

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Hussein Obama's Political Speeches on the Middle East and the Muslim World

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Abstract

Political discourse analysis is aimed at highlighting the emancipatory agendas of political actors who dialectically articulate their discourse for the specific purpose of grasping “pro-ideologies” of masses without giving much room to their real interests. To a great extent the manipulation of language serves as a sturdy tool for political benefits and consequently it provides a strong base for the exploitations of the ideological assumptions of people on a large scale. A critical discourse analysis of Barack Hussein Obama's ideology and policy towards the East and the Muslim world demonstrates the above mentioned thesis; by smart linguistic choices he represents the political ideologies of America and its allies with implicit exhibition of power, dominance and hostility. The findings suggest that Obama safeguards America's interests as well as its allies in the name of ‘peace’, ‘prosperity’, ‘democracy’, ‘economical support’ and ‘change’, specifically targeting young people. On one hand, he uses an extraordinary intervention of contemporary textual and contextual references and historical conventions with extensions while on the other hand, he exclusively tries to revitalize issues of ‘violence, tolerance, international peace and security, hegemony, human rights’ and so on in the current arena of chaos and international political instability, with a vibrant and optimistic and approach.

Keywords: Emancipatory, De facto ideology, Peace, Middle East, Allies

List of acronyms

BO-MENA: Barack Obama's speech on Middle East and North Africa

BOC-E A New Beginning” by President Barack Obama, Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt

BO-ATNOS: Obama’s speech on the issue of Syria

CDA: critical discourse analysis

1. Introduction

Barack Obama is considered as one of the eloquent orators of USA after Martin Luther king because of his remarkable discourse structural patterns with a crisp flavour of immaculate linguistic choices, providing a very little room to the audience and reader to get an explicate view of the de facto ideologies of America and specifically its 'allied' when discourse focuses upon the Muslim world and the middle east. Obama distinctively delivers extensive speeches when it comes to the issues of clamour/turmoil, such as aggression, terrorism, peace, international cooperation, democracy, change etc.

The current study is aimed at exploring the hidden agenda of Obama's political discourse focusing Middle East and Muslim world, it can be easily assessed that America has an explicate policy when it comes to the issue of peace, security and democracy but the complication arises when he touches upon American foreign policy, change and pro or de-facto ideology for Muslim world or the otherwise.

The paper will precede with first a description of the theoretical background and framework to critical discourse analysis, followed by a detailed analysis of specific speeches made by Barack Obama.

2. Theoretical Frameworks

Critical discourse analysis is an emerging school of discourse with an emancipatory agenda, targeted at identifying and uncovering the discursive sources of hegemony, dominance and power in broader social, cultural and political context (Van Dijk, 1998). To Fairclough (1998), CDA interprets 'language as a form social practice' and it appears transdisciplinary in nature as the approach aims at analyzing written and spoken text to reveal unequal sources of dominance and hegemony with special reference to the political, and social contexts which contribute to the production and simultaneously in the distribution of social goods in society at micro and macro both levels. Moreover CDA clearly comes up with an explicit and implicit emancipatory objective which represents and rather (re)views language as a sturdy tool for the manipulation of un-revealed intent.

For the critical discourse analyst, language is not a simple phenomenon to interpret, rather it is very complex in nature as it is to some extent language socially representative and 'socially shaped' with a keen emancipatory objective (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:258; Wodak & Meyer, 2002). CDA is defined by Fairclough (1993) as:

Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (p. 135).

In other words, CDA tries to uncover those opaque relationship between text and events in social and cultural discourse practices which may not appear explicit or exclusive to others, due to this reason CDA stands out differently in the discourse studies as it covers a variety of subject areas ranging from genres, context and discursive practices to societal structures at a broader level. Historically the roots of CDA can be traced back to the 1970s, when Critical Linguistics was developed on the basis of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics which tried to focus upon the 'ideological processes in text and talk' and simultaneously it 'isolated ideologies in discourse' which is often opaque or implicit in nature (Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995).

CL (Critical Linguistics) analyze three functions of text, i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual functions (Fowler, 1991), the first function deals with the experiences which a speaker or agent acquires from the world and the second function is related to building a bridge between the speaker and the listener with special reference to the personal attitudes and attributes of the speaker and the textual function appears exclusively instrumental for the first two functions (Fairclough, 1995, 1996). Fairclough studies also discussed the constitutive nature of language in detail, which represents and reproduces social identities and forms the macro structural patterns of discourse. He furthermore elaborated that CDA tries to unpack the interactive nature of relationships between different people who are engaged in specific discourse patterns and also highlight the disguised objectives of text semiotically.

Wodak appears with a different approach, her explanation of CDA as an approach heavily relies upon the traces of historical context in discourse i.e. the discourse can never be independent, historical contextual references are a salient feature of discourse. She elaborated few concepts of Fairclough such as there is always an unequal access to linguistic and social resources of discourse and discourse is institutionally legitimized and contextualized. Wodak focused much upon the investigative nature of discourse which directly aims at unequal resources of power and social goods in society as a whole and the consequences of this unequal distribution of goods to people, the nature of their social relations and its semiotic significance, the instrumental role of text in reproduction of discourse practices. Apart from these, another significant feature of CDA is interpretation of text to view the impact of these unequal distribution of social goods and linguistic resources on people and ultimately how discourse represent, constitute and (re)construct the social identities(; Wodak,2001; Fairclough, 1989, 1995a, 1995b, 2002).

(Wodak & Ludwig 1999) demonstrated the immaculate nature of discourse interpretation with the notion that language 'manifests social processes and interaction' and 'constitutes' those processes as well. The idea thus provokes three basic entailments i.e., discourse always contains power and ideologies, it is historical and finally the interpretation must prevail the equal role of reader and listener. The prior one is similar to Fairclough i.e. intertextuality, and the last one is communicative, giving equal value to 'communicative agents or participants in discourse'. Wodak also stressed upon the use of multiple methods in analysis for the sake of broadening the scope of CDA as a transdisciplinary approach & method, ranging from critical social issues to political and societal dilemmas.

Van Dijk (1988, 1996 & 1999) applied discourse analysis strategies in media studies; he integrates general theory of discourse to the complex discourse patterns of news, press and political text and talk. The framework proposed by Van Dijk interprets text at higher level i.e. production, reception and comprehension of text, the analytical approach can be linked to the structural patterns of discourse where the focus doesn't lie upon the phonological or grammatical structures of sentences rather it goes beyond these simple interpretations to 'structures of text at various levels of production and reception' such as overall coherence, thematic views, schematic forms, semiotic modes and rhetorical perceptual basis of text.

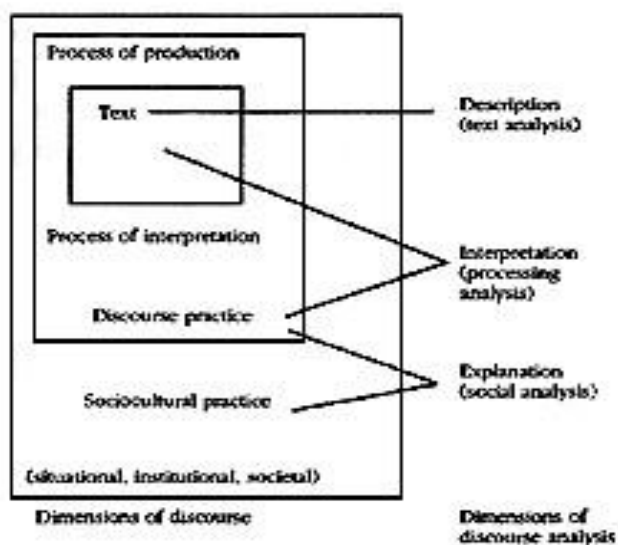
According to van Dijk (1998)

Discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes.

He represented analysis of text at two broader levels with reference to the lexical grammatical, syntactical and societal structures including themes and approaches. At micro level analysis is delimited to the semantic relationship between syntactical, rhetorical and lexical properties of text while the macro level analysis is related to over all societal structures, themes and topics of text (Van Dijk, 1988, 1999). The perceptual notion of 'ideology analysis' of Van Dijk (1998, 1999, 2000) incorporates two traditional approaches i.e., social analysis and discourse analysis along with an extra feature of 'cognitive analysis'. Central to many research and narrations of van Dijk is the 'Us vs. Them' dichotomy, by elaborating the negative and positive attributes associated with it. Another salient feature of his approach is to unpack the "presupposed & implied" notions of discourse by giving much room to reflexive self representations, recontextualisation and diverse ways of juxtapositions between modes and ways of discourse reception and reproduction.

To conclude with the discussion on CDA, Fairclough's approach will be drawn upon here which focuses much upon the shifts in genres, discourse patterns, and societal and cultural structures, styles and functional nature of text as a part of broader discourse practice.

A central concern is shifting articulations between genres, discourses, and styles--the shifting social structuring of relationships between them which achieve a relative stability and permanence in orders of discourse, and the ongoing working of relationships between them in texts and interactions. The term 'Interdiscursivity' is reserved for the latter: the 'Interdiscursivity' of a text is a part of its intertextuality, a question of which genres, discourses and styles it draws upon, and how it works them into particular articulations, Fairclough 2002).



Source: Dimensions of Discourse Analysis, (Fairclough, 1989)

In this way, for the purpose of this research, I apply CDA as an analytical framework for the analysis of Obama's political discourse focusing Middle East and Muslim world. As mentioned above, I particularly draw on Fairclough's model (2002) specifically focussing on the following points. I have carefully taken into account those key words, sentences and phrases of Obama's political discourse which provide a hint to explicate the representations, legitimization and recontextualisation of discourse at a transdisciplinary level.

Apart from the above mentioned thesis of Fairclough, my research also considers the theorization and elaboration of social processes and the societal structures in which the social groups create their meanings by interpretation of the text, therefore I also adopt Wodak's approach, focussing on three fundamental elements of discourse analysis which are indispensable i.e. *'power, ideology and the historical context'*. I will draw upon these approaches to unpack the de facto ideology of Barack Obama by reflecting on his political speeches exclusively delivered about the Muslim world and the Middle East.

3. Research Objectives

The main objectives of this study are

- To make a critical analysis of Barack Obama's political discourse
- To highlight the ideological assumptions of Obama regarding the Middle East and the Muslim world
- To elucidate doctrine of Obama and his representation of Allied power, dominance and strategical plans about Middle East and Muslim world

4. Research Questions

- What are the de facto ideologies of Obama and its allied in the Middle East and Muslim world

- How does Obama represent change, hegemony, ideological contestation and cooperation for international peace and security through discourse
- What covert and overt agenda is behind allied and collided US- Syria and Middle East?

As I am going to begin with the analysis I would like to quote here few important things from Fairclough 'the inter relatedness of structures and events become the discursive practices for the audience i.e. subject to interpretations, which furthermore shapes the discourse practices of agents'. The speeches of Obama are the discursive events and they shape the texts which furthermore turned into the subject for interpretations by the audience and it ultimately shaped the discourse practices of Obama at a larger extent.

1. Doctrine/ envisage of Obama in the Middle East and Muslim world
2. Notion of change: (re)presentations and (re)creation
3. Religion and morality: a didactic approach
4. Ideological contestation : immaculate/obscure strategical policies and plans
5. Revitalization of the issues ,democracy and identity

4.1 Doctrine/ Envisage of Obama in the Middle East and Muslim World

Obama frequently takes bold steps when he unfolds American policies related to serious issues of war and political conflicts in Middle East and Muslim world. In the current arena of insecurity and instabilities he discourages advancements of war or advent of new aggressive plans, which might play a more sceptic role to weaken the prosperity and international peace. His doctrine appears more vigilant and optimistic when he represents American genres and stance to stand out with Muslim countries and Middle East as '*And though these countries may be a great distance from our shores, we know that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security, by history and by faith (BO-MENA2)*'.

Repeatedly he stressed upon the constructive relationship between Muslim countries and USA and also promotes the idea that the mutual understanding and cooperation is the only way to save economy, international peace and security simultaneously he discouraged the use of violence and aggression towards any country except those who are willing to violate the international law of peace and hence plan to use nuclear weapons (*BO-MENA 9, 12, BOC-E 17, BO-ATNOS 2*). To proceed on with the analysis, America explicates its imperative interests in Muslim world and Middle East as '*has applied to the region's economy as well. Yes, some nations are blessed with wealth in oil and gas, and that has led to pockets of prosperity (BO-MENA 10)*'. The genres and styles of Obama's discourse reveals the de facto ideology of America which promotes cooperation with these 'blessed sates' while contrary to these a constant warning against Iranian regime is also a big question mark on the sovereignty and solidarity of America. At few places America represents its insecurity by highlighting and quoting extensive references from the typical opponents of USA i.e. Osama bin laden, rather more appropriately, discussion about Laden and Al-Qaeda has become an indispensable part of US doctrine (*BO-ATNOS 13, BOC-E 21, 22, 24*).

There are different interpretive levels of American political relationship with Muslim countries and Middle East as America wants a complete ban on the nuclear program of Iran simultaneously it aspires at taking some aggressive steps against Syrian regime to completely swap rather flatten the usage of harmful weapons in civil war ‘*detering the use of chemical weapons, and degrading Assad's capabilities (BO-ATNOS 16), just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, (BOC-E 26)*. Chaotic arena of Middle East invites USA to keep an eye at the extremism activates of all religious school of thoughts , specially Muslim violent or moreover aggressive ideologies for the sake of creating stability, prosperity ,security and hospitality in the region , *America is not—and never will be—at war with Islam. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security (BOC-E 19)*. another distinctive feature of Obama’s doctrine heavily relies upon resolving the dispute of Palestine and Israel, which according to Obama is as significant to America as the security and sovereignty of America (itself) , ‘*securing the free flow of commerce and safe-guarding the security of the region; standing up for Israel’s security and pursuing Arab-Israeli peace (BO-MENA 16)*’ . At certain stages the de facto ideologies of Obama become explicit such as ‘*commitment to Israel’s security is unshakeable (BO-MENA 59)*’, *the top priority of USA is to promote peace in the region through any mean (BO-ATNOS 21, BOC-E 14,16)* .

Strategically Obama demonstrates a very optimistic approach towards promoting justice, strength, cooperation, tolerance and reduction of hostility towards other states in the region. Hence Obama repeatedly warns Iran, Syria and other Muslim countries against chemical weapons and nuclear programs coupled with explicit sanctions to build an eternal peace.(*BO-MENA 61,63 , BO-ATNOS 24, 30 , BOC-E 16,19,28 ,30*). Obama’s envisages can be predicted well by pinpointing the keynotes of his political discourse i.e. remarkable stress upon negotiations for the sake of resolutions and a straight forward ‘NO’ to massive disputes resulting in agony or aggression, discouraging war, and violence in the region and seeking advancements to develop technological and scientific notions, in the specific context of middle east and Muslim world , ‘*we think it’s important to focus on trade, not just aid; on investment, not just assistance (BO-MENA 48)*’.

The immaculate genres and shift between structural organization of ideas and themes is the dominant feature of Obama’s discourse ,he focuses a lot upon allied forces ,simultaneously he expects from middle east and Muslim world to demonstrate a promising ,positive attitude towards ‘USA & allied’(*BOC-E 33*).

4.2 Notion of Change: (Re)presentations and (Re)creation

The dominating feature of Obama’s political discourse is the stress upon ‘change’ in various social, political and regional contexts, more appropriately it can be said that it was “change” which justified the presidency of Obama in the last two elections. The political campaigns of Obama have been heavily dependent upon bringing change in the political, social and economical set up of USA as the most advanced power of the world, specifically targeting youth and approaching to the minds of young lot. Obama basically likes to promote self determined, independent, innovative and energetic fresh minds to initiate, advance and thus

apply 'change' in true spirits.

The representation of change made by Obama is based upon facts and he comes up with a practical approach i.e. the 'change' is a gradual process as *'I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight (BOC-E 6)'*. Obama represent change in particular context of opportunities and self determination i.e. the American perception of change is very dynamic *'There must be no doubt that the United States of America welcomes change that advances self-determination and opportunity (BO-MENA 20)'*, the other primary concern of USA is directly related to education and knowledge sharing *'On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America (BOC-E57)'*. The optimistic discourse of Obama gets little blurt when he elaborates 'the fear' in the Muslim communities associated with the change i.e. desired by west. *'Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many -Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.*

In all nations—including America—this change can bring fear (BOC-E 6, 2, 54)'. Now it's important to contextualize the discourse pattern of Obama here as he was delivering this discourse in a typical Muslim community where modernity can threaten the values and norms of societal structures and consequently America also get no ways to avoid the effects at a larger scale. The legitimization of change is exclusively discussed by Obama where his philosophical notion of change is heavily dependent upon the youth; he believes that young minds can bring revolutionary changes *'so a new generation has emerged. And their voices tell us that change cannot be denied (BO-MENA 12)'*. Simultaneously he represents his ideological philosophies in much rational way and predictive approach *'we have witnessed an extraordinary change taking place in the Middle East and North Africa. Square by square, town by town, country by country, the people have risen up to demand their basic human rights(BO-MENA 2)'*. He believes in progress, advancement and emergence of innovative ideas for consistent and gradual change but he never supports, allows or encourages aggression, violence and extremism as a metaphor for change.

4.3 Religion and Morality: A Didactic Approach

The discourse patterns of Obama are very good example of religiously contextualized themes and ideas, intelligently woven to create, maintain and sustain intimate relationship with the targeted audience. Obama usually starts with warm greetings, showing good will of America and American people, focusing his individual and national both ideologies *'Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Please, have a seat. Thank you very much (BO-MENA 1)'*. *'Thank you very much. Good afternoon. , I'm grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. And I'm also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country, assalaamu alaykum. (BOC-E1)'*. The purpose of such affectionate salutations is to reduce the distance between Obama and targeted countries (audience); he demonstrates respect to religious beliefs as he uses the words like *assalaamu alaykum, shalom* etc.

'Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality (BOC-E 18)' Obama represented a very positive approach towards Islam as a

part of his ideology and political insight, through such discourse he knew he can won the favourable impressions of Muslim world so he keep on quoting more good examples such as *'The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as—it is as if he has killed all mankind. And the Holy Koran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind (BOC-E 22)'*. At certain places he appears didactic and very forcefully he stresses upon the teachings and preaching's of all religions to promote peace and prosperity in the world he strongly condemns aggressions ,deconstructions and terror , he frequently brings references to show equality and humanity in the context of mankind regardless of any specific religion *'The Holy Koran tells us: —O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another.¶ The Talmud tells us: —The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace.¶ The Holy Bible tells us: —Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God.¶ The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision (BOC-E 65)'*.

'Muslims, Christians, we are one (BO-MENA 43)'.

Overall in all his quotes he gives lot of importance to equality and respect to all religions, the philosophical congruence is evident and a great emergence of hospitality decreases hatred and generate transformation of optimistic thoughts at broader level. Obama firmly believes that people can get solutions of all disputes by themselves and his closing remarks are also an evident of his religious kinship.

4.4 Ideological Contestation: Immaculate/Obscure Strategic Policies and Plans

Obama always starts with a very convoluted and intricate discourse strategy as he very rarely provides a direct clue to the pro-ideology of America towards Islamic world and especially to its 'allies', at few places audience may get confuse at his dilemmatic approach.

'You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people (BOC-E 45)'. Interestingly he incessantly keep on intimidating any other country who support ,create or plan to use chemical weapons in any circumstances with reference to any political ,regional or religious context (with coercion not with consent), *'my administration has tried diplomacy and sanctions, warning and negotiations (BO-ATNOS31)'*.

On one hand he doesn't want to be a part of any war while on the other hand he endeavours to provide justifications for several wars which America has instigated in many countries for very righteous rationale such as 'to remove terrorism, to build peace, to sustain international law of protections, to save humanity etc'. These dogmatic policies of America represent the American ideology in a very different scenario, *'But I have resisted calls for military action, because we cannot resolve someone else's civil war through force, particularly after a decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan (BO-ATNOS 2)'*.

America itself realizes the issues of interference and hostility which it has generated towards many Muslim countries over the past few decades, consequently it has faced lot of criticism

from its own people who don't like the domination and aggression of America '*Finally, many of you have asked: Why not leave this to other countries, or seek solutions short of force? As several people wrote to me, "We should not be the world's policeman (BO-ATNOS 22)'*..

Another dominant feature of Obama's discourse is the oscillation, his requests and suggestions suddenly turns into threats and warnings to achieve the aims of America as the super power and strong democratic state. He appears very smart as he emulate hostility into friendships, intimacy into ascendancy and so on to demonstrate his attributes of logic and splendid political intellect. Consequently he makes his audience at an ease by merging his discourse structures i.e. (difficult and easy sentences together) at syntax level. The modulation of his voice, linguistic choices, body language, all are very distinct cues for the determination of hegemony, power and force in his discourse which facilitates him to persuade his audience. Simultaneously he attains support for his allies 'the bond between America and Israel is unshakable' by pinpricking the Muslim world with reference to their war policies. '*If fighting spills beyond Syria's borders, these weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel. And a failure to stand against the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction, and embolden Assad's ally, Iran BO-ATNOS 9)*'. Obama represented a very polite and encouraging discourse when he narrates the expected relationship between America and Muslim world '*share common principles—principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings BOC-E 5)*'. He also proved his political intellect by political and religious amalgamation by highlighting the achievements of Muslim world and true spirits of world religion i.e. '*humanity, equality, tolerance and peace, common in Islam, Christianity and Judaism (BO-MENA 27, 28, BOC-E 6, 7)*'.

From transitivity analysis, it is obvious that the material process; a process of doing things has been very common in his political discourse .he really wants to exhibit American achievements plans and furthermore strategies, i.e. how would America deals with many issues in the world with reference to existent policies.

Another significant feature of American storages is to put allegation on little weak economies such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and Iran etc contrary to this, collaborations, aids, eternal bonds with Israel and a warm friendly, cooperative and futuristic interface with Bahrain, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Pakistan, Egypt, etc is prominent. As for as the Palestine-Israel dilemma is concerned Obama has not declared any evident ideological plans, for me it's not Pro-Israel nor Pro-Arabs rather it is neutral as far as the security and stability issues of America 'itself' are concerned.

4.5 Revitalizing the Issues of Democracy and Women Rights

Barack Obama takes help form multifaceted genres and styles to mark democracy and legitimization of American hegemonistic discourse in implicit way, he initiates with 'emergence moving towards change, aiming at reconstruction and finally ending at massive acceptance by all nations'. For Obama, American reputation is very important he strongly condemns the stereotypical image of America i.e. 'aggression, interference and dominance' rather he wants to portray the 'hospitality, democracy, cooperation and support of America

for education and human rights at international level'. *But I'm also the President of the world's oldest constitutional democracy (BO-ATNOS 11)*.

'America's support for democracy will therefore be based on ensuring financial stability, promoting reform, and integrating competitive markets with each other and the global economy. And invest efforts at anti-corruption (BO-MENA, 48, 54)'. His approach towards themes of democracy is very vibrant and optimistic, based upon practical measures i.e. a warm promise to promote and support to economy of those countries who seeks at it (democracy).

He often uses amazing discourse practices, genres and styles to discuss the world wide issues of economy, democracy, religion, culture etc in all hi speeches. He sometimes brings autobiographical elements in his speech when he narrates the history of revolution, freedom, change and human rights.

Obama is a big supporter of women rights and he encourages women education especially in developing countries *'And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are far more likely to be prosperous BOC-E 51)'*.

He promises to contribute more for the enhancement of women education and 'education economy' in Muslim countries, he believes in collaborations, cooperation and mutual understanding for the prior mentioned thesis *'On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America (BOC-E 57)'*.

The thesis of Obama about democracy, women equality and women education clearly states that American policy is quiet positive in this specific regard and simultaneously it provokes optimism in Muslim women to strive for their rights and opportunities to progress and advance in every walk of life.

'And that is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams (BOC-E 53)'.

'Let me be specific. First, it will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region and to support transitions to democracy (BO-MENA 27)'.

5. Conclusion

It can be rightly stated that politics is basically the second name for 'hegemony' and 'struggle for power', political actors keep on planning, adopting and adapting various 'strategical plans' to achieve their targeted goals, which are mostly grounded in the socio-political context of dominance. Language serves as an instrumental tool for the political dominance and hegemonistic agendas of political actors with no exclusion of semiosis at a larger scale.

With reference to the same ideology, the political discourse analysis of Barack Obama regarding the Middle East and the Muslim world clearly transmits the predominant American ideology about sensitive international issues of 'terrorism, nuclear weapons and extremism'.

Obama sturdily condemns tyranny, nuclear weapons and resistance of change. Simultaneously, it provokes a strong and warm acceptance of youth dominance and active participation for the sake of peace, advancement, prosperity and stabilities of nations, he encourages young people to come forward and streamline their ideological and perceptual role for the achievement of global democracy, and development. The dialectic debates of Obama on the issues of women rights, allay dilemma, religious concerns, morality, human rights, protection of democratic laws and mutual collaborations for the enhancements of technology prove his eloquence and remarkable oratory skills, they are explicate evidences of his envisages about Muslim world. Overall it can be assessed that positivity is embedded in the discourse practices of Obama, which ultimately portray his political insight and eloquent oratory skills.

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Appendices

Appendix-I: Speech on “A New Beginning” by President Barack Obama, Cairo

University, Cairo, Egypt

(June 4, 2009; Source: The White House: www.whitehouse.gov)

BOC-E1

Thank you very much. Good afternoon. I am honoured to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning; and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt’s advancement. And together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress. I’m grateful for your hospitality, and the hospitality of the people of Egypt. And I’m also proud to carry with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: assalaamu alaykum.

BOC-E 2

We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world—tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate. The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars. More recently, tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.

BOC-E 3

Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11, 2001, and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights. All this has bred more fear

and more mistrust.

BOC-E 4

So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. And this cycle of suspicion and discord must end.

BOC-E 5

I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition. Instead, they overlap, and share common principles—principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.

BOC-E 6

I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight. I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors. There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground. As the Holy Koran tells us, —Be conscious of God and speak always the truth.¶ That is what I will try to do today—to speak the truth as best I can,

humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.

BOC-E 7

Now part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. I'm a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

BOC-E 8

As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam—at places like Al-Azhar— that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment. It was innovation in Muslim communities—it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the

possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.

BOC-E 9

I also know that Islam has always been a part of America's story. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco. In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President, John Adams, wrote, —The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims.¶ And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States. They have fought in our wars, they have served in our government, they have stood for civil rights, they have started businesses, they have taught at our universities, they've excelled in our sports arenas, they've won Nobel Prizes, built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch. And when the first Muslim American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one of our

Founding Fathers—Thomas Jefferson—kept in his personal library.

BOC-E 10

So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed. That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't. And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear.

BOC-E 11

*But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known. We were born out of revolution against an empire. We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words—within our borders, and around the world. We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: *E pluribus unum*— —Out of many, one.¶*

BOC-E 12

Now, much has been made of the fact that an African American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. But my personal story is not so unique. The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores— and that includes nearly seven million American Muslims in our country today who, by the way, enjoy incomes and educational levels that are higher than the American average.

BOC-E 13

Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. That is why there is a mosque in every state in our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our borders. That's why the United States government has gone to court to protect the right of

women and girls to wear the hijab and to punish those who would deny it.

BOC-E 14

So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America. And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations—to live in peace and

security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God. These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity.

BOC-E 15

Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task. Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people. These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

BOC-E 16

For we have learned from recent experience that when a financial system weakens in one country, prosperity is hurt everywhere. When a new flu infects one human being, all are at risk. When one nation pursues a nuclear weapon, the risk of nuclear attack rises for all nations. When violent extremists operate in one stretch of mountains, people are endangered across an ocean. When innocents in Bosnia and Darfur are slaughtered, that is a stain on our collective conscience. That is what it means to share this world in the twenty-first century. That is the responsibility we have to one another as human beings.

BOC-E 17

And this is a difficult responsibility to embrace. For human history has often been a record of nations and tribes—and, yes, religions—subjugating one another in pursuit of their own interests. Yet in this new age, such attitudes are self-defeating. Given our interdependence, any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail. So whatever we think of the past, we must not be prisoners to it. Our problems must be dealt with through partnership; our progress must be shared.

BOC-E 18

Now, that does not mean we should ignore sources of tension. Indeed, it suggests the opposite: we must face these tensions squarely. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.

BOC-E 19

The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms. In Ankara, I made clear that America is not—and never will be—at war with Islam. We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security—because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.

BOC-E 20

The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together. Over seven years ago, the United States pursued Al-Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support. We did not go by choice; we went because of necessity. I'm aware that there's still some who would question or even justify the events of 9/11. But let us be clear: Al-Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody. And yet Al-Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale. They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach. These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.

BOC-E 21

Now, make no mistake: we do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. We see no military—we seek no military bases there. It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women. It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict. We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can. But that is not yet the case.

BOC-E 22

And that's why we're partnering with a coalition of forty-six countries. And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists. They have killed in many countries. They have killed people of different faiths—but more than any other, they have killed Muslims. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam. The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as—it is as if he has killed all mankind. And the Holy Koran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism—it is an important part of promoting peace.

BOC-E 23

Now, we also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan. That's why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who've been displaced. That's why we are providing more than \$2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend on.

BOC-E 24

Let me also address the issue of Iraq. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international

consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. Indeed, we can recall the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said: —I hope that our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be.¶

BOC-E 25

Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future—and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. And I have made it clear to the Iraqi people—I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources. Iraq’s sovereignty is its own. And that’s why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August. That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq’s

democratically elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all of our troops from Iraq by 2012. We will help Iraq train its security forces and develop its economy. But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.

BOC-E 26

And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter or forget our principles. Nine-eleven was an enormous trauma to our country. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our traditions and our ideals. We are taking concrete actions to change course. I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed by early next year.

BOC-E 27

So America will defend itself, respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law. And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened. The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.

BOC-E 28

The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world. America’s strong bonds with Israel are well known. This bond is unbreakable. It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.

BOC-E 29

Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust. Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich. Six million Jews were killed—more than the entire Jewish population of Israel today. Denying that fact is baseless, it is ignorant, and it is hateful. Threatening Israel with destruction—or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews—is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that

the people of this region deserve.

BOC-E 30

On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people—Muslims and Christians—have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than sixty years they've endured the pain of dislocation. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. They endure the daily humiliations—large and small—that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: the situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. And America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own.

BOC-E 31

For decades then, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive. It's easy to point fingers—for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought about by Israel's founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond. But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we will be blind to the truth: the only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security. That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest. And that is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience and dedication that the task requires. The obligations—the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the road map are clear. For peace to come, it is time for them—and all of us—to live up to our responsibilities.

BOC-E 32

Palestinians must abandon violence. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and it does not succeed. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia. It's a story with a simple truth: that violence is a dead end. It is a sign neither of courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus. That's not how moral authority is claimed; that's how it is surrendered.

BOE33 Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have to recognize they have responsibilities. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, recognize Israel's right to exist.

BOC-E 34

At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli

settlements. This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop.

BOC-E 35

And Israel must also live up to its obligation to ensure that Palestinians can live and work and develop their society. Just as it devastates Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza does not serve Israel's security; neither does the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

BOC-E 36

And finally, the Arab states must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems. Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their state, to recognize Israel's legitimacy, and to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.

BOC-E 37

America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and we will say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. We cannot impose peace. But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.

BOC-E 38

Too many tears have been shed. Too much blood has been shed. All of us have a responsibility to work for the dawn when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of the three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra—as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, peace be upon them, joined in prayer.

BOC-E 39

The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons. This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically elected Iranian government. Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians. This history is well known. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward. The question now is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.

BOC-E 40

I recognize it will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude, and resolve. There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. This is not simply about America's interests. It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

BOC-E 41

I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. No single nation should pick and choose which nation holds nuclear weapons. And that's why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons. And any nation—including Iran—should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. That commitment is at the core of the treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it. And I'm hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

BOC-E 42

The fourth issue that I will address is democracy. I know—I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: no system of government can or should be imposed by one nation by any other.

BOC-E 43

That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability

to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose. These are not just American ideas; they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere.

BOC-E 44

Now, there is no straight line to realize this promise. But this much is clear: governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments—provided they govern with respect for all their people.

BOC-E 45

This last point is important because there are some who advocate for democracy only when they're out of power; once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. So no

matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would hold power: You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

BOC-E 46

The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom. Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. That is the spirit we need today. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind and the heart and the soul. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it's being challenged in many different ways.

BOC-E 47

Among some Muslims, there's a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of somebody else's faith. The richness of religious diversity must be upheld—whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt. And if we are being honest, fault lines must be closed among Muslims, as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.

BOC-E 48

Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation. That's why I'm committed to working with American

Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.

BOC-E 49

Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit—for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear. We can't disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretense of liberalism.

BOC-E 50

In fact, faith should bring us together. And that's why we're forging service projects in America to bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. That's why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations. Around the world, we can turn dialogue into interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action—whether it is combating malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster.

BOC-E 51

The sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights. I know and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue. I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality. And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are far more likely to be prosperous.

BOC-E 52

Now, let me be clear: issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, we've seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.

BOC-E 53

I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons. Our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity—men and women—to reach their full potential. I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles. But it should be their choice. And that is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams.

BOC-E 54

Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity. I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and change in communities. In all nations—including America—this change can bring fear. Fear that because of modernity we lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities—those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.

BOC-E 55

But I also know that human progress cannot be denied. There need not be contradictions between development and tradition. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies enormously while maintaining distinct cultures. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have

been at the forefront of innovation and education.

BOC-E 56

And this is important because no development strategy can be based only upon what comes out

of the ground, nor can it be sustained while young people are out of work. Many Gulf states have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development. But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the twenty-first century—and in too many Muslim communities, there remains underinvestment in these areas. I'm emphasizing such investment within my own country. And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas when it comes to this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.

BOC-E 57

On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America. At the same time, we will encourage more Americans to study in Muslim communities. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.

BOC-E 58

On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.

BOC-E 59

On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create more jobs. We'll open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new science envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, grow new crops. Today I'm announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio. And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.

BOC-E 60

All these things must be done in partnership. Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.

BOC-E 61

The issues that I have described will not be easy to address. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world that we seek—a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected.

Those are mutual interests. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.

BOC-E 62

I know there are many—Muslim and non-Muslim—who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort—that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There's so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country—you, more than anyone, have the ability to re-imagine the world, to remake this world.

BOC-E 63

All of us share this world for but a brief moment in time. The question is whether we spend that time focused on what pushes us apart, or whether we commit ourselves to an effort—a sustained effort—to find common ground, to focus on the future we seek for our children, and to respect the dignity of all human beings.

BOC-E 64

It's easier to start wars than to end them. It's easier to blame others than to look inward. It's easier to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share. But we should choose the right path, not just the easy path. There's one rule that lies at the heart of every religion—that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. This truth transcends nations and peoples—a belief that isn't new; that isn't black or white or brown; that isn't Christian or Muslim or Jew. It's a belief that pulsed in the cradle of civilization, and that still beats in the hearts of billions around the world. It's a faith in other people, and it's what brought me here today.

BOC-E 65

We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written. The Holy Koran tells us: —O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another.‖ The Talmud tells us: —The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace.‖ The Holy Bible tells us: —Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God.‖ The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision. Now that must be our work here on Earth.

BOC-E 66

Thank you. And may God's peace be upon you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Appendix ii

The white house [Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa](#) (2011, May 19th)

BO-MENA 1 *THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you. Please, have a seat. Thank you very much. I want to begin by thanking Hillary Clinton, who has traveled so much these last six months that she is approaching a new landmark — one million frequent flyer miles. (Laughter.) I count on Hillary every single day, and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history.*

BO-MENA 2 *.The State Department is a fitting venue to mark a new chapter in American diplomacy. For six months, we have witnessed an extraordinary change taking place in the Middle East and North Africa. Square by square, town by town, country by country, the people have risen up to demand their basic human rights. Two leaders have stepped aside. More may follow. And though these countries may be a great distance from our shores, we know that our own future is bound to this region by the forces of economics and security, by history and by faith.*

BO-MENA 3 *.Today, I want to talk about this change — the forces that are driving it and how we can respond in a way that advances our values and strengthens our security.*

BO-MENA 4 *.Now, already, we've done much to shift our foreign policy following a decade defined by two costly conflicts. After years of war in Iraq, we've removed 100,000 American troops and ended our combat mission there. In Afghanistan, we've broken the Taliban's momentum, and this July we will begin to bring our troops home and continue a transition to Afghan lead. And after years of war against al Qaeda and its affiliates, we have dealt al Qaeda a huge blow by killing its leader, Osama bin Laden.*

BO-MENA 5 *.Bin Laden was no martyr. He was a mass murderer who offered a message of hate — an insistence that Muslims had to take up arms against the West, and that violence against men, women and children was the only path to change. He rejected democracy and individual rights for Muslims in favor of violent extremism; his agenda focused on what he could destroy — not what he could build.*

BO-MENA 6 *.Bin Laden and his murderous vision won some adherents. But even before his death, al Qaeda was losing its struggle for relevance, as the overwhelming majority of people saw that the slaughter of innocents did not answer their cries for a better life. By the time we found bin Laden, al Qaeda's agenda had come to be seen by the vast majority of the region as a dead end, and the people of the Middle East and North Africa had taken their future into their own hands.*

BO-MENA 7 *.That story of self-determination began six months ago in Tunisia. On December 17th, a young vendor named Mohammed Bouazizi was devastated when a police officer confiscated his cart. This was not unique. It's the same kind of humiliation that takes place every day in many parts of the world — the relentless tyranny of governments that deny their citizens dignity. Only this time, something different happened. After local officials refused to hear his complaints, this young man, who had never been particularly active in politics, went to the headquarters of the provincial government, doused himself in fuel, and lit himself on fire.*

BO-MENA 8 *There are times in the course of history when the actions of ordinary citizens*

spark movements for change because they speak to a longing for freedom that has been building up for years. In America, think of the defiance of those patriots in Boston who refused to pay taxes to a King, or the dignity of Rosa Parks as she sat courageously in her seat. So it was in Tunisia, as that vendor's act of desperation tapped into the frustration felt throughout the country. Hundreds of protesters took to the streets, then thousands. And in the face of batons and sometimes bullets, they refused to go home — day after day, week after week — until a dictator of more than two decades finally left power.

BO-MENA 9 *The story of this revolution, and the ones that followed, should not have come as a surprise. The nations of the Middle East and North Africa won their independence long ago, but in too many places their people did not. In too many countries, power has been concentrated in the hands of a few. In too many countries, a citizen like that young vendor had nowhere to turn — no honest judiciary to hear his case; no independent media to give him voice; no credible political party to represent his views; no free and fair election where he could choose his leader.*

BO-MENA 10 *And this lack of self-determination — the chance to make your life what you will — has applied to the region's economy as well. Yes, some nations are blessed with wealth in oil and gas, and that has led to pockets of prosperity. But in a global economy based on knowledge, based on innovation, no development strategy can be based solely upon what comes out of the ground. Nor can people reach their potential when you cannot start a business without paying a bribe.*

BO-MENA 11 *the face of these challenges, too many leaders in the region tried to direct their people's grievances elsewhere. The West was blamed as the source of all ills, a half-century after the end of colonialism. Antagonism toward Israel became the only acceptable outlet for political expression. Divisions of tribe, ethnicity and religious sect were manipulated as a means of holding on to power, or taking it away from somebody else.*

BO-MENA 12 *But the events of the past six months show us that strategies of repression and strategies of diversion will not work anymore. Satellite television and the Internet provide a window into the wider world — a world of astonishing progress in places like India and Indonesia and Brazil. Cell phones and social networks allow young people to connect and organize like never before. And so a new generation has emerged. And their voices tell us that change cannot be denied.*

BO-MENA 13 *In Cairo, we heard the voice of the young mother who said, "It's like I can finally breathe fresh air for the first time." In Sanaa, we heard the students who chanted, "The night must come to an end." In Benghazi, we heard the engineer who said, "Our words are free now. It's a feeling you can't explain." In Damascus, we heard the young man who said, "After the first yelling, the first shout, you feel dignity."*

BO-MENA 14 *Those shouts of human dignity are being heard across the region. And through the moral force of nonviolence, the people of the region have achieved more change in six months than terrorists have accomplished in decades.*

BO-MENA 15 *Of course, change of this magnitude does not come easily. In our day and age*

-- a time of 24-hour news cycles and constant communication -- people expect the transformation of the region to be resolved in a matter of weeks. But it will be years before this story reaches its end. Along the way, there will be good days and there will be bad days. In some places, change will be swift; in others, gradual. And as we've already seen, calls for change may give way, in some cases, to fierce contests for power.

BO-MENA 16.*The question before us is what role America will play as this story unfolds. For decades, the United States has pursued a set of core interests in the region: countering terrorism and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons; securing the free flow of commerce and safe-guarding the security of the region; standing up for Israel's security and pursuing Arab-Israeli peace.*

BO-MENA 17.*We will continue to do these things, with the firm belief that America's interests are not hostile to people's hopes; they're essential to them. We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks. We believe people everywhere would see their economies crippled by a cut-off in energy supplies. As we did in the Gulf War, we will not tolerate aggression across borders, and we will keep our commitments to friends and partners.*

BO-MENA 18.*Yet we must acknowledge that a strategy based solely upon the narrow pursuit of these interests will not fill an empty stomach or allow someone to speak their mind. Moreover, failure to speak to the broader aspirations of ordinary people will only feed the suspicion that has festered for years that the United States pursues our interests at their expense. Given that this mistrust runs both ways -- as Americans have been seared by hostage-taking and violent rhetoric and terrorist attacks that have killed thousands of our citizens -- a failure to change our approach threatens a deepening spiral of division between the United States and the Arab world.*

BO-MENA 19.*And that's why, two years ago in Cairo, I began to broaden our engagement based upon mutual interests and mutual respect. I believed then -- and I believe now -- that we have a stake not just in the stability of nations, but in the self-determination of individuals. The status quo is not sustainable. Societies held together by fear and repression may offer the illusion of stability for a time, but they are built upon fault lines that will eventually tear asunder.*

BO-MENA 20.*So we face a historic opportunity. We have the chance to show that America values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator. There must be no doubt that the United States of America welcomes change that advances self-determination and opportunity. Yes, there will be perils that accompany this moment of promise. But after decades of accepting the world as it is in the region, we have a chance to pursue the world as it should be.*

BO-MENA 21.*Of course, as we do, we must proceed with a sense of humility. It's not America that put people into the streets of Tunis or Cairo -- it was the people themselves who launched these movements, and it's the people themselves that must ultimately determine their outcome.*

BO-MENA 22.*Not every country will follow our particular form of representative democracy,*

and there will be times when our short-term interests don't align perfectly with our long-term vision for the region. But we can, and we will, speak out for a set of core principles — principles that have guided our response to the events over the past six months:

BO-MENA 23. *The United States opposes the use of violence and repression against the people of the region. (Applause.)*

BO-MENA 24 *The United States supports a set of universal rights. And these rights include free speech, the freedom of peaceful assembly, the freedom of religion, equality for men and women under the rule of law, and the right to choose your own leaders — whether you live in Baghdad or Damascus, Sanaa or Tehran.*

BO-MENA 25 *And we support political and economic reform in the Middle East and North Africa that can meet the legitimate aspirations of ordinary people throughout the region.*

BO-MENA 26 *Our support for these principles is not a secondary interest. Today I want to make it clear that it is a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions, and supported by all of the diplomatic, economic and strategic tools at our disposal.*

BO-MENA 27 *Let me be specific. First, it will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region, and to support transitions to democracy. That effort begins in Egypt and Tunisia, where the stakes are high — as Tunisia was at the vanguard of this democratic wave, and Egypt is both a longstanding partner and the Arab world's largest nation. Both nations can set a strong example through free and fair elections, a vibrant civil society, accountable and effective democratic institutions, and responsible regional leadership. But our support must also extend to nations where transitions have yet to take place.*

BO-MENA 28 *Unfortunately, in too many countries, calls for change have thus far been answered by violence. The most extreme example is Libya, where Muammar Qaddafi launched a war against his own people, promising to hunt them down like rats. As I said when the United States joined an international coalition to intervene, we cannot prevent every injustice perpetrated by a regime against its people, and we have learned from our experience in Iraq just how costly and difficult it is to try to impose regime change by force — no matter how well-intentioned it may be.*

BO-MENA 29. *But in Libya, we saw the prospect of imminent massacre, we had a mandate for action, and heard the Libyan people's call for help. Had we not acted along with our NATO allies and regional coalition partners, thousands would have been killed. The message would have been clear: Keep power by killing as many people as it takes. Now, time is working against Qaddafi. He does not have control over his country. The opposition has organized a legitimate and credible Interim Council. And when Qaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced from power, decades of provocation will come to an end, and the transition to a democratic Libya can proceed.*

BO-MENA 30. *While Libya has faced violence on the greatest scale, it's not the only place where leaders have turned to repression to remain in power. Most recently, the Syrian regime has chosen the path of murder and the mass arrests of its citizens. The United States has*

condemned these actions, and working with the international community we have stepped up our sanctions on the Syrian regime — including sanctions announced yesterday on President Assad and those around him.

BO-MENA 31 *The Syrian people have shown their courage in demanding a transition to democracy. President Assad now has a choice: He can lead that transition, or get out of the way. The Syrian government must stop shooting demonstrators and allow peaceful protests. It must release political prisoners and stop unjust arrests. It must allow human rights monitors to have access to cities like Dara'a; and start a serious dialogue to advance a democratic transition. Otherwise, President Assad and his regime will continue to be challenged from within and will continue to be isolated abroad.*

BO-MENA 32 *So far, Syria has followed its Iranian ally, seeking assistance from Tehran in the tactics of suppression. And this speaks to the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime, which says it stand for the rights of protesters abroad, yet represses its own people at home. Let's remember that the first peaceful protests in the region were in the streets of Tehran, where the government brutalized women and men, and threw innocent people into jail. We still hear the chants echo from the rooftops of Tehran. The image of a young woman dying in the streets is still seared in our memory. And we will continue to insist that the Iranian people deserve their universal rights, and a government that does not smother their aspirations.*

BO-MENA 33 *Now, our opposition to Iran's intolerance and Iran's repressive measures, as well as its illicit nuclear program and its support of terror, is well known. But if America is to be credible, we must acknowledge that at times our friends in the region have not all reacted to the demands for consistent change — with change that's consistent with the principles that I've outlined today. That's true in Yemen, where President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment to transfer power. And that's true today in Bahrain.*

BO-MENA 34 *.Bahrain is a longstanding partner, and we are committed to its security. We recognize that Iran has tried to take advantage of the turmoil there, and that the Bahraini government has a legitimate interest in the rule of law.*

BO-MENA 35. *Nevertheless, we have insisted both publicly and privately that mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain's citizens, and we will — and such steps will not make legitimate calls for reform go away. The only way forward is for the government and opposition to engage in a dialogue, and you can't have a real dialogue when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail. (Applause.) The government must create the conditions for dialogue, and the opposition must participate to forge a just future for all Bahrainis.*

BO-MENA 36 *.Indeed, one of the broader lessons to be drawn from this period is that sectarian divides need not lead to conflict. In Iraq, we see the promise of a multiethnic, multisectarian democracy. The Iraqi people have rejected the perils of political violence in favor of a democratic process, even as they've taken full responsibility for their own security. Of course, like all new democracies, they will face setbacks. But Iraq is poised to play a key role in the region if it continues its peaceful progress. And as they do, we will be proud to stand*

with them as a steadfast partner.

BO-MENA 37 *.So in the months ahead, America must use all our influence to encourage reform in the region. Even as we acknowledge that each country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike. Our message is simple: If you take the risks that reform entails, you will have the full support of the United States.*

BO-MENA 38. *We must also build on our efforts to broaden our engagement beyond elites, so that we reach the people who will shape the future — particularly young people. We will continue to make good on the commitments that I made in Cairo — to build networks of entrepreneurs and expand exchanges in education, to foster cooperation in science and technology, and combat disease. Across the region, we intend to provide assistance to civil society, including those that may not be officially sanctioned, and who speak uncomfortable truths. And we will use the technology to connect with — and listen to — the voices of the people.*

BO-MENA 39 *For the fact is, real reform does not come at the ballot box alone. Through our efforts we must support those basic rights to speak your mind and access information. We will support open access to the Internet, and the right of journalists to be heard — whether it's a big news organization or a lone blogger. In the 21st century, information is power, the truth cannot be hidden, and the legitimacy of governments will ultimately depend on active and informed citizens.*

BO-MENA 40 *Such open discourse is important even if what is said does not square with our worldview. Let me be clear, America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard, even if we disagree with them. And sometimes we profoundly disagree with them.*

BO-MENA 42 *We look forward to working with all who embrace genuine and inclusive democracy. What we will oppose is an attempt by any group to restrict the rights of others, and to hold power through coercion and not consent. Because democracy depends not only on elections, but also strong and accountable institutions, and the respect for the rights of minorities.*

BO-MENA 43 *Such tolerance is particularly important when it comes to religion. In Tahrir Square, we heard Egyptians from all walks of life chant, “Muslims, Christians, we are one.” America will work to see that this spirit prevails — that all faiths are respected, and that bridges are built among them. In a region that was the birthplace of three world religions, intolerance can lead only to suffering and stagnation. And for this season of change to succeed, Coptic Christians must have the right to worship freely in Cairo, just as Shia must never have their mosques destroyed in Bahrain.*

BO-MENA 44 *What is true for religious minorities is also true when it comes to the rights of women. History shows that countries are more prosperous and more peaceful when women are empowered. And that's why we will continue to insist that universal rights apply to women as well as men — by focusing assistance on child and maternal health; by helping women to teach, or start a business; by standing up for the right of women to have their voices heard, and to run*

for office. The region will never reach its full potential when more than half of its population is prevented from achieving their full potential. (Applause.)

BO-MENA 45 *Now, even as we promote political reform, even as we promote human rights in the region, our efforts can't stop there. So the second way that we must support positive change in the region is through our efforts to advance economic development for nations that are transitioning to democracy.*

BO-MENA 46 *After all, politics alone has not put protesters into the streets. The tipping point for so many people is the more constant concern of putting food on the table and providing for a family. Too many people in the region wake up with few expectations other than making it through the day, perhaps hoping that their luck will change. Throughout the region, many young people have a solid education, but closed economies leave them unable to find a job. Entrepreneurs are brimming with ideas, but corruption leaves them unable to profit from those ideas.*

BO-MENA 47 *The greatest untapped resource in the Middle East and North Africa is the talent of its people. In the recent protests, we see that talent on display, as people harness technology to move the world. It's no coincidence that one of the leaders of Tahrir Square was an executive for Google. That energy now needs to be channeled, in country after country, so that economic growth can solidify the accomplishments of the street. For just as democratic revolutions can be triggered by a lack of individual opportunity, successful democratic transitions depend upon an expansion of growth and broad-based prosperity.*

BO-MENA 48 *So, drawing from what we've learned around the world, we think it's important to focus on trade, not just aid; on investment, not just assistance. The goal must be a model in which protectionism gives way to openness, the reigns of commerce pass from the few to the many, and the economy generates jobs for the young. America's support for democracy will therefore be based on ensuring financial stability, promoting reform, and integrating competitive markets with each other and the global economy. And we're going to start with Tunisia and Egypt.*

BO-MENA 49 *First, we've asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to present a plan at next week's G8 summit for what needs to be done to stabilize and modernize the economies of Tunisia and Egypt. Together, we must help them recover from the disruptions of their democratic upheaval, and support the governments that will be elected later this year. And we are urging other countries to help Egypt and Tunisia meet its near-term financial needs.*

BO-MENA 50 *Second, we do not want a democratic Egypt to be saddled by the debts of its past. So we will relieve a democratic Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt, and work with our Egyptian partners to invest these resources to foster growth and entrepreneurship. We will help Egypt regain access to markets by guaranteeing \$1 billion in borrowing that is needed to finance infrastructure and job creation. And we will help newly democratic governments recover assets that were stolen.*

BO-MENA 51 *Third, we're working with Congress to create Enterprise Funds to invest in*

Tunisia and Egypt. And these will be modeled on funds that supported the transitions in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. OPIC will soon launch a \$2 billion facility to support private investment across the region. And we will work with the allies to refocus the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development so that it provides the same support for democratic transitions and economic modernization in the Middle East and North Africa as it has in Europe.

BO-MENA 52 *Fourth, the United States will launch a comprehensive Trade and Investment Partnership Initiative in the Middle East and North Africa. If you take out oil exports, this entire region of over 400 million people exports roughly the same amount as Switzerland. So we will work with the EU to facilitate more trade within the region, build on existing agreements to promote integration with U.S. and European markets, and open the door for those countries who adopt high standards of reform and trade liberalization to construct a regional trade arrangement. And just as EU membership served as an incentive for reform in Europe, so should the vision of a modern and prosperous economy create a powerful force for reform in the Middle East and North Africa.*

BO-MENA 53 *Prosperity also requires tearing down walls that stand in the way of progress — the corruption of elites who steal from their people; the red tape that stops an idea from becoming a business; the patronage that distributes wealth based on tribe or sect. We will help governments meet international obligations, and invest efforts at anti-corruption — by working with parliamentarians who are developing reforms, and activists who use technology to increase transparency and hold government accountable. Politics and human rights; economic reform.*

BO-MENA 54 *Let me conclude by talking about another cornerstone of our approach to the region, and that relates to the pursuit of peace.*

BO-MENA 55 *For decades, the conflict between Israelis and Arabs has cast a shadow over the region. For Israelis, it has meant living with the fear that their children could be blown up on a bus or by rockets fired at their homes, as well as the pain of knowing that other children in the region are taught to hate them. For Palestinians, it has meant suffering the humiliation of occupation, and never living in a nation of their own. Moreover, this conflict has come with a larger cost to the Middle East, as it impedes partnerships that could bring greater security and prosperity and empowerment to ordinary people.*

BO-MENA 56 *For over two years, my administration has worked with the parties and the international community to end this conflict, building on decades of work by previous administrations. Yet expectations have gone unmet. Israeli settlement activity continues. Palestinians have walked away from talks. The world looks at a conflict that has grinded on and on and on, and sees nothing but stalemate. Indeed, there are those who argue that with all the change and uncertainty in the region, it is simply not possible to move forward now.*

BO-MENA 57 *I disagree. At a time when the people of the Middle East and North Africa are casting off the burdens of the past, the drive for a lasting peace that ends the conflict and resolves all claims is more urgent than ever. That's certainly true for the two parties involved.*

BO-MENA 58 *For the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel will end in failure. Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September won't create an independent state. Palestinian leaders will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection. And Palestinians will never realize their independence by denying the right of Israel to exist.*

BO-MENA 59 *As for Israel, our friendship is rooted deeply in a shared history and shared values. Our commitment to Israel's security is unshakeable. And we will stand against attempts to single it out for criticism in international forums. But precisely because of our friendship, it's important that we tell the truth: The status quo is unsustainable, and Israel too must act boldly to advance a lasting peace.*

BO-MENA 60 *The fact is, a growing number of Palestinians live west of the Jordan River. Technology will make it harder for Israel to defend itself. A region undergoing profound change will lead to populism in which millions of people — not just one or two leaders — must believe peace is possible. The international community is tired of an endless process that never produces an outcome. The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation.*

BO-MENA 61 *Now, ultimately, it is up to the Israelis and Palestinians to take action. No peace can be imposed upon them — not by the United States; not by anybody else. But endless delay won't make the problem go away. What America and the international community can do is to state frankly what everyone knows — a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples: Israel as a Jewish state and the homeland for the Jewish people, and the state of Palestine as the homeland for the Palestinian people, each state enjoying self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace.*

BO-MENA 62 *So while the core issues of the conflict must be negotiated, the basis of those negotiations is clear: a viable Palestine, a secure Israel. The United States believes that negotiations should result in two states, with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine. We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps, so that secure and recognized borders are established for both states. The Palestinian people must have the right to govern themselves, and reach their full potential, in a sovereign and contiguous state.*

BO-MENA 63 *As for security, every state has the right to self-defense, and Israel must be able to defend itself — by itself — against any threat. Provisions must also be robust enough to prevent a resurgence of terrorism, to stop the infiltration of weapons, and to provide effective border security. The full and phased withdrawal of Israeli military forces should be coordinated with the assumption of Palestinian security responsibility in a sovereign, non-militarized state. And the duration of this transition period must be agreed, and the effectiveness of security arrangements must be demonstrated.*

BO-MENA 64 *These principles provide a foundation for negotiations. Palestinians should know the territorial outlines of their state; Israelis should know that their basic security*

concerns will be met. I'm aware that these steps alone will not resolve the conflict, because two wrenching and emotional issues will remain: the future of Jerusalem, and the fate of Palestinian refugees. But moving forward now on the basis of territory and security provides a foundation to resolve those two issues in a way that is just and fair, and that respects the rights and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians.

BO-MENA 65 *Now, let me say this: Recognizing that negotiations need to begin with the issues of territory and security does not mean that it will be easy to come back to the table. In particular, the recent announcement of an agreement between Fatah and Hamas raises profound and legitimate questions for Israel: How can one negotiate with a party that has shown itself unwilling to recognize your right to exist? And in the weeks and months to come, Palestinian leaders will have to provide a credible answer to that question. Meanwhile, the United States, our Quartet partners, and the Arab states will need to continue every effort to get beyond the current impasse.*

BO-MENA 67 *I recognize how hard this will be. Suspicion and hostility has been passed on for generations, and at times it has hardened. But I'm convinced that the majority of Israelis and Palestinians would rather look to the future than be trapped in the past. We see that spirit in the Israeli father whose son was killed by Hamas, who helped start an organization that brought together Israelis and Palestinians who had lost loved ones. That father said, "I gradually realized that the only hope for progress was to recognize the face of the conflict." We see it in the actions of a Palestinian who lost three daughters to Israeli shells in Gaza. "I have the right to feel angry," he said. "So many people were expecting me to hate. My answer to them is I shall not hate. Let us hope," he said, "for tomorrow."*

BO-MENA 68 *That is the choice that must be made -- not simply in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but across the entire region -- a choice between hate and hope; between the shackles of the past and the promise of the future. It's a choice that must be made by leaders and by the people, and it's a choice that will define the future of a region that served as the cradle of civilization and a crucible of strife.*

BO-MENA 69 *For all the challenges that lie ahead, we see many reasons to be hopeful. In Egypt, we see it in the efforts of young people who led protests. In Syria, we see it in the courage of those who brave bullets while chanting, "peaceful, peaceful." In Benghazi, a city threatened with destruction, we see it in the courthouse square where people gather to celebrate the freedoms that they had never known. Across the region, those rights that we take for granted are being claimed with joy by those who are prying loose the grip of an iron fist.*

BO-MENA 70 *For the American people, the scenes of upheaval in the region may be unsettling, but the forces driving it are not unfamiliar. Our own nation was founded through a rebellion against an empire. Our people fought a painful Civil War that extended freedom and dignity to those who were enslaved. And I would not be standing here today unless past generations turned to the moral force of nonviolence as a way to perfect our union -- organizing, marching, protesting peacefully together to make real those words that declared our nation: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."*

BO-MENA 71 *Those words must guide our response to the change that is transforming the Middle East and North Africa -- words which tell us that repression will fail, and that tyrants will fall, and that every man and woman is endowed with certain inalienable rights.*

BO-MENA 72 *It will not be easy. There's no straight line to progress, and hardship always accompanies a season of hope. But the United States of America was founded on the belief that people should govern themselves. And now we cannot hesitate to stand squarely on the side of those who are reaching for their rights, knowing that their success will bring about a world that is more peaceful, more stable, and more just.*

Thank you very much, everybody. (Applause.) Thank you.

END 1:00 P.M. EDT

Appendix iii

Source The White House, September 10, 2013

President Obama's speech on the issue of Syria

BO-ATNOS 1 *My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about Syria -- why it matters, and where we go from here.*

BO-ATNOS 2 *Over the past two years, what began as a series of peaceful protests against the repressive regime of Bashar al-Assad has turned into a brutal civil war. Over 100,000 people have been killed. Millions have fled the country. In that time, America has worked with allies to provide humanitarian support, to help the moderate opposition, and to shape a political settlement. But I have resisted calls for military action, because we cannot resolve someone else's civil war through force, particularly after a decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan.*

BO-ATNOS 3 *The situation profoundly changed, though, on August 21st, when Assad's government gassed to death over a thousand people, including hundreds of children. The images from this massacre are sickening: Men, women, children lying in rows, killed by poison gas. Others foaming at the mouth, gasping for breath. A father clutching his dead children, imploring them to get up and walk. On that terrible night, the world saw in gruesome detail the terrible nature of chemical weapons, and why the overwhelming majority of humanity has declared them off-limits -- a crime against humanity, and a violation of the laws of war.*

BO-ATNOS 4 *This was not always the case. In World War I, American GIs were among the many thousands killed by deadly gas in the trenches of Europe. In World War II, the Nazis used gas to inflict the horror of the Holocaust. Because these weapons can kill on a mass scale, with no distinction between soldier and infant, the civilized world has spent a century working to ban them. And in 1997, the United States Senate overwhelmingly approved an international agreement prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, now joined by 189 governments that represent 98 percent of humanity.*

BO-ATNOS 5 *On August 21st, these basic rules were violated, along with our sense of common humanity. No one disputes that chemical weapons were used in Syria. The world saw thousands of videos, cell phone pictures, and social media accounts from the attack, and*

humanitarian organizations told stories of hospitals packed with people who had symptoms of poison gas.

BO-ATNOS 6 *Moreover, we know the Assad regime was responsible. In the days leading up to August 21st, we know that Assad's chemical weapons personnel prepared for an attack near an area where they mix sarin gas. They distributed gasmasks to their troops. Then they fired rockets from a regime-controlled area into 11 neighborhoods that the regime has been trying to wipe clear of opposition forces. Shortly after those rockets landed, the gas spread, and hospitals filled with the dying and the wounded. We know senior figures in Assad's military machine reviewed the results of the attack, and the regime increased their shelling of the same neighborhoods in the days that followed. We've also studied samples of blood and hair from people at the site that tested positive for sarin.*

BO-ATNOS 7 *When dictators commit atrocities, they depend upon the world to look the other way until those horrifying pictures fade from memory. But these things happened. The facts cannot be denied. The question now is what the United States of America, and the international community, is prepared to do about it. Because what happened to those people -- to those children -- is not only a violation of international law, it's also a danger to our security.*

BO-ATNOS 8 *Let me explain why. If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons. As the ban against these weapons erodes, other tyrants will have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas, and using them. Over time, our troops would again face the prospect of chemical warfare on the battlefield. And it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons, and to use them to attack civilians.*

BO-ATNOS 9 *If fighting spills beyond Syria's borders, these weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel. And a failure to stand against the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction, and embolden Assad's ally, Iran -- which must decide whether to ignore international law by building a nuclear weapon, or to take a more peaceful path.*

BO-ATNOS 10 *This is not a world we should accept. This is what's at stake. And that is why, after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national security interests of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through a targeted military strike. The purpose of this strike would be to deter Assad from using chemical weapons, to degrade his regime's ability to use them, and to make clear to the world that we will not tolerate their use.*

BO-ATNOS 11 *That's my judgment as Commander-in-Chief. But I'm also the President of the world's oldest constitutional democracy. So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes, I believed it was right, in the absence of a direct or imminent threat to our security, to take this debate to Congress. I believe our democracy is stronger when the President acts with the support of Congress. And I believe that America acts more effectively abroad when we stand together.*

BO-ATNOS 12 *This is especially true after a decade that put more and more war-making power in the hands of the President, and more and more burdens on the shoulders of our troops,*

while sidelining the people's representatives from the critical decisions about when we use force.

BO-ATNOS 13 *Now, I know that after the terrible toll of Iraq and Afghanistan, the idea of any military action, no matter how limited, is not going to be popular. After all, I've spent four and a half years working to end wars, not to start them. Our troops are out of Iraq. Our troops are coming home from Afghanistan. And I know Americans want all of us in Washington--especially me -- to concentrate on the task of building our nation here at home: putting people back to work, educating our kids, growing our middle class.*

BO-ATNOS 14 *It's no wonder, then, that you're asking hard questions. So let me answer some of the most important questions that I've heard from members of Congress, and that I've read in letters that you've sent to me.*

BO-ATNOS 15 *First, many of you have asked, won't this put us on a slippery slope to another war? One man wrote to me that we are "still recovering from our involvement in Iraq." A veteran put it more bluntly: "This nation is sick and tired of war."*

BO-ATNOS 16 *My answer is simple: I will not put American boots on the ground in Syria. I will not pursue an open-ended action like Iraq or Afghanistan. I will not pursue a prolonged air campaign like Libya or Kosovo. This would be a targeted strike to achieve a clear objective: deterring the use of chemical weapons, and degrading Assad's capabilities.*

BO-ATNOS 17 *Others have asked whether it's worth acting if we don't take out Assad. As some members of Congress have said, there's no point in simply doing a "pinprick" strike in Syria.*

BO-ATNOS 18 *Let me make something clear: The United States military doesn't do pinpricks. Even a limited strike will send a message to Assad that no other nation can deliver. I don't think we should remove another dictator with force -- we learned from Iraq that doing so makes us responsible for all that comes next. But a targeted strike can make Assad, or any other dictator, think twice before using chemical weapons.*

BO-ATNOS 19 *Other questions involve the dangers of retaliation. We don't dismiss any threats, but the Assad regime does not have the ability to seriously threaten our military. Any other retaliation they might seek is in line with threats that we face every day. Neither Assad nor his allies have any interest in escalation that would lead to his demise. And our ally, Israel, can defend itself with overwhelming force, as well as the unshakeable support of the United States of America.*

BO-ATNOS 20 *Many of you have asked a broader question: Why should we get involved at all in a place that's so complicated, and where -- as one person wrote to me -- "those who come after Assad may be enemies of human rights?"*

BO-ATNOS 21 *It's true that some of Assad's opponents are extremists. But al Qaeda will only draw strength in a more chaotic Syria if people there see the world doing nothing to prevent innocent civilians from being gassed to death. The majority of the Syrian people -- and the Syrian opposition we work with -- just want to live in peace, with dignity and freedom. And the*

day after any military action, we would redouble our efforts to achieve a political solution that strengthens those who reject the forces of tyranny and extremism.

BO-ATNOS 22 *Finally, many of you have asked: Why not leave this to other countries, or seek solutions short of force? As several people wrote to me, "We should not be the world's policeman."*

BO-ATNOS 23 *I agree, and I have a deeply held preference for peaceful solutions. Over the last two years, my administration has tried diplomacy and sanctions, warning and negotiations -- but chemical weapons were still used by the Assad regime.*

BO-ATNOS 24 *However, over the last few days, we've seen some encouraging signs. In part because of the credible threat of U.S. military action, as well as constructive talks that I had with President Putin, the Russian government has indicated a willingness to join with the international community in pushing Assad to give up his chemical weapons. The Assad regime has now admitted that it has these weapons, and even said they'd join the Chemical Weapons Convention, which prohibits their use.*

BO-ATNOS 25 *It's too early to tell whether this offer will succeed, and any agreement must verify that the Assad regime keeps its commitments. But this initiative has the potential to remove the threat of chemical weapons without the use of force, particularly because Russia is one of Assad's strongest allies.*

BO-ATNOS 26 *I have, therefore, asked the leaders of Congress to postpone a vote to authorize the use of force while we pursue this diplomatic path. I'm sending Secretary of State John Kerry to meet his Russian counterpart on Thursday, and I will continue my own discussions with President Putin. I've spoken to the leaders of two of our closest allies, France and the United Kingdom, and we will work together in consultation with Russia and China to put forward a resolution at the U.N. Security Council requiring Assad to give up his chemical weapons, and to ultimately destroy them under international control. We'll also give U.N. inspectors the opportunity to report their findings about what happened on August 21st. And we will continue to rally support from allies from Europe to the Americas -- from Asia to the Middle East -- who agree on the need for action.*

Meanwhile, I've ordered our military to maintain their current posture to keep the pressure on Assad, and to be in a position to respond if diplomacy fails. And tonight, I give thanks again to our military and their families for their incredible strength and sacrifices.

BO-ATNOS 27 *My fellow Americans, for nearly seven decades, the United States has been the anchor of global security. This has meant doing more than forging international agreements -- it has meant enforcing them. The burdens of leadership are often heavy, but the world is a better place because we have borne them.*

BO-ATNOS 28 *And so, to my friends on the right, I ask you to reconcile your commitment to America's military might with a failure to act when a cause is so plainly just. To my friends on the left, I ask you to reconcile your belief in freedom and dignity for all people with those images of children writhing in pain, and going still on a cold hospital floor. For sometimes*

resolutions and statements of condemnation are simply not enough.

BO-ATNOS 29 *Indeed, I'd ask every member of Congress, and those of you watching at home tonight, to view those videos of the attack, and then ask: What kind of world will we live in if the United States of America sees a dictator brazenly violate international law with poison gas, and we choose to look the other way?*

BO-ATNOS 30 *Franklin Roosevelt once said, "Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged." Our ideals and principles, as well as our national security, are at stake in Syria, along with our leadership of a world where we seek to ensure that the worst weapons will never be used.*

BO-ATNOS 31 *America is not the world's policeman. Terrible things happen across the globe, and it is beyond our means to right every wrong. But when, with modest effort and risk, we can stop children from being gassed to death, and thereby make our own children safer over the long run, I believe we should act. That's what makes America different. That's what makes us exceptional. With humility, but with resolve, let us never lose sight of that essential truth.*

BO-ATNOS 32 *Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.*

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