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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Lyndon B. Johnson's "The Great Society" Speech

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
a Master's Degree in Linguistics

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Dedication

To my beloved parents, my source of inspiration.

To all my sisters, Siham, Nassima, and Lilia.

To my dear nieces Ines and Ayrine.

To my dear nephew Abd Raouf.

Abstract

On May 22, 1964, at the University of Michigan, the American President, Lyndon B. Johnson delivered “The Great Society” speech on the occasion of graduation. In this commencement speech, Johnson presented his vision of a great society and he discussed the main issues of the American country. The present research seeks to examine the ideologies embedded in this speech relying on the Fairclough’s model (1992) of critical discourse analysis, which is divided into three dimensions that are text, discursive practice, and social practice. The main aim of this study is to find out the ideological strategies and the persuasive techniques used by the former president to portray the great society and to call the college graduates to action in order to make his vision a reality. The results of the analysis of the text show that Lyndon B. Johnson used mainly rewording, overwording, and repetition. Additionally, the analysis of the discursive practice indicates that Johnson used intertextuality in order to emphasise his point of view. Besides, the analysis of the social practice demonstrates that the ideologies of the former president are clearly stated in his speech and he did not exercise power over his audience. To conclude, the Fairclough’s model allows a thorough analysis of the speech under study, mainly from the linguistic and the sociological perspectives.

Keywords: “The Great Society” Speech, Commencement Speech, Ideologies, the Fairclough’s Model (1992), Critical Discourse Analysis, Lyndon B. Johnson.

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List of Abbreviations

CA: Conversation Analysis.

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis.

CL: Corpus Linguistics.

DA: Discourse Analysis.

DHA: Discourse- Historical Approach.

EOC: Ethnography of Communication.

IS: Interactional Sociolinguistics.

VA: Variation Analysis.

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Definition of Terms

Anaphoric Reference: When a word in a text refers to something already mentioned (Manuel, 2021).

Cataphoric Reference: It is when a word in a text refers to another later that is mentioned forward in the text (Manuel, 2021).

Exophoric Reference: It is a reference to something not mentioned in the text and it can be by the use of specific words or grammatical markings (Hadi, 2020, p. 15).

Classification of Speech acts: Searle (1976) classified speech acts into five categories that are representatives, directives, commissives, expressive, and declarations (as cited in Katz, 2015, p. 5).

- **Representatives:** The speaker's utterances are based on her observation of certain things, followed by a statement of fact or an opinion based on these observations (Hidayat, 2016, p. 5). Assertions, conclusions descriptions are examples of how the speaker represents the world as she sees it (Katz, 2015, p. 48).
- **Directives:** They are speech acts used by a speaker to persuade another person to do something, such as requesting, commanding, ordering, and suggesting (Hidayat, 2016, p. 6).
- **Commissives:** They are speech acts in which the speaker commits to a future course of action, such as threatening, promising, and offering (Hidayat, 2016, p. 6).
- **Expressives:** They are speech acts that express a psychological state (Hidayat, 2016, p.6). These include thanking, apologising, and congratulating (Katz, 2015, p. 47).
- **Declarations:** They are speech acts in which the utterances cause immediate changes, such as excommunicating or declaring war (Hidayat, 2016, p. 6).

Coordinating Conjunctions: they relate between two or more nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, phrases, or clauses that have the same structure (Lunsford, 2010, p. 577). Coordinating conjunctions are and, but, or, yet, for, nor, so (Lunsford, 2010, p. 577).

Correlative Conjunctions: They join between equal elements and they appear in pairs, they are both...and, just as...so, not only...but, either...or, neither...nor, whether...or (Lunsford, 2010, p. 577).

Subordinating Conjunctions: They introduce adverb clauses and they indicate the relationships between the adverb clause and another clause that is generally an independent one (Lunsford, 2010, p. 577). These are some common subordinating conjunctions: after, although, in order that, once, since, when, where, while, than, because, as, before (Lunsford, 2010, p. 578).

Conjunctive Adverbs: They join independent clauses and they have the function of conjunctions and adverbs, because they modify the second clause and relate it to the preceding clause (Lunsford, 2010, p. 578). The conjunctive adverbs are also, however, anyway, then, instead, indeed, still, now, thus (Lunsford, 2010, p. 578).

Parallelism: “The repetition of equivalent grammatical structures” (Short, 1996 as cited in Baker & Ellece, 2011, p.116).

General Introduction

1. Statement of the Problem

Discourse plays an important role in people's daily lives as it helps them to share their ideas and thoughts. Specifically, the elites use discourse to persuade their audience to accept their views and to regard what they say as fair-minded. To do so, they use a persuasive language and a variety of techniques to achieve their goals.

Critical discourse analysis gives the chance to analyse the ideologies of a speaker and to understand the hidden meaning of the words that they choose carefully. Better put, Ideologies refer to the ideas, beliefs, and aims that a speaker holds from the recipients (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 57). Moreover, Critical discourse analysis and social context are intertwined; CDA helps in understanding the social problems that are transmitted by a speaker using a particular language, also the social context has its importance when interpreting and analysing a discourse. The latter should be considered in relation to its social context.

Lyndon Baines Johnson is the (36th) president of the United States of America (from 1963 to 1969). During his presidency, he has proclaimed equal rights for all Americans and has helped millions of Americans to get out of poverty. One of the most notable speeches of Lyndon Baines Johnson is "The Great Society" delivered on May 22nd, 1964 at the University of Michigan on the occasion of graduation. It was six months after the assassination of the President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and six months before his election as a president of the United States of America.

In his speech, Lyndon B. Johnson described the problems and difficulties that the Americans were facing. For instance, he talked about the Americans, who were living in poverty. Additionally, he affirmed that the American society was still suffering of racial injustice and that there were many Americans who were unemployed. Besides, he emphasised that in order to construct a good society, changes should be made at the level of the cities, countryside, and classrooms. This speech is considered as a turning point for the American country in general and for Lyndon B. Johnson's political career in particular.

In the light of this, the present paper attempts to analyse Lyndon Baines Johnson's "The Great Society" speech delivered at the University of Michigan on May 22nd, 1964 using the critical discourse analysis approach of Norman Fairclough introduced in his book entitled "Discourse and Social Change" in 1992. This model is based mainly on the assumption that a discourse is a fundamental component of a society that helps in understanding its problems

and its possibilities. Besides, this thesis attempts to examine the ideological strategies embedded in this speech and understanding the role of college graduates in the betterment of a society. To do so, this study examines the linguistic choices used by Lyndon B. Johnson for the sake of promoting his ideology and influencing the thinking of his audience.

2. Questions of the Study

Based on the above explained problem, this present paper attempts to answer the following questions:

- What are the ideological strategies employed by Lyndon Baines Johnson in “The Great Society” commencement speech?
- Can the Fairclough’s model (1992) be applied to critically analyse the speech of Lyndon Baines Johnson?
- What makes a great society from Lyndon Baines Johnson’s point of view?

3. Assumptions of the study

The present research is based on the following assumptions that can lead the researcher to respond to the above questions:

- First, the President Lyndon Baines Johnson used persuasive techniques in his commencement speech in order to defend his beliefs.
- Second, the Fairclough’s model is the appropriate framework to adopt to critically analyse “The Great Society” commencement speech, because it provides a thorough analysis of the speech from both the linguistic and sociological sides.
- Third, Lyndon Baines Johnson has chosen to deliver his speech to graduated students, because education plays an important role in building a good society.

4. Purpose of the Study

Language is a powerful instrument of persuasions and which has the ability to change people’s minds. Furthermore, it helps to share and express ideas and thoughts. Accordingly, this research attempts to investigate the hidden ideologies in the commencement speech delivered by Lyndon Baines Johnson in 1964 at the University of Michigan. Moreover, it aims at identifying the persuasive strategies employed by Johnson to push the graduates to take action. Additionally, this study attempts to determine the role of education in constructing a better society. Besides, this research tries to reach a conclusion that either validates or disapproves that the Fairclough’s model (1992) can be adopted to critically analyse Lyndon Baines Johnson’s “The Great Society” speech.

5. Significance of the Study

This research paper shows its importance from the little interest provided to critical discourse analysis studies. Moreover, to the researcher's knowledge there are no other researchers who attempted to analyse the speech of Lyndon Baines Johnson. Furthermore, "The Great Society" speech can inspire many new graduates all around the world not only the ones of the United States of America. More importantly, there is no previous research that has been conducted on Lyndon B. Johnson's "The Great Society" speech and not many researchers who have used the Fairclough's model in the department of English at the University of Bejaia.

6. Corpus of the Study

The corpus of this research is limited to one speech of the President Lyndon Baines Johnson. Namely, "The Great Society" commencement speech delivered on May 22nd, 1964 at the University of Michigan. In this speech, Johnson denounced the deplorable conditions in which the Americans were living. Undeniably, they were suffering from poverty, unemployment, bad education system, and racial discrimination. Moreover, the former president encouraged the graduated students to join their forces in order to build a great society. It is important to note that "The Great Society" speech is retrieved from "American Rhetoric" website. The speech consists of 32 paragraphs. It contains 1832 words uttered in near 19 minutes.

7. Research Design and Methodology

The present research follows a descriptive design in order to provide a thorough analysis of the selected speech. Namely, the selected corpus for this study is "The Great Society" commencement speech delivered by the President Lyndon Baines Johnson at the University of Michigan in 1964. Furthermore, a mixed-method approach is adopted. Qualitative and quantitative data are collected. The qualitative method allows the identification, investigation, and examination of the persuasive techniques and ideological strategies that can be found in this speech. Besides, the quantitative method provides more information about the linguistic devices employed in this speech and their frequencies.

8. Data Analysis Procedures

The present research falls within the framework of critical discourse analysis with the aim of identifying the persuasive techniques and the ideological strategies embedded in the commencement address delivered by Lyndon B. Johnson. Certainly, there are many models and methods that can be adopted in order to critically analyse any discourse. For this research, the Fairclough's model (1992) is adopted as a framework, because it provides a thorough

analysis. That is to say, this model allows an analysis from both the linguistic and sociological sides. Accordingly, the Fairclough's model (1992) is based on three dimensions that are text (it provides a description of the textual features), discursive and social practices (they allow an interpretation of the speech in relation to its social context).

The analysis of the speech under study is divided into three stages. The first stage is text analysis. This stage provides information about the text structure, vocabulary, grammar, cohesion of the speech. The second stage deals with the analysis of the discursive practice of the corpus under study. It is conducted with a focus on the force of utterances, intertextuality and coherence of the text. Last but not least, the third stage is the analysis of the social practice of the speech. This stage focuses mainly on determining how Johnson's speech influences the graduates' students and showing the effects of this speech on the social structures. It is important to note that pertinent examples are provided in each stage of the analysis.

9. Organisation of the Thesis

The present research is divided into two main chapters that are preceded by a general introduction and followed by a general conclusion. The general introduction gives a general overview of the topic of the research. Namely, it covers the statement of the problem, questions, assumptions, purpose, and the significance of the study. As well, it includes a brief description of the corpus under study, the research design and methodology, and the data analysis procedures. Then, the first chapter is divided into four sections. The first section introduces discourse studies; the second section provides information about critical discourse analysis. The third section describes the critical discourse analysis framework on which this study is based. Namely, the Fairclough's model (1992) is adopted to analyse Lyndon B. Johnson's "The Great Society" speech delivered in 1964 at the University of Michigan. The last section is dedicated to the review of previous studies. Besides, the second chapter is divided into three sections, the first one, discusses the design, methods, the corpus of the study, and the data analysis procedures that are chosen for this study. The second section deals with the analysis of "The Great Society" speech. Then, the third section concludes the chapter. Furthermore, it outlines limitations of the study and suggestions for further research. Finally, the research paper ends with a general conclusion.

Chapter One: Theoretical Background

Introduction

Discourse analysis is mainly a new research method that is starting to gain interest of numerous scholars and researchers in the field of linguistics. This chapter presents a review of the theoretical background of the present research and extends the discussion on this research area. It is divided into four main sections. The first section is dedicated to discourse and discourse analysis as a field of research. The second section introduces critical discourse analysis that is the main interest of this research. The third one presents the adopted model of critical discourse analysis, which is the Fairclough's model (1992). Then, the fourth section reviews some articles related to the research framework of this study.

Section One: An Introduction to Discourse Studies

Introduction

This section focuses mainly on introducing discourse and discourse analysis, as well as, it discusses the role of the context in a discourse. Additionally, it outlines the main approaches to discourse analysis.

1.1 Definition of Discourse

Etymologically, the term discourse appeared in the 14th century. It comes from the Latin word “discoursus”, which means literally a “conversation“ (McArthur, 1996, p. 316). Some people use the term discourse and text interchangeably, whereas for some others the two terms have different meaning. They consider discourse as language in action and text as the written transcript of that interaction (Nunan, 1993, p.6).

There is not only one definition of discourse that is commonly agreed by everyone. The term discourse can be interpreted from different perspectives. From the linguistic perspective, there is no agreement in the definition of discourse. Each linguist has his own interpretation, but they agreed that when conducting a discourse analysis, it is important to focus on language and its use and relating it to the context and to the participants (Yung & Sun, 2010, p. 128).

From the sociolinguistic perspective, scholars claim that discourse is an important tool of communication. It gives people the opportunity to communicate more effectively and to engage in a variety of communicative actions (Yung & Sun, 2010, p. 130). On the other hand, people communication is limited by discourse and discourse itself is controlled by communication. Thus, the major goal of the sociolinguistic approach is the right use of discourse (Yung & Sun, 2010, p. 130).

From a critical discourse analysis perspective, scholars relate discourse to ideology. They analyse how language choices influence social relationships such as power relations and gender issues (Mey, 2001, as cited in Yung & Sun, 2010, p. 132). Besides, language serves to manipulate people’s beliefs and actions. Additionally, it categorises people and events into several ranks with an attempt to preserve the stability of the system and the identity of some individuals (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979, p. 3). Moreover, Van Dijk (1997) affirmed that discourse generally means a form of language use such as public speeches. Usually, it is

used to refer to spoken language or ways of speaking (p. 1). Furthermore, the author (1997, p. 2) stated that several disciplines are included when studying a discourse, for instance, linguistics (when studying language use), psychology (when analysing the beliefs of the speaker and how language influences people), and social sciences (for the study of interactions in different social contexts).

1.2 Discourse and Context

The term context can be defined from different perspectives. Yule (2000) defined context as the physical environment in which a word is employed (as cited in Song, 2010, p. 876). On the other hand, for Guycook (1999) the term context can have two senses (p.24, as cited in Song, 2010, p. 876). It can refer to the factors outside the text or to both the factors outside the text and to other parts of it (also referred as co-text) (Guycook, 1999, p. 24 as cited in Song, 2010, p. 876). These two definitions are different, but they have a common point. Namely, context refers to the environment that surrounds a text. Better put, it refers to all the aspects that can help in the production and interpretation of a discourse (Cornish, 2009, p. 9). Thereby, context can be employed to provide information about the whole communicative episode (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 117).

It is worth mentioning that context can be divided into different types depending on what is included in the environment. Additionally, it varies according to the purpose of the study. The four main dimensions of context are:

- **Linguistic Context:** refers to the relationship between words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs within a discourse (Song, 2010, p. 876).
- **Situational Context:** refers to the circumstances, time, and place in which the discourse takes place, as well as the relationship between the participants (Song, 2010, p. 877).
- **Cultural Context:** refers to culture, norms, values, and beliefs of the speech community. Language use is influenced by individuals' cultural background (Song, 2010, p. 877).
- **Cognitive Context:** refers to the background knowledge shared by the speaker and hearers (Okada, 2007, p.186, as cited in Cornish, 2009, p. 6).

It is important to note that context does not only refer to the physical environment (time and place), but it comprises all what can affect in the interpretation of a discourse, or simply the current state of the world (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, pp.15-16).

Furthermore, Song (2010) affirmed that context has a Key role in discourse Analysis that can be summarized into three main points (p.877). First, context helps to eliminate ambiguity. It denotes the actual meaning of a sentence. Indeed, ambiguous situations occur when the meaning is not clearly stated by the speaker or when it is not correctly understood by the hearers. Moreover, context provides a possibility to the hearers to interpret and understand indeterminate references using their background knowledge. Lastly, context plays a role in the detection of conversational implicatures. The literal meaning of an utterance is not always the intended meaning of a speaker, but it can be deduced by adhering to the cooperative principles (Song, 2010, p. 877).

1.3 Definition of Discourse Analysis (DA)

In the last decades, social sciences have become increasingly interested in discourse analysis. This interest has been followed by the growth of new theories and tools that are used for the study of language use and its significance in human society. Discourse analysis is considered as an interdisciplinary field that has acquired status and stability of a well-established discipline despite its short history (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008, p. 1).

The term discourse analysis is used for the first time by Zellig Harris in 1952 as a method for interpreting connected speech and writing (Paltridge, 2012, p. 2). For a long time, linguistic studies have been interested in the structure of words (morphology) and the structure of sentences (syntax). Discourse analysis has taken the structure description a step further by giving structure descriptions of paragraphs, stories, and conversations. Additionally, discourse analysis reveals how meaning is generated by an arrangement of information via series of sentences. Besides, it indicates how the speakers express their intentions and how the listeners interpret what they hear. Moreover, it shows what the cognitive abilities that support these acts are (Johnstone, 2018, p. 5).

In other words, discourse analysis is the study of language patterns in a text and the relationship between language and the socio-cultural contexts. Furthermore, it considers the way language influences people, as well as its effects on social identities and relations (Paltridge, 2012, p. 2).

1.4 Approaches to Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is often associated with other disciplines such as sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, and ethnography. It has become the main interests of many scholars. Accordingly, several approaches to discourse analysis have emerged:

1.4.1 Conversation Analysis (CA)

Conversation analysis has emerged in late 1960s within the field of sociology. It was developed by Harvey Sacks in collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (Clayman & Gill, 2009, p. 389). The main objective of CA is the description and the interpretation of the skills that ordinary speakers employ and rely on, when they participate in a structured and intelligible interaction (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 1). Conversation analysts do not take into consideration the context. That is not to say that they are not interested in wider questions of social identity such as gender differences, rather they examine carefully the mechanics of interaction of the participants in order to understand social structures and ideologies. In other words, for conversational analysts, context is constructed in each moment of the conversation and they do not include in the analysis aspects of the context to which the participants are not aware (Bhatia et al., 2008, pp.4-5).

1.4.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS)

Interactional Sociolinguistics is a multidisciplinary approach. It is based on anthropology, sociology, and linguistics. It is concerned with the study of the relationships between language, culture, and society (Juez, 2009, p. 80). Furthermore, sociolinguists rely on naturally occurring interaction as a data for analysis and they consider context as a social interaction in which the interpretation of the meaning is facilitated by the study of language (Juez, 2009, p. 80). Moreover, the author (2009) asserted that the anthropologist John Gumperz and Erving Goffin are the two main figures who contributed in the development of IS. Their theories have been used in the field of linguistics by many scholars such as Penelope Brown and Deborah Schiffrin (p. 81).

1.4.3 Ethnography of Communication (EOC)

Ethnography of communication has its roots within anthropology and linguistics. It was introduced by Dell Hymes. EOC is a methodology that allows a researcher to investigate the distinctive configuration of the speaking routines and conventions (Smart, 2012, p. 151). At

the beginning, this methodology was only concerned with spoken language and Hymes referred to it as “ethnography of speaking”. Later, he and John Gumperz have included other channels of communication and codes shared by different participants (Smart, 2012, p. 151). Thus, the objective of ethnography of communication is understanding what a speaker needs to know in order to communicate appropriately and what are the competences that she needs to acquire in order to use this knowledge (Juez, 2009, p. 141). It is important to note that EOC helps in understanding the relationship between language and the aspects of socialisation (social organisation, values, and beliefs). Also, it has contributed in the studies of language acquisition (each society has its way of speaking and interaction) (Juez, 2009, p. 141).

1.4.4 Corpus-Based Approach

Recent studies consider that corpus linguistics (CL) has a great potential in the analysis of discourse. In fact, CL provides quantitative studies of lexis and syntax, since discourse analysis aims at interpreting lexical items in context (Lang, 2015, p. 25). Accordingly, corpus studies can help in understanding the features of spoken and written language (Paltridge, 2012, p. 14). Corpus-based discourse analysis facilitates the analysis and the handling of large quantity of data with less effort (Bhatia et al., 2008, p. 12). Additionally, it lowers researcher bias, for instance cognitive biases are reduced when using CL tools (Baker, 2006, p.12).

1.4.5 Variation Analysis (VA)

The variationist approach has its root in linguistics. It is based on the assumption that language patterns differ from a speech community to another one. Thus, the variation analysis is concerned with the observation of language changes across various speech communities (Juez, 2009, p. 156). At the beginning VA was interested in finding equivalent words that refer to the same thing in different regions (Juez, 2009, p. 156). Juez (2009) claimed that Labov is the one who initiated this methodology (p. 157). According to Labov (2004, p.1), language belongs to the speech community and it is a tool that develops through history according to human needs and activities (as cited in Juez, 2009, p. 157).

Conclusion

To conclude, scholars did not arrive to a consensus on the definition of discourse and discourse analysis. The two terms can be interpreted from different perspectives and points of views. Moreover, context has an important role in understanding and interpreting a discourse.

Besides, there are several approaches to DA, mainly conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, corpus-based approach, and variation analysis.

Section two: Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

The following section introduces the adopted approach for the present research, which is critical discourse analysis; this section provides more details about the origins and development of CDA. Additionally, it outlines some research areas of CDA. As well as, it presents some approaches to CDA.

2.1 Definition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (abbreviated CDA) is a set of theories and methodologies for investigating the relationships between discourse, social, and cultural development across a variety of social domains (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p. 60). CDA is more interested in the relationships between language and power; in other words, CDA aims to critically analyse how social inequalities are expressed, signalled, and constructed in a discourse (Wodak & Mayer, 2001, p. 2). Better put, critical discourse analysis is a normative critique, which means that it does not only interpret existing realities (power relations, ideologies, and social identities), but also evaluates their correspondence to the norms and standards of a society (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9). Additionally, CDA is an explanatory critique. That is to say, it extends beyond describing these realities; it explains them by finding what can cause them (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9). Besides, Fairclough (1995) provided another definition of the concept:

“By critical discourse analysis I mean 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” (pp.132-133).

From the above definition, it can be deduced that some fundamental concepts have their importance in any work in CDA. These are power, dominance, hegemony, ideology, social order, resistance, and struggle.

Power is an important notion in CDA. Van Dijk (2015) defined power in terms of control. Certainly, if a group of people has power, it can control the minds of another group (p. 466). The dominant group has access to rare social resources that the controlled group

does not have access to, like money, force, status, knowledge , and so on (Van Dijk, 2015, p.469). Discourses that are related to politics, media, education, and science can be considered as a resource of power (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 469). Better put, groups who have the ability to control over public speeches, they can control the minds of other groups (knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies) (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 469).

According to Van Dijk (2008), in order to effectively achieve its goals, critical research on discourse needs to meet a number of requirements (p. 86):

- As it often the case for marginal research traditions, CDA research has to be “better” than other research in order to be accepted.
- It focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions.
- Empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary
- Rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure.
- More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.

Better put, the main principles of CDA are summarized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) as follow (as cited in Van Dijk, 2001, p. 467):

- Addresses social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Discourse is historical.
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- Discourse is a form of social action.

2.2 The Origins of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is an approach to discourse that is developed from critical linguistics. It has emerged in the 1970s at the University of East Anglia (England). A form of

discourse analysis has appeared which considers that language has a role in structuring power relations. Fowler et al. (1979) have written a Book entitled “Language and Control”. They have dedicated the last chapter to the description of the main assumptions and Principles of critical linguistics (p. 186).

In early 1990, the CDA network of scholars has emerged after a symposium at the University of Amsterdam. Moreover, the launch of Van Dijk’s journal “Discourse and society” and the Book of Norman Fairclough “Language and Power” and many other Books have helped in the development of CDA as a well-established paradigm in linguistics (Wodak, 2001, p. 4).

2.3 Areas of Research of CDA

With the emergence of CDA, many researchers worked on different aspects which helped in its development. The first area of research where CDA made a great contribution is in gender inequalities. Gender has an important role in language research and in CDA to the point where now there is a branch of feminist critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 476). Feminist scholars working in various disciplines of discourse analysis have made notable efforts to integrate the label “feminist” in different sub- fields such as “feminist pragmatics” and “feminist conversation analysis” (Lazar, 2005, p. 1). Moreover Lazar (2005) assumed that it is necessary to analyse the repressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social behaviours from a critical feminist perspectives (p.1). Better put, feminist discourses directly target social inequalities and domination (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 476).

Another research area of CDA is racism. The latter is a complex system of social dominance reinforced by everyday discriminatory social behaviours that are governed by personal and socially shared ideology (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 477). Moreover, racism is created and reproduced in large part through discourse (Wodak & Reisigl, 2015, p.576). On one hand, discourse promotes racist attitudes and beliefs; as well it legitimises discriminatory behaviours. On the other hand, it is used to criticise and argue against racist actions (Wodak & Reisigl, 2015, p.576). Additionally, the elites groups are directly responsible for the discursive reproduction of racism in society since they govern public discourse (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 477).

The third area of interest of CDA is media discourse. Roger Fowler and his associates are the first who introduced critical study on media discourse (van Dijk, 2008, p. 94). These researchers demonstrated how sentence structures (such as the use of active and passive voice) can improve the unfavourable image of outgroups actors, such as black youths and can minimise the negative activities of ingroups actors, such as the authorities (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 477). Generally, the analysis of media discourse from a CDA perspective showed a biased, stereotypical, and racist images in texts and illustrations (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 94).

2.4 Approaches to CDA

Critical discourse analysis includes several approaches that have different purposes. Moreover, they have specific ways of analysing a discourse such as Wodak's discourse-historical approach, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, and Fairclough's dialectical approach.

2.4.1 Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

Discourse-historical approach is a multidisciplinary approach that investigates various social phenomena. Moreover, this approach attempts to establish a connection between discourse, field of action, genre, and text (Wodak & Mayer, 2009, p. 26). Additionally, DHA focuses on context (Wodak, 2001, p. 67); better put, Wodak and Mayer (2009) affirmed that all discourses are historical and can only be understood when referring to their context (p. 20). Similarly to the approach of Fairclough, Wodak (2001) considered discourse as a discursive and social practice (p. 66). Furthermore, DHA is related to cognition. In other words, it considers the ambivalences and self-contradictions in a discourse, as well the background knowledge in understanding the communicative event of a discourse in relation to its social and political context (Wodak, 2001, pp. 64-65). Besides, this approach deals mainly with political discourses (Wodak & Mayer, 2009, p.26).

2.4.2 Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach

The socio-cognitive approach is based on a triangular analysis of discourse, cognitive and social components (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 84). Most of the approaches of critical discourse studies focus on the relationship between discourse and society, whereas the socio-cognitive approach considers that this relationship is cognitively related (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 64). Van Dijk (2014) defined discourse as a form of social cognition (p. 12). The latter comprises

socially shared representations (knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and norms) and mental representations (thinking, arguing, interpreting, and learning) (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 257). Van Dijk (2008) affirmed that not all the aspects of a background of a discourse are part of the interpretation of the selected situation (p. x). Therefore, a discourse is not influenced by the social situation, but it is influenced by the participant's conception of the situation (Van Dijk, 2008, p. x).

2.4.3 Fairclough's Dialectical Approach

Norman Fairclough is the first one who developed a CDA approach in 1989 (Baker & Ellece, p. 26). He developed a model that is divided into three dimensions that are text, discourse practice, and social practice. More details are provided in the following section.

Conclusion

To sum up, critical discourse analysis is mainly a new discipline that has attracted the attention of many linguists and scholars such as Norman Fairclough, Teun Van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak. Besides, it is related to other areas of study like linguistics and sociolinguistics; and it has been developed from critical linguistics. Furthermore, CDA examines the speaker's ideologies and how power relations are constituted through language.

Section Three: Introducing the Theoretical Model of the Study

Introduction

The present section provides a detailed description of the theoretical framework of this research. Specifically, this part introduces Fairclough's life and main works, his approach to CDA, as well as the adopted model for this research that is the Fairclough's model (1992).

3.1 Fairclough's Life and Works

Norman Fairclough is born on April 3rd, 1941 in Lancaster, United Kingdom. He is an Emeritus professor of linguistics at Lancaster University. Additionally, he is an Associate of the Institute for Advanced Studies (Jolliffe, 2011, p. 1052). Fairclough is considered as one of the pioneer in the studies related to critical discourse analysis. Since the 1980s, he has been developing his theory (Jolliffe, 2011, p. 1052). Fairclough's interdisciplinary approach to CDA is influenced at the linguistic level by Halliday, and Bakhtin, as well by Foucault, Althusser, Gramsci, Bourdieu at the sociological level (Baker, & Ellece, 2011, p. 167). Furthermore, Fairclough has published many books related to critical discourse Analysis, including *Language and Power* (1989), *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), *Critical Language Awareness* (1992), *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995), *Discourse in Late Modernity* along with Lilie Chouliaraki (1999), *Analysing Discourse* (2003), *Language and Globalisation* (2006), and *Political Discourse Analysis* along with Isabela Fairclough (2012).

3.2 Fairclough's Approach to CDA

Fairclough's approach to CDA is based on the belief that language is an irreducible part of social life (Fairclough, 2003, p.2). As such, this author (2018) considered that CDA provides a better understanding of the relationships between discourse and other elements of social life in order to change existing reality (p. 13). This change can be increased by the understanding of the problems and possibilities of this reality (Fairclough, 2018, p. 13). Moreover, Fairclough (2001) assumed that language is linked to ideologies and power (p. 2). That is to say, the exercise of power in a society is achieved through ideology and ideology to its turn is expressed through ideological workings of language (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2). Additionally, language and society share a dialectical relationship; language is part of society. Better put, linguistic phenomena are social phenomena and vice-versa (Fairclough, 1989, p. 23).

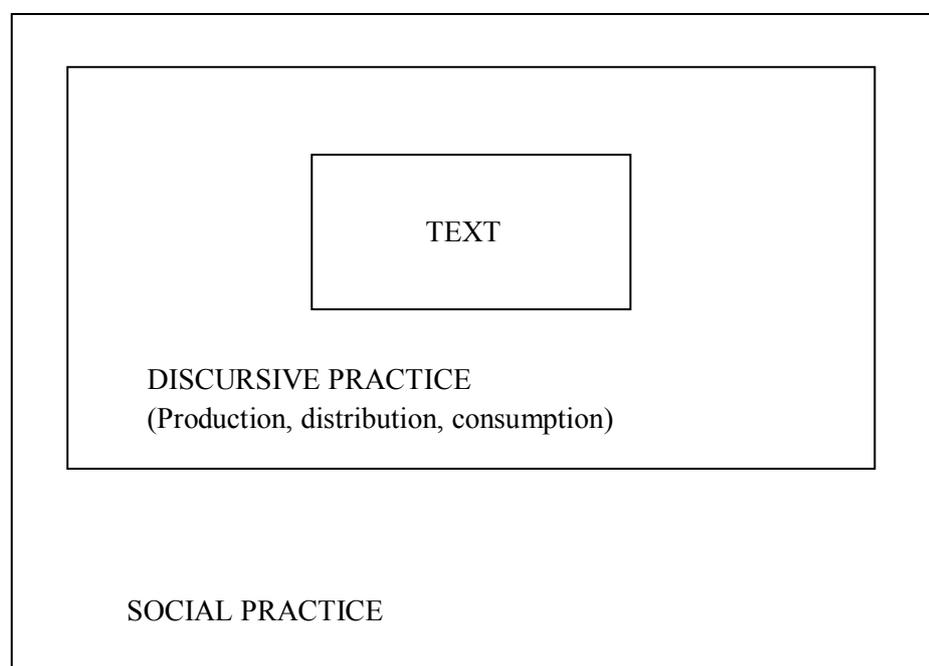
3.3 Summary of Fairclough's Model (1992)

Social and cultural changes can be observed through language use (Fairclough, 1992, p. 1). Hence, Fairclough (1992) argued that the main objective of his approach to CDA is to make a link between the linguistic analysis of a discourse and the social and cultural change in a form of a framework that will be pertinent to use in social scientific research (p. 62).

Fairclough's framework of CDA is divided into three dimensions that are text, discursive practice, and social practice.

Figure 1

Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)



The part of the analysis which deals with the text is called description and the part of the analysis which deals with the discursive and social practice is called interpretation (Fairclough, 1992, p. 73).

Fairclough (1992) assumed that there is not a predefined procedure for doing discourse analysis. The procedure varies on the nature of the project and the views of the discourse. He has just given general guidelines that include the main elements of discourse analysis (p. 225). Moreover, the researcher (1992) assumed that these three dimensions will overlap when dealing with the analysis of a discourse that is why he suggested to begin the analysis with the interpretation of the discourse practice (process of text production, consumption, and distribution), to the description of the text and to finish with the interpretation of these two dimensions in the light of the social practice (p. 225). However, Fairclough (1992) asserted

that it is not an obligation to follow this order. An analysis of a discourse can start either with text analysis or with social practice; the organisation of the analysis will depend on its purposes and emphasis (p. 225).

Figure 2

An Adapted Version of Norman Fairclough’s Framework (1992)



3.3.1 Text Analysis

Text analysis is organised under four main units that are grammar, vocabulary, cohesion, and text structure (Fairclough, 1992, p. 75).

3.3.1.1 Grammar

The main unit of grammar is the clause. Generally, people choose how to structure their clauses, which helps them in shaping their social identities and relationships, as well as, their ideologies (Fairclough, 1992, pp.75-76). Grammar includes modality, transitivity, and politeness:

3.3.1.1.1 Modality

Modality is used to express possibilities. It is conveyed by the use of modal auxiliary verbs (should, must, can, may etc.), modal adverbs (probably, possibly), and by the use of adjectives (probable, possible, likely). Modality can be subjective, when the speaker involves himself in the expression of a proposition. On the other hand, modality can be objective, when it is not clear who is expressing the proposition, if it is the speaker or someone else. Usually, the use of objective modality involves some form of power (Fairclough, 1992, p. 159).

3.3.1.1.2 Transitivity

Transitivity is the ideational dimension of grammar. It deals mainly with verbs process (active or passive), the position of the elements of a clause, and the agent (deleted or not). Transitivity helps to show the ideological sets and point of views that are embedded in the grammatical structure of clauses (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 177-182).

3.3.1.1.3 Politeness

Politeness promotes proper social interaction between the different members of a society. Fairclough (1992) stressed on two politeness strategies. First, positive politeness occurs when the speakers want to show solidarity or sympathy. Second, negative politeness occurs when the speakers want to show some respect or they do not want to impose themselves (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 163-164).

3.3.1.2 Cohesion

Analysing the cohesion of the text implies looking to how clauses are linked to form sentences and how sentences are linked in order to form large units. This linkage can be achieved through referring (using pronouns, definite articles, and demonstrative articles), conjunctions, repeating words, and by the use of synonyms (Fairclough, 1992, p.77).

3.3.1.3 Vocabulary

The main concern of vocabulary is the word (Fairclough, 1992, p. 75). It helps in the projection of the ideology of the speaker (Fairclough, 1992, p. 193). When analysing the vocabulary of the text, the focus is mainly on the analysis of rewording, overwording, and metaphors (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 193-194).

3.3.1.3.1 Rewording

Rewording is rephrasing. It is using alternative words to express the same idea (Fairclough, 1992, p. 194).

3.3.1.3.2 Overwording

Overwording is the important use of synonyms or near-synonyms of a domain, for example competence, mastery, effectiveness, and facility (Fairclough, 1992, p. 193).

3.3.1.3.3 Metaphor

Metaphors can be considered as a way of drawing one's reality. Choosing a metaphor rather than another one is a subtle manner of showing the speaker's way of thinking (Fairclough, 1992, p. 194).

3.3.1.4 Text Structure

Text structure refers to the architecture and organisation of the text, which differ from a text type to another one. It deals mainly with the order of the elements of the text (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 77-78).

3.3.2 Discursive Practice

This stage of the analysis includes process of text production, distribution, and consumption. These processes differ according to the type of discourse and the social factors (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78).

• Text Production

Generally, texts are produced in specific social contexts and specific ways. The producer of a text is set into three positions that can be occupied by the same person or by different people (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78):

- ✓ **Animator:** The one who speaks.
- ✓ **Author:** The one who writes and is responsible for the wording.
- ✓ **Principal:** The one whose position is represented by words

• Text Consumption

Texts are consumed in different ways in different contexts. It depends on the attention of the readers/ listeners (close scrutiny or semi-focused attention). Like text production, text

consumption can be collective or individual. Some texts are transcribed or recorded (e.g. official interviews), other texts are transitory and unrecorded (e.g. casual conversations), and some other texts are transformed into other texts (e.g. political speeches). Furthermore, texts lead to different outcomes. Some texts lead to wars and some others help to make changes in people's behaviours and beliefs (Fairclough, 1992, p. 79).

- **Text Distribution**

There are texts which have a simple distribution, that are those that belong to the immediate context of situation in which they occur such as casual conversations. On the other hand, there are texts which have a complex process of distribution, for instance texts produced by political leaders (Fairclough, 1992, p. 79).

According to Fairclough (1992), the analysis of the discursive practice can be conducted with a focus on the force of utterances, coherence and intertextuality of the text (p. 75).

3.3.2.1 Force of utterances

The force of utterance refers to the actional components of the utterance. That is to say, it indicates what the speech act that is performed in the utterance (request, promise, threats etc.) is (Fairclough, 1992, p. 81). Fairclough (1992) assumed that the force of an utterance can be ambivalent. One way of lowering the ambivalence of the force is to refer to the situational and sequential context of the text (p. 82). The situational context emphasises on certain elements that are fundamental for the interpretation of the situation of the text, such as the social identity of the participants, whereas the sequential context depends on the discourse type (the elements that are coming after the utterance) (Fairclough, 1992, p. 82).

3.3.2.2 Coherence

Coherence is considered as a property of interpretation than a property of a text. A coherent text is a text where there is a logical and meaningful link between all the parts of the text (sentences, paragraphs, and as a text as whole). There are no explicit markers that indicate that a text is coherent (Fairclough, 1992, p. 83). However looking to how the reader actually interprets the discourse provides more insights to determine its meaning (Fairclough, 1992, p. 233).

3.3.2.3 Intertextuality

Intertextuality is borrowing from other text that is explicitly demarcated or not. According to Fairclough (1992), all texts are intertextual and they are composed of elements of other texts (p. 102). Furthermore, intertextuality has a prominent role in Fairclough's

framework, because of its concordance with his focus upon social change in discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p. 102).

Fairclough (1992) distinguished between two types of intertextual relations. First, manifest intertextuality refers to the explicit presence of other text in the text under analysis. It is clearly stated on the surface of the text (e.g. by quotation marks) (Fairclough, 1992, p. 104). Fairclough (1992) discussed manifest intertextuality in relation to discourse representation, presupposition, metadiscourse, and irony (p. 118). Discourse representation is when one reports discourse of someone else without changing anything in it (Fairclough, 1992, p. 118).

Moreover, manifest intertextuality can take a form of a presupposition. Fairclough (1992) asserted that presupposed propositions are a way to include texts of others (p. 121). On the surface of the text, presuppositions are recognised by clauses introduced by the conjunction “that” and followed by the verbs “forget”, “regret”, and “realise”, or by words or phrases preceded by definite articles. They can also be carried through negation for the purpose of rejecting and contradicting them (Fairclough, 1992, p. 121).

Another form of manifest intertextuality is metadiscourse. The latter means that the speakers situate themselves outside their discourse in a way they can control and manipulate it (Fairclough, 1992, p.122). It can be undertaken through hedging, for example using the expression “kind of”, “sort of” or by reformulation (Fairclough, 1992, p.122).

On the other hand, irony also has an intertextual nature. It is saying something and meaning something else (Fairclough, 1992, p.123). There is intertextuality in irony, when an utterance echoes in others’ utterance (Fairclough, 1992, p.123).

The second type of intertextuality is constitutive intertextuality. Fairclough (1992) referred to it as interdiscursivity. It is the process of incorporating others texts to a new text that may assimilate, or contradict them without indicating it explicitly. Interdiscursivity implies orders of discourse that are the relationship of discursive practices and the society where they occur (Fairclough, 1992, p. 43), as well the elements of discourse type (genre, style, register) (Fairclough, 1992, p. 124).

3.3.3 Social Practice

The third dimension deals with the relation of discourse with ideology and power as hegemony. Better put, it discusses the evolution of power as hegemonic struggle. Ideology helps to construct reality (social relations and social identities). Moreover, ideology can be found in the structures of the discourse and in the discursive events. Furthermore, it can be invested at the level of meaning (words meaning, presuppositions, coherence, and metaphors).

It is important to mention that usually ideologies appear in societies that are characterised by social dominance (gender, class, and cultural group) (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 86-91). On the other hand, Fairclough (1992, p. 92) argued that hegemony is the power exercised over society through different social aspects (politics, economics, and culture). Although, it appears to be the most common form of power in modern society that can influence a discourse, there are prior prominent forms of dominance that are achieved through the imposition of rigorous rules, norms, and conventions (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 94- 95).

Conclusion

This section has outlined Fairclough's three layers model (1992). This approach to CDA provides a linguistic description of a text and the interpretation of discursive practice in the light of the social and cultural reality. Additionally, it considers language as a tool that can influence a society and provide change.

Section Four: Literature Review

Introduction

In the last years, critical discourse analysis has gained ground among scholars and linguists. Thus the following section is dedicated to the review of previous studies related to the present research field.

4.1 Review of Literature

To start with, Ibrahim Shousha (2010) analysed the image of Arabs in the American press after the events of 11 September 2001, relying mainly on Van Dijk's framework of racism. The analyst has selected articles for her analysis from Newsweek and The Washington Post. The research is divided into four stages that are the archive search (collection of news articles from the Newsweek and The Washington Post that have appeared after the events), concordance analysis (analysis of occurrences of words and forms), content analysis (analysis of the topics and themes of the selected articles), and critical discourse analysis (analysis of the linguistic features that show the writers' ideologies towards the Arabs). The findings of this study showed that the number of news articles talking about the Arabs has increased after the 9/11 events. Moreover, these articles have focused mainly on describing the relationships between the United States of America and the Arabs countries and classifying them into enemies and allies. Additionally, the linguistic choices of the American press have portrayed a negative image of the Arabs.

Fahad and Al-Raida Obaid (2012) examined Barack Obama's speech "New Beginning" delivered in Cairo (2009) with the aim of identifying the way in which the former President has used language to introduce his new ideology in order to implement a new position for America in relation to the global community and to the Islamic community in particular. The adopted framework in this research is the Fairclough's model part of the "text interaction-context" (2001). This framework is based on ten questions that help in understanding the speaker's ideology and values. The researchers considered the seven first questions as relevant, because they deal with wordings, grammar structures, and metaphors that are their main interest. The results of the study show that Obama has well used language to achieve his goal that is to show his good intentions towards the global community and the Islamic one.

Furthermore, the former president has succeeded in setting his new ideology of “partnership” with the other countries.

Sipra and Rashid (2013), in their article entitled “Critical Discourse Analysis of Martin Luther King’s speech in Socio-Political Perspective” examined the first 31 sentences of Martin Luther King’s speech “I Have a Dream” with a focus on the language used. The researchers considered the Fairclough’s model (1992) as the appropriate framework to use in order to critically analyse this speech. Moreover, they seek to find out how the linguistic choices of Martin Luther King have helped him to promote his ideology and to make it accepted by his audience as well to denounce the attitude of white people towards the black ones. The research results demonstrate that Dr. King has frequently used repetition, parallelism, and metaphors. Additionally, his speech is well- structured, and he has successfully denounced the inequalities of rights and racial injustice. Besides, he has succeeded to link between the powerful and the oppressed without causing any conflict.

In the article “Representation of Gender through Framing: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Hillary Clinton’s selected speeches” Kanwal and Garcia (2019) analysed Hillary Clinton’s opening primary campaign and her last speech for the American presidential elections of 2016. The researchers applied the Fairclough’s three dimensional framework (2015) to analyse the two selected speeches and they adopt the Frame Problem Tool of Gee (2014) for searching the working of frames. The results indicated that Hillary Clinton has presented his point of view of gender identity. She has mainly used the family and fight frames in her two speeches. Clinton has used the family frame for the purpose of achieving a sense of unity in the American society. On the other hand, she has used the fight frame in order to show that not only men can fight for the betterment of the society, but also women are fighters and can be presidents of a nation. Additionally she portrayed herself as a feminist and that women also can be the head of a family.

Oueld Ahmed (2021) applied the critical discourse analysis in order to analyse the novella “Heart of Darkness” written by Joseph Conrad. The research aimed to distinguish the various discursive strategies employed in post colonial narratives in order to describe social actors. The findings of the study showed that Joseph Conrad has a racist attitude when describing the black people. Moreover, there is linguistic exclusion in the text, when the author refers to the black characters using the pronouns “they” and “he” and adjectives such as “savages” and “cannibals”. On the other hand, there is linguistic inclusion, when Conrad

refers to the British characters by using proper nouns. Additionally, the researcher argued that “Heart of Darkness” is a racist discourse that aims at influencing the readers.

Ziane et al (2021) critically analysed the speech of the Algerian President Abdelmajid Tebboune after that he has contracted the COVID-19. The researchers used the Fairclough’s model (1992) with the aim to identify the extent to which the President’s ideologies are reflected in his linguistic choices. The findings of the research demonstrate that Tebboune has attempted to reassure the Algerians about the economic and the sanitary situations of Algeria. Additionally, he has informed the Algerian citizens that he is on the right path to recover from the COVID-19. Furthermore, the analysts assumed that Tebboune has used several linguistic strategies to persuade his audience about his ideology such as repetition, intertextuality, and religious expressions. The analysis is concluded by the affirmation that Abdelmajid Tebboune’s language in his speech influences and is influenced by the political, social, and cultural context of the Algerian country.

Conclusion

The review of these articles is an attempt to provide insights into how CDA can be conducted. As it can be noticed, there is no article that is concerned with the analysis of Lyndon B. Johnson’s speeches. It can be concluded that little interest has been attributed to his speeches. Besides, to the researcher’s best knowledge, there is no previous research that has already attempted to apply the Fairclough’s model (1992) to critically analyse Johnson’s “The Great Society” commencement speech.

Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter has highlighted some important information about discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. Accordingly, discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary approach that has different interpretations. Besides, this chapter has dealt with critical discourse analysis that is the study and interpretation of language use in relation to the social, political, and cultural context. Moreover, it analyses the ideologies and the power relations that invest a discourse. Then, in the third section, the adopted framework for the present research is introduced. Namely, the Fairclough's three dimensional framework (1992) gives the opportunity to analyse a discourse from both the linguistic and sociological sides. The final part of the chapter concerns a review of others works as well it has presented some practical details of applying CDA.

Chapter Two: Research Methods, Analysis, and Discussion of the Findings

Introduction

Using the Fairclough's model (1992), the present study analyses "The Great Society" commencement speech delivered by the former American President Lyndon B. Johnson on May 22nd, 1964 at the University of Michigan. This second chapter includes three main sections. The first section introduces the research methods and the procedure opted for this research. In addition, it provides more details about the selected corpus for the analysis. The second section deals with the analysis of the present speech relying on the three-dimensional approach to Critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough (1992). The third section concludes this chapter with drawing some conclusions and limitations for this study. As well, it suggests some recommendations for further research.

Section One: Research Methods

Introduction

The present section explains the research methods and design used to conduct this study. Additionally, it describes the corpus selected for the analysis. Finally, it outlines the data analysis procedure applied to the analysis of the speech under study.

1.1 Research Methods and study design

The present research analyses Lyndon B. Johnson's "The Great Society" speech delivered on the occasion of graduation at the University of Michigan on May 22nd, 1964, relying on the Fairclough's model (1992) of CDA. The purpose of this study is to examine the ideologies embedded in Johnson's discourse. As well, it aims at identifying the persuasive techniques employed by Johnson in order to influence the thinking of his audience. To do so, this study falls under a descriptive design in order to provide an accurate description of Johnson's ideologies included in the speech under study. Additionally, a mixed-method approach is followed in order to fulfil the purpose of this study. Qualitative and quantitative data are collected in this research. The qualitative method investigates the ideologies included in the speech. As well, it explains the persuasive techniques used by the former President. On the other hand, the quantitative method refers to the organisation of the repeated words present in the speech and their frequencies in a form of tabular.

1.2 Corpus of the Study

The selected corpus for the present study is "The Great Society" commencement speech delivered by the former American President Lyndon B. Johnson on May 22nd, 1964. This speech passes the test of time. It dealt with topical issues. Much of what it comprises has still meaning today. In his speech, Johnson pushed his audience to not be satisfied with the country as it was, but to look how to improve it; mainly, in the three areas where some problems subsisted. The first area was the cities, which continued to attract more people, but they did not meet all their needs, specifically in housing and transportation. The second area was the countryside, where Johnson focused on the problems of pollution, deforestation, and overcrowding. The third place that needed some changes, is the classrooms. Teaching needed to be improved. As well, opportunities had to be offered to everybody to finish their studies regardless of their economic situation. Additionally, in his speech, the President Johnson asked the college graduates to join their forces to overcome all these problems, to end

poverty, and to maintain peace in the country. As far as he is concerned, he promised to do all his best and to organise meetings with the government in order to find solutions to these issues.

It is important to mention that this speech is not chosen randomly. It is a significant corpus to analyse from a CDA perspective in order to understand Johnson's ideological strategies.

1.3 Data Analysis Procedures

President Johnson's commencement address is tackled as a text to be critically analysed using the Fairclough's model introduced in his book "Discourse and Social Change" appeared in 1992. This approach is chosen, because it provides an analysis of the speech at different levels. That is to say, it allows an analysis from both the sociological and linguistic sides. Besides, it should be recalled that the Fairclough's model is divided into three dimensions. The first dimension is text. It analyses the text structure, vocabulary, grammar, and coherence of the text. The second dimension is discursive practice. It examines the force of utterances, politeness, cohesion, and intertextuality present in the speech. The third dimension is social practice, which investigates the ideologies included in the speech and the power relations that govern it.

Conclusion

In summary, this section has provided more details about the research methods and design of this study; namely, a descriptive design is followed relying on a mixed-methods approach. Moreover, it has described the corpus under study. Lyndon B. Johnson's "The Great Society" commencement speech is selected for this research. As well as, this section presents the procedure that is followed to analyse the speech. The three-dimensional model of Norman Fairclough (1992) is adopted to critically analyse Johnson's speech.

Section Two: Analysis of “The Great Society” Speech

Introduction

In the present section, the Fairclough’s model (1992) is applied to critically analyse “The Great Society” speech delivered by Lyndon B. Johnson on the occasion of graduation at the University of Michigan in 1964. Accordingly, the analysis is divided into three stages (text, the discursive practice, and the social practice) in order to gain a thorough insight into the ideologies embedded in this speech and the techniques used by Johnson to persuade his audience.

2.1 Analysis of the Text

This stage deals with the analysis of the text including the text structure, vocabulary, grammar, and the cohesion of the speech.

2.1.1 Text Structure

Before going further on the analysis of Lyndon B. Johnson’s “The Great Society” speech, it is important to identify its structure and schemata. The ideas of the speech can be divided as follow:

Table 01: Division of the Speech.

Paragraph Number	Paragraph Delimitation
Paragraph One	”President Hatcher...It stopped his mother from bragging about him. “
Paragraph Two	“I have come today...But that is just the beginning. “
Paragraph Three	“The Great Society is a place...and in our classrooms. “
Paragraph Four	“Many of you will live to see the day...at the level of the people.”
Paragraph Five	“A second place where we begin...and his sustenance be wasted.”
Paragraph Six	“A third place to build...and the capacity for creation. “
Paragraph Seven	“These are three of the central issues... the leaders of local communities. “
Paragraph Eight	“Woodrow Wilson once wrote...in the life of the Nation.”
Paragraph Nine	“So will you join in the battle...a richer life of mind and spirit?”
Paragraph Ten	“There are those timid souls...Thank you, Good-bye.”

- *Paragraph One*

Lyndon B. Johnson started his speech by greeting the members of his audience that was composed of the president of the University, the governor, the senators, the congressmen, and the Michigan students. Besides, he expressed his happiness to be there. Then he moved to recognize that the University of Michigan is a coeducational college, which means that boys and girls are taught in the same school. On the other hand, he made some jokes about this college to relax the atmosphere.

- *Paragraph Two*

In this paragraph, Johnson gave the reason of coming to the University of Michigan. Namely, he wanted to speak about the future of the United States of America. Besides, he mentioned the past achievements of America in the industry and in economics. Moreover, he stated that the graduates’ students had the opportunity to build a better country, where there was less poverty and racial injustice, as well where everyone was free.

- *Paragraph Three*

For Johnson, a great society was a place where every child had access to education and where cities were not polluted and where nature was protected. More importantly, a great society was the one which was in a continuous progress. Besides in his speech, the former president introduced the three places from where to start constructing a better society, namely cities, countryside, and classrooms.

- *Paragraph Four*

Lyndon B. Johnson carried on his speech by affirming that American cities were in peril. Unaffordable housing and transportations made living in cities difficult. Moreover, urban development threatened nature and social relations. Besides, Johnson affirmed that it was the duty of the new generation to make living a better life in cities possible.

- *Paragraph Five*

In this paragraph, Johnson explained that countryside was suffering of pollution and deforestation. Besides, he asserted that it was the time to take actions to stop these phenomena before it was late.

- *Paragraph Six*

In this passage, Johnson started speaking about education, as an important element of a great society. Therefore, for him, the third place that needs to be improved is the classrooms. He assumed that not all the Americans had the chance to complete their studies, because they could not pay their tuition. Additionally, the educational system needs to be upgraded in order to provide a better educational experience to the youth.

- *Paragraph Seven*

Johnson shed light on that the members of the government were already working on these problems and they were doing their best to find solutions. However, they need the support of the National capital and the local leaders to overcome these issues.

- *Paragraph Eight*

In this paragraph, Lyndon B. Johnson confirmed another time that it was the task of the new generation to deal with the issues in the cities, countryside, and in education in order to construct a better future for America.

- *Paragraph Nine*

In this part of the speech, Johnson appealed the new graduates to work for the fulfilment of a better country in which there were equal rights for everyone no matter the race or the beliefs and to help the poor citizens. Additionally, he encouraged them to build a society that was governed by peace.

- *Paragraph Ten*

To conclude his speech, Lyndon B. Johnson related his vision of a great society to the one of the first settlers of America. They immigrated to this country with the hope to become wealthy and to have a better future. For Johnson, the great society was a dream that could come true with the cooperation of the new generation. To end up his speech, he thanked the members of his audience for their attention.

2.1.2 Vocabulary

This unit deals with the analysis of rewording and overwording present in the speech.

2.1.2.1 Rewording

A speaker or a writer uses rewording for different reasons. In the present speech, Lyndon B. Johnson used rewording for the purpose of avoiding repetitions. Besides, he wanted to stress on some important ideas and to clarify what could be seen as not clear. In the following extracts Johnson utilised rewording:

Table 02: Rewording in the Speech.

The Original Statement	The Rewording Statement
“Aristotle said: “Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life” (paragraph 4).	“It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live, but to live the good life” (paragraph 4).
“The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents” (paragraph 3).	“There your children's lives will be shaped” (paragraph 6).
“And I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life” (paragraph 4).	“It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people” (paragraph 4).
“Green fields and dense forests are disappearing” (paragraph 5).	“...once our natural splendor is destroyed...” (paragraph 5).
“For once the battle is lost...” (paragraph 5).	“...this battle cannot be won...” (Paragraph 10).
“...I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems” (paragraph 7).	“The solution to these problems...” (paragraph 7).
“It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live, but to live the good life” (paragraph 4).	“For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age” (paragraph 8).

2.1.2.2 Overwording

In Johnson’s speech, there is overwording. Apart from preventing words to occur frequently, overwording has an ideological significance. It has given to LBJ the opportunity to describe and to provide more details about the places that needed some changes in order to build a better country. He used overwording related to:

- School: classrooms, educational system, college, campus, university, high school graduates, Michigan student, education.
- Cities: urban areas, city land, urban United States, urban population.
- Countryside: nature, forest, green fields, seashores.

- Nation: country, civilization, society.

2.1.3 Grammar

This stage analyses the modality, transitivity, and politeness of the speech.

2.1.3.1 Modality

The President Johnson used the modal verb “can” to express a possibility:

- Example (1): “The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents.” (Paragraph 3).
- Example (2): “Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours” (paragraph 1).

Moreover, he used the modal verb “must” to express an obligation:

- Example (1): “So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from” (paragraph 6).
- Example (2): “We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size” (paragraph 6).

Additionally, he employed the modal verb “should” for giving advice:

- Example (1): “Woodrow Wilson once wrote: “Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time” (paragraph 8).

Finally, Johnson used the modal verb “would”, when he imagined a situation. Something that did not actually happen:

- Example (1): “And I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life” (paragraph 4).

Table 03: Modal Verbs Used in the Speech and Their Frequency.

Modal Verbs	Frequency
Can	10
Must	6
Should	1
Would	1

As it can be seen in the above table, Johnson used the modal verb “can” 10 times, “must” 6 times, whereas he employed “should” and “would” only one time.

In addition to this, he did not use many adverbs. Besides, he utilised the present tense more frequently; mostly when describing the issues of America and when defining the concept of the great society. On the other hand, he used the past tense when he mentioned the past achievements of the American country and the first settlers. Furthermore, he employed the future tense when he addressed to the new graduates to take action to better the future of their country.

Table 04: Modal Adverbs and Tenses Used in the Speech.

Adverbs	Perhaps, always.
Tenses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Past tense: was labored, called, stayed, was, started, were, sought, stopped, came, turned, said, told, had been. • Present Tense: is, have, rests, demands, serves, begin, want, understand, drink, eat, breath, has, do, does, require, intend, knows, ads, matches. • Future tense: will determine, will live, will double, will have, will come, will be, will rise, will increase, will begin, will build.

2.1.3.2 *Transitivity*

In this speech, Johnson did not use many times the passive voice. However, in the examples below, he used the passive voice in order to emphasise on the thing that is receiving the action and not on its doer.

- Example (1): “This is the place where the Peace Corps was started” (paragraph 4).
- Example (2): “For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age” (paragraph 8).

2.1.3.3 *Politeness*

In the examples below, Lyndon B. Johnson employed positive politeness when he asked the graduates’ students if they would cooperate in the construction of a better society that is governed by peace and equal rights and not by wars and racial injustice. Additionally, Johnson used direct questions that helped him to show his solidarity with his audience.

- Example (1): “So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the colour of his skin?”(paragraph 9).
- Example (2): “Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?” (paragraph 9).
- Example (3): “Will you join in the battle to make it possible for all nations to live in enduring peace -- as neighbours and not as mortal enemies?” (paragraph 9).
- Example (4): “Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?” (paragraph 9).

2.1.4 *Cohesion*

This level examines the reference, repetition, conjunctions, and synonyms present in the speech.

2.1.4.1 *Reference*

A speaker or a writer frequently refers to things that have been previously discussed or that have not been mentioned in the discourse in the text. Accordingly, there are three types of references: anaphoric reference, cataphoric reference, and exophoric reference. In the present speech, Johnson employed the three types of references:

a. *Anaphoric Reference*; when a word or a phrase refers to something that has been already mentioned in the text.

- Example (1): “This university has been coeducational since 1870, but I do not believe it was on the basis of your accomplishments that a Detroit high school girl said (and I quote), "In choosing a college, you first have to decide whether you want a coeducational school or an educational school" (paragraph 1).

In this example, the pronoun “it” refers to the clause “This university has been coeducational since 1870”.

- Example (2): “I came out here today very anxious to meet the Michigan student whose father told a friend of mine that his son's education had been a real value. It stopped his mother from bragging about him” (paragraph 1).

In this example, both the possessive pronoun “his” and the object pronoun “him” refer to “the Michigan student”.

- Example (3): “The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning” (paragraph 2).

In the above example, the pronoun “it” refers to “The Great Society”.

- Example (4): “The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents” (paragraph 3).

In this extract, the possessive pronoun “his” refers to “every child”.

- Example (5): “A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped” (paragraph 6).

In this example, “there” refers to “the classrooms”.

- Example (6): “It means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours of labor” (paragraph 6).

In the above excerpt, the possessive pronoun “their” refers to “youth”.

- Example (7): “I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of White House conferences and meetings -- on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. And from these meetings and from this inspiration and from these studies we will begin to set our course toward the Great Society. The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority” (paragraph 7).

In this passage, “these problems” refer to “on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges”.

- Example (8): “Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world” (paragraph 10).

In this extract, the pronoun “they” refers to the phrase “those who came out to this land”.

b. *Cataphoric Reference*: when the referred word or phrase appears later in the text.

- Example (1): “Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours” (paragraph 1).

In this extract, “here” refers to “Michigan”.

- Example (2): “There are those timid souls that say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree.” (Paragraph 10).

In the above passage, the demonstrative pronoun “those” refers to “timid souls”.

c. Exophoric Reference: when a word or a phrase points to something that is out of the text.

- Example (1): “So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society -- in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms” (paragraph 3).

In this example, the pronoun “I” refers to Lyndon B. Johnson, since he is the one who delivered this speech.

- Example (2): “Your imagination and your initiative and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth” (paragraph 2).

In this example, the pronoun “your” refers to the new graduates.

2.1.4.2 Repetition

Repetition is an effective tool that helps a speaker to make emphasis on some important ideas, as well it makes a speech easy to follow. Additionally, repeating words can persuade an audience of their truthfulness. In this speech Lyndon B. Johnson used some terms several time. Some examples have been identified with their frequencies in the table below:

Table 05: Repetition in the Speech.

Repeated Terms	Frequency
The great society	9
Cities	5
Classrooms	4
Good life	3
Your generation	3
It is a place	3

As it can be noticed, Johnson repeated the term “the great society” 9 times, “cities” 5 times, ”classroom” 4 times. On the other hand, he used the terms “good life”, “your generation”, and “it is a place” 3 times. Besides, he used parallelism for the purpose of providing balance, structure, and order to his speech. For instance, when he said:

- Example (2): “But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work” (paragraph 3).
- Example (3): “But we need your will and your labor and your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society” (paragraph 10).

2.1.4.3 Conjunctions

Conjunctions serve to connect between sentences, clauses, phrases, or words. There are four different types of conjunctions:

- **Coordinating Conjunctions:** They relate between similar parts of speech (noun, pronouns, adjectives and so on).
- **Correlative Conjunctions:** They combine between two similar parts of speech.
- **Subordinating Conjunctions:** They are used at the beginning of a subordinate clause.
- **Conjunctive Adverbs:** They relate a sentence to another sentence.

In the present speech, Johnson used the four types of conjunctions which helped him to organise his ideas and to link between them properly.

Table 06: Conjunctions Used in the Speech.

Types of the Conjunctions	Examples
Coordinating Conjunctions	For, and, but, or, so.
Correlative Conjunctions	Weither...or, not only...but
Subordinating Conjunctions	Where, than, when, since, once, in order to, until, if while, because, before, although, after.
Conjunctive Adverbs	Still, now, then.

2.1.4.4 Synonyms

The massive use of synonyms in “The Great Society” allowed making it more cohesive for example:

- Speak = Talk
- Issues = Problems
- Rise = Increase
- College = University
- Youth = Young
- Growth = Progress

2.2 Analysis of The Discursive Practice

This stage deals mainly with the analysis of the force of utterances, the coherence, and intertextuality of the speech.

2.2.1 Force of Utterances

Table 07: Force of Utterances in the Speech.

The Utterance	Type of the Speech Act	Function
“This university has been coeducational since 1870...” (paragraph 1).	Representative	Statement
“Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?” (paragraph 9).	Directive	Request
“But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America”(paragraph 7).	Commissive	Promise
“So let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life” (paragraph 10).	Directive	Ordering
“It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live, but to live the good life” (paragraph 4).	Representative	Claim
“Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans -- four-fifths of them in urban areas” (paragraph 4).	Representative	Hypothesis

The above table shows the speech acts used in the speech. As it can be noticed, Lyndon B. Johnson used different forms of language to convey his message to his audience that is distinct from its apparent meaning.

2.2.2 Coherence

As Fairclough asserted, there are no explicit markers in a text that show that it is coherent. Coherence depends on the reader’s interpretation of the text. After an extensive reading of the corpus under study, it has been concluded that Johnson’s discourse is coherent and consistent. Better put, he relied on a derived theme progression in order to organise his speech, which means that the themes of the speech are derived from a hyper theme. This can be illustrated when he said:

- Example (1): “So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society -- in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms” (paragraph 3).

In this extract, “the Great Society” performs the role of the hyper theme in the speech, on the other hand “cities”, “countryside”, and “classrooms” are the themes for the following paragraphs. Moreover, the abovementioned text structure can be considered as another proof that Johnson used a derived theme progression and that this speech is coherent.

2.2.3 Intertextuality

When conveying a discourse, intertextuality can be seen as a persuasive technique that makes the audience think what actually the speaker wants to transmit as a message. The President Johnson utilised some intertextual expressions in order to make his audience adhere to his ideology. Some examples are discussed in table 08.

Table 08: Intertextuality in the Speech.

Intertextual Text	Type of Intertextuality	Meaning
“Aristotle said: "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life" (paragraph 4).	Manifest Intertextuality	The Americans should stand and work together in order to make cities a good place to live.
“Woodrow Wilson once wrote: "Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time" (paragraph 8).	Manifest Intertextuality	A student after his graduation should start working for the improvement of his country.
“A few years ago we were greatly concerned about the "Ugly American." Today we must act to prevent an ugly America” (paragraph 5).	Manifest Intertextuality	It is a stereotype that portrays Americans as being arrogant, inconsiderate, and ethnocentric.

2.3 Analysis of The Social Practice

This stage of the analysis focuses mainly on the investigation of the ideologies embedded in this speech and the examination of the power relations that governs it.

2.3.1 Ideology

The University of Michigan has opted for Lyndon B. Johnson to deliver a commencement speech to the graduating class of 1964. “The Great Society” speech was specifically addressed to the new generation. While, the old generation was left apart since they could not do a big change in the last years that they might have to live. This speech reflects Johnson’s ideologies. He was determined to improve the quality of living of the Americans with the cooperation of the graduates’ students. This can be illustrated when he said:

“We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will and your labor and your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society” (paragraph 10).

In the present speech, Lyndon B. Johnson considered that the construction of the great society is based on three pillars: cities, countryside, and classrooms as cited in the following excerpt:

“So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society -- in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms” (paragraph 4).

a- Cities

The former president assumed that the American society will not be great until the cities are great, this can be shown in the extract below:

“And our society will never be great until our cities are great” (paragraph 4).

Moreover, he expected that if the number of inhabitants in the cities continued to increase, during the coming forty years the American urban areas would need to be rebuilt. Accordingly, Johnson said in the following excerpt:

“Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans -- four-fifths of them in urban areas. In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes and highways and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled. So in the next 40 years we must re-build the entire urban United States” (paragraph 4).

Besides, Johnson described in his speech the main problems of the Americans living in the cities, such as the lack of housing and transportation, disappearance of open land, and the loss of social values. Accordingly, Johnson said:

“The catalog of ills is long: there is the decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. There is not enough housing for our people or transportation for our traffic. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated. Worst of all expansion is eroding these precious and time honored values of community with neighbors and communion with nature. The loss of these values breeds loneliness and boredom and indifference” (paragraph 4).

In addition to this, Johnson assumed that the cities are the center place of innovation and new experiments. Furthermore, he emphasised on the important role of the college graduates in creating a good life in urban areas. As well as, he encouraged them to pursue

their endeavour in constructing a better future for the country and to follow the paths of the Peace Corps that were created at Michigan. For instance, when he said:

“Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders. New experiments are already going on” (paragraph 4).

“It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live, but to live the good life” (paragraph 4).

“It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people” (paragraph 4).

“This is the place where the Peace Corps was started” (paragraph 4).

b- Countryside

For Johnson, preserving the natural beauty of the countryside has also its important in the construction of a great society. Accordingly, he said:

“A second place where we begin to build the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful” (paragraph 5).

However, the American countryside was suffering of pollution, deforestation, and overcrowding. As well, Johnson affirmed that nothing can be done to recapture the damages caused to nature. This is shown in the following extracts:

“Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing” (paragraph 5).

“For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured. And once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted” (paragraph 5).

c- Classrooms

The third place on which the great society is based according to Johnson is the classrooms. He sought that education would help in constructing a better future for the country. Accordingly, he asserted in his speech:

“A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination” (paragraph 6).

Many people did not have the opportunity to finish school. As well as, many high school graduates did not enter college, because they could not pay their tuition. This is shown in the extracts bellow:

“Today, 8 million adult Americans, more than the entire population of Michigan, have not finished 5 years of school. Nearly 20 million have not finished 8 years of school. Nearly 54 million -- more than one quarter of all America -- have not even finished high school” (paragraph 6).

“Each year more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proved ability, do not enter college because they cannot afford it” (paragraph 6).

The former president imagined what would happen if the current educational situation was going to be the same in the coming years. He wondered who was going to educate the coming generation. Accordingly, he said:

“And if we cannot educate today's youth, what will we do in 1970 when elementary school enrollment will be 5 million greater than 1960? And high school enrollment will rise by 5 million. And college enrollment will increase by more than 3 million” (paragraph 6).

Additionally, Johnson mentioned some problems of education in the United States. For instance:

“In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty” (paragraph 6).

Besides, he suggested solutions to these problems, for example updating the educational system, providing better training for the teachers, finding new techniques of teaching, and pushing the youth to enjoy learning. Accordingly, he said:

“But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. This means better training for our teachers. It means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation” (paragraph 6).

Lyndon B. Johnson acknowledged that he did not have the solutions to all the problems in the cities, countryside, and in education. However, he promised to do all his best to find them. Accordingly, he said:

“These are three of the central issues of the Great Society. While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems. But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America” (paragraph 7).”

Johnson’s aspiration and vision of the great society was the same as the one of the first immigrants to America. Furthermore, he considered it as a dream that could become a reality with the help of the new generation.

“Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality. So let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life” (paragraph 10).

Johnson mainly relied on the pronouns “we” (27 times), “you” (13 times), and “I” (11 times) in his speech. He used the pronoun “we” to demonstrate unity and solidarity with his audience, including the graduating class of the University of Michigan. On the other hand, he used the pronoun “you” when he directly addressed to the graduates’ students to cooperate in the construction of a better future for their nation. Whereas, he utilised the pronoun “I” in order to show his closeness to his audience and that he was also concerned by the great society.

Table 09: The Pronouns Used in the Speech

The Pronouns	Frequency
We	27
You	13
I	11

In summary, the present speech is characterised by the ideologies of patriotism and cooperativism. All a long his speech, Johnson asked the graduates’ students to participate in the construction of a better future for their Nation. For instance, when he affirmed:

“For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age. You have the chance never before afforded to any people in any age. You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation” (paragraph 8).

2.3.2 *Hegemony*

In “The Great Society” speech, the president Johnson did not exercise his power over his audience, which can be explained by the fact that he needed the help of the college graduates and he wanted them to cooperate in the realisation of his plans for a great society. Moreover, he did not show himself as being the dominant one. He portrayed his vision of a great society without forcing the graduates to share the same ideologies as his.

Conclusion

This section allowed a thorough analysis of “The Great Society” speech relying on the Fairclough’s model (1992) of CDA. The first stage has involved the analysis of the linguistic choices of Lyndon B. Johnson in the present speech. The analysis of the discursive practice has demonstrated that the former president has used intertextuality that helped to link between other texts and the context of “The Great Society” speech. In addition to this, Johnson used various types of speech acts to convey his discourse. Besides, the analysis of the social practice has showed the ideologies embedded in this speech and that there is not a power relation between Johnson and his audience.

Section Three: Conclusions, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research

Introduction

The following section summarises the main findings of the analysis of “The Great Society” speech delivered by the former President Lyndon B. Johnson. Moreover, it discusses the limitations of the present study. As well, it suggests some recommendations for further research.

3.1 Synthesis of the Findings

In this part, the major findings are discussed based on the above analysis of “The Great Society” speech that followed the three dimensional model of Norman Fairclough. The analysis of the present speech is divided into three stages, namely the analysis of the text, the analysis of the discursive practice, and the analysis of the social practice.

3.1.1 Analysis of the Text

The first phase of the analysis examined the text structure, vocabulary, grammar, and the cohesion of the corpus under study.

The examination of the text structure demonstrated the main topics discussed by Lyndon B. Johnson throughout his speech. He mentioned the major issues of the American society and the changes that needed to be made in order to construct a great society. For him, the cities, the countryside, and the classrooms had to be ameliorated to guarantee a better future for the next generations. Moreover, all a long his speech he encouraged the new graduates to contribute in the realisation of his vision of a great society.

The second point investigated in the first phase was the vocabulary. The findings of the analysis showed that Lyndon B. Johnson used rewording for the purpose of clarifying what could be seen confusing and avoiding many repetitions. Additionally, he used overwording mainly in relation to the three areas that needed changes according to him; namely, cities, countryside, and classrooms. Besides, Johnson did not use metaphors. In fact, he chose to use a direct language in order to not be misunderstood. Metaphors are usually vague and can have different meanings.

The third element was the analysis of the grammar of the speech. The results demonstrated that the President Johnson utilised modal verbs (will, can, must, should, would) and adverbs (perhaps, always). Furthermore, he used the present tense when he exposed the sad reality in which the Americans were living. Moreover, he used the past tense, when he described the previous accomplishments of the American country. Additionally, he employed the future tense, when he spoke about his expectations for America. Besides, he did not use the passive voice many times. He relied more on the active voice. Furthermore, Johnson showed solidarity, when he addressed to the college graduates.

The last point examined in the first phase of the analysis was the cohesion of the speech. Based on the results of the analysis, it has been found that Johnson used the three types of references (anaphoric, cataphoric, exophoric). Additionally, he repeated some terms several times and used parallel structures, which made the discourse easy to follow. From another side, Johnson relied on the four types of conjunctions in his speech (coordinating conjunctions, correlative conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs), which helped him to organise and to relate between his ideas. Besides, the use of synonyms facilitated to make the speech cohesive.

3.1.2 Analysis of the Discursive Practice

The second phase of the analysis investigated the force of utterances, coherence, and the intertextuality present in the speech. First, Lyndon B. Johnson used different speech acts to convey his discourse (request, promise, ordering, claim .etc). Second, he relied on a derived theme progression in order to make the speech coherent. Third, in his speech Johnson relied on intertextuality of text to transmit his message and to influence the thinking of his audience.

3.1.3 Analysis of the Social Practice

This third phase investigated the ideologies of the former President Johnson and the power relations expressed in the present speech. The ideologies of Johnson included in “The Great Society” speech can be outlined as follow:

- Encouraging the college graduates to participate in the construction of a great society.
- Informing that a great society is based on the improvement of the cities, countryside, and classrooms.
- Encouraging the college graduates to follow the paths of the Peace Corps.

- Promising to find solutions to the issues in the cities, countryside, and classrooms.
- Affirming that the great society can become a reality with the cooperation of the new graduates.

Moreover, he relied on the pronouns “I” to show closeness to his audience, “you” while addressing to the new graduates, and “we” to demonstrate unity and solidarity to his audience. Besides, the findings of the analysis demonstrated that Johnson did not exercise power over the college graduates. Better put, he did not show himself as the dominant one, since he asked his audience to help him in the construction of a great society.

It is important to note that Sipra and Rashid (2013) relied on the Fairclough’s model (1992) in their article entitled “Critical Discourse Analysis of Martin Luther King’s Speech in Socio-Political Perspective”. They found similar results to the present research. Namely, Martin Luther King employed repetition and parallelism in “I Have a Dream” speech; whereas, he used metaphors unlike Lyndon B. Johnson in “The Great Society” speech. Besides, Ziane et al (2021) in their article entitled “Critical Discourse Analysis of the Political Speech of the Algerian President, Abdelmajid Tebboune, after contracting the COVID-19” found after analysing Tebboune’s speech using the Fairclough’s model (1992) that he utilised repetition and intertextuality as Johnson in his speech. However, in contrast to the corpus under study, the Algerian president also used religious expressions.

3.2 Conclusions of the Study

Throughout the investigation, the Fairclough’s model (1992) is applied to critically analyse “The Great Society” speech delivered by the President Lyndon B. Johnson on the occasion of graduation at the University of Michigan on May 1964. This approach to CDA is based on three dimensions. To begin with, the analysis of the text covers different levels of language (text structure, vocabulary, grammar, and cohesion). Then, the analysis of the discursive practice deals with the investigation of the force of utterances, intertextuality, and the coherence of the speech. Finally, the third dimension concerns the analysis of the social practice. It focuses on the ideologies included in the speech and the power relations which govern it.

In order to identify the ideologies embedded in Lyndon B. Johnson’s speech and the persuasive techniques that he employed to influence the thinking of his audience, three significant questions are asked at the beginning of this research. First, what are the ideological

strategies employed by Lyndon Baines Johnson in “The Great Society” commencement speech? Second, can the Fairclough’s model (1992) be applied to critically analyse the speech of Lyndon Baines Johnson? And third, what makes a great society from Lyndon Baines Johnson’s point of view? In addition, three assumptions are suggested which have helped the researcher to answer to these questions. The next paragraphs seek to provide answers to the research questions as well as to evaluate the assumptions of this study.

First, the President Lyndon B. Johnson used persuasive techniques in his commencement speech in order to defend his beliefs. Indeed, the findings of the analysis have shown that Johnson utilised a variety of techniques to defend his ideologies and to make his audience think about their truthfulness. To do so, he used mainly rewording, overwording, repetition, and intertextuality. Consequently, the first assumption is successfully validated.

Second, the Fairclough’s model is the appropriate framework to adopt to critically analyse “The Great Society” commencement speech, because it provides a thorough analysis of the speech from both the linguistic and sociological sides. The findings of the research have demonstrated that the first dimension of the CDA approach of Norman Fairclough (text) has provided an analysis of the speech under study from the linguistic angle, whereas the second and the third dimension of the approach (discursive practice and social practice) have allowed an analysis from the sociological angle. Thus, the second assumption is confirmed.

Third, Lyndon Baines Johnson has chosen to deliver his speech to college graduates, because education plays an important role in building a good society. All a long his speech, Johnson affirmed that in order to construct a better future for America and to ensure a quality experience to the youth, the educational system needed to be improved. Moreover, he encouraged the new graduates to use all their knowledge for the benefit of the society. Thus, the third assumption is validated.

All in all, after the analysis of “The Great Society” speech relying on the Fairclough’s model (1992), the following conclusions are reached:

- Lyndon B. Johnson used massively rewording, overwording, and repetition to emphasise on some important points in his speech. For instance, when he talked about the important role of the college graduates in constructing a great society.
- Johnson’s speech includes the ideologies of patriotism and cooperativism.
- Johnson’s speech is characterised by the use of the pronouns “I” to show his closeness to his audience, “you” when addressing to the college graduates, and “we” to demonstrate unity and solidarity with his audience.

- Johnson used intertextuality in his speech in order to reinforce his ideas and to emphasise his point of view.
- There is not a power relation between the President Lyndon B. Johnson and the graduates' students.
- The Fairclough's model (1992) is successfully applied to critically analyse Johnson's discourse.
- All the assumptions of the present research are confirmed.

3.3 Limitations of the Study

Each research inevitably faces obstacles and limitations at some points. The present research is not an exception. First, the lack of books, articles, and other sources of information has slowed down the completion of this research. Additionally, the access to many important books is costly. Furthermore, there was not enough information about the framework adopted in this study in particular and about CDA in general since this branch is mainly a new one.

3.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Critical discourse analysis is a vast and interesting discipline that deserves more attention. Based on the findings of the present study, some recommendations are suggested to carry on research in the field of CDA as follow:

- To add any details not mentioned in the analysis of "The Great Society" speech, such as the metaphor.
- To analyse "The Great Society" speech or other speeches of Lyndon B. Johnson using other scholars' models.
- To use the Fairclough's model (1992) to analyse other speeches in order to make a comparison with this analysis.

In short, these are just some ideas for researchers who are interested in discourse analysis and want to contribute to this research area.

Conclusion

This section has concluded the second chapter. It has outlined the conclusions of the study, mainly it summarised the findings of the analysis of Johnson's speech that is conducted using the Fairclough's model (1992). Besides, it has summarised the limitations faced throughout of the research, for instance the lack of sources of information. In addition, it suggested some recommendations in order to carry out research in CDA.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the Fairclough's model (1992) is adopted to critically analyse "The Great Society" speech delivered by the former President Lyndon B. Johnson on the occasion of graduation at the University of Michigan in 1964. The findings of the present research have shown that this model is successfully applied to analyse the hidden ideologies of Johnson in his speech, which is the main aim of this study. Better put, all along his speech, Johnson was able to successfully portray the great society that he hoped the college graduates would create using all their knowledge for the future generations.

General Conclusion

Taking everything into account in the present study, Lyndon B. Johnson's "The Great Society" commencement address has been successfully critically analysed. In his speech, the former president discussed the main issues that prevented the country from improving and on which a great society was based; namely in the cities, countryside, and classrooms. In addition to this, he called the new generation especially the college graduates to action and to use all what they learned at the University in a way that would benefit the society. Besides, the application of the Fairclough's model (1992) that is based on three dimensions (text, discursive practice, and social practice) helped in the investigation of Johnson's ideologies included in his speech and the examination of the persuasive techniques that he relied on to defend his ideas. In fact, the findings of the analysis showed that Johnson's speech is characterised by the extensive use of repetition, rewording, and overwording. Furthermore, he relied on intertextuality for the purpose of reinforcing his ideas and his vision of a great society. Besides, the President Johnson utilised the pronoun "I" in order to demonstrate his closeness to his audience and that he was also concerned by the great society. He used the pronoun "you", when he addressed to the graduates' students and asked them to participate in the construction of a great society. As well, he relied on the pronoun "we" to show unity and solidarity with the graduating class of the University of Michigan. It is worth mentioning that the American President did not exercise his power over his audience. In his speech, he did not demonstrate himself as being the dominant one, since he asked the help of the new graduates in the construction of a great society and a better future for the country. Better put, "The Great Society" speech is characterised by the ideologies of patriotism and cooperativism. Moreover, Lyndon B. Johnson emphasised on the importance of a good educational system to ensure a better future for the youths. It is important to note that the three questions of the present research are all answered. As well as, all the assumptions are validated. Additionally, the Fairclough's approach to CDA is purposefully chosen. It allowed the analysis of the corpus under study from both the linguistic and the sociological angles. Noteworthy, critical discourse analysis is an intriguing and an interesting research area that deserves more attention from researchers. This methodology does not only examine the form, structure, and the content of a discourse, but also it allows an evaluation of the discourse's role and impact on social structures.

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Résumé

Le 22 mai 1964, à l'Université du Michigan, le Président américain, Lyndon B. Johnson, a délivré le discours "La Grande Société" à l'occasion de la remise des diplômes. Dans ce discours d'ouverture, Johnson a présenté sa vision d'une grande société et il a discuté les principaux problèmes du pays américain. La présente recherche vise à examiner les idéologies ancrées dans ce discours en s'appuyant sur le modèle d'analyse critique du discours de Fairclough (1992), qui est devisé en trois dimensions qui sont texte, pratique discursive, et pratique sociale. L'objectif principal de cette étude est de découvrir les stratégies idéologiques et les techniques de persuasions utilisées par l'ancien président pour dépeindre la grande société et appeler les étudiants diplômés à l'action afin de concrétiser sa vision. Les résultats de l'analyse du texte montrent que Lyndon B. Johnson a utilisé principalement la reformulation, la sur-reformulation, et la répétition. De plus, l'analyse de la pratique discursive indique que Johnson a utilisé l'intertextualité pour souligner son point de vue. Par ailleurs, l'analyse de la pratique sociale démontre que les idéologies de l'ancien président sont clairement énoncées dans son discours et qu'il n'a pas exercé de pouvoir sur son auditoire. Pour conclure, le modèle de Fairclough permet une analyse plus approfondie du discours étudié, principalement du point de vue linguistique et sociologique.

Mots Clés: Le Discours "La Grande Société", Discours D'Ouverture, Idéologies, Le Modèle de Fairclough (1992), L'Analyse Critique du Discours, Lyndon B. Johnson.

الملخص

في 22 ماي 1964 في جامعة ميشغان الرئيس الأمريكي ليندون ب جونسون القي الخطاب "المجتمع العظيم" بمناسبة التخرج. في هذا الخطاب الافتتاح ، قدم جونسون رؤيته لمجتمع عظيم و ناقش القضايا الرئيسية للدولة الأمريكية. يسعى البحث الحالي إلى التحقيق في الإيديولوجيات المضمنة في هذا الخطاب بالاعتماد على نموذج فيركلاف (1992) الذي ينقسم إلى ثلاثة أبعاد و هي النص والممارسة الخطابية و ممارسة الاجتماعية. الهدف الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو معرفة الاستراتيجيات الإيديولوجية و تقنيات الإقناع التي استخدمها الرئيس السابق لتصوير المجتمع العظيم و استدعاء خريجي الجامعة للعمل من أجل جعل رؤيته حقيقة. تظهر نتائج تحليل النص أن ليندون جونسون استخدم بشكل أساسي إعادة الصياغة والصياغة بالافراط، والتكرار. إلى ذلك ، يشير تحليل الممارسة الخطابية إلى أن جونسون استخدم التناس من أجل التأكيد على وجهة نظره. إلى جانب ذلك ، يوضح تحليل الممارسة الاجتماعية أن إيديولوجيات الرئيس السابق مذكورة بوضوح في خطابه وأنه لم يمارس سلطة على جمهوره. في الختام ، يسمح نموذج فيركلاف في تحليل شامل للخطاب قيد الدراسة خاصة من الانطباع اللغوي و علم الاجتماع.

الكلمات المفتاحية : الخطاب " المجتمع العظيم" ، خطاب الافتتاح، الإيديولوجيات، نموذج فيركلاف (1992)، تحليل الخطاب النقدي ، ليندون ب جونسون.

Appendix: Transcript of “The Great Society” Speech

President Hatcher, Governor Romney, Senators McNamara and Hart, Congressmen Meader and Staebler, and other members of the fine Michigan delegation, members of the graduating class, my fellow Americans:

It is a great pleasure to be here today. This university has been coeducational since 1870, but I do not believe it was on the basis of your accomplishments that a Detroit high school girl said (and I quote), "In choosing a college, you first have to decide whether you want a coeducational school or an educational school." Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours. I came out here today very anxious to meet the Michigan student whose father told a friend of mine that his son's education had been a real value. It stopped his mother from bragging about him.

I have come today from the turmoil of your capital to the tranquility of your campus to speak about the future of your country. The purpose of protecting the life of our Nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a Nation.

For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people. The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization.

Your imagination and your initiative and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger

for community. It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society -- in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms.

Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans -- four-fifths of them in urban areas. In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes and highways and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled. So in the next 40 years we must re-build the entire urban United States.

Aristotle said: "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life." It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today. The catalog of ills is long: there is the decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. There is not enough housing for our people or transportation for our traffic. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated. Worst of all expansion is eroding these precious and time honored values of community with neighbors and communion with nature. The loss of these values breeds loneliness and boredom and indifference.

And our society will never be great until our cities are great. Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders. New experiments are already going on. It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live, but to live the good life. And I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life.

This is the place where the Peace Corps was started.

It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people.

A second place where we begin to build the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing.

A few years ago we were greatly concerned about the "Ugly American." Today we must act to prevent an ugly America.

For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured. And once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted.

A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal. Today, 8 million adult Americans, more than the entire population of Michigan, have not finished 5 years of school. Nearly 20 million have not finished 8 years of school. Nearly 54 million -- more than one quarter of all America -- have not even finished high school.

Each year more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proved ability, do not enter college because they cannot afford it. And if we cannot educate today's youth, what will we do in 1970 when elementary school enrollment will be 5 million greater than 1960? And high school enrollment will rise by 5 million. And college enrollment will increase by more than 3 million.

In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.

But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. This means better training for our teachers. It

means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation.

These are three of the central issues of the Great Society. While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems. But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America.

I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of White House conferences and meetings -- on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. And from these meetings and from this inspiration and from these studies we will begin to set our course toward the Great Society.

The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.

Woodrow Wilson once wrote: "Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time."

Within your lifetime powerful forces, already loosed, will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination.

For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age. You have the chance never before afforded to any people in any age. You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation.

So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin?

Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?

Will you join in the battle to make it possible for all nations to live in enduring peace -- as neighbors and not as mortal enemies?

Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?

There are those timid souls that say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will and your labor and your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society.

Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality. So let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.

Thank you. Good-bye.