” indicates a broad range of aggressive military methods preferred by the Americans, the Vietnamese spirit seems to be indomitable [7PSH]. Moreover, **anaphora**, **simile** and **enumeration**: “(...) I’ve spoken to many peasants who talked about the days when their parents had to sell themselves to landlords as virtually slaves, when there were very few schools and much illiteracy, inadequate medical care, when they were not masters of their own lives” are implemented in order to show a traumatic picture of the colonial era which seemed to be deeply embedded in the collective memory of the Vietnamese [8PST].

In the last passages, an image of Vietnamese heroism is drawn through **asyndeton** and **diacope**: “(...) despite the bombs, despite the crimes being created – being committed (...)” as well as **enumeration**: “(...) these people own their own land, build their own schools (...)” and **antithesis**: “(...) the children learning, literacy – illiteracy is being wiped out, there is no more prostitution as there was during the time when this was a French colony.” To summarize this short speech, two striking **metaphors** are used: “(...) the people have taken power into their own hands, and they are controlling their own lives” [9PSH, EH]. Finally, Fonda adds: “I don’t think that the people of Vietnam are about to compromise in any way, shape or form about the freedom and independence of their country (...)” Interestingly, whereas one **enumeration**: “(...) in any way, shape or form (...)” indicates a great determination of the Vietnamese, **another**, which is in a form of three pieces of advice given to the American president: “I think Richard Nixon would do well to read Vietnamese history, particularly their poetry, and particularly the poetry written by Ho Chi Minh,” expresses a mockery directed at President Nixon himself [9PSH, EH].

Following the results of a quantitative analysis, it was observed that in the speech analyzed here ample space is given to both traumatic and heroic references. Whereas trauma is illustrated in 4 passages (war trauma – 1 and political and social trauma – 3), heroism is reflected in 6 (namely, 1 in a war and economic context and 4 times in political and social circumstances). Interestingly, both motifs are seen from an external perspective, namely not from an American but a Vietnamese point of view. This is an excellent strategy which reflects pacifism of the speaker. Moreover, Fonda prefers enumeration (3 times each in descriptions of both trauma and heroism) and antithesis (3 times in passages focused on trauma and 2 in those focused on heroism) in order to invoke the numerous injuries and heroic acts revealed by ordinary Vietnamese. As this speech is brief and

mostly seems to be improvised, there are no explicitly expressed references to intertextuality. A more detailed quantitative analysis and tabulated results are discussed in section 3.4.

To conclude this brief speech, it is worth noting that Jane Fonda was an activists who introduced a completely different view of the Vietnam War into the American public discourse, namely a Vietnamese perspective. This is an interesting observation not only because this view was rather exceptional in the public discourse in the United States. Notwithstanding, such a view was valuable and allowed one to compare both pro-war and antiwar attitudes at deeper level. Whereas the cruelty of the war inevitably brings out Fonda's pacifism, which is an integral part of women movements, the praise she addresses to the Vietnamese peasants suggest the speaker's fascination for New Left ideology and deep criticism towards political decisions taken by the American establishment. To put it briefly, although this speech is extremely short, it is also significant as far as the American public discourse on the Vietnam war is considered.

3.4. The results of the analysis

The range of the study includes data obtained in the previous sections which is, subsequently, collected in tables and interpreted before, finally, more general conclusions are drawn. This section is divided in four subsections. Firstly, the length of the speeches is compared in order to determine the impact which particular speeches have on the entire analysis and to verify whether the two groups of texts, namely pro and antiwar speeches, are well balanced. Secondly, references to trauma and heroism in each speech are calculated and compared with an intention of showing which motif is more popular and which particular type of trauma and heroism is more frequently evoked by the speakers. Thirdly, a rhetorical analysis which is concentrated on the most often used rhetorical devices is conducted, including the impact they have on the description of both trauma and heroism in previously identified selected passages. Fourthly, an analysis of references to intertextuality which is explicitly expressed is conducted, including both the total number of links to previous texts and the sources of inspiration disclosed by the speakers. To sum up, more general conclusions are drawn in the last subsection.

3.4.1. The length of the speeches

In the first step of the analysis, the length of the speeches was measured. To achieve this goal, the number of words used by the speakers and the number of characters used in the transcripts of the speeches were calculated. A standard page, which consists of 1800 characters including spaces, is viewed here as a basic unit of comparison. This unit is commonly accepted in order to measure and compare the volume of a text (Averbakh 2015: 80). The total length of the speeches analyzed here is displayed in Table 3. and Table 4.

Table 3. The number of words, characters and standard pages in selected speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker	Number of words	Number of characters (including spaces)	Number of standard pages
Dwight D. Eisenhower	343	1,966	1.09
John F. Kennedy	2,312	13,847	7.69
Lyndon B. Johnson	4,193	23,785	13.21
Richard M. Nixon	4,567	25,914	14.39
Gerald R. Ford	2,374	13, 683	7.60

Table 4. The number of words, characters and standard pages in selected speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker	Number of words	Number of characters (including spaces)	Number of standard pages
Mario Savio	2,449	13,964	7.75
Martin Luther King Jr.	6,758	38,246	21.24
Shirley Chisholm	1,305	7,420	4.12
John Kerry	3,119	17,105	9.50

Jane Fonda	663	3,872	2.15
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Beginning with the presidential speeches, the shortest was delivered by President Eisenhower, who used only 343 words. This is explained by the fact that this speech was delivered during a press conference and referred to only one of many issues being discussed by the president at that particular day. The other speeches are more developed and organized in two groups, namely John F. Kennedy’s and Gerald R. Ford’s speeches are of a similar length (2,312 and 2,374 words respectively) and both are classified here as a medium-sized speeches, whereas Lyndon B. Johnson’s and Richard M. Nixon’s speeches are definitely longer (4,193 and 4,567 words respectively). The reason behind this difference seems to be in the specific context in which the speeches were delivered. Medium-sized speeches were delivered during public meetings, meaning that the speakers had a direct contact with their audience, with this mutual interaction between the speeches and their context necessary to be taken into account while considering the length of these speeches. However, as the longest addresses were broadcast on television, their length depended on the speakers’ decision and was not determined by the audience’s reaction.

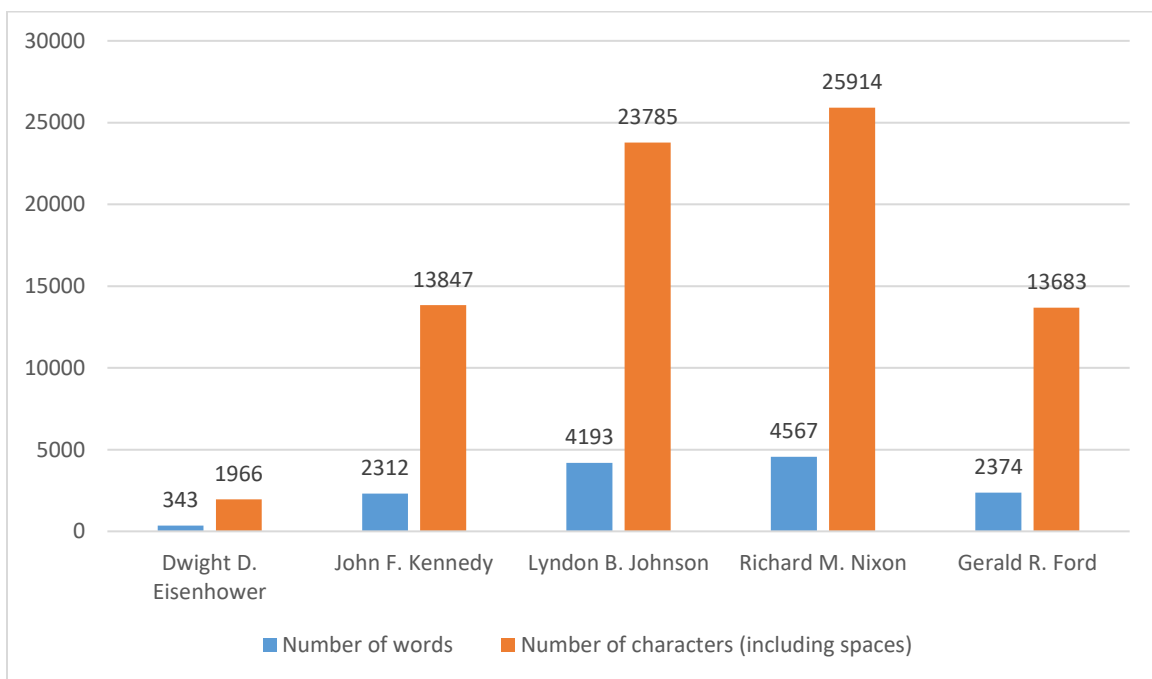


Figure 2. The number of words and characters in selected speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: prepared by the author.

Proceeding to the speeches delivered by the opponents to the Vietnam War, one may observe that their range is similar to the presidential speeches. The shortest speech was delivered by Jane Fonda, who used only 663 words, whereas the longest was given by Martin Luther King, who used 6,758 words. This difference is explained by the context in which both speeches were given. Whereas the former was delivered via a North Vietnamese radio station and its intention was to express Fonda's personal feelings and observations from her trip to North Vietnam in a radio interview, the latter was a keynote speech during a conference organized in order to support the Civil Rights Movement and was intended to discuss current political issues. The audience was not only interested in the speech, but also eagerly awaited the message Reverend King wished to deliver. Furthermore, Shirley Chisholm's speech is a typical example of parliamentary rhetoric and is classified here as rather short (1,305 words). A different rhetorical situation occurs when considering Mario Savio's and John Kerry's speeches (2,449 and 3,119 words respectively). The former was given at the crucial moment of the student protests being conducted at universities and was largely spontaneous. As the latter was a political declaration, delivered in front of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it was longer and seemed to be carefully prepared.

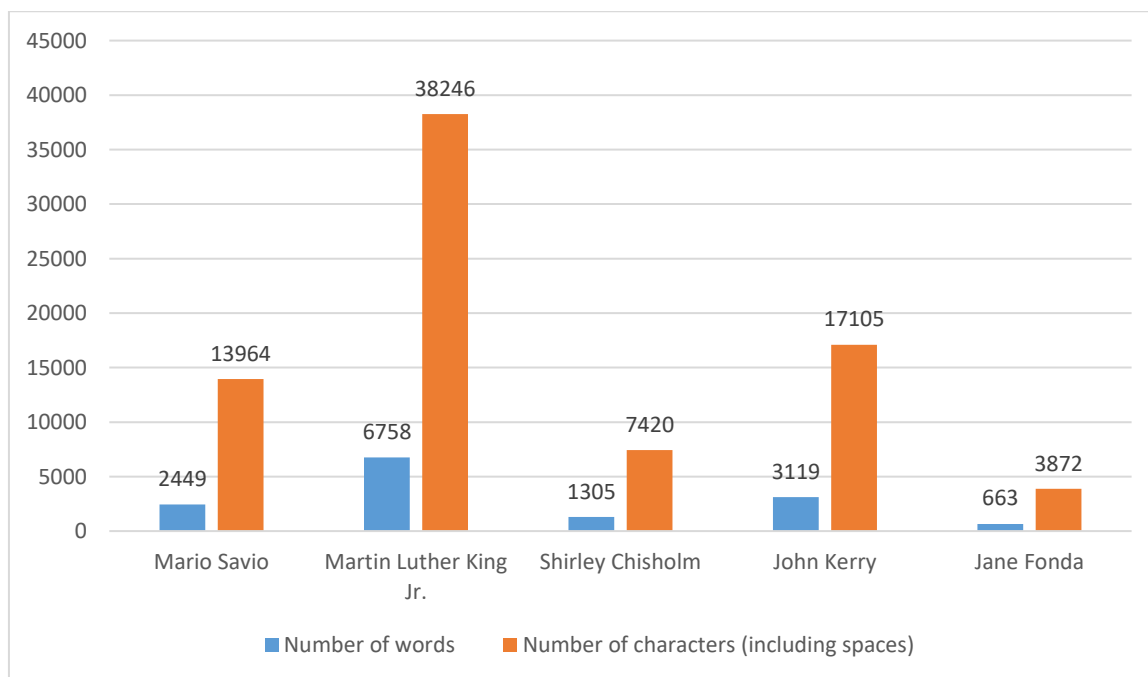


Figure 3. The number of words and characters in selected speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: prepared by the author.

When comparing both groups of speeches, it is worth noting that in each of them there is one short speech (Dwight D. Eisenhower and Jane Fonda), one noticeably long speech (Richard M. Nixon and MLK), and three speeches within a range from a medium to upper-medium length. When comparing the total number of standard pages in each group, it is stated that whereas in presidential speeches this number equals 43.98, in case of the speeches delivered by the leaders of the antiwar opposition this figure equals 44.76. Moreover, when considering the length of the speeches, the above-presented results suggest that both groups of texts are of almost equal length, the difference between them equals only 0.78 of a standard page, namely less than one page. **In other words, in this study both groups of speeches, namely delivered by the supporters and opponents of the American involvement in the Vietnam War, are selected in a balanced manner and the research material is organized in two samples of almost equal length.** This is an important prerequisite for further analysis in order to determine the frequency and mutual relationship between references to trauma and heroism in both groups of texts and to conduct both rhetorical and textual analysis in regard to certain preferences in the use of rhetorical devices and intertextuality displayed by the speakers, which, consequently, are fundamental for objective and trustworthy conclusions. In the following subsection, the number of references to both trauma and heroism is analyzed in detail.

3.4.2. References to trauma and heroism

In the second step, the total number of references to trauma and heroism, which are identified in the analyzed speeches, is calculated, including their three distinguishable types, namely those describing a war, political/social background, as well as economic standing. In the case of presidential speeches, the results are as follows:

Table 5. References to trauma and heroism including their selected types in the analyzed speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker	Reference to trauma (total)	War trauma	Political and	Economic trauma	Reference to heroism (total)	War heroism	Political and	Economic heroism
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			social trauma				social heroism	
Dwight D. Eisenhower	6	-	4	2	-	-	-	-
John F. Kennedy	15	2	9	4	13	2	8	3
Lyndon B. Johnson	14	5	6	3	34	7	21	6
Richard M. Nixon	21	4	17	-	26	-	24	2
Gerald R. Ford	5	3	1	1	13	2	9	2

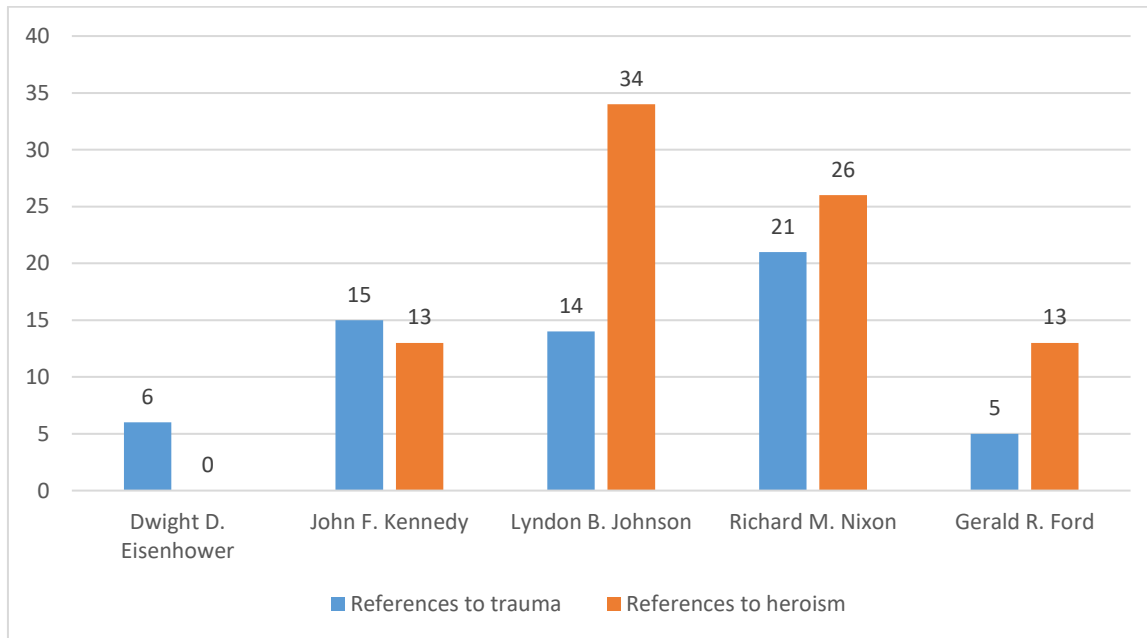


Figure 4. References to trauma and heroism (in total) in the analyzed speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: prepared by the author.

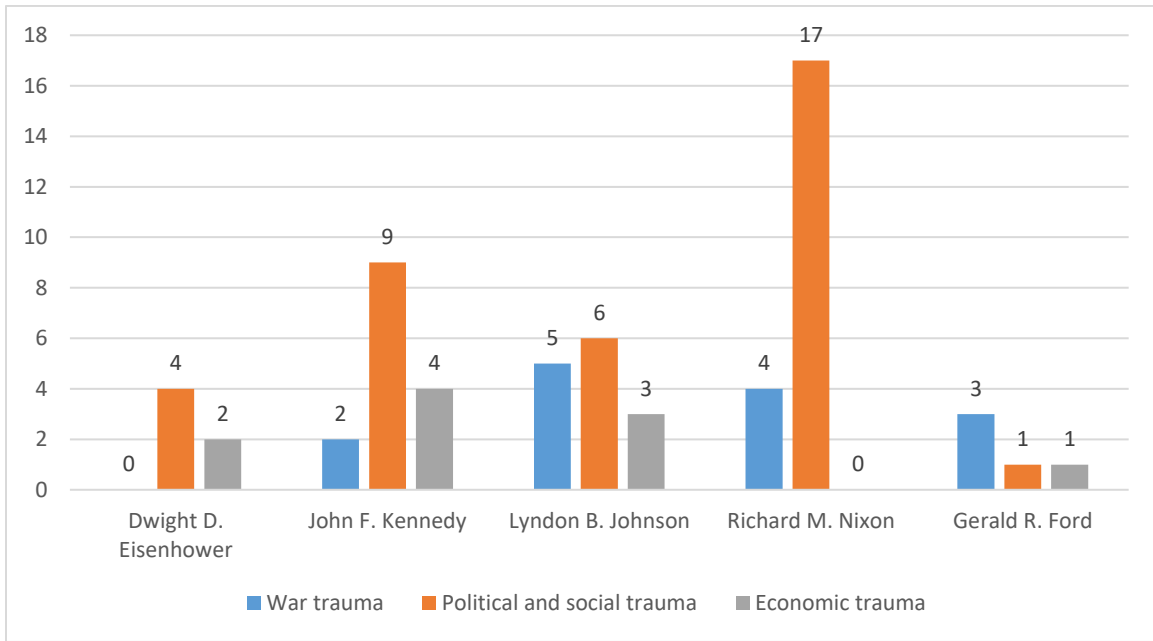


Figure 5. Selected types of references to trauma in the analyzed speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: prepared by the author.

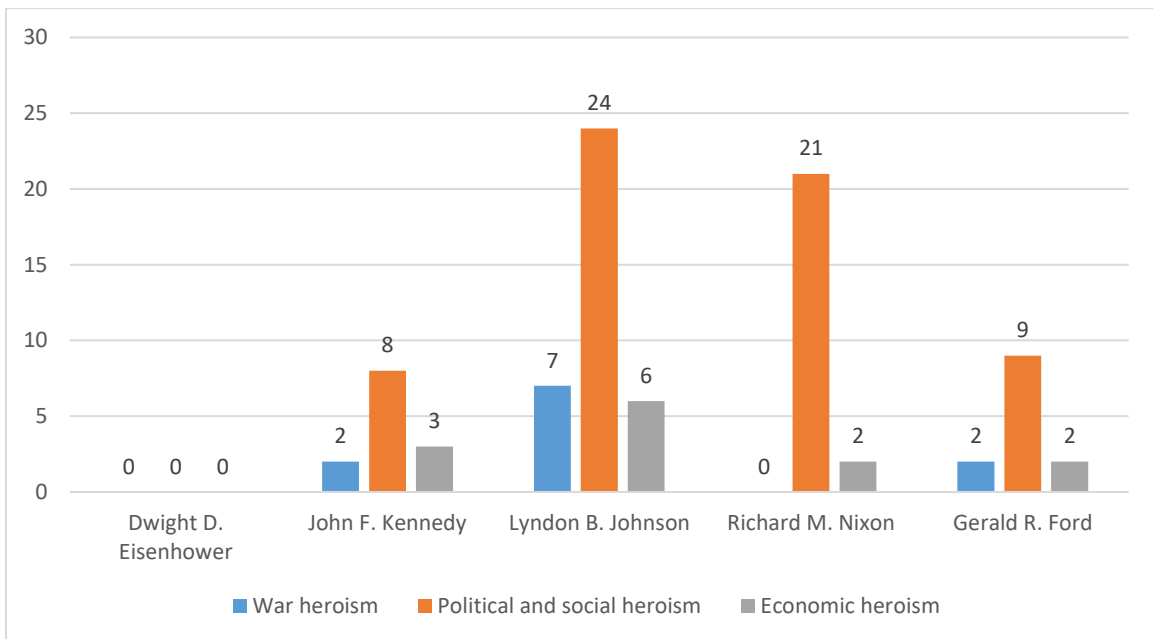


Figure 6. Selected types of references to heroism in the analyzed speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: prepared by the author.

On the basis of the above-presented data, it is safe to state that both trauma and heroism are recurring motifs in the speeches analyzed here. Interestingly, President Eisenhower refers only to

trauma, and is mainly focused on its socio-political dimension. This strategy is explained by the fact that the aim of his speech is to prepare Americans for an approaching danger and to arouse the sense of threat caused by the expansion of Communism. Therefore, the traumatic effects of the speech seems to be more important than building national unity and indicating outstanding examples which, in turn, are more connected with heroism. Furthermore, Senator Kennedy combines references to trauma and heroism in a balanced manner. This suggests that the speaker wants to be viewed as an objective politician who endeavors to describe certain traumatic and heroic facts equally. In other words, the senator presents himself as a rational politician, an approach which is important when considering that at the moment of delivering his speech Kennedy was only a few years before announcing his decision to run as a candidate in the presidential race of 1960. Without doubt, this balanced speech is a useful example of Kennedy's rhetorical skill and an attempt to show himself as a pragmatic and realistic politician.

In contrast, the three further speeches, namely those delivered by Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Ford, are focused on political and social heroism, in particular, the personal heroism displayed by the president and his administration is emphasized. Although, on the one hand, the role of the president as a leader of the Nation is underlined, as well as his determination to reach peace using any available means, on the other hand, references to political and social trauma are less numerous and mainly regarding previous decisions taken by their predecessors. This indicates that the main aim of these three speeches is to integrate the Nation and to counteract serious social divisions within American society which could be observed at the time they were delivered. While all these speeches perfectly illustrate a pivotal role of the presidential discourse, direct references to war trauma and war heroism are limited here and seem not to dominate. To conclude this subsection which is concentrated on an analysis regarding presidential speeches, it is worth noting that President Eisenhower was mainly focused on creating an atmosphere of a fortress under siege and, therefore, referred to traumatic images of a social and economic crisis. As President Kennedy aimed to present himself as a pragmatic politician and perceptive observer, he endeavored to balanced his statements. Finally, Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Ford had to face a serious social unrest which was, at least partially, caused by the policy of American involvement in the Vietnam War. As a consequence, in their speeches references to political and social heroism significantly dominate over passages focused on political and social trauma. In all the speeches analyzed here, direct references to war and the economic dimensions of trauma and heroism are limited and do

not dominate. Moreover, it seems to be particularly interesting to compare a similar relationship between references to trauma and heroism in selected speeches delivered by the leaders of the antiwar movement. This analysis is summarized in the following table:

Table 6. Reference to trauma and heroism including their selected types in the analyzed speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker	Reference to trauma (total)	War trauma	Political and social trauma	Economic trauma	Reference to heroism (total)	War heroism	Political and social heroism	Economic heroism
Mario Savio	15	-	14	1	7	-	7	-
Martin Luther King Jr.	27	5	21	1	26	-	26	-
Shirley Chisholm	8	-	3	5	9	-	5	4
John Kerry	17	4	12	1	8	1	7	-
Jane Fonda	4	1	3	-	6	1	4	1

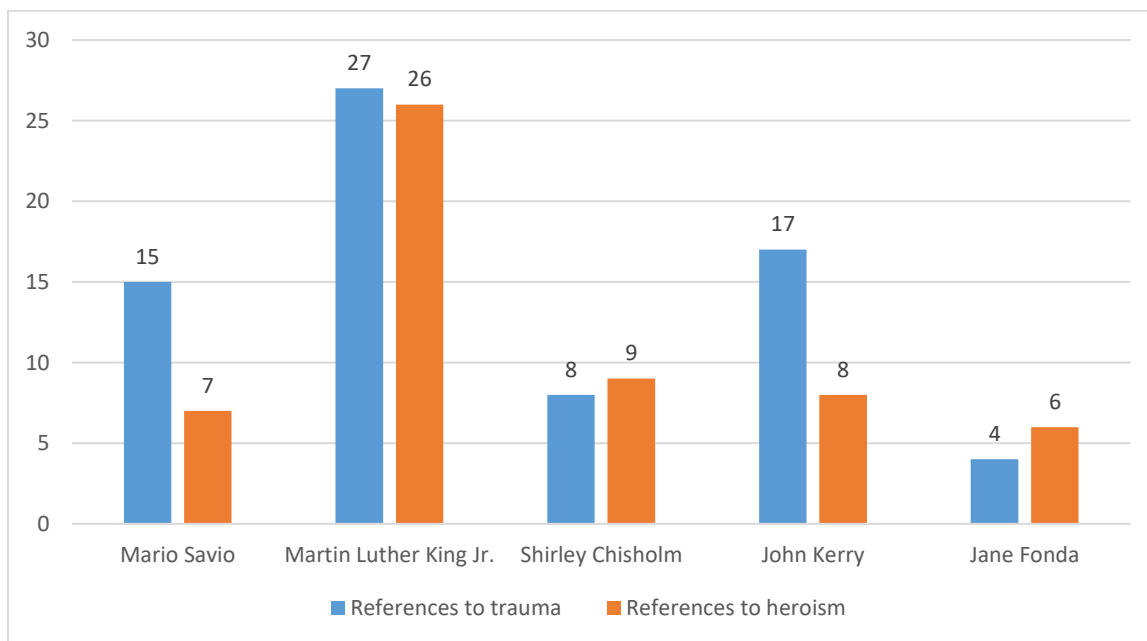


Figure 7. References to trauma and heroism (in total) in the analyzed speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: prepared by the author.

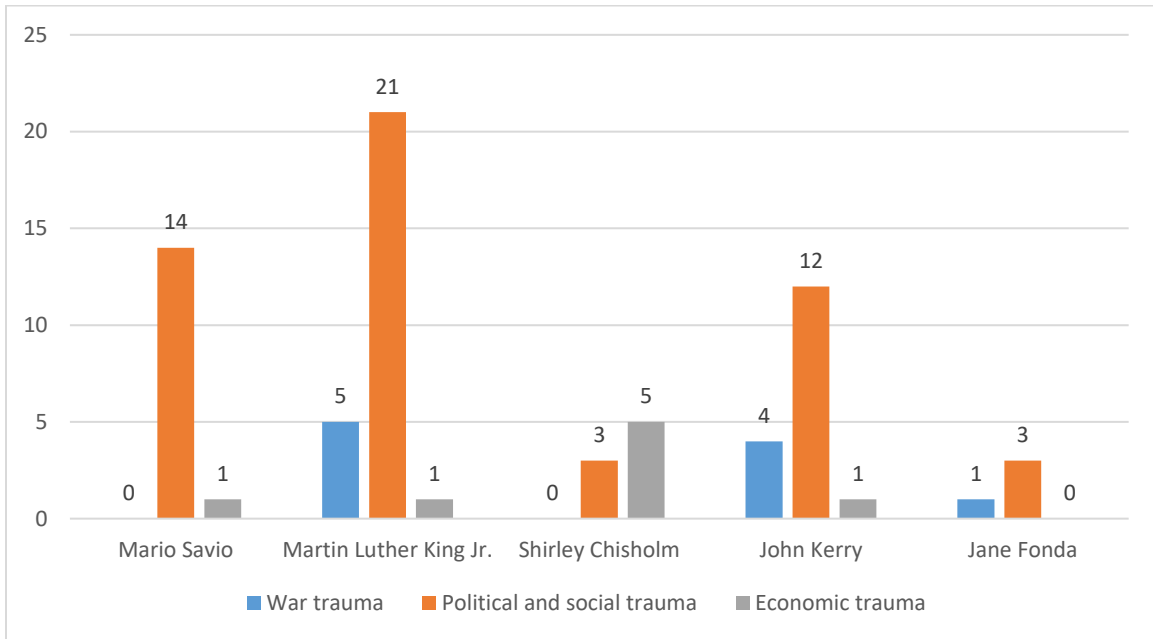


Figure 8. Selected types of references to trauma in the analyzed speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: prepared by the author.

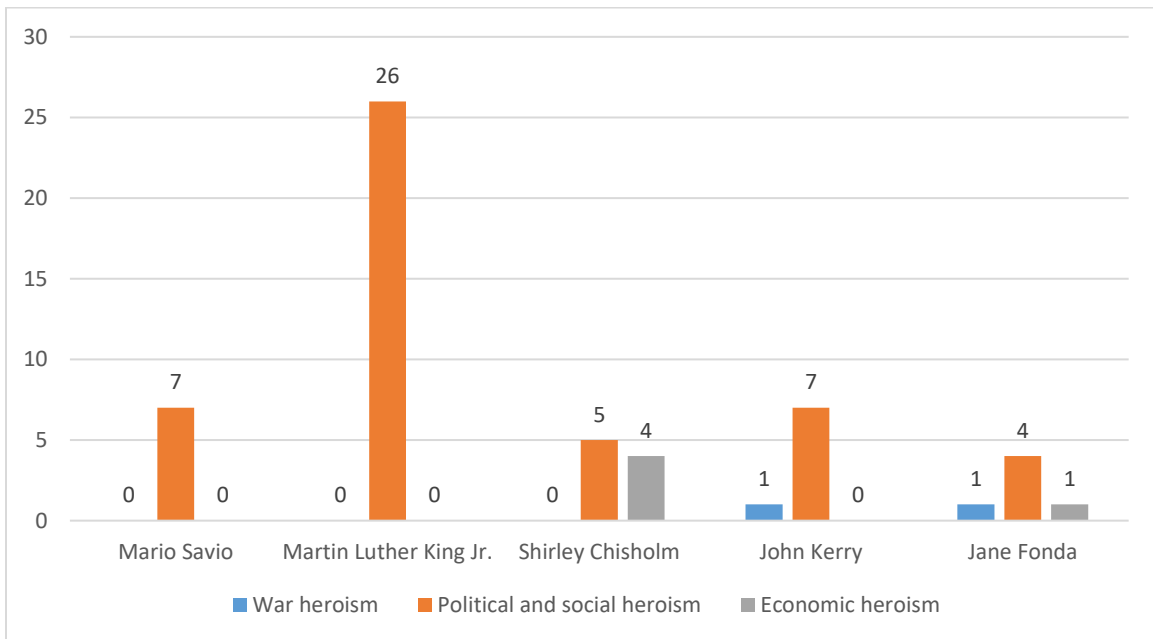


Figure 9. Selected types of references to heroism in the analyzed speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: prepared by the author.

The above-presented data indicates that in the group of speeches delivered by the opponents of the Vietnam War both trauma and heroism were also commonly used. The particular proportion involved is, however, different. Whereas Savio's speech mainly revolves around political and social trauma, Reverend King's address is rather focused on political and social heroism, while trauma, although substantially present, is not dominant. This is explained by the attitude displayed by the speakers. Whereas Savio is concentrated on difficulties experienced by protesting students, and the subject of the Vietnam War is only mentioned on the margins of the speech, Reverend King delivered his speech during a meeting with his greatest followers. Therefore, his aim seemed to be focused on convincing them of the main point of his political manifesto, namely obtaining their support in his struggle for equal status for minorities in America. As a consequence, generating heroism was more important than mentioning failures and experienced traumas. Furthermore, Shirley Chisholm, who was another famous activist against the Vietnam War, was focused on the economic dimensions of both trauma and heroism. This shows that, for her, the most important factors were both economic problems and the struggle against discrimination of minorities.

In contrast, both Kerry and Fonda emphasize the political and social components of trauma. The difference between them is that whereas Fonda gives slightly more room in her speech to political and social heroism, Kerry prioritizes references to political and social trauma. Surprisingly, neither of these two speakers gives priority to descriptions of either war trauma or heroism, an observation which is particularly surprising while considering the context of John Kerry's speech. The subject of the Vietnam War here is only a pretext to speak about difficulties experienced by numerous groups of the antiwar opposition. Whereas in speeches delivered by Savio and Kerry the motif of suffering is dominant, for King, Chisholm and Fonda references to political and social heroism are the most important. In other words, the two former speakers seem to represent those who are dejected, frustrated and excluded. In contrast, the three latter speakers seem to represent those opponents of the Vietnam War who, while being discriminated against in society, still believe in a better future and do not want to fall into a complete stagnation. This discrepancy, although extremely subtle, is observed in the number of references to particular types of trauma and heroism.

While both groups of speakers are compared, namely American's policymakers who are pro-war and the leaders of the opposition to the war, a number of interesting observations are

formulated on the basis of certain patterns of language used by them. First of all, **(1) both trauma and heroism are recurring motifs in the speeches analyzed here.** One exception is observed in President Eisenhower's speech (only references to trauma), which is explained by both his intention to fuel an atmosphere of fear in society and to illustrate the threat caused by the expansion of Communism, as well as the context in which this speech was given, namely as one in a series of statements given during a press conference. Moreover, although **(2) different types of trauma and heroism are used,** the dominant category refers to their political and social dimensions. This shows that whereas **(3) social and cultural problems experienced by American society are at the center of the American public discourse,** **(4) the descriptions of war trauma and war heroism play only an ancillary role in the speeches analyzed here.**

In addition, **(5) pro-war politicians place emphasis on the traumatic burden of Communism,** in particular while describing its political and social consequences. Moreover, **(6) when under the pressure of social protests, they place emphasis on the references to political and social heroism, in particular presenting themselves as providential men for the Nation.** This proves that the image of a leader in a political sense is the most attractive and desirable by this group of speakers, a fact which is strongly connected with a traditional function of presidential discourse. In contrast, opponents of the Vietnam War represent different backgrounds and form two groups, namely **(7) they are either focused on expressing their pain and negative feelings as a group marginalized and excluded from society, which is viewed in moving descriptions of political and social trauma,** or **(8) they are concentrated on a searching for a solution to overcome this social/cultural crisis and call for a dramatic transformation and reconstruction of American society.** Finally, it is interesting to notice that **(9) references to war and economic trauma in this group of texts are also limited and subjected to social and political descriptions.** This suggests that social issues are more important in the speeches than those regarding economic and military problems. In the subsequent subsection, another significant component of analysis is conducted, namely a study on the distribution of selected rhetorical devices in the speeches together with an attempt to explain the alleged reasons behind the speakers' preferences in their rhetorical choices.

3.4.3. Selected rhetorical devices used in the speeches

In the third step, an analysis of the use of selected rhetorical devices in the speeches was conducted. To achieve this goal, two main criteria were implemented. Firstly, the most frequently used rhetorical devices were identified and their total number is presented in the tables below. Secondly, all these above-mentioned rhetorical devices were divided into two groups, namely those used in passages describing trauma and those which were placed in sections referring to heroism. The results of this analysis in relation to the speeches delivered by the American policymakers are collected in the table below.

Table 7. The number of rhetorical devices in descriptions of trauma (T) and heroism (H) in selected speeches delivered by selected American presidents. Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker/ figure of speech	Dwight D. Eisenhower	John F. Kennedy	Lyndon B. Johnson	Richard M. Nixon	Gerald R. Ford
Alliteration (T)	-	1	2	1	1
(H)	-	2	8	5	4
Anadiplosis (T)	-	-	-	-	1
(H)	-	-	-	1	-
Analogy (T)	-	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	2
Anaphora (T)	-	2	2	3	-
(H)	-	3	7	6	7
Antithesis (T)	-	3	1	7	3
(H)	-	3	2	5	3
Apostrophe (T)	2	-	1	-	-
(H)	-	-	7	6	3
Assonance (T)	-	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	2	-	-
Asyndeton (T)	1	2	-	1	-
(H)	-	2	2	1	2
Contrast (T)	1	5	2	2	1
(H)	-	1	3	4	5
Diacope (T)	1	3	1	2	1
(H)	-	2	9	5	6
Enumeration (T)	-	3	4	4	1
(H)	-	10	14	10	4
Epistrophe (T)	-	1	1	1	-
(H)	-	2	2	1	1
Epithet (T)	-	4	3	-	-
(H)	-	3	9	11	6
Epizeuxis (T)	-	-	-	2	-
(H)	-	1	2	1	4
Eponym (T)	-	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	-
Exemplum (T)	-	-	-	1	-
(H)	-	-	1	-	1
Hyperbole (T)	-	1	-	1	-
(H)	-	-	2	4	-

Metaphor (T)	4	14	6	12	1
(H)	-	17	7	14	12
Onomatopoeia (T)	-	1	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	-
Oxymoron (T)	-	-	-	1	-
(H)	-	-	-	1	-
Paradox (T)	-	3	-	-	1
(H)	-	-	1	-	-
Personification (T)	3	-	-	4	-
(H)	-	1	2	2	1
Pleonasm (T)	1	-	1	1	-
(H)	-	-	4	1	3
Polysyndeton (T)	-	-	2	1	-
(H)	-	2	3	1	7
Rhetorical question (T)	-	-	-	1	-
(H)	-	-	-	1	1
Simile (T)	-	2	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	1
Understatement (T)	-	-	1	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	-

Similarly to the data displayed in the above-presented table, identified rhetorical devices used in selected speeches delivered by the leaders of the opposition to the Vietnam War are summarized below. The implemented methodology is identical, including the same rhetorical devices, placing emphasis on their presence in selected passages describing either trauma or heroism. The results of this study are collected in the table below.

Table 8. The number of rhetorical devices in descriptions of trauma (T) and heroism (H) in selected speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker/ figure of speech	Mario Savio	Martin Luther King Jr.	Shirley Chisholm	John Kerry	Jane Fonda
Alliteration (T)	2	8	2	3	-
(H)	4	4	2	-	-
Anadiplosis (T)	3	-	-	1	-
(H)	-	2	-	-	-
Analogy (T)	1	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	-
Anaphora (T)	5	6	1	8	1
(H)	3	14	4	2	2
Antithesis (T)	3	11	2	11	3
(H)	3	8	2	3	2
Apostrophe (T)	-	-	-	-	-
(H)	1	7	2	-	-
Assonance (T)	-	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	-

Asyndeton (T)	-	5	1	3	1
(H)	-	4	4	3	1
Contrast (T)	5	11	5	3	-
(H)	3	9	1	-	-
Diacoep (T)	4	7	2	12	-
(H)	-	4	2	1	1
Enumeration (T)	-	9	5	-	3
(H)	-	8	1	4	3
Epistrophe (T)	3	-	1	1	-
(H)	-	3	-	1	-
Epithet (T)	12	10	8	3	1
(H)	3	15	5	-	-
Epizeuxis (T)	4	3	2	5	-
(H)	-	6	1	1	-
Eponym (T)	-	-	2	2	-
(H)	-	-	-	1	-
Exemplum (T)	3	1	2	4	-
(H)	2	-	-	-	-
Hyperbole (T)	-	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	1	-	-	-
Metaphor (T)	-	38	10	21	-
(H)	-	47	2	6	3
Onomatopoeia (T)	-	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	-
Oxymoron (T)	1	-	-	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	1
Paradox (T)	1	2	1	6	1
(H)	-	-	-	-	-
Personification (T)	-	4	1	9	-
(H)	-	1	1	-	-
Pleonasm (T)	1	1	-	4	-
(H)	-	4	2	2	-
Polysyndeton (T)	2	5	2	4	-
(H)	-	6	-	1	1
Rhetorical question (T)	7	21	3	3	-
(H)	2	8	2	4	-
Simile (T)	-	4	-	5	1
(H)	-	3	-	-	-
Understatement (T)	-	-	1	-	-
(H)	-	-	-	-	-

When comparing both tables, one conclusion is that **(1) although numerous rhetorical devices are present in all the speeches analyzed here, their number is grossly disproportionate.** In particular, the least frequent here are: assonance (used only twice by President Johnson), onomatopoeia (mentioned only once by Senator Kennedy), as well as understatement which is employed once by President Johnson and once by Senator Chisholm. Moreover, **(2) certain rhetorical devices play a similar role in the speeches and their cumulative effect on the audience may be considered globally.** Firstly, as metaphors and simile are used to express a non-literal meaning, they are powerful as a tool of influence on the audience. Secondly, whereas

asyndeton, enumeration and polysyndeton are used to deliver a list, antithesis and contrast indicate opposition to the previously expressed view, while anaphora, diacope and epizeuxis provide a specific rhythm and, as a consequence, have a great impact on the audience. On the basis of the data illustrated in the tables, it may be concluded that all these above-mentioned rhetorical devices are used by the speakers, regardless of their political and social preferences. As a consequence, **(3) this group of rhetorical figures which have been numerated above (anaphora, antithesis, asyndeton, contrast, diacope, enumeration, epizeuxis, metaphors, polysyndeton, simile) is seen as dominant in all the speeches analyzed here and constitutes a rhetorical core around which the entire speech is embedded.** In other words, these rhetorical figures have the greatest potential to exert an impact on the audience and shape its approach to traumatic and heroic issues.

Another observation is that **(4) whereas metaphors and simile have an impact on imagination and create in the (collective) mind of the audience certain images which are desirable by both groups of the speakers, asyndeton, enumeration and polysyndeton seem to provide numerous arguments to support a speaker's view, antithesis and contrast allow one to challenge certain opinions, while anaphora, diacope and epizeuxis are used to emphasize certain statements of the speeches.** All these above-mentioned rhetorical figures exert a great influence on the audience which seems to be the main aim of the speakers in order to persuade and arouse feelings of trauma and heroism. This fact may explain their dominant position in both groups of speeches. Finally, **(5) a primary role of metaphors in all speeches is observed, which suggests that this particular rhetorical device is believed to be both efficient and long-lasting as a tool of persuasion and is commonly used in public discourse.**

In addition, rhetorical questions are frequently used in the speeches delivered by the leaders of the opposition to the Vietnam War and only occasionally in the presidential speeches. This suggests that **(6) in presidential discourse posing a question is viewed as revealing weakness, indecisiveness, uncertainty and confusion of the speaker, therefore, is not frequent. In contrast, in the antiwar speeches rhetorical questions seem to be a perfect tool in order to express tragic experiences of the speakers, as well as their fear and confusion while speaking about traumatic events.** Furthermore, **(7) references to apostrophe are more frequent in presidential speeches, which seems to illustrate a paternalistic relationship between the president and his audience, an approach which is not a common one in the group of antiwar speeches.** One exception may be viewed in MLK's speech which may be caused by the fact that

Revered King was a religious leader and, as such, was viewed by many as their mentor and spiritual guide.

While considering the role of epithets in the speeches, it is stated that **(8) both sides of the political dispute refer to this rhetorical device, although antiwar activists use them in greater number**. This is explained by the fact that presidential discourse seems to be more conciliatory while the speeches of the antiwar activists express their emotions more strongly and directly, in particular those connected with trauma. Moreover, **(9) a greater number of exempla are present in the antiwar speeches than in presidential addresses** which indicates that the opponents of the war prefer to embed their narrative on a solid ground of facts and events while in presidential speeches a more general direction is determined. Additionally, **(10) whereas the antiwar leaders more frequently indicate paradoxes with an intention of stimulating their impact on the audience, policymakers avoid this strategy** as possibly showing political and social inconsistency and, therefore, conceivably having a negative impact on the authority of the speaker. Finally, **(11) in the speeches of the leaders of the opposition to the Vietnam War, eponyms are more frequently used than in presidential discourse**, a fact which suggests that their speeches were less formal than presidential addresses which were, additionally, limited by the rigid frameworks imposed by the functions of American presidential discourse. Whereas main observations in regard to rhetorical devices have been expressed here, a similar analysis of the references to intertextuality in the speeches is conducted in the subsequent subsection.

3.4.4. References to intertextuality

In the last step, an analysis of the references to intertextuality identified in the speeches is conducted. Due to the fact that this analytical tool is a broad and complex phenomenon, in this study only direct references to intertextuality which was explicitly expressed are collected, namely those either quoted by the speakers or directly indicated as intertextuality in the speeches. The methodology implemented in this analysis include a calculation of the general number of references to intertextuality explicitly expressed in passages regarding either traumatic or heroic descriptions and a reference to selected types of intertextuality, namely previous statements of the speaker, the U.S. Presidents, another politicians, famous intellectuals and figures from the history of the United States, quotes from the Bible and, last but not least, views expressed by ordinary people. The results

of the survey in regard to the selected speeches delivered by American presidents are presented in Table 9. and the following Figure 9. and Figure 10.

Table 9. References to intertextuality (IT) in descriptions of trauma and heroism and its sources in the analyzed speeches delivered by selected American presidents. Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker	IT in descriptions of trauma	IT in descriptions of heroism	IT from the speaker's previous speech	IT from a U.S. President/ another politician	IT from intellectuals/ famous figures	IT from the Bible	IT from ordinary people's statements
Dwight D. Eisenhower	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John F. Kennedy	1	1	-	0/2	-	-	-
Lyndon B. Johnson	2	6	3	1/2	-	2	-
Richard M. Nixon	-	5	2	2/1	-	-	-
Gerald R. Ford	-	1	-	1/0	-	-	-

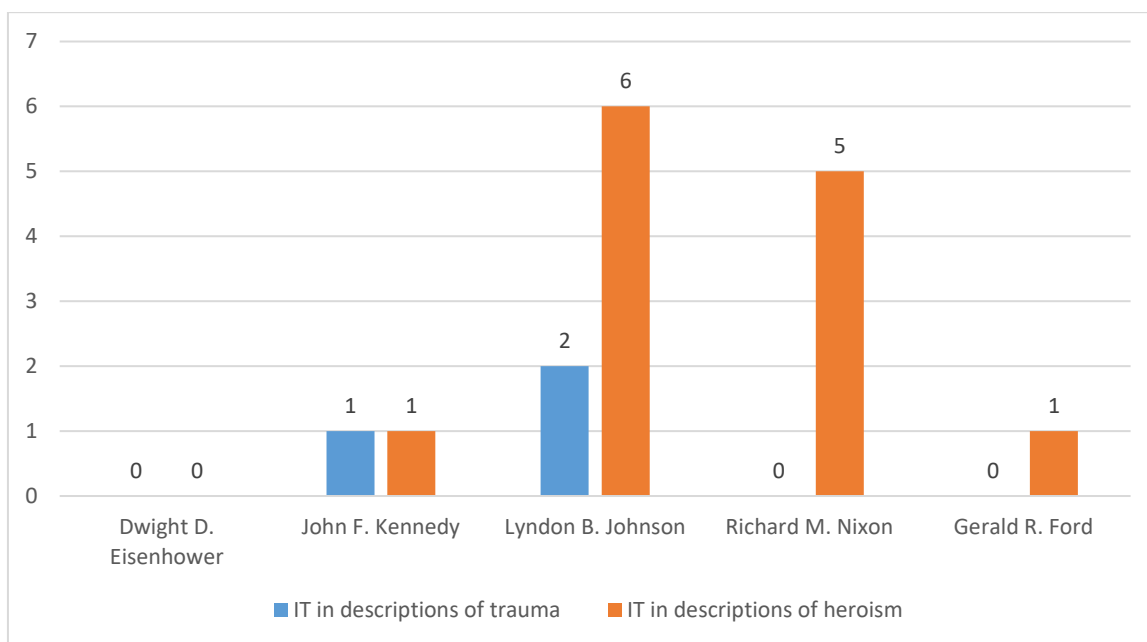


Figure 10. References to intertextuality (IT) in descriptions of trauma and heroism in the analyzed speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: prepared by the author.

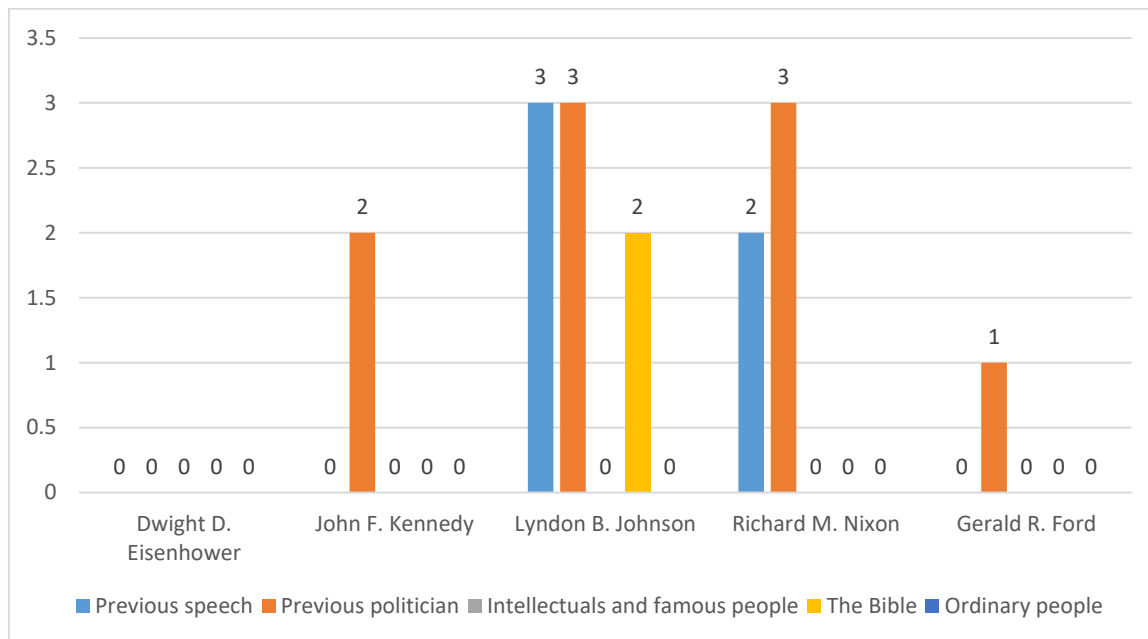


Figure 11. The sources of intertextuality in the analyzed speeches delivered by American presidents. Source: prepared by the author.

The above-presented data indicates that in the presidential speeches analyzed here direct intertextuality is more frequently used in descriptions of heroism. This means that in the presidential discourse famous borrowings from previous speeches are often evoked in order to underline the images of bravery, glorious traditions, as well as to motivate the audience to follow the speaker's advice which is, in general, a form of strengthening *ethos*. It was only in the case of Senator Kennedy's speech that direct intertextuality was used equally often in both types of description, namely in referring to trauma and heroism. Moreover, other politicians are the main source of direct intertextuality in the speeches analyzed here. In other words, in presidential discourse explicit intertextuality mainly refers to either former presidents or other well-known politicians. In the case of President Johnson's and President Nixon's speeches, explicitly expressed intertextuality was also used in order to refer to their own previous speeches, a fact which illustrates a unique tendency in presidential discourse. To wrap up this analysis, a reference to biblical intertextuality was noted only in a speech delivered by President Johnson.

In order to draw more general conclusions, it is worth noticing that **(1) political references are a dominant component of intertextuality explicitly expressed in presidential discourse** while the other references are either not mentioned or rarely referred to. Moreover, **(2) explicitly expressed intertextuality is also typically used in descriptions of heroism rather than in passages illustrating trauma.** This is explained by the fact that when a reference to a well-known and reputable individual is made, the aim of the speaker is to establish a close link to a glorious tradition and to generate positive connotations in the mind of the audience. Finally, such a person whose words are quoted is, usually, either a president or a famous politician. This, in turn, indicates certain limitations of the presidential discourse. In other words, **(3) whereas the range of references to explicitly expressed intertextuality is strongly limited only to political issues, references to other groups and individuals are rare or even completely disregarded.** In the passage which follows, the above-mentioned observations are compared with the tendencies in the use of explicitly expressed intertextuality by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War, an aspect which is illustrated in Table 10. and the following Figure 11. and Figure 12.

Table 10. References to intertextuality (IT) in descriptions of trauma and heroism and its sources in the analyzed speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War.

Source: tabulated by the author.

Speaker	IT in descriptions of trauma	IT in descriptions of heroism	IT from the speaker's previous speech	IT from a U.S. President/ another politician	IT from intellectuals/ famous figures	IT from the Bible	IT from ordinary people's statements
Mario Savio	4	1	-	0/4	-	-	1
Martin Luther King Jr.	5	10	-	1/0	5	5	4
Shirley Chisholm	4	5	-	4/4	-	-	1
John Kerry	6	1	-	2/1	1	1	2
Jane Fonda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

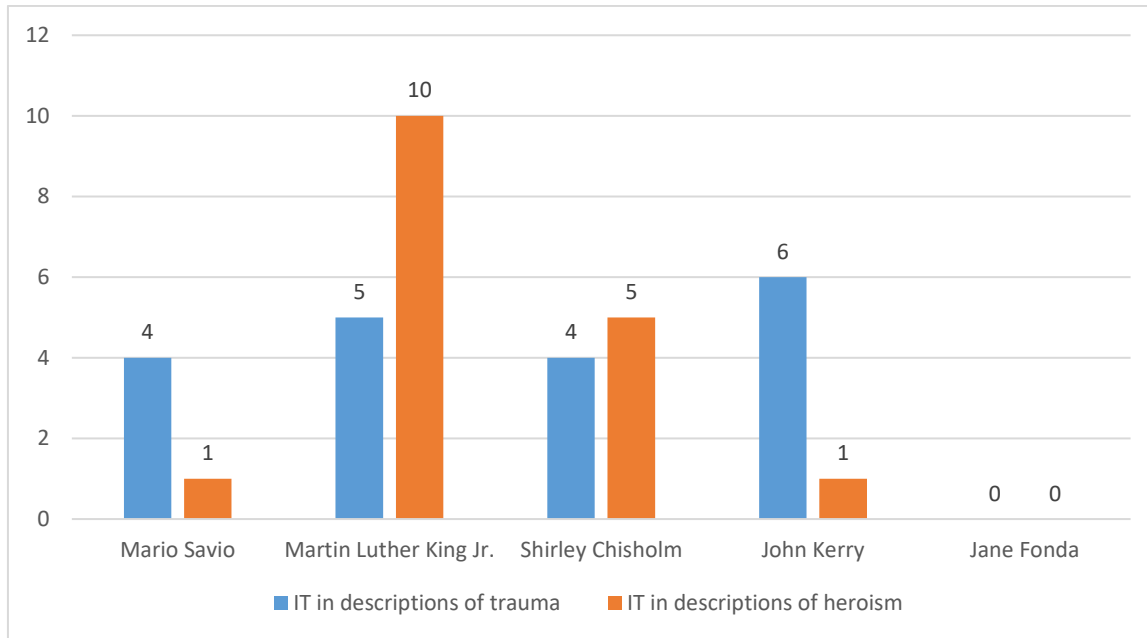


Figure 12. References to intertextuality (IT) in descriptions of trauma and heroism in the analyzed speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: prepared by the author.

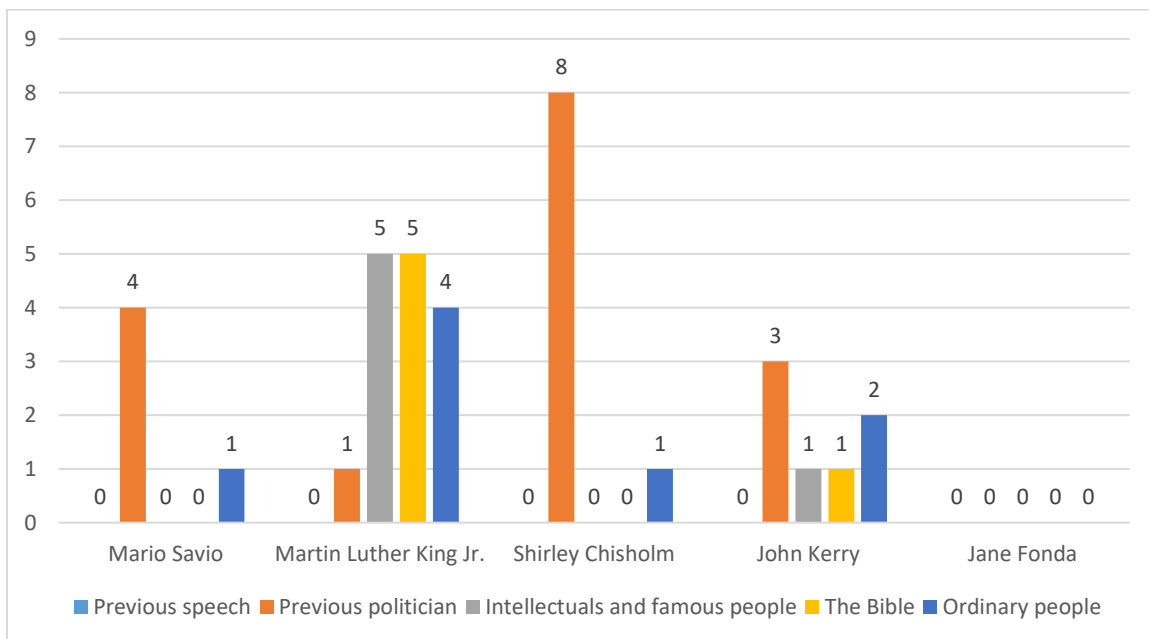


Figure 13. The sources of intertextuality in descriptions of trauma and heroism in the analyzed speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Source: prepared by the author.

In contrast to the presidential discourse, **(4) in speeches delivered by the leaders of the antiwar movement numerous types of explicitly expressed intertextuality are noticed.** Moreover, a

structure of intertextualities in descriptions of trauma and heroism is more balanced when compared with presidential discourse. In general, **(5) only a marginal predominance of explicitly expressed intertextuality in descriptions of trauma is observed when compared to explicitly expressed intertextuality in descriptions of heroism, namely in ratio working out 19:17. To illustrate, this number in presidential speeches shows a completely reverse trend and equals 3:13.** Moreover, whereas the antiwar speakers do not refer to their own previous speeches, in a number of cases they indicate non-political examples of explicit expressed intertextuality. This shows that, on the one hand, **(6) the antiwar speakers aim at being viewed as strongly connected with ordinary people**, while, on the other hand, **(7) this is also an illustration of their distrust towards American elites and their foreign policy.** Although **(8) direct references to former presidents and politicians are usually used in order to criticize their declarations** and to show a gap between their words and deeds, **(9) new types of intertextuality are introduced into the public discourse, namely certain passages which were taken from famous statements of intellectuals, as well as public figures and ordinary people.** This shows **(10) a huge discrepancy between both types of references to explicitly expressed intertextuality which is observed when both the presidential discourse and the discourse presented by the opponents of the Vietnam War are compared.**

To conclude, both distinguished groups, namely American politicians and antiwar activists, refer to explicit expressed intertextuality in their speeches. The difference lies in the proportion between references to intertextuality in both traumatic and heroic descriptions. Whereas in presidential discourse prevails a tendency to intertextuality in passages describing heroism, in antiwar discourse both motifs analyzed here are more balanced. Furthermore, the range of references to explicitly expressed intertextuality between both types of speakers is different. Although presidential discourse is focused on certain examples of intertextuality taken from previous presidents and politicians, antiwar discourse mainly reflects previous statements delivered by intellectuals, famous individuals, as well as views expressed by ordinary people. In general, both above-mentioned observations seem to be the most distinguished results drawn from an analysis of intertextuality in this dissertation. In the following subsection, more general conclusions and hypotheses are to be drawn.

3.4.5. Research conclusions

Considering the fact that a more detailed analysis of the methodology used in this study is conducted at the beginning of this chapter, in this section more general conclusions are drawn. First of all, it is safe to state that **(1) descriptions of trauma and heroism are commonly used by the speakers and are often revealed in each speech.** Whereas **(2) descriptions of trauma refer to the brutality, cruelty and suffering** which were experienced by numerous individuals and groups in both American and Vietnamese societies and **(3) mainly have an impact on the emotions of the audience,** **(4) descriptions of heroism, while exerting strong influence on the audience, are used to indicate certain examples of bravery and determination.** Therefore, the two concepts analyzed here seem to connect two areas, namely a linguistic layer of the speeches and the social domain of human existence. As a result, both of them are viewed as an interesting subject of analysis embedded in anthropological linguistics, more precisely within the field of pragmatics which is, by definition, focused on the relationship between language and both the social and cultural context in which it is used.

While analyzing an internal structure of the passages describing the concepts of trauma and heroism, three subcategories were distinguished, namely those referring to the experience of wartime, political and social encounters, as well as the economic sphere. Interestingly, **(5) in all the speeches analyzed here these subcategories are present, a fact which shows that both trauma and heroism are viewed as complex and multifaceted phenomena.** One important observation is that **(6) political and social encounters of trauma and heroism are the most frequently found phenomena in the speeches analyzed here.** Moreover, **(7) whereas reference to images of the war are also frequent, they are considerably less present in the speeches than the previous category.** Finally, **(8) passages containing economic descriptions of trauma and heroism are relatively rare.** This may be explained by the fact that **(9) the Vietnam War is only a pretext to express pain, suffering and hope which were encountered by different groups within American society and the speeches analyzed here are indeed focused on a linguistic description of a numerous dimensions of a painful social transformation observed in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s.**

While considering these examples of intertextuality which are expressed in an implicit manner, another important observation is that **(10) all the speakers refer to a similar catalogue of principles which includes traditional view on Americanism and American values,**

including references to the Bible, illustrious historic figures, experts. The difference lies in the fact that whereas **(11) American presidents frequently recall their own words and those spoken by their predecessors in the White House, (12) leaders of the antiwar opposition prefer direct references to passages delivered by famous scholars, public authorities, as well as ordinary people.** In a general sense, **(13) this shows that both groups of speakers share the same values and a common spirit of Americanism.** The difference is in placing emphasis on different components of this broad concept.

Yet another point is that, while considering different linguistic strategies, there are two groups of speakers distinguished here, namely **(14) the American presidents, who indicate new aims and encourage the audience to follow a new path of development, a strategy which is typical for the American presidential discourse, and (15) the leaders of the antiwar opposition movement, who have a strong focus on reconstructing the feeling of trauma and heroism.** Consequently, they want to heal the nation's wounds through linguistic tools similar to those used in psychotherapy. In this view, **(16) an attempt to reconstruct trauma and heroism has a strong impact on the national spirit of Americans and is intended to help them to overcome serious difficulties caused by the collective wounds of the past.** In other words, **(17) social problems and encounters are equally important for all the speakers and they make an attempt to heal them either by providing a new direction of development (mostly politicians), or by showing compassion and accompanying the audience in the process of recovery (more typical in case of activists).** In both cases, words which are spoken are viewed as medicine used to heal collective traumas.

Finally, considering references to rhetorical devices, it is concluded that they are often used by each speaker. As their role is to **(18) place emphasis on particular points of the political agenda outlined by the speakers and exert a strong influence on the audience by creating vivid and moving images of trauma and heroism, (19) they seem to be extremely important in an attempt to convince the audience of the proposed solutions, namely as part of a political struggle.** In other words, **(20) one of the key components of a political discourse, namely a relation of power expressed by language in use, is expressed here under the structuralized form of rhetoric.** Moreover, **(21) rhetoric and intertextuality are also used as a tool in an ideological battle which is concentrated on a linguistically expressed confrontation between two orders,** namely one which is conservative and still powerful in American society during the

period covering the Vietnam War, and a new one, often labeled as the protests of 1968, and their broad repercussions, which is responsible for a huge social transformation. To conclude, the speeches analyzed here are not only an excellent example of universal and timeless rhetoric, but, most importantly, they are a linguistic record of a confrontation between two diametrically opposed ideologies, a linguistic reflection of both a social revolution and unprecedented social transformation which exerted great impact on the United States and the entire world.

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter is devoted to a multidisciplinary analysis of American public discourse in relation to trauma and heroism during the period of the Vietnam War. First of all, the methodology used in this study is described in detail, including outlining its theoretical background, a research perspective which is broadly embedded in anthropological linguistics, more precisely in one of its subdomains, namely pragmatics, a subject matter which includes main research questions and, finally, a detailed step-by-step description of the analysis. Furthermore, the first part of the research material is presented, namely a collection of five speeches delivered by the main architects of American foreign policy during the Vietnam War. This section contains a brief description of each speech and its political and social background.

Subsequently, an in-depth rhetorical analysis of these speeches is conducted, including a brief introduction used to outline the context of the speeches and, later, particular rhetorical devices and references to intertextuality in all passages which contain components of either trauma or heroism. **The aim of this section is to show the richness of rhetorical devices and references to explicitly expressed intertextuality which are presented by the speakers and to prepare research material for the comparative analysis conducted in the second part of the chapter.** Similarly, the following subsection containing research material is presented, including a collection of five speeches delivered by the leaders of movement opposing the Vietnam War. In parallel, a brief description of the context of each speech is presented and followed by a rhetorical analysis and references to explicitly expressed intertextuality in passages describing trauma and heroism.

In the following sections, a broader comparative analysis is conducted which consists of four steps. Firstly, the length of the speeches is calculated in regard to the number of words, characters and the average number of pages. This is useful in order to compare the length of each

speech with the others, as well as to estimate the total length of both groups analyzed here, namely speeches delivered by the American policymakers and the leaders of movements opposing the Vietnam War. Secondly, the number of references to both trauma and heroism is compared in each speech, as well as the number of their particular types. This step allows one to estimate the dominant tendencies in each speech and, more precisely, reveals which type of trauma or heroism is dominant in the rhetoric of a given speaker. Thirdly, a rhetorical analysis is conducted. In this step, the most common types of rhetorical devices used in the speeches are summarized in regard to each speech, a procedure which allows one to compare the rhetorical style of the speakers and their strategies while discussing trauma and heroism. Fourthly, a study regarding references to explicit intertextuality in each speech is conducted. In this subsection, not only a general number of references to intertextuality is calculated, but also main sources of inspirations and borrowings are indicated while considering both the speeches delivered by the American politicians and the antiwar activists. Finally, the entire analysis is concluded and more general results are enumerated.

4. General Conclusions

This study is focused on a multidisciplinary analysis of the American public discourse on the Vietnam War, which was produced by both American policymakers and the leaders of groups opposed to this conflict, and consists of three broad chapters which are, subsequently, divided into more detailed sections and subsections. **In the first chapter, key concepts used in this dissertation are outlined. The main aim of this chapter is to outline the scientific background of the study conducted in the third chapter, in particular its complex nature.** The sections which follow describe a common field of both anthropological and linguistic studies, with the aim of fully illustrating the multidisciplinary character of this analysis. Following a broad outline of anthropological linguistics, which also includes selected similar domains and the sub-disciplines derived from it, the complexity of this concept is presented. Similarly, numerous dimensions of both trauma and heroism are examined. Finally, selected concepts commonly used in studies focused on anthropological linguistics are analyzed, including the concepts of culture, communication, language and discourse.

The main aim of the second chapter is to describe selected methods of analysis used in this study and to outline the general context of the analyzed speeches. Beginning with a description of three research fields, namely those focused on rhetorical, textual and quantitative analysis, the range and depth of this study is sketched out. Particular subsections extend from an illustration of discourse in its formal structures (rhetorical analysis) and textual layers of speeches, to references to quantitative linguistics. Moreover, a detailed research study of historical, social and cultural background of the period analyzed in this dissertation is conducted. The following sections describe not only certain historic events, but also the complex social and cultural structure of post-war American society, including key social groups engaged in an ideological conflict within American society from 1954 to 1975, as well as characterizing the processes and changes they generated.

Finally, in the third chapter, a multidimensional analysis of ten speeches regarding the Vietnam War, which were delivered by both American policymakers and the leaders of groups opposing this conflict, is conducted. As explained in a section focused on describing the methodology implemented in this study, as each speech is embedded in its particular context, a careful analysis of both the rhetorical devices used by the speakers and the intertextuality explicitly

expressed in their speeches is subsequently conducted. The following steps includes an examination focusing on the length of the speeches, linguistically expressed references to trauma and heroism and their particular types, an analysis of the figures of speech identified in the speeches, as well as a study of identified examples of intertextuality explicitly expressed. In the final sections, the results obtained are more generally summed up and research conclusions are drawn.

The overall study is based on the fact that “[l]anguage is a mode of behavior and the meaning of the utterance is constituted by its pragmatic function: it can only be understood in relation to the context in which it is embedded” (Norrick & Ilie 2018: 7). **All in all, this study manages to analyze the link between language used by particular actors in the American public discourse in reference to motifs of trauma and heroism and the co-occurrence of both rhetorical structures and intertextual references in selected passages of their speeches.** In other words, a comparative and multidisciplinary analysis is conducted in order to reveal certain rules of the American public discourse on the Vietnam War as seen through a pragmatic perspective. However, although this analysis is well-balanced and based on diverse materials, one important question is whether the above-presented conclusions are universal and also can be confirmed for a broader range of public discourse. In order to answer to this question, a similar analysis in regard to a broader range of speeches and, alternatively, different motifs identified in these speeches should be conducted in a related study. Such a further analysis would be beneficial in order to either prove and extend the conclusions expressed in this study, or to embed them in a broader field pointing towards identifying and describing the rules of public discourse.

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Appendix: source materials

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

*An Excerpt from President Eisenhower's Thirty-fourth News Conference. The Theory of Domino. Delivered on 7th April 1954*⁷⁵

Q. Robert Richards, Copley Press: Mr. President, would you mind commenting on the strategic importance of Indochina to the free world? I think there has been, across the country, some lack of understanding on just what it means to us.

THE PRESIDENT. You have, of course, both the specific and the general when you talk about such things.

First of all, you have the specific value of a locality in its production of materials that the world needs.

Then you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is inimical to the free world [1PST].

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the "falling domino" principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences [2PST].

Now, with respect to the first one, two of the items from this particular area that the world uses are tin and tungsten. They are very important. There are others, of course, the rubber plantations and so on.

Then with respect to more people passing under this domination, Asia, after all, has already lost some 450 million of its peoples to the Communist dictatorship, and we simply can't afford greater losses [3PST].

But when we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following, now you begin to talk about areas that not only multiply the disadvantages that you would suffer through loss of materials, sources of materials, but now you are talking really about millions and millions and millions of people [4ET].

Finally, the geographical position achieved thereby does many things. It turns the so-called island defensive chain of Japan, Formosa, of the Philippines and to the southward; it moves in to threaten Australia and New Zealand [5PST].

It takes away, in its economic aspects, that region that Japan must have as a trading area or Japan, in turn, will have only one place in the world to go – that is, toward the Communist areas in order to live [6ET].

So, the possible consequences of the loss are just incalculable to the free world.

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

*Remarks of Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy at the Conference America's Stake in Vietnam sponsored by the American Friends of Vietnam. Delivered on 1st June 1956*⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Retrieved from: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/233655>. Date: 9-01-2020.

⁷⁶ Retrieved from: <https://iowaculture.gov/sites/default/files/history-education-pss-vietnam-stakes-transcription.pdf>. Date: 9-01-2020.

It is a genuine pleasure to be here today at this vital Conference on the future of Vietnam, and America's stake in that new nation, sponsored by the American Friends of Vietnam, an organization of which I am proud to be a member. Your meeting today at a time when political events concerning Vietnam are approaching a climax, both in that country and in our own Congress, is most timely. Your topic and deliberations, which emphasize the promise of the future more than the failures of the past, are most constructive. I can assure you that the Congress of the United States will give considerable weight to your findings and recommendations; and I extend to all of you who have made the effort to participate in this Conference my congratulations and best wishes.

It is an ironic and tragic fact that this Conference is being held at a time when the news about Vietnam has virtually disappeared from the front pages of the American press, and the American people have all but forgotten the tiny nation for which we are in large measure responsible [1PST]. This decline in public attention is due, I believe, to three factors: **First, it is due in part to the amazing success of President Diem in meeting firmly and with determination the major political and economic crises which had heretofore continually plagued Vietnam [2EH].** (I shall say more about this point later, for it deserves more consideration from all Americans interested in the future of Asia).

Secondly, it is due in part to the traditional role of American journalism, including readers as well as writers, to be more interested in crises than in accomplishments, to give more space to the threat of wars than the need for works, and to write larger headlines on the sensational omissions of the past than the creative missions of the future. **Third and finally, our neglect of Vietnam is the result of one of the most serious weaknesses that has hampered the long-range effectiveness of American foreign policy over the past several years –and that is the over emphasis upon our role as “volunteer fire department” for the world [3PST].** Whenever and wherever fire breaks out – in Indo-Chin, in the Middle East, in Guatemala, in Cyprus, in the Formosan Straits – our firemen rush in, wheeling up all their heavy equipment, and resorting to every known method of containing and extinguishing the blaze [4PSH]. The crowd gathers – the usually successful efforts of our able volunteers are heartily applauded – and then the firemen rush off to the next conflagration, leaving the grateful but still stunned inhabitants to clean up the rubble, pick up the pieces and rebuild their homes with whatever resources are available [5ET].

The role, to be sure, is a necessary one; but it is not the only role to be played, and the others cannot be ignored. **A volunteer fire departments halts, but rarely prevents, fires. It repels but rarely rebuilds; it meets the problems of the present but not of the future. And while we are devoting our attention to the Communist arson in Korea, there is smoldering in Indo-China; we turn our efforts to Indo-China until the alarm sounds in Algeria – and so it goes [6PST, WT].**

Of course Vietnam is not completely forgotten by our policy-makers today--I could not in honesty make such a charge and the facts would easily refute it – but the unfortunate truth of the matter is that, in my opinion, **Vietnam would in all likelihood be receiving more attention from our Congress and Administration, and greater assistance under our aid programs, if it were in imminent danger of Communist invasion or revolution. Like those peoples of Latin America and Africa whom we have very nearly overlooked in the past decade, the Vietnamese may find that their devotion to the cause of democracy, and their success in reducing the strength of local Communist groups, have had the ironic effect of reducing American support. Yet the need for that support has in no way been reduced. (I hope it will not be necessary for the Diem Government – or this organization – to subsidize the growth of the South Vietnam Communist Party in order to focus American attention on the nation's critical needs!)** [7PST].

No one contends that we should now rush all our fire-fighting equipment to Vietnam, ignoring the Middle East or any other part of the world. But neither should we conclude that the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China removed that area from the list of important areas of United States foreign policy. Let us briefly consider exactly what is “America's Stake in Vietnam”:

First, Vietnam represents the cornerstone of the Free World in Southeast Asia, the keystone to the arch, the finger in the dike. Burma, Thailand, India, Japan, the Philippines and obviously Laos and Cambodia are among those whose security would be threatened if the Red Tide of Communism overflowed into Vietnam

[8PSH]. In the past, our policy-makers have sometimes issued contradictory statements on this point – but the long history of Chinese invasions of Southeast Asia being stopped by Vietnamese warriors should have removed all doubt on this subject.

Moreover, the independence of Free Vietnam is crucial to the free world in fields other than the military. Her economy is essential to the economy of all of Southeast Asia; and her political liberty is an inspiration to those seeking to obtain or maintain their liberty in all parts of Asia – and indeed the world [9PST]. The fundamental tenets of this nation's foreign policy, in short, depend in considerable measure upon a strong and free Vietnamese nation.

Secondly, Vietnam represents a proving ground of democracy in Asia. However we may choose to ignore it or deprecate it, the rising prestige and influence of Communist China in Asia are unchallengeable facts [10PST]. Vietnam represents the alternative to Communist dictatorship. If this democratic experiment fails, if some one million refugees have fled totalitarianism of the North only to find neither freedom nor security in the South, then weakness, not strength, will characterize the meaning of democracy in the minds of still more Asians [11PST, WT]. The United States is directly responsible for this experiment – it is playing an important role in the laboratory where it is being conducted. We cannot afford to permit that experiment to fail.

Third and in somewhat similar fashion, Vietnam represents a test of American responsibility and determination in Asia. If we are not the parents of little Vietnam, then surely we are the godparents. We presided at its birth, we gave assistance to its life, we have helped to shape its future. As French influence in the political, economic and military spheres had declined in Vietnam, American influence has steadily grown. This is our offspring – we cannot abandon it, we cannot ignore its needs [12PSH]. And if it falls victim to any of the perils that threaten its existence – Communism, political anarchy, poverty and the rest – then the United States, with some justification, will be held responsible; and our prestige in Asia will sink to a new low [13PST].

Fourth and finally, America's stake in Vietnam, in her strength and in her security, is a very selfish one – for it can be measured, in the last analysis, in terms of American lives and American dollars. It is now well known that we were at one time on the brink of war in Indo-China – a war which could well have been more costly, more exhausting and less conclusive than any war we have ever known. The threat of such war is not now altogether removed from the horizon. Military weakness, political instability or economic failure in the new state of Vietnam could change almost overnight the apparent security which has increasingly characterized that area under the leadership of Premier Diem [14ET]. And the key position of Vietnam in Southeast Asia, as already discussed, makes inevitable the involvement of this nation's security in any new outbreak of trouble.

It is these four points, in my opinion, that represent America's stake in Vietnamese security. And before we look to the future, let us stop to review what the Diem Government has already accomplished by way of increasing that security. Most striking of all, perhaps, has been the rehabilitation of more than 3/4 of a million refugees from the North. For those courageous people dedicated to the free way of life, approximately 45,000 houses have been constructed, 2500 wells dug, 100 schools established and dozens of medical centers and maternity homes provided [15EH].

Equally impressive has been the increased solidarity and stability of the Government, the elimination of rebellious sects and the taking of the first vital steps toward true democracy. Where once colonialism and Communism struggled for supremacy, a free and independent republic has been proclaimed, recognized by over 40 countries of the free world. Where once a playboy emperor ruled from a distant shore, a constituent assembly has been elected. Social and economic reforms have likewise been remarkable. The living conditions of the peasants have been vastly improved, the wastelands have been cultivated, and a wider ownership of the land is gradually being encouraged. Farm cooperatives and farmer loans have modernized an outmoded agricultural economy; and a tremendous dam in the center of the country has made possible the irrigation of a vast area previously uncultivated.

Legislation for better labor relations, health protection, working conditions and wages has been completed under the leadership of President Diem [16PSH].

Finally, the Vietnamese army – now fighting for its own homeland and not its colonial masters – has increased tremendously in both quality and quantity. General O’Daniel can tell you more about these accomplishments [17WH].

But the responsibilities of the United States for Vietnam does not conclude, obviously, with a review of what has been accomplished thus far with our help. Much more needs to be done; much more, in fact, that we have been doing up to now. Military alliances in Southeast Asia are necessary but not enough. **Atomic superiority and the development of new ultimate weapons are not enough. Informational and propaganda activities, warning of the evils of Communism and the blessings of the American way of life, are not enough in a country where concepts of free enterprise and capitalism are meaningless, where poverty and hunger are not enemies across the 17th parallel but enemies within their midst. As Ambassador Chong had recently said: “People cannot be expected to fight for the Free World unless they have their own freedom to defend, their freedom from foreign domination as well as freedom from misery, oppression, corruption” [18ET].**

I shall not attempt to set forth the details of the type of aid program this nation should offer the Vietnamese – for it is not the details of the program that are as important as the spirit with which it is offered and the objectives it seeks to accomplish. We should not attempt to buy the friendship of the Vietnamese. Nor can we win their hearts by making them dependent upon our handouts. **What we must offer them is a revolution – a political, economic and social revolution far superior to anything the Communists can offer – far more peaceful, far more democratic and far more locally controlled. Such a Revolution will require much from the United States and much from Vietnam. We must supply capital to replace that drained by the centuries of colonial exploitation; technicians to train those handicapped by deliberate policies of illiteracy; guidance to assist a nation taking those first feeble steps toward the complexities of a republican form of government. We must assist the inspiring growth of Vietnamese democracy and economy, including the complete integration of those refugees who gave up their homes and their belongings to seek freedom [19PSH, EH]. We must provide military assistance to rebuild the new Vietnamese Army, which every day faces the growing peril of Vietminh Armies across the border [20WH].**

And finally, in the councils of the world, we must never permit any diplomatic action adverse to this, one of the youngest members of the family of nations – and I include in that injunction a plea that the United States never give its approval to the early nationwide elections called for by the Geneva Agreement of 1954. Neither the United States nor Free Vietnam was a party to that agreement – and neither the United States nor Free Vietnam is ever going to be a party to an election obviously stacked and subverted in advance, urged upon us by those who have already broken their own pledges under the Agreement they now seek to enforce.

All this and more we can offer Free Vietnam, as it passes through the present period of transition on its way to a new era – an era of pride and independence, an era of democratic and economic growth – an era which, when contrasted with the long years of colonial oppression, will truly represent a political, social and economic revolution [21PSH, EH].

This is the revolution we can, we should, we must offer to the people of Vietnam – not as charity, not as a business proposition, not as a political maneuver, nor simply to enlist them as soldiers against Communism or as chattels of American foreign policy – but a revolution of their own making, for their own welfare, and for the security of freedom everywhere [22PSH]. The Communists offer them another kind of revolution, glittering and seductive in its superficial appeal [23PST]. The choice between the two can be made only by the Vietnamese people themselves. But in these times of trial and burden, true friendships stand out. As Premier Diem recently wrote a great friend of Vietnam, Senator Mansfield, “It is only in winter that you can tell which trees are evergreen.” And I am confident that if this nation demonstrates that it has not forgotten the people of Vietnam, the people of Vietnam will demonstrate that they have not forgotten us [24PSH].

LYNDON BYNES JOHNSON

*Remarks of President Lyndon Bynes Johnson on Vietnam and Not Seeking Reelection. Delivered on 31st March 1968*⁷⁷

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

Tonight I want to speak to you of peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. No other question so preoccupies our people. No other dream so absorbs the 250 million human beings who live in that part of the world. No other goal motivates American policy in Southeast Asia.

For years, representatives of our Governments and others have traveled the world seeking to find a basis for peace talks. Since last September they have carried the offer that I made public at San Antonio. And that offer was this:

“That the United States would stop its bombardment of North Vietnam when that would lead promptly to productive discussions – and that we would assume that North Vietnam would not take military advantage of our restraint” [1PSH].

Hanoi denounced this offer, both privately and publicly. **Even while the search for peace was going on, North Vietnam rushed their preparations for a savage assault on the people, the government, and the allies of South Vietnam. Their attack – during the Tet holidays – failed to achieve its principal objectives. It did not collapse the elected Government of South Vietnam or shatter its army – as the Communists had hoped. It did not produce a “general uprising” among the people of the cities, as they had predicted. The Communists were unable to maintain control of any of the more than 30 cities that they attacked. And they took very heavy casualties. But they did compel the South Vietnamese and their allies to move certain forces from the countryside into the cities. They caused widespread disruption and suffering. Their attacks, and the battles that followed, made refugees of half a million human beings.**

The Communists may renew their attack any day [2WT]. They are, it appears, trying to make 1968 the year of decision in South Vietnam – the year that brings, if not final victory or defeat, at least a turning point in the struggle.

This much is clear: **If they do mount another round of heavy attacks, they will not succeed in destroying the fighting power of South Vietnam and its allies [3WH].** But tragically, this is also clear: **Many men – on both sides of the struggle – will be lost. A nation that has already suffered 20 years of warfare will suffer once again. Armies on both sides will take new casualties. And the war will go on [4WT].** There is no need for this to be so. There is no need to delay the talks that could bring an end to this long and this bloody war.

Tonight, I renew the offer I made last August: to stop the bombardment of North Vietnam. We ask that talks begin promptly, that they be serious talks on the substance of peace. We assume that during those talks Hanoi will not take advantage of our restraint. We are prepared to move immediately toward peace through negotiations. So tonight, in the hope that this action will lead to early talks, I am taking the first step to de-escalate the conflict. We are reducing – substantially reducing – the present level of hostilities, and we are doing so unilaterally and at once.

Tonight, I have ordered our aircraft and our naval vessels to make no attacks on North Vietnam [5PSH], except in the area north of the demilitarized zone where the continuing enemy buildup directly threatens allied forward positions and where the movements of their troops and supplies are clearly related to that threat. The area in which we

⁷⁷ Retrieved from: <https://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbjvietnam.htm>. Date: 9-01-2020.

are stopping our attacks includes almost 90 percent of North Vietnam's population, and most of its territory. Thus, there will be no attacks around the principal populated areas, or in the food-producing areas of North Vietnam.

Even this very limited bombing of the North could come to an early end -- if our restraint is matched by restraint in Hanoi. **But I cannot in good conscience stop all bombing so long as to do so would immediately and directly endanger the lives of our men and our allies [6WT].** Whether a complete bombing halt becomes possible in the future will be determined by events. **Our purpose in this action is to bring about a reduction in the level of violence that now exists. It is to save the lives of brave men – and to save the lives of innocent women and children [7WH].** It is to permit the contending forces to move closer to a political settlement. **And tonight I call upon the United Kingdom and I call upon the Soviet Union – as co-chairmen of the Geneva conferences, and as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council – to do all they can to move from the unilateral act of de-escalation that I have just announced toward genuine peace in Southeast Asia.**

Now, as in the past, the United States is ready to send its representatives to any forum, at any time, to discuss the means of bringing this ugly war to an end. I am designating one of our most distinguished Americans, Ambassador Averell Harriman, as my personal representative for such talks. In addition, I have asked Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson, who returned from Moscow for consultation, to be available to join Ambassador Harriman at Geneva or any other suitable place – just as soon as Hanoi agrees to a conference.

I call upon President Ho Chi Minh to respond positively, and favorably, to this new step toward peace [8PSH]. But if peace does not come now through negotiations, it will come when Hanoi understands that our common resolve is unshakable, and our common strength is invincible.

Tonight, we and the other allied nations are contributing 600,000 fighting men to assist 700,000 South Vietnamese troops in defending their little country. Our presence there has always rested on this basic belief: The main burden of preserving their freedom must be carried out by them – by the South Vietnamese themselves [9WH].

We and our allies can only help to provide a shield behind which the people of South Vietnam can survive and can grow and develop. On their efforts – on their determinations and resourcefulness – the outcome will ultimately depend. **That small, beleaguered nation has suffered terrible punishment for more than 20 years [10PST]. I pay tribute once again tonight to the great courage and the endurance of its people. South Vietnam supports armed forces tonight of almost 700,000 men, and I call your attention to the fact that that is the equivalent of more than 10 million in our own population. Its people maintain their firm determination to be free of domination by the North [11PSH].**

There has been substantial progress, I think, in building a durable government during these last three years. The South Vietnam of 1965 could not have survived the enemy's Tet offensive of 1968. **The elected government of South Vietnam survived that attack – and is rapidly repairing the devastation that it wrought. The South Vietnamese know that further efforts are going to be required to expand their own armed forces; to move back into the countryside as quickly as possible; to increase their taxes; to select the very best men that they have for civil and military responsibilities; to achieve a new unity within their constitutional government, and to include in the national effort all those groups who wish to preserve South Vietnam's control over its own destiny [12PSH, EH].**

Last week President Thieu ordered the mobilization of 135,000 additional South Vietnamese. He plans to reach as soon as possible a total military strength of more than 800,000 men. To achieve this, the Government of South Vietnam started the drafting of 19-year-olds on March 1st. **On May 1st, the Government will begin the drafting of 18-year-**

olds. Last month, 10,000 men volunteered for military service. That was two and a half times the number of volunteers during the same month last year. Since the middle of January, more than 48,000 South Vietnamese have joined the armed forces, and nearly half of them volunteered to do so [13WH].

All men in the South Vietnamese armed forces have had their tours of duty extended for the duration of the war, and reserves are now being called up for immediate active duty. **President Thieu told his people last week, and I quote:**

“We must make greater efforts, we must accept more sacrifices, because as I have said many times, this is our country. The existence of our nation is at stake, and this is mainly a Vietnamese responsibility.”

He warned his people that a major national effort is required to root out corruption and incompetence at all levels of government [14PSH]. We applaud this evidence of determination on the part of South Vietnam. Our first priority will be to support their effort. We shall accelerate the re-equipment of South Vietnam’s armed forces in order to meet the enemy’s increased firepower. And this will enable them progressively to undertake a larger share of combat operations against the Communist invaders.

On many occasions I have told the American people that we would send to Vietnam those forces that are required to accomplish our mission there. So with that as our guide we have previously authorized a force level of approximately 525,000. Some weeks ago to help meet the enemy’s new offensive we sent to Vietnam about 11,000 additional Marine and airborne troops. They were deployed by air in 48 hours on an emergency basis. But the artillery and the tank and the aircraft and medical and other units that were needed to work with and support these infantry troops in combat could not then accompany them by air on that short notice.

In order that these forces may reach maximum combat effectiveness, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have recommended to me that we should prepare to send during the next five months the support troops totaling approximately 13,500 men. A portion of these men will be made available from our active forces. The balance will come from reserve component units, which will be called up for service.

The actions that we have taken since the beginning of the year to re-equip the South Vietnamese forces; to meet our responsibilities in Korea, as well as our responsibilities in Vietnam; to meet price increases and the cost of activating and deploying these reserve forces; to replace helicopters and provide the other military supplies we need, all of these actions are going to require additional expenditures [15WH, PSH, EH]. The tentative estimate of those additional expenditures is 2 1/2 billion dollars in this fiscal year and 2 billion, 600 million in the next fiscal year. These projected increases in expenditures for our national security will bring into sharper focus the nation’s need for immediate action, action to protect the prosperity of the American people and to protect the strength and the stability of our American dollar.

On many occasions I have pointed out that without a tax bill or decreased expenditures, next year’s deficit would again be around \$20 billion. **I have emphasized the need to set strict priorities in our spending. I have stressed that failure to act – and to act promptly and decisively – would raise very strong doubts throughout the world about America’s willingness to keep its financial house in order [16EH].**

Yet Congress has not acted. And tonight we face the sharpest financial threat in the postwar era – a threat to the dollar’s role as the keystone of international trade and finance in the world [17ET].

Last week, at the monetary conference in Stockholm, the major industrial countries decided to take a big step toward creating a new international monetary asset that will strengthen the international monetary system. And I’m very proud of the very able work done by Secretary Fowler and Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board. But to make this

system work, the United States just must bring its balance of payments to – or very close to – equilibrium. We must have a responsible fiscal policy in this country. The passage of a tax bill now, together with expenditure control that the Congress may desire and dictate, is absolutely necessary to protect this nation's security, and to continue our prosperity, and to meet the needs of our people.

Now, what is at stake is seven years of unparalleled prosperity. In those seven years, the real income of the average American, after taxes, rose by almost 30 percent – a gain as large as that of the entire preceding 19 years. So the steps that we must take to convince the world are exactly the steps that we must take to sustain our own economic strength here at home. **In the past eight months, prices and interest rates have risen because of our inaction [18ET]. We must therefore now do everything we can to move from debate to action, from talking to voting and there is, I believe – I hope there is – in both Houses of the Congress a growing sense of urgency that this situation just must be acted upon and must be corrected [19EH].**

My budget in January, we thought, was a tight one. It fully reflected our evaluation of most of the demanding needs of this nation. But in these budgetary matters, the President does not decide alone. The Congress has the power, and the duty, to determine appropriations and taxes. And the Congress is now considering our proposals, and they are considering reductions in the budget that we submitted.

As part of a program of fiscal restraint that includes the tax surcharge, I shall approve appropriate reductions in the January budget when and if Congress so decides that that should be done. One thing is unmistakably clear, however. **Our deficit just must be reduced. Failure to act could bring on conditions that would strike hardest at those people that all of us are trying so hard to help [20ET].**

So these times call for prudence in this land of plenty. **And I believe that we have the character to provide it, and tonight I plead with the Congress and with the people to act promptly to serve the national interest and thereby serve all of our people [21PSH].**

Now let me give you my estimate of the chances for peace -- the peace that will one day stop the bloodshed in South Vietnam; that will – all the Vietnamese people [will] be permitted to rebuild and develop their land; that will permit us to turn more fully to our own tasks here at home. I cannot promise that the initiative that I have announced tonight will be completely successful in achieving peace any more than the 30 others that we have undertaken and agreed to in recent years. But it is our fervent hope that North Vietnam, after years of fighting that has left the issue unresolved, will now cease its efforts to achieve a military victory and will join with us in moving toward the peace table.

And there may come a time when South Vietnamese – on both sides – are able to work out a way to settle their own differences by free political choice rather than by war [22PSH]. As Hanoi considers its course, it should be in no doubt of our intentions. It must not miscalculate the pressures within our democracy in this election year. **We have no intention of widening this war. But the United States will never accept a fake solution to this long and arduous struggle and call it peace [23PSH].**

No one can foretell the precise terms of an eventual settlement. Our objective in South Vietnam has never been the annihilation of the enemy. It has been to bring about a recognition in Hanoi that its objective – taking over the South by force – could not be achieved. We think that peace can be based on the Geneva Accords of 1954, under political conditions that permit the South Vietnamese – all the South Vietnamese – to chart their course free of any outside domination or interference, from us or from anyone else.

So tonight, I reaffirm the pledge that we made at Manila: that we are prepared to withdraw our forces from South Vietnam as the other side withdraws its forces to the North, stops the infiltration, and the level of violence

thus subsides. Our goal of peace and self-determination in Vietnam is directly related to the future of all of Southeast Asia, where much has happened to inspire confidence during the past 10 years. And we have done all that we knew how to do to contribute and to help build that confidence [24PSH].

A number of its nations have shown what can be accomplished under conditions of security. **Since 1966, Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in all the world, with a population of more than 100 million people, has had a government that's dedicated to peace with its neighbors and improved conditions for its own people [25EH].**

Political and economic cooperation between nations has grown rapidly. And I think every American can take a great deal of pride in the role that we have played in bringing this about in Southeast Asia. **We can rightly judge – as responsible Southeast Asians themselves do – that the progress of the past three years would have been far less likely, if not completely impossible, if America's sons and others had not made their stand in Vietnam [26WH].**

At Johns Hopkins University about three years ago, I announced that the United States would take part in the great work of developing Southeast Asia, including the Mekong valley, for all the people of that region. **Our determination to help build a better land – a better land for men on both sides of the present conflict – has not diminished in the least. Indeed, the ravages of war, I think, have made it more urgent than ever [27EH].**

So I repeat on behalf of the United States again tonight what I said at Johns Hopkins – that North Vietnam could take its place in this common effort just as soon as peace comes. Over time, a wider framework of peace and security in Southeast Asia may become possible. The new cooperation of the nations of the area could be a foundation stone. Certainly friendship with the nations of such a Southeast Asia is what the United States seeks – and that is all that the United States seeks.

One day, my fellow citizen, there will be peace in Southeast Asia. It will come because the people of Southeast Asia want it – those whose armies are at war tonight; those who, though threatened, have thus far been spared. Peace will come because Asians were willing to work for it and to sacrifice for it – and to die by the thousands for it. But let it never be forgotten: peace will come also because America sent her sons to help secure it [28PSH].

It has not been easy – far from it. During the past four and a half years, it has been my fate and my responsibility to be Commander in Chief. I have lived daily and nightly with the cost of this war. I know the pain that it has inflicted. I know perhaps better than anyone the misgivings that it has aroused [29WT, PST]. And throughout this entire long period I have been sustained by a single principle: that what we are doing now in Vietnam is vital not only to the security of Southeast Asia, but it is vital to the security of every American [30PSH].

Surely, we have treaties which we must respect. Surely, we have commitments that we are going to keep. Resolutions of the Congress testify to the need to resist aggression in the world and in Southeast Asia.

But the heart of our involvement in South Vietnam under three different presidents, three separate Administrations, has always been America's own security. **And the larger purpose of our involvement has always been to help the nations of Southeast Asia become independent, and stand alone, self-sustaining as members of a great world community, at peace with themselves, at peace with all others. And with such a nation our country – and the world – will be far more secure than it is tonight [31PSH].**

I believe that a peaceful Asia is far nearer to reality because of what America has done in Vietnam. **I believe that the men who endure the dangers of battle there, fighting there for us tonight, are helping the entire world avoid far greater conflicts, far wider wars, far more destruction, than this one [32WH].** The peace that will bring them

home someday will come. **Tonight, I have offered the first in what I hope will be a series of mutual moves toward peace [33PSH].**

I pray that it will not be rejected by the leaders of North Vietnam. **I pray that they will accept it as a means by which the sacrifices of their own people may be ended [34WT]. And I ask your help and your support, my fellow citizens, for this effort to reach across the battlefield toward an early peace [35PSH].**

Finally, my fellow Americans, let me say this: **Of those to whom much is given, much is asked. I cannot say – and no man could say – that no more will be asked of us [36PST]. Yet I believe that now, no less than when the decade began, this “generation of Americans” is willing to “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival, and the success, of liberty.”**

Since those words were spoken by John F. Kennedy, the people of America have kept that compact with mankind’s noblest cause. **And we shall continue to keep it.**

Yet, I believe that we must always be mindful of this one thing – whatever the trials and the tests ahead, the ultimate strength of our country and our cause will lie, not in powerful weapons or infinite resources or boundless wealth, but will lie in the unity of our people [37PSH].

This I believe very deeply. Throughout my entire public career I have followed the personal philosophy that I am a free man, an American, a public servant, and a member of my party – in that order – always and only.

For 37 years in the service of our nation, first as a Congressman, as a Senator, and as Vice President, and now as your President, I have put the unity of the people first. I have put it ahead of any divisive partisanship [38PSH]. And in these times as in times before, it is true that a house divided against itself by the spirit of faction, of party, of region, of religion, of race, is a house that cannot stand.

There is division in the American house now. There is divisiveness among us all tonight [39PST]. And holding the trust that is mine, as President of all the people, I cannot disregard the peril to the progress of the American people and the hope and the prospects of peace for all peoples. So, I would ask all Americans, whatever their personal interests or concern, to guard against divisiveness and all of its ugly consequences [40PSH].

Fifty-two months and ten days ago, in a moment of tragedy and trauma, the duties of this office fell upon me [41PST]. I asked then for your help and God’s, that we might continue America on its course, binding up our wounds, healing our history, moving forward in new unity to clear the American agenda and to keep the American commitment for all of our people.

United we have kept that commitment. And united we have enlarged that commitment. And through all time to come I think America will be a stronger nation, a more just society, a land of greater opportunity and fulfillment because of what we have all done together in these years of unparalleled achievement [42PSH].

Our reward will come in the life of freedom and peace and hope that our children will enjoy through ages ahead. **What we won when all of our people united just must not now be lost in suspicion and distrust and selfishness and politics among any of our people [43PST]. And believing this, as I do, I have concluded that I should not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year.**

With American sons in the fields far away, with America’s future under challenge right here at home, with our hopes and the world’s hopes for peace in the balance every day, I do not believe that I should devote an hour or

a day of my time to any personal partisan causes or to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office – the Presidency of your country.

Accordingly, I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President. But let men everywhere know, however, that a strong and a confident and a vigilant America stands ready tonight to seek an honorable peace; and stands ready tonight to defend an honored cause, whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require [44PSH].

Thank you for listening. Good night and God bless all of you.

RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON

*The Great Silent Majority Speech. Delivered on 3rd November 1969*⁷⁸

Good evening, my fellow Americans.

Tonight I want to talk to you on a subject of deep concern to all Americans and to many people in all parts of the world, the war in Vietnam.

I believe that one of the reasons for the deep division about Vietnam is that many Americans have lost confidence in what their Government has told them about our policy. The American people cannot and should not be asked to support a policy which involves the overriding issues of war and peace unless they know the truth about that policy.

Tonight, therefore, I would like to answer some of the questions that I know are on the minds of many of you listening to me.

How and why did America get involved in Vietnam in the first place?

How has this administration changed the policy of the previous Administration?

What has really happened in the negotiations in Paris and on the battlefield in Vietnam?

What choices do we have if we are to end the war?

What are the prospects for peace?

Now let me begin by describing the situation I found when I was inaugurated on January 20: **The war had been going on for four years. Thirty-one thousand Americans had been killed in action [1WT]. The training program for the South Vietnamese was beyond [behind] schedule. Five hundred and forty-thousand Americans were in Vietnam with no plans to reduce the number. No progress had been made at the negotiations in Paris and the United States had not put forth a comprehensive peace proposal.**

⁷⁸ Retrieved from: <https://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/richardnixongreatsilentmajority.html>. Date: 9-01-2020.

The war was causing deep division at home and criticism from many of our friends, as well as our enemies, abroad [2PST].

In view of these circumstances, there were some who urged that I end the war at once by ordering the immediate withdrawal of all American forces. From a political standpoint, this would have been a popular and easy course to follow. **After all, we became involved in the war while my predecessor was in office. I could blame the defeat, which would be the result of my action, on him – and come out as the peacemaker. Some put it to me quite bluntly: This was the only way to avoid allowing Johnson’s war to become Nixon’s war [3PST].**

But I had a greater obligation than to think only of the years of my administration, and of the next election. I had to think of the effect of my decision on the next generation, and on the future of peace and freedom in America, and in the world [4PSH].

Let us all understand that the question before us is not whether some Americans are for peace and some Americans are against peace. The question at issue is not whether Johnson’s war becomes Nixon’s war. **The great question is: How can we win America’s peace? [5PSH].**

Well, let us turn now to the fundamental issue: Why and how did the United States become involved in Vietnam in the first place? Fifteen years ago North Vietnam, with the logistical support of Communist China and the Soviet Union, launched a campaign to impose a Communist government on South Vietnam by instigating and supporting a revolution.

In response to the request of the Government of South Vietnam, President Eisenhower sent economic aid and military equipment to assist the people of South Vietnam in their efforts to prevent a Communist takeover. Seven years ago, President Kennedy sent 16,000 military personnel to Vietnam as combat advisers. Four years ago, President Johnson sent American combat forces to South Vietnam [6PSH, EH].

Now many believe that President Johnson’s decision to send American combat forces to South Vietnam was wrong. And many others, I among them, have been strongly critical of the way the war has been conducted.

But the question facing us today is: Now that we are in the war, what is the best way to end it?

In January I could only conclude that the precipitate withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam would be a disaster not only for South Vietnam but for the United States and for the cause of peace.

For the South Vietnamese, our precipitate withdrawal would inevitably allow the Communists to repeat the massacres which followed their takeover in the North 15 years before. They then murdered more than 50,000 people and hundreds of thousands more died in slave labor camps.

We saw a prelude of what would happen in South Vietnam when the Communists entered the city of Hue last year. During their brief rule there, there was a bloody reign of terror in which 3,000 civilians were clubbed, shot to death, and buried in mass graves.

With the sudden collapse of our support, these atrocities at Hue would become the nightmare of the entire nation and particularly for the million–and–a–half Catholic refugees who fled to South Vietnam when the Communists took over in the North [7WT].

For the United States this first defeat in our nation’s history would result in a collapse of confidence in American leadership not only in Asia but throughout the world [8PST].

Three American Presidents have recognized the great stakes involved in Vietnam and understood what had to be done.

In 1963 President Kennedy with his characteristic eloquence and clarity said,

“We want to see a stable Government there,” carrying on the [a] struggle to maintain its national independence. “We believe strongly in that. We are not going to withdraw from that effort. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we’re going to stay there.”

President Eisenhower and President Johnson expressed the same conclusion during their terms of office [9PSH].

For the future of peace, precipitate withdrawal would be a disaster of immense magnitude. A nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends. Our defeat and humiliation in South Vietnam without question would promote recklessness in the councils of those great powers who have not yet abandoned their goals of worlds conquest. This would spark violence wherever our commitments help maintain the peace – in the Middle East, in Berlin, eventually even in the Western Hemisphere. Ultimately, this would cost more lives. It would not bring peace. It would bring more war [10PST].

For these reasons I rejected the recommendation that I should end the war by immediately withdrawing all of our forces. I chose instead to change American policy on both the negotiating front and the battle front in order to end the war fought on many fronts. **I initiated a pursuit for peace on many fronts. In a television speech on May 14, in a speech before the United Nations, on a number of other occasions, I set forth our peace proposals in great detail.**

We have offered the complete withdrawal of all outside forces within one year. We have proposed a cease fire under international supervision. We have offered free elections under international supervision with the Communists participating in the organization and conduct of the elections as an organized political force. And the Saigon government has pledged to accept the result of the election.

We have not put forth our proposals on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. We have indicated that we’re willing to discuss the proposals that have been put forth by the other side. We have declared that anything is negotiable, except the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own future [11PSH].

At the Paris peace conference Ambassador Lodge has demonstrated our flexibility and good faith in 40 public meetings. **Hanoi has refused even to discuss our proposals. They demand our unconditional acceptance of their terms which are that we withdraw all American forces immediately and unconditionally and that we overthrow the government of South Vietnam as we leave [12PST].**

We have not limited our peace initiatives to public forums and public statements. I recognized in January that a long and bitter war like this usually cannot be settled in a public forum. That is why in addition to the public statements and negotiations, **I have explored every possible private avenue that might lead to a settlement.**

Tonight, I am taking the unprecedented step of disclosing to you some of our other initiatives for peace, initiatives we undertook privately and secretly because we thought we thereby might open a door which publicly would be closed.

I did not wait for my inauguration to begin my quest for peace. Soon after my election, through an individual who was directly in contact on a personal basis with the leaders of North Vietnam, I made two private offers

for a rapid, comprehensive settlement. Hanoi's replies called in effect for our surrender before negotiations. Since the Soviet Union furnishes most of the military equipment for North Vietnam, Secretary of State Rogers, my assistant for national security affairs, Dr. Kissinger, Ambassador Lodge and I personally have met on a number of occasions with representatives of the Soviet Government to enlist their assistance in getting meaningful negotiations started. In addition, we have had extended discussions directed toward that same end with representatives of other governments which have diplomatic relations with North Vietnam [13PSH].

None of these initiatives have to date produced results [14PST]. In mid-July I became convinced that it was necessary to make a major move to break the deadlock in the Paris talks. I spoke directly in this office, where I'm now sitting, with an individual who had known Ho Chi Minh on a personal basis for 25 years [15PSH]. Through him I sent a letter to Ho Chi Minh. I did this outside of the usual diplomatic channels with the hope that with the necessity of making statements for propaganda removed, there might be constructive progress toward bringing the war to an end.

Let me read from that letter to you now:

“Dear Mr. President:

I realize that it is difficult to communicate meaningfully across the gulf of four years of war. But precisely because of this gulf I wanted to take this opportunity to reaffirm in all solemnity my desire to work for a just peace. I deeply believe that the war in Vietnam has gone on too long and delay in bringing it to an end can benefit no one, least of all the people of Vietnam. The time has come to move forward at the conference table toward an early resolution of this tragic war. You will find us forthcoming and open-minded in a common effort to bring the blessings of peace to the brave people of Vietnam. Let history record that at this critical juncture both sides turned their face toward peace rather than toward conflict and war” [16PSH].

I received Ho Chi Minh's reply on August 30, three days before his death. It simply reiterated the public position North Vietnam had taken at Paris and flatly rejected my initiative. The full text of both letters is being released to the press.

In addition to the public meetings that I have referred to, Ambassador Lodge has met with Vietnam's chief negotiator in Paris in 11 private sessions. And we have taken other significant initiatives which must remain secret to keep open some channels of communications which may still prove to be productive [17PSH].

But the effect of all the public, private, and secret negotiations which have been undertaken since the bombing halt a year ago, and since this Administration came into office on January 20th, can be summed up in one sentence: **No progress whatever has been made except agreement on the shape of the bargaining table.**

Well, now, who's at fault? It's become clear that the obstacle in negotiating an end to the war is not the President of the United States. It is not the South Vietnamese Government. The obstacle is the other side's absolute refusal to show the least willingness to join us in seeking a just peace. And it will not do so while it is convinced that all it has to do is to wait for our next concession, and our next concession after that one, until it gets everything it wants.

There can now be no longer any question that progress in negotiation depends only on Hanoi's deciding to negotiate – to negotiate seriously. I realize that this report on our efforts on the diplomatic front is discouraging to the American people, but the American people are entitled to know the truth – the bad news as well as the good news – where the lives of our young men are involved [18PST].

Now let me turn, however, to a more encouraging report on another front. At the time we launched our search for peace, **I recognized we might not succeed in bringing an end to the war through negotiations. I therefore put into effect another plan to bring peace – a plan which will bring the war to an end regardless of what happens on the negotiating front. It is in line with the major shift in U. S. foreign policy which I described in my press conference at Guam on July 25. Let me briefly explain what has been described as the “Nixon Doctrine” – a policy which not only will help end the war in Vietnam but which is an essential element of our program to prevent future Vietnams.**

We Americans are a do-it-yourself people – we’re an impatient people. Instead of teaching someone else to do a job, we like to do it ourselves. And this trait has been carried over into our foreign policy. In Korea, and again in Vietnam, the United States furnished most of the money, most of the arms, and most of the men to help the people of those countries defend their freedom against Communist aggression.

Before any American troops were committed to Vietnam, a leader of another Asian country expressed this opinion to me when I was traveling in Asia as a private citizen. He said: “When you are trying to assist another nation defend its freedom, U.S. policy should be to help them fight the war, but not to fight the war for them.”

Well in accordance with this wise counsel, I laid down in Guam three principles as guidelines for future American policy toward Asia [19PSH]. First, the United States will keep all of its treaty commitments. Second, we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security. Third, in cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested in accordance with our treaty commitments. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense.

After I announced this policy, I found that the leaders of the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, South Korea, other nations which might be threatened by Communist aggression, welcomed this new direction in American foreign policy.

The defense of freedom is everybody’s business – not just America’s business. And it is particularly the responsibility of the people whose freedom is threatened [20PSH]. In the previous Administration, we Americanized the war in Vietnam. In this Administration, we are Vietnamizing the search for peace.

The policy of the previous Administration not only resulted in our assuming the primary responsibility for fighting the war, but even more significant did not adequately stress the goal of strengthening the South Vietnamese so that they could defend themselves when we left [21PST].

The Vietnamization plan was launched following Secretary Laird’s visit to Vietnam in March. Under the plan, I ordered first a substantial increase in the training and equipment of South Vietnamese forces. In July, on my visit to Vietnam, I changed General Abrams’s orders, so that they were consistent with the objectives of our new policies. Under the new orders, the primary mission of our troops is to enable the South Vietnamese forces to assume the full responsibility for the security of South Vietnam. Our air operations have been reduced by over 20 per cent.

And now we have begun to see the results of this long-overdue change in American policy in Vietnam. After five years of Americans going into Vietnam we are finally bringing American men home. By December 15 over 60,000 men will have been withdrawn from South Vietnam, including 20 percent of all of our combat forces. **The South Vietnamese have continued to gain in strength. As a result, they’ve been able to take over combat responsibilities from our American troops [22PSH].**

Two other significant developments have occurred since this Administration took office. **Enemy infiltration, infiltration which is essential if they are to launch a major attack over the last three months, is less than 20 percent of what it was over the same period last year [23WT].** And most important, United States casualties have declined during the last two months to the lowest point in three years.

Let me now turn to our program for the future. **We have adopted a plan which we have worked out in cooperation with the South Vietnamese for the complete withdrawal of all U.S. combat ground forces and their replacement by South Vietnamese forces on an orderly scheduled timetable. This withdrawal will be made from strength and not from weakness. As South Vietnamese forces become stronger, the rate of American withdrawal can become greater [24PSH].**

I have not, and do not, intend to announce the timetable for our program, and there are obvious reasons for this decision which I'm sure you will understand. As I've indicated on several occasions, the rate of withdrawal will depend on developments on three fronts. One of these is the progress which can be, or might be, made in the Paris talks. An announcement of a fixed timetable for our withdrawal would completely remove any incentive for the enemy to negotiate an agreement. **They would simply wait until our forces had withdrawn and then move in [25PST].**

The other two factors on which we will base our withdrawal decisions are the level of enemy activity and the progress of the training programs of the South Vietnamese forces. And I am glad to be able to report tonight progress on both of these fronts has been greater than we anticipated when we started the program in June for withdrawal. As a result, our timetable for withdrawal is more optimistic now than when we made our first estimates in June.

Now this clearly demonstrates why it is not wise to be frozen in on a fixed timetable. We must retain the flexibility to base each withdrawal decision on the situation as it is at that time, rather than on estimates that are no longer valid. Along with this optimistic estimate, I must in all candor leave one note of caution. If the level of enemy activity significantly increases, we might have to adjust our timetable accordingly.

However, I want the record to be completely clear on one point. At the time of the bombing halt just a year ago there was some confusion as to whether there was an understanding on the part of the enemy that if we stopped the bombing of North Vietnam, they would stop the shelling of cities in South Vietnam.

I want to be sure that there is no misunderstanding on the part of the enemy with regard to our withdrawal program. We have noted the reduced level of infiltration, the reduction of our casualties and are basing our withdrawal decisions partially on those factors. **If the level of infiltration or our casualties increase while we are trying to scale down the fighting, it will be the result of a conscious decision by the enemy. Hanoi could make no greater mistake than to assume that an increase in violence will be to its advantage [26WT].**

If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation. This is not a threat. This is a statement of policy which as Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces I am making and meeting my responsibility for the protection of American fighting men wherever they may be [27PSH].

My fellow Americans, I am sure you can recognize from what I have said that we really only have two choices open to us if we want to end this war. **I can order an immediate precipitate withdrawal of all Americans from Vietnam without regard to the effects of that action [28PST]. Or we can persist in our search for a just peace through a negotiated settlement, if possible, or through continued implementation of our plan for Vietnamization, if necessary – a plan in which we will withdraw all of our forces from Vietnam on a schedule in accordance with our program as the South Vietnamese become strong enough to defend their own freedom.**

I have chosen this second course. It is not the easy way. It is the right way. It is a plan which will end the war and serve the cause of peace, not just in Vietnam but in the Pacific and in the world [29PSH].

In speaking of the consequences of a precipitous withdrawal, **I mentioned that our allies would lose confidence in America. Far more dangerous, we would lose confidence in ourselves. Oh, the immediate reaction would be a sense of relief that our men were coming home. But as we saw the consequences of what we had done, inevitable remorse and divisive recrimination would scar our spirit as a people [30PST].**

We have faced other crises in our history and we have become stronger by rejecting the easy way out and taking the right way in meeting our challenges. Our greatness as a nation has been our capacity to do what has to be done when we knew our course was right [31PSH]. I recognize that some of my fellow citizens disagree with the plan for peace I have chosen. Honest and patriotic Americans have reached different conclusions as to how peace should be achieved. In San Francisco a few weeks ago, I saw demonstrators carrying signs reading, "Lose in Vietnam, bring the boys home." Well, one of the strengths of our free society is that any American has a right to reach that conclusion and to advocate that point of view.

But as President of the United States, **I would be untrue to my oath of office if I allowed the policy of this nation to be dictated by the minority who hold that point of view and who try to impose it on the nation by mounting demonstrations in the street [32PSH].** For almost 200 years, the policy of this nation has been made under our Constitution by those leaders in the Congress and the White House elected by all the people. **If a vocal minority, however fervent its cause, prevails over reason and the will of the majority, this nation has no future as a free society [33PST].**

And now, I would like to address a word, if I may, to the young people of this nation who are particularly concerned, and I understand why they are concerned, about this war. **I respect your idealism. I share your concern for peace. I want peace as much as you do. There are powerful personal reasons I want to end this war [34PSH]. This week I will have to sign 83 letters to mothers, fathers, wives, and loved ones of men who have given their lives for America in Vietnam [35PST].** It's very little satisfaction to me that this is only one-third as many letters as I signed the first week in office. **There is nothing I want more than to see the day come when I do not have to write any of those letters.**

I want to end the war to save the lives of those brave young men in Vietnam. But I want to end it in a way which will increase the chance that their younger brothers and their sons will not have to fight in some future Vietnam some place in the world.

And I want to end the war for another reason. I want to end it so that the energy and dedication of you, our young people, now too often directed into bitter hatred against those responsible for the war, can be turned to the great challenges of peace, a better life for all Americans, a better life for all people on this earth.

I have chosen a plan for peace. I believe it will succeed. If it does not succeed, what the critics say now won't matter. Or if it does succeed, what the critics say now won't matter. If it does not succeed, anything I say then won't matter [36PSH].

I know it may not be fashionable to speak of patriotism or national destiny these days, but I feel it is appropriate to do so on this occasion. **Two hundred years ago this nation was weak and poor. But even then, America was the hope of millions in the world [37EH]. Today we have become the strongest and richest nation in the world, and the wheel of destiny has turned so that any hope the world has for the survival of peace and freedom will be**

determined by whether the American people have the moral stamina and the courage to meet the challenge of free-world leadership [38PSH].

Let historians not record that, **when America was the most powerful nation in the world, we passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism [39PST].**

So tonight, to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans, I ask for your support. I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge. The more support I can have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed [40PSH]. For the more divided we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate at Paris [41PST].

Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand – North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that [42PSH, PST].

Fifty years ago, in this room, and at this very desk, **President Woodrow Wilson spoke words which caught the imagination of a war-weary world. He said: “This is the war to end wars” [43PSH]. His dream for peace after World War I was shattered on the hard reality of great power politics. And Woodrow Wilson died a broken man [44PST].**

Tonight, I do not tell you that the war in Vietnam is the war to end wars, but I do say this: I have initiated a plan which will end this war in a way that will bring us closer to that great goal to which – to which Woodrow Wilson and every American President in our history has been dedicated – the goal of a just and lasting peace.

As President I hold the responsibility for choosing the best path for that goal and then leading the Nation along it.

I pledge to you tonight that I shall meet this responsibility with all of the strength and wisdom I can command, in accordance with your hopes, mindful of your concerns, sustained by your prayers [45PSH].

Thank you and good night.

GERALD RUDOLPH FORD

*President Gerald Rudolph Ford's Address at a Tulane University Convocation. Delivered on 23th April 1975*⁷⁹

Mr. President, President Hurley, Senator Johnston, my good friends from the House of Representatives, Eddie Hebert, Dave Treen, Lindy Boggs, Lieutenant Governor Fitzmorris, students, faculty, alumni, and guests of Tulane University:

It is really a great privilege and a very high honor to have an opportunity of participating again in a student activity at Tulane University. And for this opportunity, I thank you very, very much.

⁷⁹ Retrieved from: <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/speeches/listpres.asp>. Date: 9-01-2020.

Each time that I have been privileged to visit Tulane, I have come away newly impressed with the intense application of the student body to the great issues of our time, and I am pleased tonight to observe that your interest hasn't changed one bit.

As we came into the building tonight, I passed a student who looked up from his book and said, "A journey of a thousand miles begins but with a single step." To indicate my interest in him, I asked, "Are you trying to figure out how to get your goal in life?" He said, "No, I am trying to figure out how to get to the Super Dome in September." [Laughter] Well, I don't think there is any doubt in my mind that all of you will get to the Super Dome. Of course, I hope it is to see the Green Wave [Tulane University] have their very best season on the gridiron. I have sort of a feeling that you wouldn't mind making this another year in which you put the Tigers [Louisiana State University] in your tank.

When I had the privilege of speaking here in 1968 at your "Directions '68" forum, I had no idea that my own career and our entire Nation would move so soon in another direction. And I say again, I am extremely proud to be invited back.

I am impressed, as I undoubtedly said before – but I would reiterate it tonight – by Tulane's unique distinction as the only American university to be converted from State sponsorship to private status. And I am also impressed by the Tulane graduates who serve in the United States Congress: Bennett Johnston, Lindy Boggs, Dave Treen.

Eddie Hebert, when I asked him the question whether he was or not, and he said he got a special degree: Dropout '28. [Laughter]

But I think the fact that you have these three outstanding graduates testifies to the academic excellence and the inspiration of this historic university, rooted in the past with its eyes on the future.

Just as Tulane has made a great transition from the past to the future, so has New Orleans, the legendary city that has made such a unique contribution to our great America. New Orleans is more, as I see it, than weathered bricks and cast-iron balconies. It is a state of mind, a melting pot that represents the very, very best of America's evolution, an example of retention of a very special culture in a progressive environment of modern change [1PSH].

On January 8, 1815, a monumental American victory was achieved here – the Battle of New Orleans. Louisiana had been a State for less than 3 years, but outnumbered Americans innovated, outnumbered Americans used the tactics of the frontier to defeat a veteran British force trained in the strategy of the Napoleonic wars [2WH].

We as a nation had suffered humiliation and a measure of defeat in the War of 1812. Our National Capital in Washington had been captured and burned [3WT]. So, the illustrious victory in the Battle of New Orleans was a powerful restorative to our national pride [4WH].

Yet, the victory at New Orleans actually took place 2 weeks after the signing of the armistice in Europe. **Thousands died although a peace had been negotiated. The combatants had not gotten the word [5WT]. Yet, the epic struggle nevertheless restored America's pride.**

Today, America can regain the sense of pride that existed before Vietnam. But it cannot be achieved by refighting a war that is finished as far as America is concerned. As I see it, the time has come to look forward to an agenda for the future, to unify, to bind up the Nation's wounds, and to restore its health and its optimistic self-confidence.

In New Orleans, a great battle was fought after a war was over. In New Orleans tonight, we can begin a great national reconciliation. The first engagement must be with the problems of today, but just as importantly, the problems of the future [6PSH]. That is why I think it is so appropriate that I find myself tonight at a university which addresses itself to preparing young people for the challenge of tomorrow.

I ask that we stop refighting the battles and the recriminations of the past. I ask that we look now at what is right with America, at our possibilities and our potentialities for change and growth and achievement and sharing. I ask that we accept the responsibilities of leadership as a good neighbor to all peoples and the enemy of none. I ask that we strive to become, in the finest American tradition, something more tomorrow than we are today [7PSH].

Instead of my addressing the image of America, I prefer to consider the reality of America. It is true that we have launched our Bicentennial celebration without having achieved human perfection, but we have attained a very remarkable self-governed society that possesses the flexibility and the dynamism to grow and undertake an entirely new agenda, an agenda for America's third century.

So, I ask you to join me in helping to write that agenda. I am as determined as a President can be to seek national rediscovery of the belief in ourselves that characterized the most creative periods in our Nation's history. The greatest challenge of creativity, as I see it, lies ahead [8PSH].

We, of course, are saddened indeed by the events in Indochina. But these events, tragic as they are, portend neither the end of the world nor of America's leadership in the world [9WT].

Let me put it this way, if I might. **Some tend to feel that if we do not succeed in everything everywhere, then we have succeeded in nothing anywhere. I reject categorically such polarized thinking. We can and we should help others to help themselves. But the fate of responsible men and women everywhere, in the final decision, rests in their own hands, not in ours [10PST].**

America's future depends upon Americans – especially your generation, which is now equipping itself to assume the challenges of the future, to help write the agenda for America.

Earlier today, in this great community, I spoke about the need to maintain our defenses. Tonight, I would like to talk about another kind of strength, the true source of American power that transcends all of the deterrent powers for peace of our Armed Forces. I am speaking here of our belief in ourselves and our belief in our Nation.

Abraham Lincoln asked, in his own words, and I quote, "What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence?" And he answered, "It is not our frowning battlements or bristling seacoasts, our Army or our Navy. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere."

It is in this spirit that we must now move beyond the discords of the past decade. It is in this spirit that I ask you to join me in writing an agenda for the future [11PSH].

I welcome your invitation particularly tonight, because I know it is at Tulane and other centers of thought throughout our great country that much consideration is being given to the kind of future Americans want and, just as importantly, will work for. Each of you are preparing yourselves for the future, and I am deeply interested in your preparations and your opinions and your goals. However, tonight, with your indulgence, let me share with you my own views.

I envision a creative program that goes as far as our courage and our capacities can take us, both at home and abroad. My goal is for a cooperative world at peace, using its resources to build, not to destroy.

As President, I am determined to offer leadership to overcome our current economic problems. My goal is for jobs for all who want to work and economic opportunity for all who want to achieve.

I am determined to seek self-sufficiency in energy as an urgent national priority. My goal is to make America independent of foreign energy sources by 1985 [12PSH].

Of course, I will pursue interdependence with other nations and a reformed international economic system. My goal is for a world in which consuming and producing nations achieve a working balance.

I will address the humanitarian issues of hunger and famine, of health and of healing. My goal is to achieve – or to assure basic needs and an effective system to achieve this result.

I recognize the need for technology that enriches life while preserving our natural environment. My goal is to stimulate productivity, but use technology to redeem, not to destroy our environment.

I will strive for new cooperation rather than conflict in the peaceful exploration of our oceans and our space. My goal is to use resources for peaceful progress rather than war and destruction.

Let America symbolize humanity's struggle to conquer nature and master technology. The time has now come for our Government to facilitate the individual's control over his or her future – and of the future of America [13EH, PSH].

But the future requires more than Americans congratulating themselves on how much we know and how many products that we can produce. It requires new knowledge to meet new problems. We must not only be motivated to build a better America, we must know how to do it.

If we really want a humane America that will, for instance, contribute to the alleviation of the world's hunger, we must realize that good intentions do not feed people. Some problems, as anyone who served in the Congress knows, are complex. There are no easy answers. Willpower alone does not grow food.

We thought, in a well-intentioned past, that we could export our technology lock, stock, and barrel to developing nations. We did it with the best of intentions. But we are now learning that a strain of rice that grows in one place will not grow in another; that factories that produce at 100 percent in one nation produce less than half as much in a society where temperaments and work habits are somewhat different [14ET].

Yet, the world economy has become interdependent. Not only food technology but money management, natural resources and energy, research and development – all kinds of this group require an organized world society that makes the maximum effective use of the world's resources.

I want to tell the world: Let's grow food together, but let's also learn more about nutrition, about weather forecasting, about irrigation, about the many other specialties involved in helping people to help themselves.

We must learn more about people, about the development of communities, architecture, engineering, education, motivation, productivity, public health and medicine, arts and sciences, political, legal, and social organization. All of these specialties and many, many more are required if young people like you are to help this Nation develop an agenda for our future – your future, our country's future.

I challenge, for example, the medical students in this audience to put on their agenda the achievement of a cure for cancer. I challenge the engineers in this audience to devise new techniques for developing cheap, clean, and plentiful energy, and as a byproduct, to control floods. I challenge the law students in this audience to find ways to speed the administration of equal justice and make good citizens out of convicted criminals. I challenge education, those of you as education majors, to do real teaching for real life. I challenge the arts majors in this audience to compose the great American symphony, to write the great American novel, and to enrich and inspire our daily lives.

America's leadership is essential. America's resources are vast. America's opportunities are unprecedented [15EH].

As we strive together to perfect a new agenda, I put high on the list of important points the maintenance of alliances and partnerships with other people and other nations. These do provide a basis of shared values, even as we stand up with determination for what we believe. This, of course, requires a continuing commitment to peace and a determination to use our good offices wherever possible to promote better relations between nations of this world.

The new agenda, that which is developed by you and by us, must place a high priority on the need to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and to work for the mutual reduction in strategic arms and control of other weapons. And I must say, parenthetically, the successful negotiations at Vladivostok, in my opinion, are just a beginning [16PSH].

Your generation of Americans is uniquely endowed by history to give new meaning to the pride and spirit of America. The magnetism of an American society, confident of its own strength, will attract the good will and the esteem of all people wherever they might be in this globe in which we live. It will enhance our own perception of ourselves and our pride in being an American. We can, we – and I say it with emphasis – write a new agenda for our future.

I am glad that Tulane University and other great American educational institutions are reaching out to others in programs to work with developing nations, and I look forward with confidence to your participation in every aspect of America's future.

And I urge Americans of all ages to unite in this Bicentennial year, to take responsibility for themselves as our ancestors did. Let us resolve tonight to rediscover the old virtues of confidence and self-reliance and capability that characterized our forefathers two centuries ago. I pledge, as I know you do, each one of us, to do our part.

Let the beacon light of the past shine forth from historic New Orleans and from Tulane University and from every other corner of this land to illuminate a boundless future for all Americans and a peace for all mankind [17PSH].

Thank you very much.

MARIO SAVIO

*Speech at Vietnam Day Teach-In. Delivered on 21st Mai 1965*⁸⁰

This is going to be a very different style speech from the speeches which we've been listening to, because I don't have a very set idea just how history's going to turn out, nor what brought it to be the way it is right now, nor how we are going to change it, if we are going to. So, all I really have is a lot of questions, and I hope they are questions similar to ones that have been troubling other people who are here. Maybe if we can at least get our questions out in the open, we can begin to talk about the answers.

We have been handed down some famous dates with some famous events attached to them. Two important revolutions occurred in the era from 1776 to 1789. The United States got its start out of one of them, the French Republic out of the other. There was a spirit of enlightenment for which we remember the 18th century. Then, the 19th century – the whole age, a continuous age, of revolutions. Now I remember reading about them and reading about someone whom Isaac Deutscher mentioned, Metternich. I remember reading about the difference in spirit between Metternich on the one hand, and the Paris Commune on the other. **I remember last semester at one point some of us were trying to decide, "Should we have the sit-in in Sproul Hall or in the Student Union?" since the latter would be more in the spirit of the Paris Commune – we don't want anything you own, we want *our* things [1PSH].**

There was something exciting about those times, and I remember there was something exciting about the history that I read of those times. In some important way, what occurred around the turn of the century, and later in Russia, was a continuation of that spirit of revolution, that exciting period of the 19th century. **But what happened when that moving conflagration reached the Soviet Union – what became the Soviet Union? What happened as we moved**

⁸⁰ Retrieved from: https://www.fsm-a.org/stacks/mario/salvio_vietnamday.html. Date: 9-01-2020.

into the 20th century? It seemed that the United States was on the other side, and it came to be more and more on the other side. Now, there were reasons. I don't think that they can be understood completely or adequately in terms borrowed from a great, if somewhat muddled, German philosopher, Hegel. But the important thing for me, and a cause of great sadness, was that somehow we seemed to be on the other side [2PST]. And I have been trying to figure out why it is that we ended up on the other side.

I try to think of the bad things that our leaders say about those people who now are on the other side. One of the things they say is, "They don't believe in God. See, the Communists officially don't believe in God." And it seemed to me awfully peculiar that we should be in the situation of declared or undeclared war against people, at least in part, because they claim not to believe in God. I don't believe in God. A lot of the people here don't, I believe. I don't think that's the reason [3PST]. Well, is it because they claim it's proper to organize their economies, their systems of production and distribution, goods and services, in a way different from the way we do here in this country? [4ET] Well, I don't know if that's true either. Consider the University of California. I don't think we can call it a socialist enterprise, but it certainly is an instance of state capitalism of sorts. No, it can't be that, it can't be a technical matter, not exactly. **In the continuing opposition to the descendants of our own period of revolution, the Vietcong, I don't know what it is we're trying to protect them from in Asia. I really don't know [5PST].**

Now, I don't think that the people who are formulating our foreign policy have asked the kinds of very naive questions that I've been asking here. I don't think that any of the, perhaps, naive solutions or suggestions which might come out of this meeting are going seriously to be considered by those formulators of policy. Let's consider a very radical suggestion. **What if, for example, the President of the United States announced tomorrow that over a period of five years the United States would totally disarm? Not just nuclear weapons, but all weapons. Put them away slowly so as not to destroy the American economy. And the President would extend an invitation to the Russians and the Chinese to do likewise, but would indicate that whether they did or not, the United States would put these weapons away [6PSH].** Now what effect could that have on the world? I don't have the vaguest idea. I don't know that the world would be worse off for it. It might be. I don't know that such a policy, as far-fetched as it sounds, would in the long run be any more dangerous, or less dangerous, than the policy we're following now. I don't think there is, in other words, any adequate, large-scale theory of historical causality. **I don't think it's clear that if we put away all our weapons, Asia would stop being ruled in part by freedom-loving tyrants, and would be ruled completely by tyrannical tyrants. I don't think that kind of change would necessarily follow if we put away all of our weapons [7PST].**

But no solution such as this could be seriously considered or discussed by any of the responsible people formulating our foreign policy. Now that's a problem because I don't think they know any more about historical causality than I do. That's not to say that I know a great deal, but rather there's not that much to be known. And that brings me to what I think is the important question. If an idea like that couldn't be seriously entertained before a responsible audience (and it cannot in the United States – only before students, not responsible audiences) an important question is raised, I think the most important question. **If it's the case that such an idea, or ideas far less radical, cannot be entertained before responsible audiences; then in what sense is decision-making in America democratic? In what sense? What about the consent of the governed? Does that mean that a very small group of people decide what the alternatives are, and then you either say Yes or No to alternatives which fall within a common policy, which people on all sides of the question agree to? Is that what the consent of the governed means? [8PST]** I'd like to say some things about decision-making in the United States, because I think this is the most important question with which we have to deal.

I have a naive belief in the generosity of our fellow-countrymen. If they knew the facts, with even the incredible lack of clarity that we have, I believe they would move to affect their government in such a way as to change its policy [9PSH]. But they don't know the facts, and from our own experience we can see why [10PST].

Consider something very close to home: what happened on campus last semester. And consider the way it was reported in the press. Consider that. Now I had never, before that, been able to compare an important historic event with the way it was reported, because I'd never been in on any important historic event, because I was only a citizen. **But last semester I was engaged in causing important historic events. We all were. And we all had the opportunity to see just what those events were [11PSH]. And there was no comparison, or only a very slight comparison, which could be drawn between the reporting and the events.**

And look again – personal experience – look at the incompetents, the 24 incompetents, who are put in charge of the University of California. These are the people who make fundamental policy which governs our lives. At the last Regents' meeting, representatives of the students, of the Free Student Union, were present at the meeting of this governing board. They were not permitted to speak officially [12PST], and so one of them, in desperation and eloquence, said (this was Bob Mundy):

“We have asked to be heard, you have refused. We have asked for justice. You have called it anarchy. We have asked for freedom. You have called it license. Rather than face the fear and hopelessness you have created, you have called it communistic. You have accused us of failing to use legitimate channels. But you have closed those channels to us. You, and not us, have built a university based on distrust and dishonesty” [13PSH].

In the course of that speech, Governor Brown told Bob to shut up and called the police [14PST]. That's one example of the body set up and a mechanism set up to make decisions in America.

Another example – very important. **President Kennedy, who some of us felt, at the beginning in any case, offered some hope as a more responsible leader, sponsored and supported Comsat, or what has become Comsat, the Communications Satellite Corporation, a public and private corporation [15PSH].** Some people, including, I believe, Senator Morse, opposed this. And there was a liberal filibuster in the Senate. It didn't last very long. But President Kennedy supported Comsat. It has on its governing board some people representing the public and some representing private industry. Representing the public, on the whole governing board, according to Drew Pearson, are three people. Let me tell you who they are. Representing that part of the public which is business – this is in addition to those representing private corporations – is someone whose name I don't know from General Motors. He has come to virtually every meeting. Representing labor – all of labor (aren't many of those in America) – is Mr. Meany. Now that's like the Urban League representing the civil rights movement. **Representing the public – that's those who are neither laborers nor businessmen (for example, students and housewives) – and just listen, is Clark Kerr. He has, according to this report, not come to even one meeting. (That's right, we kept him busy.) That's the way decisions are made in America. This is a public and private corporation, public and private, and the public is represented... I'm very pessimistic, very pessimistic [16PST].**

I'd like to speak, before I go on, a little bit about how decisions are made in the University. **Regent Pauley, in an article in the *Oakland Tribune* of today May 21, 1965, speaking about the Tussman Plan (a plan for about 150 undergraduates to get something a good deal better than what's normally handed out as undergraduate education), said that he would like to have letters from the teachers involved, certifying that they “believe in the capitalistic system,” to reassure the state legislature [17PST].**

Now I've talked about two things, about Comsat and about the Board of Regents. **About how an international telecommunications satellite system is going to be governed. International – what incredible arrogance! Clark Kerr! And on the other hand, about the Board of Regents. how this University is governed by what can only be characterized as a committee of incredibly wealthy nincompoops!**

And that brings me to the way I wanted to put it together. I really am exceedingly pessimistic about the possibilities for significant, for substantial, change. I don't think that we can hope for anything like substantial change in the foreseeable future. So we've got to ask for something less. Well, we've got to hope for something less. (You should never ask for less than you want. But we'll hope for something less.) What's that something less we maybe, *maybe*, can hope for in Vietnam? Well, I guess it would be the war ending by some kind of negotiations [18PST]. So I'd like to say what I feel about the minimum kinds of negotiations which should be acceptable to people who have anything left of democratic ideals.

This is my feeling. There can't be the kind of negotiations that say, "If you stop fighting, well, then we'll give you all sorts of economic benefits." That's O.K. in the huckster world in which we live, but it's not O.K. in the kind of world in which I'd like to live. None of this buying people off. Well, now, what should we insist upon? [19PST] Again, let's go back to our own personal experience of last semester. Consider the Committee on Campus Political Activity in its first form. The Administration appointed 10 out of 12 people to a committee which was supposed to resolve the dispute. Now, the Administration was one of the two parties to the dispute. It appointed 10 out of 12, without any consultation with the other side. And then people accused you of being unreasonable and doctrinaire because you refused to meet with them [20PST]. Well, I don't know altogether that much about the National Liberation Front. I wish I knew a lot more about it than I do. But I know that in some ways – and this you can even get from the reports in the Tribune – in some ways, it's the counterpart of those dastardly FSM people last semester. That means to me, that if you have negotiations which take place between the United States and the Soviet Union and even Communist China, and possibly Hanoi, but leave out the National Liberation Front, that's like the CCPA without the FSM. Impossible! I tell you, if I were involved in such a revolution, I would rather die than get out under those circumstances [21PSH].

All right. Who are the kinds of people who are proposing things like "If you stop fighting altogether, we'll give you a good payoff?" Well, you know they're the same kinds of people who opposed us here, when we fought on campus last semester. And right now I'm not talking about the reactionaries on the Board of Regents. I'm talking about some liberals, that's what I'm talking about. Who is one, one of the architects of American foreign policy in Vietnam? Robert A. Scalapino. Who is it on December 7th (remember the Greek Theater) who, with Clark Kerr, mouthed those magnificent generalities and hypocritical clichés which were supposed to end the crisis without letting the Academic Senate even have its say? It's the same people, the same ones. Those who want to make decisions by a kind of elite "know-how" here at the University of California are the same ones who will refuse repeatedly to let people, just little ordinary people, take part in decision-making wherever there are decisions to be made [22PST].

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Beyond Vietnam -- A Time to Break Silence. Delivered on 4th April 1967 ⁸¹

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I need not pause to say how very delighted I am to be here tonight, and how very delighted I am to see you expressing your concern about the issues that will be discussed tonight by turning out in such large numbers. I also want to say that I consider it a great honor to share this program with Dr. Bennett, Dr. Commager, and Rabbi Heschel, and some of the distinguished leaders and personalities of our nation. And of course it's always good to come back to Riverside

⁸¹ Retrieved from: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm>. Date: 9-01-2020.

church. Over the last eight years, I have had the privilege of preaching here almost every year in that period, and it is always a rich and rewarding experience to come to this great church and this great pulpit.

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this meeting because I'm in deepest agreement with the aims and work of the organization which has brought us together: *Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam*. **The recent statements of your executive committee are the sentiments of my own heart, and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: "A time comes when silence is betrayal." And that time has come for us in relation to Vietnam [1PSH].**

The truth of these words is beyond doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. **Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty [2PST]; but we must move on [3PSH].**

And some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony [4PST], but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. And we must rejoice as well, for surely this is the first time in our nation's history that a significant number of its religious leaders have chosen to move beyond the prophesying of smooth patriotism to the high grounds of a firm dissent based upon the mandates of conscience and the reading of history. Perhaps a new spirit is rising among us. If it is, let us trace its movements and pray that our own inner being may be sensitive to its guidance, for we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

Over the past two years, as I have moved to break the betrayal of my own silences and to speak from the burnings of my own heart, as I have called for radical departures from the destruction of Vietnam, many persons have questioned me about the wisdom of my path [5PSH]. At the heart of their concerns this query has often loomed large and loud: "Why are you speaking about the war, Dr. King?" "Why are you joining the voices of dissent?" "Peace and civil rights don't mix," they say. "Aren't you hurting the cause of your people," they ask? And when I hear them, though I often understand the source of their concern, I am nevertheless greatly saddened, for such questions mean that the inquirers have not really known me, my commitment or my calling. Indeed, their questions suggest that they do not know the world in which they live [6PST].

In the light of such tragic misunderstanding, I deem it of signal importance to try to state clearly, and I trust concisely, why I believe that the path from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church – the church in Montgomery, Alabama, where I began my pastorate – leads clearly to this sanctuary tonight.

I come to this platform tonight to make a passionate plea to my beloved nation [7PSH]. This speech is not addressed to Hanoi or to the National Liberation Front. It is not addressed to China or to Russia. Nor is it an attempt to overlook the ambiguity of the total situation and the need for a collective solution to the tragedy of Vietnam. Neither is it an attempt to make North Vietnam or the National Liberation Front paragons of virtue, nor to overlook the role they must play in the successful resolution of the problem. While they both may have justifiable reasons to be suspicious of the good faith of the United States, life and history give eloquent testimony to the fact that conflicts are never resolved without trustful give and take on both sides.

Tonight, however, I wish not to speak with Hanoi and the National Liberation Front, but rather to my fellow Americans.

Since I am a preacher by calling, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America. **A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor – both black and white – through the poverty program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings [8PSH]. Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched this program broken and eviscerated, as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic destructive suction tube [9PST, ET]. So, I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such [10PSH].**

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem. And so we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. And so we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would hardly live on the same block in Chicago [11PST]. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor [12PSH].

My third reason moves to an even deeper level of awareness, for it grows out of my experience in the ghettos of the North over the last three years – especially the last three summers. **As I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action [13PSH]. But they ask – and rightly so – what about Vietnam? They ask if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted [14PST]. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today – my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent [15PSH].**

For those who ask the question, “Aren't you a civil rights leader?” and thereby mean to exclude me from the movement for peace, I have this further answer. **In 1957 when a group of us formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we chose as our motto: “To save the soul of America.” We were convinced that we could not limit our vision to certain rights for black people, but instead affirmed the conviction that America would never be free or saved from itself until the descendants of its slaves were loosed completely from the shackles they still wear. In a way we were agreeing with Langston Hughes, that black bard of Harlem, who had written earlier:**

**“O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me,**

**And yet I swear this oath –
America will be!” [16PSH]**

Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. **If America’s soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read: Vietnam. It can never be saved so long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men the world over. So it is that those of us who are yet determined that America will be – are – are led down the path of protest and dissent, working for the health of our land [17PST].**

As if the weight of such a commitment to the life and health of America were not enough, another burden of responsibility was placed upon me in 1954; and I cannot forget that the Nobel Peace Prize was also a commission, a commission to work harder than I had ever worked before for “the brotherhood of man.” This is a calling that takes me beyond national allegiances, but even if it were not present I would yet have to live with the meaning of my commitment to the ministry of Jesus Christ. **To me the relationship of this ministry to the making of peace is so obvious that I sometimes marvel at those who ask me why I’m speaking against the war. Could it be that they do not know that the good news was meant for all men – for Communist and capitalist, for their children and ours, for black and for white, for revolutionary and conservative? Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the One who loved his enemies so fully that he died for them? What then can I say to the Vietcong or to Castro or to Mao as a faithful minister of this One? Can I threaten them with death or must I not share with them my life?**

And finally, as I try to explain for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to this place I would have offered all that was most valid if I simply said that I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling to be a son of the living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is this vocation of sonship and brotherhood, and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them [18PSH].

This I believe to be the privilege and the burden of all of us who deem ourselves bound by allegiances and loyalties which are broader and deeper than nationalism and which go beyond our nation's self-defined goals and positions. **We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation and for those it calls “enemy,” for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers [19PSH].**

And as I ponder the madness of Vietnam and search within myself for ways to understand and respond in compassion, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula. **I speak now not of the soldiers of each side, not of the ideologies of the Liberation Front, not of the junta in Saigon, but simply of the people who have been living under the curse of war for almost three continuous decades now. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution there until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries** [20WT].

They must see Americans as strange liberators. **The Vietnamese people proclaimed their own independence in 1954 – in 1945 rather – after a combined French and Japanese occupation and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not ready for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international**

atmosphere for so long. With that tragic decision we rejected a revolutionary government seeking self-determination and a government that had been established not by China – for whom the Vietnamese have no great love – but by clearly indigenous forces that included some communists. For the peasants this new government meant real land reform, one of the most important needs in their lives.

For nine years following 1945 we denied the people of Vietnam the right of independence. For nine years we vigorously supported the French in their abortive effort to recolonize Vietnam. Before the end of the war we were meeting eighty percent of the French war costs. Even before the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, they began to despair of their reckless action, but we did not. We encouraged them with our huge financial and military supplies to continue the war even after they had lost the will. Soon we would be paying almost the full costs of this tragic attempt at recolonization.

After the French were defeated, it looked as if independence and land reform would come again through the Geneva Agreement. But instead there came the United States, determined that Ho should not unify the temporarily divided nation, and the peasants watched again as we supported one of the most vicious modern dictators, our chosen man, Premier Diem. The peasants watched and cringed as Diem ruthlessly rooted out all opposition, supported their extortionist landlords, and refused even to discuss reunification with the North. The peasants watched as all this was presided over by United States' influence and then by increasing numbers of United States troops who came to help quell the insurgency that Diem's methods had aroused. When Diem was overthrown they may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America, as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform [21PST]. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers [22WT].

What do the peasants think as we ally ourselves with the landlords and as we refuse to put any action into our many words concerning land reform? What do they think as we test out our latest weapons on them, just as the Germans tested out new medicine and new tortures in the concentration camps of Europe? Where are the roots of the independent Vietnam we claim to be building? Is it among these voiceless ones?

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing – in the crushing of the nation's only non-Communist

revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

Now there is little left to build on, save bitterness. Soon, the only solid – solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call “fortified hamlets.” The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these [23PST]. Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers [24PSH].

Perhaps a more difficult but no less necessary task is to speak for those who have been designated as our enemies. What of the National Liberation Front, that strangely anonymous group we call “VC” or “communists”? What must they think of the United States of America when they realize that we permitted the repression and cruelty of Diem, which helped to bring them into being as a resistance group in the South? What do they think of our condoning the violence which led to their own taking up of arms? How can they believe in our integrity when now we speak of “aggression from the North” as if there were nothing more essential to the war? How can they trust us when now we charge them with violence after the murderous reign of Diem and charge them with violence while we pour every new weapon of death into their land? [25PST]. Surely we must understand their feelings, even if we do not condone their actions. Surely we must see that the men we supported pressed them to their violence. Surely we must see that our own computerized plans of destruction simply dwarf their greatest acts [26PSH].

How do they judge us when our officials know that their membership is less than twenty-five percent communist, and yet insist on giving them the blanket name? What must they be thinking when they know that we are aware of their control of major sections of Vietnam, and yet we appear ready to allow national elections in which this highly organized political parallel government will not have a part? They ask how we can speak of free elections when the Saigon press is censored and controlled by the military junta. And they are surely right to wonder what kind of new government we plan to help form without them, the only party in real touch with the peasants. They question our political goals and they deny the reality of a peace settlement from which they will be excluded. Their questions are frighteningly relevant. Is our nation planning to build on political myth again, and then shore it up upon the power of new violence? [27PST].

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence, when it helps us to see the enemy’s point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition.

So, too, with Hanoi. In the North, where our bombs now pummel the land, and our mines endanger the waterways, we are met by a deep but understandable mistrust [28WT]. To speak for them is to explain this lack of confidence in Western words, and especially their distrust of American intentions now. In Hanoi are the men who led the nation to independence against the Japanese and the French, the men who sought membership in the French Commonwealth and were betrayed by the weakness of Paris and the willfulness of the colonial armies. It was they who led a second struggle against French domination at tremendous costs, and then were persuaded to give up the land they controlled between the thirteenth and seventeenth parallel as a temporary measure at Geneva [29PSH]. After 1954 they watched us conspire with Diem to prevent elections which could have surely

brought Ho Chi Minh to power over a united Vietnam, and they realized they had been betrayed again [30PST]. When we ask why they do not leap to negotiate, these things must be remembered.

Also, it must be clear that the leaders of Hanoi considered the presence of American troops in support of the Diem regime to have been the initial military breach of the Geneva Agreement concerning foreign troops. They remind us that they did not begin to send troops in large numbers and even supplies into the South until American forces had moved into the tens of thousands.

Hanoi remembers how our leaders refused to tell us the truth about the earlier North Vietnamese overtures for peace, how the president claimed that none existed when they had clearly been made. Ho Chi Minh has watched as America has spoken of peace and built up its forces, and now he has surely heard the increasing international rumors of American plans for an invasion of the North [31PST]. He knows the bombing and shelling and mining we are doing are part of traditional pre-invasion strategy. Perhaps only his sense of humor and of irony can save him when he hears the most powerful nation of the world speaking of aggression as it drops thousands of bombs on a poor, weak nation more than eight hundred – rather, eight thousand miles away from its shores [32WT].

At this point I should make it clear that while I have tried in these last few minutes to give a voice to the voiceless in Vietnam and to understand the arguments of those who are called “enemy,” I am as deeply concerned about our own troops there as anything else. For it occurs to me that what we are submitting them to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. **We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy, and the secure, while we create a hell for the poor [33WT].**

Somehow this madness must cease. **We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak of the – for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands against the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own Nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours [34PSH].**

This is the message of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam. Recently one of them wrote these words, and I quote:

“Each day the war goes on the hatred increases in the heart of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instinct. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibilities of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom, and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism” (unquote).

If we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. If we do not stop our war against the people of Vietnam immediately, the world will be left with no other alternative than to see this as some horrible, clumsy, and deadly game we have decided to

play. The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of the Vietnamese people [35PST]. The situation is one in which we must be ready to turn sharply from our present ways. In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war.

I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do [immediately] to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict [36PSH]:

Number one: End all bombing in North and South Vietnam.

Number two: Declare a unilateral cease-fire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.

Three: Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.

Four: Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and any future Vietnam government.

Five: Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

Part of our ongoing – Part of our ongoing commitment might well express itself in an offer to grant asylum to any Vietnamese who fears for his life under a new regime which included the Liberation Front. Then we must make what reparations we can for the damage we have done. We must provide the medical aid that is badly needed, making it available in this country, if necessary. Meanwhile – Meanwhile, we in the churches and synagogues have a continuing task while we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment. We must continue to raise our voices and our lives if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative method of protest possible.

As we counsel young men concerning military service, we must clarify for them our nation's role in Vietnam and challenge them with the alternative of conscientious objection. I am pleased to say that this is a path now chosen by more than seventy students at my own alma mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one. Moreover, I would encourage all ministers of draft age to give up their ministerial exemptions and seek status as conscientious objectors. These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every man of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his convictions, but we must all protest [37PSH].

Now there is something seductively tempting about stopping there and sending us all off on what in some circles has become a popular crusade against the war in Vietnam. I say we must enter that struggle, but I wish to go on now to say something even more disturbing.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering

reality... and if we ignore this sobering reality, we will find ourselves organizing “clergy and laymen concerned” committees for the next generation. They will be concerned about Guatemala – Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end, unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy.

And so, such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam, but not beyond our calling as sons of the living God.

In 1957, a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. During the past ten years, we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which has now justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Cambodia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

It is with such activity in mind that the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, “Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.” Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken, the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments [38PST]. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin... we must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society [39PSH]. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered [40PST].

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. On the one hand, we are called to play the Good Samaritan on life’s roadside, but that will be only an initial act. One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life’s highway. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, “This is not just.” It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of South America and say, “This is not just.” The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, “This way of settling differences is not just.” This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation’s homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love [41PSH]. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death [42PST].

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war. There is nothing to keep us from molding a recalcitrant status quo with bruised hands until we have fashioned it into a brotherhood.

This kind of positive revolution of values is our best defense against communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. **Let us not join those who shout war and, through their misguided passions, urge the United States to relinquish its participation in the United Nations. These are days which demand wise restraint and calm reasonableness. We must not engage in a negative anticommunism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with positive action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity, and injustice, which are the fertile soil in which the seed of communism grows and develops.**

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wounds of a frail world, new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. “The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light.” We in the West must support these revolutions [43PSH].

It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch antirevolutionaries. This has driven many to feel that only Marxism has a revolutionary spirit. Therefore, communism is a judgment against our failure to make democracy real and follow through on the revolutions that we initiated [44PST]. Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores, and thereby speed the day when “every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.”

A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one’s tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing – embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. This oft misunderstood, this oft misinterpreted concept, so readily dismissed by the Nietzsches of the world as a weak and cowardly force, has now become an absolute necessity for the survival of man [45PSH]. When I speak of love I am not speaking of some sentimental and weak response. I am not speaking of that force which is just emotional bosh. I am speaking of that force which all of the great religions have seen as the supreme unifying principle of life. Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. **This Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate – ultimate reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John: “Let us love one another, for love is God. And every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love.” “If we love one another, God dwelleth in us and his love is perfected in us.”** Let us hope that this spirit will become the order of the day [46PSH].

We can no longer afford to worship the god of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. And history is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate [47PST]. As Arnold Toynbee says:

“Love is the ultimate force that makes for the saving choice of life and good against the damning choice of death and evil. Therefore the first hope in our inventory must be the hope that love is going to have the last word” (unquote) [48PSH].

We are now faced with the fact, my friends, that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us standing bare, naked, and dejected with a lost opportunity. The tide in the affairs of men does not remain at flood – it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage, but time is adamant to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words, “Too late.” There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. Omar Khayyam is right: “The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on” [49PST].

We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent co-annihilation. We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors [50PSH]. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight [51PST].

Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter, but beautiful, struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the sons of God, and our brothers wait eagerly for our response. Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? Will our message be that the forces of American life militate against their arrival as full men, and we send our deepest regrets? Or will there be another message – of longing, of hope, of solidarity with their yearnings, of commitment to their cause, whatever the cost? The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise, we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.

As that noble bard of yesterday, James Russell Lowell, eloquently stated:

**“Once to every man and nation comes a moment to decide,
In the strife of truth and Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God’s new Messiah offering each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever ‘twixt that darkness and that light.
Though the cause of evil prosper, yet ‘tis truth alone is strong
Though her portions be the scaffold, and upon the throne be wrong
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.”**

And if we will only make the right choice, we will be able to transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of peace. If we will make the right choice, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our world into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. If we will but make the right choice, we will be able to speed up the

day, all over America and all over the world, when “justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream” [52PSH].

SHIRLEY ANITA CHISHOLM

Remarks on an Appraisal of the Conflict in Vietnam. Delivered on 26th March 1969 ⁸²

I thank the gentleman. **Mr. Speaker, on the same day President Nixon announced he had decided the United States will not be safe unless we start to build a defense system against missiles, the Head Start program in the District of Columbia was cut back for the lack of money.**

As a teacher, and as a woman, I do not think I will ever understand what kind of values can be involved in spending \$9 billion – and more, I am sure – on elaborate, unnecessary, and impractical weapons when several thousand disadvantaged children in the nation’s capital get nothing [1PST]. When the new administration took office, I was one of the many Americans who hoped it would mean that our country would benefit from the fresh perspectives, the new ideas, the different priorities of a leader who had no part in its mistakes of the past. Mr. Nixon had said things like this:

“If our cities are to be livable for the next generation, we can delay no longer in launching new approaches to the problems that beset them and to the tensions that tear them apart.”

And he said:

“When you cut expenditures for education, what you are doing is short-changing the American future” [2PSH].

But frankly, I have never cared too much what people say. What I am interested in is what they do. We have waited to see what the new administration is going to do. **The pattern now is becoming clear. Apparently launching these new programs can be delayed for a while, after all. It seems we have to get some missiles launched first.**

Recently the new secretary of commerce spelled it out. The secretary, Mr. [Maurice] Stans, told a reporter that the new administration is “pretty well agreed it must take time out from major social objectives” until it can stop inflation.

The new secretary of health, education, and welfare, Robert Finch, came to the Hill to tell the House Education and Labor Committee that he thinks we should spend more on education, particularly in city schools. But, he said, unfortunately we can’t “afford” to, until we have reached some kind of honorable solution to the Vietnam War [3ET]. I was glad to read that the distinguished member from Oregon [Edith Green] asked Mr. Finch this:

“With the crisis we have in education, and the crisis in our cities, can we wait to settle the war? Shouldn’t it be the other way around? Unless we can meet the crisis in education, we really can’t afford the war” [4PSH].

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird came to Capitol Hill, too. His mission was to sell the anti-ballistic-missile insanity to the Senate. He was asked what the new administration is doing about the war. To hear him, one would have thought it was 1968, that the former secretary of state was defending the former politics, that

⁸² Retrieved from: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2020/03/26/shirley_chisholm_fund_childrens_welfare_not_war_in_vietnam_142768.html. Date: 9-01-2020.

nothing had ever happened – a president had never decided not to run because he knew the nation would reject him in despair over this tragic war we have blundered into. Mr. Laird talked of being prepared to spend at least two more years in Vietnam.

Two more years, two more years of hunger for Americans, of death for our best young men, of children here at home suffering the lifelong handicap of not having a good education when they are young. Two more years of high taxes, collected to feed the cancerous growth of a Defense Department budget that now consumes two-thirds of our federal income.

Two more years of too little being done to fight our greatest enemies – poverty, prejudice and neglect – here in our own country. Two more years of fantastic waste in the Defense Department and of penny-pinching on social programs [5PST, ET]. Our country cannot survive two more years, or four, of these kinds of policies. It must stop – this year – now.

Now, I am not a pacifist. I am deeply, unalterably, opposed to this war in Vietnam. Apart from all the other considerations, and they are many, the main fact is that we cannot squander there the lives, the money, the energy that we need desperately here, in our cities, in our schools [6PSH, EH].

I wonder whether we cannot reverse our whole approach to spending [7EH]. For years, we have given the military, the defense industry, a blank check. New weapons systems are dreamed up, billions are spent, and many times they are found to be impractical, inefficient, unsatisfactory, even worthless. What do we do then? We spend more money on them. But with social programs, what do we do? Take the Job Corps. Its failures have been mercilessly exposed and criticized. If it had been a military research and development project, they would have been covered up or explained away, and Congress would have been ready to pour more billions after those that had been wasted on it.

The case of Pride, Inc., is interesting. This vigorous, successful black organization, here in Washington, conceived and built by young inner-city men, has been ruthlessly attacked by its enemies in the government, in this Congress. At least six auditors from the General Accounting Office were put to work investigating Pride. They worked seven months and spent more than \$100,000. They uncovered a fraud. It was something less than \$2,100. Meanwhile, billions of dollars... were being spent by the Department of Defense, and how many auditors and investigators were checking into their negotiated contracts? Five [8ET].

We Americans have come to feel that it is our mission to make the world free. We believe that we are the good guys, everywhere, in Vietnam, in Latin America, wherever we go. We believe we are the good guys at home, too [9PSH]. When the Kerner Commission told white America what black America has always known – that prejudice and hatred built the nation's slums, maintains them and profits by them – white America would not believe it. But it is true. Unless we start to fight, and defeat, the enemies of poverty and racism in our own county and make our talk of equality and opportunity ring true, we are exposed as hypocrites in the eyes of the world when we talk about making other people free [10PST].

I am deeply disappointed at the clear evidence that the number one priority of the new administration is to buy more and more and more weapons of war, to return to the era of the Cold War, to ignore the war we must fight here – the war that is not optional [11ET]. There is only one way, I believe, to turn these policies around. The Congress can respond to the mandate that the American people have clearly expressed. They have said, “End this war. Stop the waste. Stop the killing. Do something for our own people first.” We must find the money to “launch the new approaches,” as Mr. Nixon said. We must force the administration to rethink its distorted, unreal scale of priorities. Our children, our jobless men, our deprived, rejected and starving fellow citizens must come first [12PSH].

For this reason, I intend to vote “no” on every money bill that comes to the floor of this House that provides any funds for the Department of Defense. Any bill whatsoever, until the time comes when our values and priorities have been turned right side up again, until the monstrous waste and the shocking profits in the defense budget have been eliminated and our country starts to use its strength, its tremendous resources, for people and peace, not for profits and war [13EH].

It was Calvin Coolidge, I believe, who made the comment that “the business of America is business.” We are now spending \$80 billion a year on defense – that is two-thirds of every tax dollar [14ET]. At this time, gentleman, the business of America is war and it is time for a change [15EH].

JOHN FORBES KERRY

Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Delivered on 22nd April 1971 ⁸³

Thank you very much, Senator Fulbright, Senator Javits, Senator Symington, Senator Pell.

I would like to say for the record that – and also for the men behind me who are also wearing the uniform and their medals – that my sitting up here is really symbolic. I’m not here as John Kerry. I’m here as one member of a group of 1000, which is a small representation of a very much larger group of veterans in this country. And were it possible for all of them to sit at this table, they would be here and have the same kind of testimony [1PSH].

I would simply like to speak in very general terms. I – I apologize if my statement is general because I received notification yesterday you would hear me, and I’m afraid, because of the injunction, I was up most of the night and haven’t had a great deal of chance to prepare.

I would like to talk representing all those veterans and say that several months ago in Detroit we had an investigation at which over 150 honorably discharged, and many very highly decorated, veterans testified to war crimes committed in Southeast Asia.

These were not isolated incidents but crimes committed on a day-to-day basis with the full awareness of officers at all levels of command. It’s impossible to describe to you exactly what did happen in Detroit – the emotions in the room and the feelings of the men who were reliving their experiences in Vietnam. But they did. They relived the absolute horror of what this country, in a sense, made them do.

They told the stories of times that they had personally raped, cut off ears, cut off heads, taped wires from portable telephones to human genitals and turned up the power, cut off limbs, blown up bodies, randomly shot at civilians, razed villages in the fashion reminiscent of Genghis Khan, shot cattle and dogs for fun, poisoned food stocks, and generally ravaged the countryside of South Vietnam in addition to the normal ravage of war and the normal and very particular ravaging which is done by the applied bombing power of this country.

⁸³ Retrieved from: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/johnkerrysenateforeignrelationsvietnamwar.htm>. Date: 9-01-2020.

We call this investigation the “Winter Soldier Investigation.” The term “Winter Soldier” is a play on words of Thomas Paine’s in 1776 when he spoke of the Sunshine Patriot and summertime soldiers who deserted at Valley Forge because the going was rough [2WT].

And we who have come here to Washington have come here because we feel we have to be winter soldiers now. We could come back to this country; and we could be quiet; we could hold our silence; we could not tell what went on in Vietnam. But we feel because of what threatens this country, the fact that the crimes threaten it, not reds, not redcoats but the crimes which we’re committing are what threaten it; and we have to speak out [3PSH].

I would like to talk to you a little bit about what the result is of – of the feelings these men carry with them after coming back from Vietnam. **The country doesn’t know it yet but it’s created a monster, a monster in the form of millions of men who have been taught to deal and to trade in violence, and who are given the chance to die for the biggest nothing in history; men who have returned with a sense of anger and a sense of betrayal which no one has yet grasped [4PST, WT].**

As a veteran, and one who feels this anger, I’d like to talk about it. **We’re angry because we feel we have been used in the worst fashion by the administration of this country [5PST]. In 1970 at West Point, Vice President Agnew said:**

“Some glamorize the criminal misfits of society while our best men die in Asian rice paddies to preserve the freedoms which those misfits abuse” [6WH].

And this was used as a rallying point for our effort in Vietnam.

But for us, his boys in Asia whom the country was supposed to support, his statement is a terrible distortion from which we can only draw a very deep sense of revulsion; and hence the anger of some of the men who are here in Washington today.

It’s a distortion because we in no way considered ourselves the best men of this country; because those he calls misfits were standing up for us in a way that nobody else in this country dared to; because so many who have died would have returned to this country to join the misfits in their efforts to ask for an immediate withdrawal from South Vietnam; because so many of those best men have returned as quadriplegics and amputees, and they lie forgotten in Veterans Administration hospitals in this country which fly the flag which so many have chosen as their own personal symbol.

And we cannot consider ourselves America’s best men when we were ashamed of and hated what we were called to do in Southeast Asia. In our opinion, and from our experience, there is nothing in South Vietnam, nothing which could happen that realistically threatens the United States of America. And to attempt to justify the loss of one American life in Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos by linking such loss to the preservation of freedom, which those misfits supposedly abuse, is to us the height of criminal hypocrisy, and it’s that kind of hypocrisy which we feel has torn this country apart [7PST].

We are probably much more angry than that and I don’t want to go into the foreign policy aspects because I’m outclassed here. I know that all of you have talked about every possible – every possible alternative to getting out of Vietnam. We understand that. We know that you’ve considered the seriousness of the aspects to the utmost level and I’m not going to try and deal on that. **But I want to relate to you the feeling which many of the men who’ve returned to this country express because we are probably angriest about all that we were told about Vietnam and about the mystical war against communism [8PST].**

We found that not only was it a civil war, an effort by a people who had for years been seeking their liberation from any colonial influence whatsoever, but also we found that the Vietnamese, whom we had enthusiastically molded after our own image, were hard put to take up the fight against the threat we were supposedly saving them from.

We found that most people didn't even know the difference between communism and democracy. They only wanted to work in rice paddies without helicopters strafing them and bombs with napalm burning their villages and tearing their country apart. They wanted everything to do with the war, particularly with this foreign presence of the United States of America, to leave them alone in peace; and they practiced the art of survival by siding with whichever military force was present at a particular time, be it Vietcong, North Vietnamese, or American.

We found also that all too often American men were dying in those rice paddies for want of support from their allies. We saw firsthand how monies from American taxes was used for a corrupt dictatorial regime. We saw that many people in this country had a one-sided idea of who was kept free by our flag, as blacks provided the highest percentage of casualties. We saw Vietnam ravaged equally by American bombs as well as by search and destroy missions, as well as by Vietcong terrorism; and yet we listened while this country tried to blame all of the havoc on the Vietcong.

We rationalized destroying villages in order to save them. We saw America lose her sense of morality as she accepted very coolly a My Lai and refused to give up the image of American soldiers that hand out chocolate bars and chewing gum. We learned the meaning of "free-fire zones," "shoot anything that moves," and we watched while America placed a cheapness on the lives of Orientals. We watched the United States' falsification of body counts, in fact the glorification of body counts. We listened while month after month we were told the back of the enemy was about to break.

We fought using weapons against "oriental human beings," with quotation marks around that. We fought using weapons against those people which I do not believe this country would dream of using were we fighting in a European theater – or let us say a non-third-world people theater. And so we watched while men charged up hills because a general said "That hill has to be taken." And after losing one platoon or two platoons they marched away to leave the hill for the reoccupation of the North Vietnamese; because – because we watched pride allow the most unimportant of battles to be blown into extravaganzas; because we couldn't lose, and we couldn't retreat, and because it didn't matter how many American bodies were lost to prove that point. And so there were Hamburger Hills and Khe Sanhs and Hill 881's and Fire Base 6's, and so many others [9WT].

And now we're told that the men who fought there must watch quietly while American lives are lost so that we can exercise the incredible arrogance of Vietnamizing the Vietnamese.

Each day – Each – [10PST]

Committee Chair (Sen. Fulbright): I hope you won't interrupt [to audience who applauded Mr. Kerry's immediately preceding remarks]. He's making a very significant statement. And let him proceed.

Mr. Kerry: Each day to facilitate the process by which the United States washes her hands of Vietnam, someone has to give up his life so that United States doesn't have to admit something that the entire world already knows, so that we cannot say that we've made a mistake. Someone has to die so that President Nixon won't be, and these are his words, "the first [American] President to lose a war."

And we are asking Americans to think about that because how do you ask a man to be the last man to die in Vietnam? How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake? But we're trying to do that, and we're doing it with thousands of rationalizations, and if you read carefully the President's last speech to the people of this country, you can see that he says, and says clearly:

"But the issue, gentlemen, the issue is communism, and the question is whether or not we will leave that country to the Communists or whether or not we will try to give it hope to be a free people."

But the point is they're not a free people now – under us. They're not a free people. And we cannot fight communism all over the world, and I think we should have learnt that lesson by now [11PST].

But the problem of veterans goes beyond this personal problem, because you think about a poster in this country with a picture of Uncle Sam and the picture says "I want you." And a young man comes out of high school and says, "That's fine. I'm going to serve my country" [12PSH]. And he goes to Vietnam and he shoots and he kills and he does his job or maybe he doesn't kill, maybe he just goes and he comes back [13WT]. When he gets back to this country he finds that he isn't really wanted, because the largest unemployment figure in the country – it varies depending on who you get it from, the Veterans Administration 15 percent, various other sources 22 percent – but the largest figure of unemployed in this country are veterans of this war. And of those veterans 33 percent of the unemployed are black. That means 1 out of every 10 of the nation's unemployed is a veteran of Vietnam [14ET].

The hospitals across the country won't or can't meet their demands. It's not a question of not trying. They haven't got the appropriations. A man recently died after he had a tracheotomy in California, not because of the operation but because there weren't enough personnel to clean the mucous out of his tube and he suffocated to death.

Another young man just died in a New York VA hospital the other day. A friend of mine was lying in a bed two beds away and tried to help him, but he couldn't. They rang a bell and there was no one there to service that man, and so he died of convulsions.

Fifty-seven percent – I understand 57 percent of all those entering VA hospitals talk about suicide. Some 27 percent have tried, and they try because they come back to this country and they have to face what they did in Vietnam, and then they come back and find the indifference of a country that doesn't really care, that doesn't really care.

And suddenly we are faced with a very sickening situation in this country because there's no moral indignation, and if there is it comes from people who are almost exhausted by their past indignancies, and I know that many of them are sitting in front of me. The country seems to have lied – lain down and accepted something as serious as Laos, just as we calmly shrugged off the loss of 700,000 lives in Pakistan, the so-called greatest disaster of all times [15PST].

But we are here as veterans to say that we think we are in the midst of the greatest disaster of all times now because they are still dying over there, and not just Americans, Vietnamese, and we are rationalizing leaving that country so that those people can go on killing each other for years to come [16PSH].

Americans seem to have accepted the idea that the war is winding down, at least for Americans, and they have also allowed the bodies, which were once used by a President for statistics to prove that we were winning this

war, to be used as evidence against a man who followed orders and who interpreted those orders no differently than hundreds of other men in South Vietnam.

We veterans can only look with amazement on the fact that this country has not been able to see that there's absolutely no difference between a ground troop and a helicopter crew. And yet, people have accepted a differentiation fed them by the administration [17PST]. No ground troops are in Laos, so it's alright to kill Laotians by remote control. But believe me, the helicopter crews fill the same body bags and they wreak the same kind of damage on the Vietnamese and Laotian countryside as anyone else, and the President is talking about allowing that to go on for many years to come [18WT]. And one can only ask if we will really be satisfied when the troops march in to Hanoi.

We are asking here in Washington for some action, action from the Congress of the United States of America which has the power to raise and maintain armies and which by the Constitution also has the power to declare war. We've come here, not to the President, because we believe that this body can be responsive to the will of the people; and we believe that the will of the people says that we should be out of Vietnam now.

We're here in Washington also to say that the problem of this war is not just a question of war and diplomacy. It's part and parcel of everything that we are trying as human beings to communicate to people in this country: the question of racism, which is rampant in the military; and so many other questions also: the use of weapons; the hypocrisy in our taking umbrage in the... Geneva Conventions and using that as justification for continuation of this war, when we are more guilty than any other body of violations of those Geneva Conventions – in the use of free-fire zones, harassment interdiction fire, search and destroy missions, the bombings, the torture of prisoners, the killing of prisoners – accepted policy by many units in South Vietnam. That's what we're trying to say. It's part and parcel of everything [19PSH].

An American Indian friend of mine who lives on the Indian nation of Alcatraz put it to me very succinctly. He told me how as a boy on an Indian reservation he had watched television and he used to cheer the cowboys when they came in and shot the Indians. And then suddenly one day he stopped in Vietnam and he said, "My God, I'm doing to these people the very same thing that was done to my people," – and he stopped. And that's what we're trying to say, that we think this thing has to end [20PST].

We're also here to ask – We are here to ask and we're here to ask vehemently. Where are the leaders of our country? Where is the leadership? We're here to ask: Where are McNamara, Rostow, Bundy, Gilpatric, and so many others. Where are they now that we the men whom they sent off to war have returned? [21PSH] These are commanders who have deserted their troops and there is no more serious crime in the law of war. The Army says they never leave their wounded. The Marines say they never leave even their dead. These men have left all the casualties and retreated behind a pious shield of public rectitude. They've left the real stuff of their reputations, bleaching behind them in the sun in this country [22PST].

And finally, this Administration has done us the ultimate dishonor. They've attempted to disown us and the sacrifices we made for this country. In their blindness and fear, they have tried to deny that we are veterans or that we served in Nam. We do not need their testimony. Our own scars and stumps of limbs are witness enough for others; and for ourselves, we wish that a merciful God could wipe away our own memories of that service as easily as this administration has wiped their memories of us [23PST].

But all that they have done and all that they can do by this denial is to make more clear than ever our own determination to undertake one last mission: to search out and destroy the last vestige of this barbaric war, to

pacify our own hearts, to conquer the hate and fear that have driven this country these last 10 years and more [24PSH].

And so, when 30 years from now our brothers go down the street without a leg, without an arm or a face, and small boys ask why, we will be able to say “Vietnam” and not mean a desert, not a filthy obscene memory but mean instead the place where America finally turned and where soldiers like us helped it in the turning [25PST].

Thank you.

JANE SEYMOUR FONDA

Broadcast over Radio Hanoi. Delivered in September 1972 ⁸⁴

This is Jane Fonda. During my two week visit in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I’ve had the opportunity to visit a great many places and speak to a large number of people from all walks of life – workers, peasants, students, artists and dancers, historians, journalists, film actresses, soldiers, militia girls, members of the women’s union, writers.

I visited the [Dam Xuac] agricultural co-op, where the silk worms are also raised and thread is made. I visited a textile factory, a kindergarten in Hanoi. **The beautiful Temple of Literature was where I saw traditional dances and heard songs of resistance. I also saw unforgettable ballet about the guerrillas training bees in the south to attack enemy soldiers. The bees were danced by women, and they did their job well** [1PSH].

In the shadow of the Temple of Literature I saw Vietnamese actors and actresses perform the second act of Arthur Miller’s play *All My Sons*, and this was very moving to me – the fact that artists here are translating and performing American plays while U.S. imperialists are bombing their country [2PST].

I cherish the memory of the blushing militia girls on the roof of their factory, encouraging one of their sisters as she sang a song praising the blue sky of Vietnam – these women, who are so gentle and poetic, whose voices are so beautiful, but who, when American planes are bombing their city, become such good fighters [3PSH].

I cherish the way a farmer evacuated from Hanoi, without hesitation, offered me, an American, their best individual bomb shelter while U.S. bombs fell nearby [4WH]. The daughter and I, in fact, shared the shelter wrapped in each others arms, cheek against cheek. **It was on the road back from Nam Dinh, where I had witnessed the systematic destruction of civilian targets-schools, hospitals, pagodas, the factories, houses, and the dike system** [5WT].

As I left the United States two weeks ago, Nixon was again telling the American people that he was winding down the war, but in the rubble-strewn streets of Nam Dinh, his words echoed with sinister [words indistinct] of a true killer. **And like the young Vietnamese woman I held in my arms clinging to me tightly – and I pressed my cheek against hers – I thought, this is a war against Vietnam perhaps, but the tragedy is America’s** [6PST].

One thing that I have learned beyond a shadow of a doubt since I’ve been in this country is that Nixon will never be able to break the spirit of these people; he’ll never be able to turn Vietnam, north and south, into a neo-colony of the United States by bombing, by invading, by attacking in any way. One has only to go into the countryside and listen to the peasants describe the lives they led before the revolution to understand why every bomb that is dropped only strengthens their determination to resist [7PSH].

I’ve spoken to many peasants who talked about the days when their parents had to sell themselves to landlords as virtually slaves, when there were very few schools and much illiteracy, inadequate medical care, when they were not masters of their own lives [8PST].

⁸⁴ Retrieved from: https://www.speeches-usa.com/Transcripts/jane_fonda-vietnam.html. Date: 9-01-2020.

But now, despite the bombs, despite the crimes being created – being committed against them by Richard Nixon, these people own their own land, build their own schools – the children learning, literacy – illiteracy is being wiped out, there is no more prostitution as there was during the time when this was a French colony. In other words, the people have taken power into their own hands, and they are controlling their own lives.

And after 4,000 years of struggling against nature and foreign invaders – and the last 25 years, prior to the revolution, of struggling against French colonialism – I don't think that the people of Vietnam are about to compromise in any way, shape or form about the freedom and independence of their country, and I think Richard Nixon would do well to read Vietnamese history, particularly their poetry, and particularly the poetry written by Ho Chi Minh [9PSH, EH].

Abstract

A study of relationships between language and its social and cultural context is a broad, fascinating and multidisciplinary issue. This is also a main feature of this dissertation, whose subject matter is focused on analysis of American public discourse in relation to trauma and heroism during the period of the Vietnam War. Furthermore, the research perspective taken here is embedded in anthropological linguistics and is concentrated, in particular, on the domain of discourse pragmatics. The main aim of such methodology is to show a broad range of linguistic means preferred in order to create narratives desired by the speakers, as well as to reveal the intentions and aims of each speaker using selected tools from the domain of rhetorical, textual and quantitative analysis.

The research material includes two groups of texts which are generally connected with the context of the Vietnam War. The first of these contains five selected speeches delivered by American presidents at different moments of their political careers that are focused on the American view on this war and its social and cultural consequences. The second group consists of five speeches delivered by the leaders of movements opposed to this conflict who, in a traumatic and heroic manner, paint a picture of the domestic affairs in the United States in that period and call for a great social transformation.

The most relevant conclusions of this study indicate the fact that, firstly, references to trauma and heroism are widely present in public discourse. Secondly, both groups of speakers, namely American presidents and the leaders of movements opposed to the war, used in their speeches similar rhetorical devices, explicitly expressed references to intertextuality, as well as American values. Thirdly, the main difference between these two groups lies in terms of proportion: whereas presidential discourse is mainly focused on the role of the president, who is seen as a leader and a providential figure for the Nation, discourse developed by the opponents of the Vietnam War is generally focused on publicly expressed examples of the trauma which is being experienced by society, with an intention to heal social wounds and to create a linguistic justification for heroic acts of protest against the war and numerous examples of discrimination observed in American society of that period.

Streszczenie

Badanie związków pomiędzy językiem a jego społecznym i kulturowym kontekstem jest zagadnieniem niezwykle obszernym, fascynującym i ze swej natury multidyscyplinarnym. Stanowi też centralny element tej dysertacji, której przedmiot badania koncentruje się na analizie amerykańskiego dyskursu publicznego w odniesieniu do doświadczeń traumy i heroizmu z okresu wojny wietnamskiej. Ponadto, przyjęta tu perspektywa badawcza osadzona jest w domenie językoznawstwa antropologicznego, a w szczególności skupia się na dziedzinie pragmatyki dyskursu. Podstawowym celem tak ujętego podejścia jest ukazanie szerokiego wachlarza środków językowych użytych do budowania pożądanego przez mówców narracji oraz próba odkrycia ich intencji i celów w oparciu o wybrane narzędzia z obszaru analizy retorycznej, tekstologicznej i kwantytatywnej.

Materiał badawczy obejmuje dwie grupy tekstów, których wspólnym mianownikiem jest kontekst wojny w Wietnamie. Pierwsza grupa zawiera pięć wybranych przemówień wygłoszonych przez amerykańskich prezydentów w różnych momentach ich kariery politycznej, a skupionych na stosunku Stanów Zjednoczonych do tej wojny i jej społecznych i kulturowych reperkusjach. Drugą grupę stanowi pięć wybranych przemówień wygłoszonych przez liderów ruchów sprzeciwiających się temu konfliktowi, którzy w traumatyczny i heroiczny sposób kreślą obraz stosunków wewnętrznych w Stanach Zjednoczonych z okresu wojny wietnamskiej i wzywają do wielkiej transformacji społecznej.

Najważniejsze wnioski z badania wskazują na fakt, że, po pierwsze, odniesienia do traumy i heroizmu są szeroko rozpowszechnione w dyskursie publicznym. Po wtóre, obie grupy mówców, to znaczy amerykańscy prezydenci i przywódcy opozycji antywojennej, odwołują się do podobnych figur retorycznych i odniesień intertekstualnych oraz często przywołują amerykańskie wartości. Po trzecie, podstawowa różnica pomiędzy obiema grupami leży w rozłożeniu akcentów: o ile dyskurs prezydencki skupia się głównie na heroicznej roli prezydenta jako przewodnika i męża opatrznościowego w dziejach Narodu, o tyle głosy przeciwników wojny wietnamskiej koncentrują się na publicznym wyrażeniu traumy doświadczanej przez społeczeństwo, aby oczyścić je z kolektywnie przeżywanego zranienia, a także tworzą werbalne uzasadnienie dla postawy heroicznego oporu wobec wojny i przejawów dyskryminacji w społeczeństwie amerykańskim owego okresu.